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A.H. BARR

Picasso's Guernica

I.F.S.

Photographs taken by Alicia Legg at Vietnam
Protest Rally, New York City 1967

Guernica
Protest.

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NMA 8343

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Political Pieties

By HILTON KRAMER

IT was in January 1937 that Picasso accepted a commission from the Government of the Spanish Republic, then locked in a fateful civil war with the forces of General Franco, to paint a mural for the World's Fair scheduled to open in Paris in June of that year. He had not yet begun work on the project when, in the last week of April, news came of the destruction of the Basque town of Guernica by German bombers. He immediately set to work. By the 11th of May he had completed his outline of the picture on a 26-foot canvas. He subsequently altered the composition in some significant respects, but by June the work—"Guernica"—was finished and promptly installed in the Spanish Government building at the Fair.

Two years later, "Guernica" was brought to New York for exhibition, and it has remained at the Museum of Modern Art ever since. Together with the numerous drawings and studies related to the work, it has been—all these years—on an "extended loan" from the artist. But so familiar has "Guernica" become in the interim that many visitors to the museum have naturally assumed it was part of the permanent collection.

Now, it appears, the loan will definitely—but not immediately—be terminated. Through his Paris attorney Roland Dumas, Picasso has announced that "Guernica" will go to Spain but not until "public liberties will be re-established in that country." Specifically, the work (including all the related studies) will not be transferred to Spanish ownership during the present regime. According to a dispatch in The New York Times of December 28, "it is exclusively up to Picasso to judge, in the event of a change of regime in Spain, whether the new government conforms to his standards of freedom. After his death—Picasso is 89—the decision would be incumbent on Mr. Dumas."

The news that "Guernica" will eventually be "returned" to Spain (where, so far as I know, it has never actually been seen) is bound to stir memories and excite passions. This immense work, executed with dazzling speed and called "the most famous painting of the twentieth century," and it probably is. Certainly it enjoys a special place in the esteem of many people who are otherwise indifferent to modern painting, and that, I suppose, is what

sense of paradox. But it may be worth recalling a few salient details of that history on the present occasion.

No doubt Picasso has been moved by the political crisis that has once again overtaken Spain—a crisis intensified but by no means caused by the trial of the Basques—and his announcement concerning the ultimate disposition of "Guernica" is easily seen as a gesture of support for the anti-regime movements now said to be gaining momentum. Yet it should not be forgotten that only a few months ago, in March of last year, Picasso donated to the city of Barcelona no fewer than 800 items from his own enormous collection of his work. The decision to withhold "Guernica," which representatives of the Franco regime have been attempting to cajole Picasso into giving to his native country for some time, should not be mistaken for a total political boycott on Picasso's part. Indeed, my own hunch—I offer it as nothing more than that—is that Picasso's sudden announcement concerning "Guernica" is designed to relieve his embarrassment over his (albeit partial) accommodation with a regime which is now once again exhibiting its true character to the world.

It is enormously interesting, of course, that General Franco should have wanted "Guernica" for Spain. The ways of dictators are devious indeed. Clearly, Franco appreciated the huge dividend in favorable publicity "Guernica" would bring, and it apparently mattered little that the work was, and is, the most famous anti-Franco monument in the world. Can one imagine Stalin, say, making a similar gesture? Hardly. Nor is it an idle matter to invoke the late Soviet dictator's name in this context. Picasso, after all, joined the Communist Party in 1944, and was not above producing the kind of portrait drawing that depicted Stalin as a benevolent sweetheart of the people. Never mind that Stalin had obscenely betrayed the anti-Franco forces in the Civil War. With a little help from his friends in the French C.P., Picasso proved to be a useful propagandist in the early years of the Cold War, and was properly rewarded with the Lenin Peace Prize in 1962. All the while, of course, his art was doing what it does best: glorifying the Soviet Union. One could almost commiserate with Picasso—he seems never to have found a tyrant for whom both his art and his political services were equally attractive.

There is a theory—to which I confess I subscribe—that

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and evient emotion, has been called "the most famous painting of the twentieth century," and it probably is. Certainly it enjoys a special place in the esteem of many people who are otherwise indifferent to modern painting, and that, I suppose, is what such fame requires. For many, "Guernica" is less a work of art than an eloquent symbol representing the suffering and destruction caused by modern war. Liberals the world over have long seen in this painting a quintessential statement of protest against fascist terror and violence. (Communists have sometimes had a little difficulty with it because of its distance from the canons of Socialist Realism.) A great painter had placed his talents at the service of a great political cause, and thus—for this one splendid moment of history, at least—the treacherous gap separating the hermetic concerns of modernist art from the larger and more compelling interests of society was triumphantly bridged. Art and life were joined in the war against death.

Such, anyway, are some of the pieties that have attached themselves to this extraordinary work of art—pieties which the complex realities of Picasso's political history have never been permitted to modify in the smallest degree. No one has yet written a comprehensive account of Picasso's politics—a rich subject that requires a keen

art was ~~dedicated~~ ^{dedicated} to the Soviet Union. One could almost commiserate with Picasso—he seems never to have found a tyrant for whom both his art and his political services were equally attractive.

There is a theory—to which, I confess, I subscribe—that Picasso's decision to join the C.P. in 1944 was an act of the sheerest self-interest, a guarantee that the door would be firmly closed on any questions about the way he had conducted himself during the years of the Occupation. Be that as it may, one thing is certain: his (admittedly minor) labors on behalf of the Stalinist propaganda machine do not constitute his finest hour. And his current flip-flop gyrations in relation to the Franco regime simply dramatize the dilemma of a very old man painfully divided between his feelings for his country and his confused political allegiances.

Does this political history tell us anything important about Picasso's achievement as an artist? I think not. Picasso is a great artist—one of the greatest. His politics have touched his art very little. What it does mean, though, is that it is pure folly to look to artists, even great artists, as guides to political intelligence. In this imperfect world, alas, all we have a right to expect of an artist is some measure of esthetic intelligence, and of that Picasso has given us a great deal.

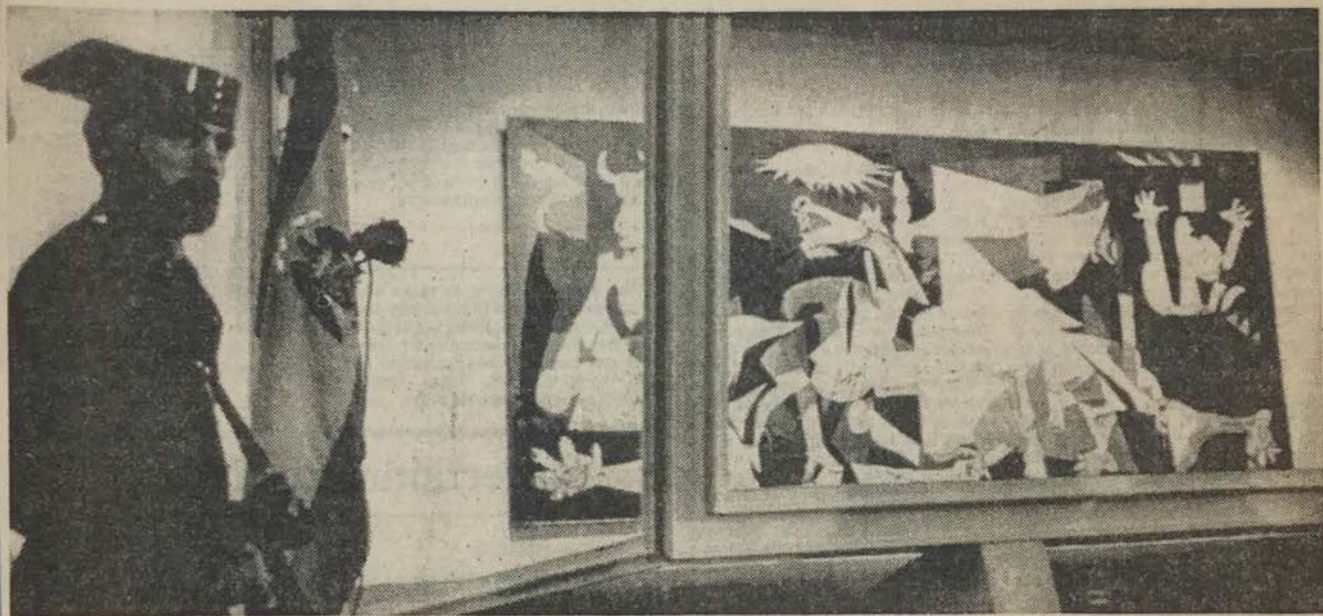
Picasso's "Guernica," going back to Spain—"when public liberties will be re-established"



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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1981



United Press International

A Civil Guard protects Picasso's "Guernica," on display in Madrid, in a Prado Museum annex. A framed panel of bulletproof glass is in front of the painting.

Bulletproofed 'Guernica' Goes on Display in Spain

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

Special to The New York Times

MADRID, Oct. 23 — Installed in a 17th-century palace behind sheets of bulletproof glass hinged with metal, Picasso's masterpiece "Guernica" was unveiled today to art critics and the press in its new, and presumably final, Spanish home.

The giant mural, a universal symbol of the horrors of war since Picasso painted it in 1937, came to Spain in fulfillment of the artist's wishes on Sept. 10, after hanging for more than four decades in New York's Museum of Modern Art. A fierce opponent of the Franco dictatorship, Picasso had determined that the painting, commissioned by the Spanish Second Republic, should not come here until democratic freedoms were restored.

The stone building in which "Guernica" is lodged was part of a palace complex built under Philip IV, and it served as a royal ballroom. Since the beginning of this century it has been a museum, and it is now an annex of the nearby Prado museum — of which Picasso was named honorary director in 1936, at the outbreak of the Civil War.

'Like a Ballot Box'

For security reasons, the stark mural, with its rudimentary coloring of black, white and gray, has been placed in a kind of fishbowl of thick glass sheeting, set in a light brown metal frame. The main sheet, which inclines 10 degrees forward toward the

viewer, measures roughly 8 feet by 25 feet and weighs more than a ton.

As the former ballroom is considerably larger than the hall in New York's Museum of Modern Art, where the painting had been until last month, the painting appears smaller and perhaps less striking in Madrid when viewed from a distance. But near the nonreflecting glass, the dramatic impact is similar, according to a number of people present at today's opening who had also seen the "Guernica" in New York.

"It looks a little bit like a ballot box," joked Rafael Fernandez Quintanilla, the Spanish diplomat who conducted the complicated negotiations that led to the painting's coming to Madrid. "It is a shame that we have to have this box around it, but, unfortunately, in this age terrorism comes first."

A West German correspondent, Volkhard Mueller, observed: "It is a little bit sad that a Picasso painting condemning war has to be locked up in a jail." A photographer, Robert Royal, likened the glass case to an aquarium. "You can just imagine a big white shark in there," he quipped.

The extraordinary security measures for "Guernica" — only one safe-like door leads to the painting in its encasement — reflect the understandable fears of the Spanish authorities in a nation where right-wing and left-wing terrorism have become almost endemic.

As the mural was inspired by the 1937 carpet-bombing of the Basque town of Guernica during the Civil War by German planes supporting Franco's armies, its presence here could conceivably make it a target of neo-Fascist groups. But Basques, too, have been angered by the siting of the painting in Madrid, and not in Guernica itself, and the Mayor of the town has urged King Juan Carlos not to attend its formal opening tomorrow. It is not known if the monarch, whose name is inscribed on a wall plaque next to Picasso's, will attend.

Though the seemingly sudden decision to transfer the mural from the Museum of Modern Art to Madrid annoyed some of Picasso's heirs, Paloma Picasso, a daughter, is planning to attend the brief ceremony at the Casón del Buen Retiro tomorrow. Richard Oldenburg, director of the Museum of Modern Art, is also expected.

On Sunday — the 100th anniversary of Picasso's birth in Málaga, in southern Spain — the Casón del Buen Retiro will be opened to the public, who will be able to enter free for a week. Thereafter, the entry fee will be 200 pesetas, or about \$2.

After passing by armed civil guards and through a metal detector, visitors can also see the preparatory drawings for "Guernica," which Picasso painted in Paris, and its so-called "postscripts" in two lateral rooms. These drawings and paintings are, like the mural, behind glass.

The public display of "Guernica" will be the highpoint of a year of celebrations of the Picasso centenary. Last night an exhibit opened in Barcelona showing Picasso's long connections with the Catalan capital, home of a museum dedicated to his early painting.

In Málaga, the city authorities have scheduled a number of celebrations and exhibits, as have galleries in other Spanish cities. The Socialist-controlled city hall in the capital has installed a mural of blue tiles with Picasso themes at the Madrid house where the artist lived in 1897 and 1898, and the Spanish post office will release a 200-peseta stamp of the "Guernica."

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MOMA'S LOSS: Picasso's mural on the horrors of war, 'Guernica,' has left New York's Museum of Modern Art to make its permanent home in Spain.

The Dissolution of a Trust: A Work of Legal Artistry

BY LARRY TELL

National Law Journal Staff Reporter

WITH TYPICAL professional detachment, the lawyers looked at it merely as the dissolution of an artist's inter vivos trust. Yet, to the art world, it culminated a 42-year-long cliff-hanger over the fate of one of the world's most famous paintings.

The event was the quiet transfer Sept. 9 of Pablo Picasso's anti-war masterpiece, "Guernica," from the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York to the Spanish government. With "Guernica's" departure, the museum bowed out of its unusual role as the late painter's trustee — safeguarding the work until, as Picasso had wished, it could make its final home in a democratic Spain.

Picasso died in 1973 without a will, leaving no precise written instructions to implement his wishes for "Guernica." That left MOMA the painting's custodian, subject to conflicting pressures — Spain's firm claim to the painting, backed by its subtle suggestion that it would litigate to get it; the artist's heirs in Paris, asserting their moral right under French law to protect the integrity of Picasso's work; and the natural reluctance of MOMA and the New York art world to part with an important work.

Ultimately, the museum also faced the uncomfortable prospect of judging Spain's progress in implementing permanent democratic reforms since Generalissimo Francisco Franco's death in 1975.

MOMA and its general counsel, John B. Koegel — with legal advice from former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, now with Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett in New York — navigated these delicate legal and political shoals.

The museum would not act until it got two legal opinions from Mr. Vance, a letter from Picasso's Paris lawyer certifying the democratic conditions in Spain, assent from the heirs and a written agreement with Spain indemnifying

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(212) BUREAU OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

'Guernica' Goes Home, With Aid of Attorneys

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MOMA from any liability. It still faces a review of the transaction by New York Attorney General Robert Abrams, who has authority over charitable institutions like MOMA.

A massive mural depicting the horrors of modern warfare, "Guernica" has long been a political symbol. Picasso painted it in 1937 to commemorate a vicious air attack on the Basque city of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War. Two years later, he lent it to MOMA.

The museum's stewardship of the politically charged painting became an acute legal problem in April, when Spain formally demanded possession of the work. A delegation from Madrid, headed by a special envoy and including a government legal team, reportedly indicated it would sue if MOMA didn't hand over the painting.

That's when Mr. Koegel retained Mr. Vance for an outside legal opinion on the museum's responsibilities.

First, the museum had to determine what legal framework governed Picasso's original loan in 1939. Although the artist's wish to send "Guernica" to a democratic Spain was well known in the art world, he never formalized his arrangement with the museum.

But in at least one communication relied on by MOMA, the artist confirmed his twin conditions: that "Guernica" was temporarily entrusted to the museum and that it was destined for Spain when democracy prevailed there. Picasso also delegated to his Paris lawyer, Roland Dumas, the authority to decide when the conditions in Spain were right.

Mr. Koegel wouldn't discuss the exact form of these communications, and no written version of Picasso's intent has ever been made public.

Nonetheless, the lawyers determined that these expressions from the artist made MOMA Picasso's trustee under an *inter vivos* trust. Such arrangements have a long history under New York law, dating to a turn-of-the-century case, *Hirsch v. Auer*, 146 N.Y. 13. Backed by Mr. Vance's legal opinion on this point, the museum acknowledged to Spain its legal obligation to turn over "Guernica." But it could do so only after Mr. Dumas gave his consent on the democracy-in-Spain issue, said Mr. Koegel.

Meanwhile, in Paris, some of Picasso's heirs openly expressed doubts about political conditions in the artist's native land. They didn't challenge Spain's ultimate right to the painting, but questioned the wisdom of sending "Guernica" to the still unstable, post-Franco Spanish Republic.

A MOMA delegation sent to Paris in June apparently satisfied the heirs.

Their tacit agreement to the transfer averted a sticky legal confrontation over their moral rights as Picasso's descendants to protect the painting's integrity.

Under the moral right doctrine, which is codified in French law, an artist controls certain aspects of how a work is treated, even after giving up ownership rights. The doctrine has never been successfully applied in U.S. courts.

Mr. Vance, who was again called on by MOMA to give his opinion, considered the moral right issue a straightforward conflict-of-laws problem. The French moral right rule couldn't be used in U.S. courts in this case, he said. And even if it could, it wouldn't apply to the painting's transfer to Spain.

Closer to home, Mr. Vance's firm told the New York attorney general's office of the painting's impending departure. Although he couldn't stop the transfer, Attorney General Abrams could question the museum's disposition of the valuable painting as a "waste of assets" under New York's Estates, Powers and Trusts Law, Sec. 8-1.4.

State officials were awaiting MOMA's reply to a request for documentary evidence of Picasso's intentions when "Guernica" was shipped to Spain.

"We were a little surprised to read that the painting was gone," says Timothy Gilles, a spokesman for Mr. Abrams. MOMA wasn't legally obliged to notify the state in advance but it must comply with information requests, he added.

Finally, "Guernica's" future hinged on the Paris lawyer, Mr. Dumas. In August, the museum received his written certification of Spanish democracy. As trustee, MOMA no longer had any choice but to comply with Spain's demands.

Even so, it extracted hold-harmless terms from the Spanish government should the transfer ever be challenged.

Careful Packing

MOMA officials secretly took "Guernica" from its prominent gallery on a Wednesday, Sept. 9, when the museum is normally closed to the public. The painting was carefully packed and, along with 62 related works, sent to Spain on that evening's Iberia Airlines flight. "Guernica's" formal unveiling in Madrid's Prado Museum is scheduled for Oct. 25, the 100th anniversary of Picasso's birth.

"There's some sadness in seeing the great work of art leaving the United States," said Mr. Vance. He described its departure as "clearly the intent of Picasso" after a crucial determination "made by the person to whom Picasso entrusted the decision."

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The Museum of Modern Art

To The Staff
From Richard E. Oldenburg REO
Date September 9, 1981
Re Guernica

For reasons of strict security and by agreement with the Spanish authorities, I have not been able before this afternoon to share with all of you our arrangements to transfer Guernica to Spain in accordance with Picasso's wishes.

Guernica was taken down from the third floor gallery yesterday evening and packed for shipment. The efficiency, care and calm with which this was accomplished by members of our Conservation, Registrar and Carpenter staffs, supported by other departments such as Security and Public Information, evidenced superbly the skill and professionalism of everyone concerned. They all deserve our great admiration as well as our appreciation for long hours of special planning and execution.

The Museum was entrusted with this work in 1939 with the understanding that Picasso wished it ultimately to be placed permanently in the Prado Museum in Spain. The decision that the time is now appropriate for this move reflects among other considerations the conclusion of Picasso's designated attorney that the necessary conditions have been fulfilled. It also has the concurrence of Picasso's heirs.

The final step in arrangements which have been evolving over the past several months was a small ceremony in the Trustees Room this afternoon. The Minister of Culture of Spain, Inigo Caverio, and the Museum's Chairman, William S. Paley, and President, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd, signed a brief agreement formally transferring responsibility for the work from the Museum to the Spanish Government. Soon thereafter, Guernica and its related studies left the Museum to be flown to Madrid. They will there be installed in a newly renovated annex to the Prado in time for the celebration of the Centenary of Picasso's birth, October 25, 1981.

Obviously we all feel some sadness in seeing Guernica depart from this museum. It has been a very great privilege and a tribute to this institution to have had this work entrusted to us for so many years and through such changing times. However, we can take comfort and further pride in parting with it with good grace, with all possible concern for Picasso's wishes and with due recognition of the special significance which Guernica has for the people of Spain.

REO/tf

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For Spain, 'Guernica' Stirs Memory and Awe

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

THE silence in the presence of Pablo Picasso's "Guernica" in the Prado Annex is impressive. Spaniards are given to chattering and exclaiming in museums, but, confronted with the stark mural and its shrieking victims, they are hushed, as if in church. Old men take off their berets and hold them at their sides.

Some people may be intimidated, after setting off the buzzing metal detector, by the brown-uniformed policemen who look on as they edge up to the bulletproof glass. But it seems as if the painting itself silences.

"I do not understand much of these things," whispered Eusebio Olmedo, a 76-year-old retired railway man, who wore what looked like one of his best suits to come see the "Guernica" on the second day of its exposition to the public. "But I know that I like it."

The human devastation on the canvas — an evocation of the carpet-bombing of the Basque city of Guernica in 1937 — reminded Mr. Olmedo very much of what he had witnessed when a bomb landed on his house in Madrid the same year. Like Guernica, he had been on the receiving end of Franco's warplanes in the civil war:

"It landed, and there was a little girl who was killed right in front of me. I remember the whole side of the building was ripped down, but in the kitchen a glass of water was still standing on a table." Picasso's woman with a dead child in her arms had brought back this memory. "I like the picture," Mr. Olmedo said, "but it makes me think of sad things." And then he cried.

Bias Podadera, a stocky 56-year-old shopkeeper, said the mural made him think of his childhood in Málaga — Picasso's birthplace — when the civil war erupted. "I was so afraid of the bombing," he said, "that my parents took me out to a village in the countryside."

"I don't understand it, but I like it," said Mr. Podadera, almost transfixed by the painting. "It's like opera: Mozart, Wagner and that other one — Vivaldi: I put it on, I don't understand it, but I like it."

The big room in the Casón del Buen Retiro, as the Annex is called, permits people to mill about without jostling before the great painting. But the protective, glass-and-metal encasement around the "Guernica" seems to unsettle some visitors.

"I saw it in New York, and it was better, more alive," Dolores Vazquez, a 30-year-old doctor, said. "Here it seems cold. Now it is like you put someone in a coffin, and there are its ashes. All the force of its realism is lost, because this situation is unreal."

But first-time viewers seem untrou-

bled by the glass cage. "This is a symbol of freedom, a renunciation of violence," Jesús Alejo Fernández Montes, a student, said. "It is a reason for celebration and happiness."

One of the policemen in brown said, "It is a chapter of our history that we hope never happens again."

Since the long-exiled "Guernica" finally came to Madrid on Sept. 10, Rafael Fernández Quintanilla, the witty diplomat who dealt with the Museum of Modern Art in New York and Picasso's heirs, has felt free to disclose some of the secrets of his protracted negotiations.

One is an elaborate bluff. To demonstrate that the Spanish Government had in fact paid Picasso to paint the mural in 1937 for the Paris International Exhibition, Mr. Fernández Quintanilla had to secure documents in the archives of the late Luis Araquistain, Spain's Ambassador to France at the time. But Araquistain's son, poor and opportunistic, demanded \$2 million for the archives, which Mr. Fernández Quintanilla rejected as outrageous.

He managed, however, to obtain from the son photocopies of the pertinent documents, which in 1979 he presented to Roland Dumas, the Paris lawyer named by Picasso to determine when "public liberties" had been re-established in Spain, permitting delivery of the "Guernica" to the Prado.

"This changes everything," a startled Mr. Dumas told the Spanish envoy when he showed him the photocopies of the Araquistain documents. "You of course have the originals?" the lawyer asked casually. "Not all of them," replied Mr. Fernández Quintanilla, not lying but not telling the truth, either.

The existence of the papers — and the assumption that the Government possessed them — was the turning point in the legal tussle. The Museum of Modern Art, which held the painting on "loan," determined that it had more to fear from a threatened suit by Spain than it did from a hypothetical suit by some of Picasso's heirs who opposed the transfer.

Early this year, as his Government prepared for litigation, Mr. Fernández Quintanilla knew he was skating on thin ice; he didn't actually have the documents. Then — "almost miraculously" — Araquistain's son died. His widow was unaware of the huge sum he had been demanding, and settled for \$50,000.

The next day in Paris, on Feb. 20, Mr. Dumas confirmed in writing to the Ambassador that in his judgment the painting should go to Spain "without further delay." On Feb. 23, right-wing soldiers in Madrid staged a coup, which failed.

In the longer view of history, another bluffer was of course Picasso,

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1981



At Prado in Madrid, a visitor tries for a better look at Picasso's "Guernica." Viewers are kept at a distance by a barrier of bulletproof glass.

who, having been paid 150,000 French francs for the execution of the "Guernica" in 1937, had a most tenuous legal claim to it afterward. "Picasso was worried that it would fall into Franco's hands," Mr. Fernández Quintanilla said, "but at the same time, he knew it would have been false if it had become part of his estate."

Mr. Fernández Quintanilla, who has related these and other tantalizing tales in "The Odyssey of the 'Guernica,'" just published in here, is half convinced that the "Guernica" is a magical object. "In Paris, in 1937, for example," the 60-year-old diplomat said, "Picasso picked up the painting from the exhibition because no one else picked it up. Araquistain had just resigned. If Picasso hadn't picked it up, it would have ended up in the hands of the Franco Government, which

probably would have stored it in some basement, or burned it. Certainly it would never have become as celebrated as it is today."

The mural's gypsy life is indeed associated with a long list of strange deaths and unexpected turns of fortune. The latest occurred shortly after the "Guernica" landed here — José Manuel Pita Andrade, director of the Prado, resigned.

Mr. Pita Andrade was already weary of struggling with the state bureaucracy for greater subsidies for his financially strapped museum and was angered by an administrative decision to raise entry fees to the Prado from \$1 to \$2. But he was furious when he was cut off completely from the "Guernica" negotiations and quit when he learned from the newspapers that the mural was en route to Madrid and his museum.

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Spanish Aide's Remarks

Following is the text of a statement yesterday by Inigo Cavero, Spanish Minister of Culture, on the transfer of Picasso's "Guernica" to Spain:

Mrs. Blanche H. Rockefeller, Mr. William S. Paley, Mr. Richard Oldenburg, Ambassador of Spain to the United States, Consul General of Spain, Director of Fine Arts of the Ministry of Culture, ladies and gentlemen:

I cannot conceal my deep satisfaction upon receiving today, on behalf of the people and the Government of Spain, the painting "Guernica" and the other accompanying works in this simple, intimate and emotional action. This masterpiece, of great artistic value, will enrich the pictorial patrimony of Spain with one of the most outstanding works by the great Spanish painter Pablo Ruiz Picasso.

On the other hand, the "Guernica" contains within it a symbolic value which, as Picasso himself said, condemns "cruelty and darkness" with a horrifying cry and at the same time poses a demand for peace which balances perfectly with the reconciliation obtained among all Spaniards within the democratic constitution whose first guarantor is His Majesty, King Juan Carlos.

With the arrival of the "Guernica" in Spain to be installed in one of the annexes of the Prado Museum as per the expressed wishes of Picasso, specially prepared for such purpose in its technical and security aspects, a heartfelt wish of all Spaniards who love art and a peaceful coexistence is hereby fulfilled.

Thanks for Saving Work

I consider it a happy coincidence that the "Guernica" will go to Spain and to the Prado precisely on the year celebrating the anniversary of the birth of the great "maestro" from Málaga, on which occasion the Ministry of Culture is organizing an outstanding exhibit.

I wish once again to take this opportunity to thank very sincerely the Museum of Modern Art of New York for the conservation of this work for so many years and for the attention and care with which they have shown it to millions of visitors. Here it has been viewed by people of all origins; at the

Prado it will remain to be also admired by everybody as a common cultural patrimony of humanity and a message of peace.

I know that for the Museum of Modern Art, although still having the "Desmoiselles d'Avignon" and other important paintings by Picasso, it is a sacrifice to surrender the "Guernica" and the other accompanying works. We deeply appreciate this sacrifice and wish to point out the cooperation extended by the directors to the Spanish Government so as to carry out the provisions and wishes of Picasso.

We wish to reiterate to madame president and to the chairman of the board of trustees, Mr. Paley, and to directors Oldenburg and William Rubin the invitation extended by the Spanish Government so that together with members of the Picasso family they may attend the opening of the exhibition of the "Guernica" in Madrid on Oct. 26.

Again, on behalf of my Government and all the Spaniards, my gratitude to the prestigious Museum of Modern Art of New York and to those experts, technicians and workers who have brought forward their efforts in the air transportation of the "Guernica" to Spain.

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Continued on Page B8, Column 1

others, it was an opportunity
plot.

page 1 NYTimes 10 Sept 81 Sect A

Picasso's Antiwar 'Guernica' Quietly Leaves U.S. for Spain

By GRACE GLUECK

In deep secrecy and with no opportunity for farewells, "Guernica," Picasso's monumental antiwar mural on loan to the Museum of Modern Art for 42 years, left New York for a final home in Spain last evening.

Ending its refugee existence after years of dispute and agitation over its status, the painting, rolled up and crated and carefully guarded by Spanish officials, departed in the cargo hold of an Iberia airliner that took off at 7 P.M. on a regularly scheduled commercial flight.

In accordance with Picasso's wishes, the huge painting, more than 25 feet long, will have a permanent exhibition in a specially restored annex of the Prado museum in Madrid.

The secrecy of "Guernica's" going

Minister's remarks, page C20.

was dictated by "overriding security considerations," according to Richard Oldenburg, the museum's director, who expressed "regret" that the precautions would not allow the museum to "give advance notice to its public that the departure of 'Guernica' was imminent."

Over the years there have been sporadic protests against the transfer to Spain of the painting, a political and esthetic symbol of great significance, and it has been the subject of claims from various political, ethnic, artistic and other factions who wanted a say over its final disposition. In 1974 it was subjected

to physical attack, when a young Iranian artist named Tony Shafrazi vandalized it with spray paint as it hung in its third-floor gallery at the Museum of Modern Art.

In a small private ceremony at the museum yesterday afternoon, Inigo Cavero, Spanish Minister of Culture, signed the formal transfer agreement in the presence of the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, José Llado, and other Spanish officials, as well as William S. Paley, chairman of the museum; Blanche Rockefeller, its president, and Mr. Oldenburg.

In a brief talk, Mr. Cavero said the painting would "enrich the national patrimony of Spain," and added that it "poses a demand for reconciliation obtained among all Spaniards within the democratic constitution whose first guarantor is His Majesty, King Juan Carlos."

He also thanked the museum "for the conservation of this work for so many years and for the attention and care with which they have shown it to millions of visitors."

The Spanish Government has indemnified the museum against claims from any possible source that it might have acted imprudently in releasing the mural. It has also agreed that it has no claim to any other works in the museum's collection, and that it will pay all costs of crating and shipping for "Guernica" and the 62 preliminary studies and "postscripts" that accompany it.

The painting, of incalculable value,

Continued on Page C21, Column 1

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THE NEW YORK TIMES,

'Guernica' Quietly Leaves for Spain

Continued From Page A1

was at one time unofficially valued for insurance purposes at \$40 million. It was originally commissioned by the Spanish Republic very early in the Spanish Civil War for its building at the 1937 Paris World's Fair. Picasso had not begun work on the project when news broke of the savage bombing by Generalissimo Francisco Franco's forces on April 26, 1937, of the Basque town for which the painting is named. Seizing on that as the theme of his work, the artist made the first sketches on May 1. The mural was installed in June, and on July 12 the Spanish Pavilion opened to the public. Sent to New York in 1939 on a tour for the benefit of the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee, "Guernica" was later included in the exhibition "Picasso: Forty Years of His Art," organized by the late Alfred H. Barr Jr., then the director of the Museum of Modern Art.

Officials Here Last April

When World War II broke out in Europe, Picasso suggested that "Guernica" and a number of his other works be held at the Museum of Modern Art on extended loan. Although the rest of the Picassos were eventually returned, the artist stipulated that "Guernica" and the numerous studies for it would ultimately go to his native Spain, and asked that the museum hold them until the death of Franco and "the re-establishment of public liberties" there. He entrusted his lawyer, Roland Dumas, with the decision as to when those conditions had been met.

It was Mr. Dumas's assent, given in writing last month, that actually triggered the painting's departure, although the museum had been hard-pressed recently by Spanish Government officials, who wanted the painting in Spain for the centennial celebration of Picasso's birth on Oct. 25. "Last April, Spanish officials visited us at the museum and asked that we expedite transfer of the painting," Mr. Oldenburg said. "It was their first formal request, although we'd been hav-



Horst Tappe

Pablo Picasso

ing discussions before that. Following that, we hired Cyrus Vance as legal counsel to re-examine the question of 'Guernica's' transfer and make sure we were on proper ground."

A possible stumbling block to the dispatching of "Guernica" was resolved last June when four of the Picasso heirs, uncertain whether the time was ripe for the painting to go to Spain, came to an agreement after a meeting in Paris with Mr. Oldenburg and William Rubin, director of painting and sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art. The heirs did not claim ownership of the painting, but they held that under French law, which gives "moral rights" to an artist's survivors, they had a say in determining its fate.

Although the Spanish Government demurred, it had participated in discussions with the heirs throughout last year. "But the question of how far 'moral rights' extended became academic after the heirs gave their assent," Mr. Oldenburg said.

In Madrid, Prado officials have re-

stored a 17th-century pavilion near the main museum, called the Casón del Buen Retiro, where "Guernica" will hang. Thus, although separated from the main museum, the painting will join the Prado's matchless collection of works by Velázquez, Goya and other artists from earlier centuries in whose tradition Picasso placed himself. Prado officials hope that "Guernica" and its studies will eventually be joined there by other Picasso works.

Blacks, Whites and Grays

It is understood that the picture, once installed in Madrid, will never be lent again, because the repeated rolling and unrolling of the canvas required for several European loans — made at Picasso's request and against the advice of the Museum of Modern Art — during the 50's have already caused serious damage to the surface.

The painting's unceremonious departure gives little indication of the immense influence it has exercised on artists here, and its strong appeal for the museum's public. A tour de force of expressionistically distorted forms arranged in a powerful composition of blacks, whites and grays, it presents a horrifying scene of the brutalities of war. Yet Picasso did not mean it as a specific depiction of the events in the Basque town, according to Mr. Rubin, who had several discussions with the artist himself about "Guernica" and his intentions for it.

"The painting obviously has political implications, but he resented the idea that people would use it as a political football," Mr. Rubin said. "He has always resisted any specific political interpretation of it in terms of particular events. He called it 'Guernica' and the original inspiration for the picture was his rage at the bombing of the town. But although inspired by that event, it was not a picture of it. Rather, it was a universalized image of violence and destruction. It deals with experiences that transcend any one event or nation."

Picasso had often been petitioned, especially by leftists during the Vietnam War, Mr. Rubin recalled, to take the painting away from the United States, but he remained resolute. Also during the Vietnam War the museum had received petitions asking for removal of a text by Mr. Barr that hung near the painting, which said that Picasso denied any specific political meaning for the picture. "I took a copy of the text to Picasso, but he said, 'Leave it up,'" Mr. Rubin added.

'Big Role in Changing Art'

Citing the "direct and immediate effect" that the painting had had on American art, particularly that of the early Abstract Expressionists, Mr. Rubin said: "Everyone was influenced by it. The early work of Jackson Pollock, for example, was inconceivable without 'Guernica'; he was br-

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1981

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C21



After 42 years at the Museum of Modern Art, Picasso's "Guernica" is taken down, rolled and crated for trip last night to Madrid's Prado Museum.



gaged in a kind of mano à mano with Picasso. That aspect of it no longer functions, but it has the eternal characteristic of any great masterpiece, in that it inspires artists indirectly. It tells them something very important and profound about what it is to be an artist, and what the nature of that enterprise is."

The painting had had "a big role in

changing art and the life of art in America," Mr. Rubin concluded, "and I think it has a big role to play yet in Spain. It could be a symbol of a kind of national reconciliation, since it might be seen as the final act in the closing of the Civil War. It's a homecoming for Picasso also; it would mark a change in attitude toward modern art. Spain is a country that, relative to other Euro-

pean nations, has felt less the effect of modernism. It could symbolically annihilate the last vestiges of parochialism in matters of art in Spain."

Other cultural reviews are on pages C30 and C31.

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New York Times 6/29/72
PICASSO

Pablo Picasso, informed sources in Madrid say, has snubbed an offer by the Spanish Government to reclaim the master's "Guernica" from New York and hang it in the Prado museum.

The sources said that when Government representatives first approached Picasso two years ago at his home in southern France, he carried an offer to hang "Guernica," which he personally dedicated to all Spanish youth, in the Museum of Contemporary Art now under construction in Madrid.

Several months ago, the offer was improved when the representatives told Picasso his painting would hang in the Prado with the works of such masters as El Greco, Velazquez and Goya. Explaining the snub, one source said: "He refuses to consider the matter while Franco is still alive, and it looks as if it may now be a case of who lasts longer." Picasso, who is 90, regards the 79-year-old General Franco as his enemy.

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1970

NON-FRANCO SPAIN TO GET 'GUERNICA'

Picasso Reported in Accord
With Modern Museum

By ANDREAS FREUND

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Dec. 28 — Pablo Picasso and the Museum of Modern Art in New York have agreed that "Guernica," the artist's most famous work and the museum's cherished exhibit, will not return to Spain under the regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco but will be returned if that regime is fundamentally changed.

Letters to that effect between the painter and the museum were exchanged recently, according to Roland Dumas, Picasso's Paris lawyer.

Mr. Dumas suggested in a telephone interview that the understanding about "Guernica" had been provoked indirectly by the Spanish Government. Spanish officials, he said, insistently approached Picasso last year, suggesting he turn the painting over to a new Madrid modern art museum, where several halls were being readied for it. Several halls are needed because the New York exhibit includes 160 sketches, drawings and projects for "Guernica."

Picasso, Mr. Dumas said, turned the suggestions down, but then got worried. He said he considered "Guernica" as "among his most important work" and was concerned about its fate. Last May, he wrote to New York, recalling his view of the painting's status, and asking for confirmation of the museum's agreement with his view, which he recently received.

Reaction to Bombing

"Guernica" was Picasso's reaction to the savage 1937 bombing of the Basque city of that name and its civilian population by German bombers fighting on the side of General Franco's insurgent forces.

Picasso painted "Guernica" in France. It went to New York in 1939 for an exhibition.

The defeat of republican Spain was followed shortly by World War II, so the painting remained in the United States.

Picasso always meant to donate "Guernica" to a Spanish republican government. Such a government exists in exile, but Mr. Dumas, with Picasso, considers that for all practical purposes it has ceased to function.

In his letter, Picasso wrote that "Guernica" and all the studies for it should be handed over to Spanish authorities the day that "public liberties will be re-established in that country."

As stipulated in the letter, it is exclusively up to Picasso to

judge, in the event of a change of regime in Spain, whether the new government conforms to his standards of freedom. After his death—Picasso is 89—the decision would be incumbent on Mr. Dumas, he wrote.

Museum Defers Comment

A spokesman for the Museum of Modern Art said that no official confirmation had been received that Picasso has signed the letter of agreement. Until it receives such confirmation, it will make no comment.

~~John H. ...~~
Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

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Picasso book file



PABLO PICASSO'S

Guernica

The eminent theologian Paul Tillich calls this painting of the bombing of a Spanish city the best Protestant religious picture of our age.

"ON EARTH peace, good will toward men," sang the angels on that Judean hillside nearly 2,000 years ago. But there was no peace in Spain in April, 1937, when the skies above the little Basque city of Guernica were darkened by Fascist bombers. From that unholy cloud fell a rain of death and total destruction—the first "saturation bombing" of a city.

Some months earlier, the Spanish painter Pablo Ruiz y Picasso had been commissioned to paint a mural in the Spanish Republic building at the Paris World's Fair. The news of Guernica roused him to fury. On May 1 he made the first sketches, in June his mural of man under the heel of war was installed. It is now in the

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Museum of Modern Art, New York. Extended loan by the artist.

Museum of Modern Art in New York City, a giant canvas, 11½ feet high, 26 feet long. But instead of the brilliant colors usually found in oil paintings, this painting is in stark black and white and grays.

Picasso himself denies that the painting has any political significance, saying simply that it expresses his abhorrence of war. But does *Guernica* symbolize the seeds of destruction of civilization in a Godless scientific day?

Answering this in part, the famed Harvard professor and theologian Dr. Paul Tillich has written: "Now Picasso has painted this immense horror—the pieces of reality, men and animals, and inorganic pieces of houses all together—in a way in which the 'piece' character of

our reality is perhaps more horribly visible than in any other of the modern pictures. During one of my lectures I once was asked, 'What would you think is the best present-day Protestant religious picture?' I answered almost without hesitation '*Guernica*.' . . . If Protestantism means that, first of all, we do not have to cover up anything, but have to look at the human situation in its depths of estrangement and despair, then this is one of the most powerful religious pictures. And, although it has no religious content, it does have religious style in a very deep and profound sense."*

* From *Existential Aspects of Modern Art, Chapter 7 of Christianity and the Existentialists*, edited by Carl Michelson (Scribner, \$2.75), pp. 137-38.

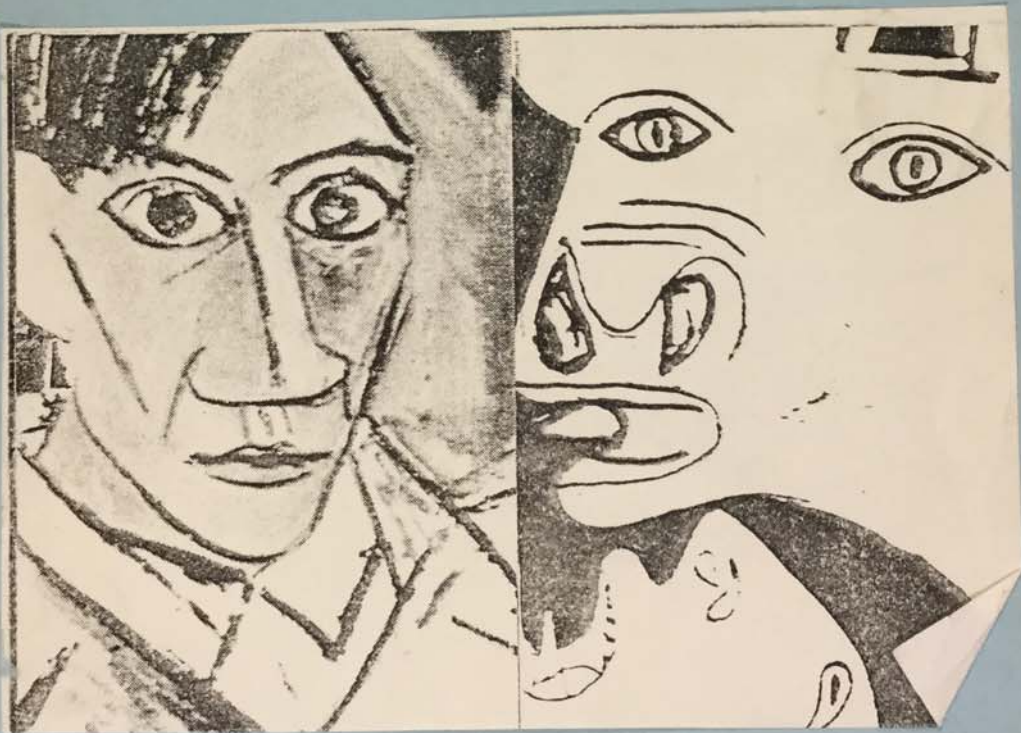
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Guernica: Love, War, and the Bullfight

HERSCHEL B. CHIPP

I, 1937-38
1937



with gratefulness for your
fundamental works, to
which we are all
indebted.
Herschel Chipp

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Guernica: Love, War, and the Bullfight

HERSCHEL B. CHIPP

Picasso finally began work on *Guernica*, as everyone knows, on Saturday, May 1, 1937, with this brief sketch (Fig. 1). We also know that he had delayed for four months, apparently without having given any thought to the subject, and that a painting by him was to be exhibited at the opening of the Paris World's Fair in 24 days. This was hardly enough time to complete a 25-foot painting even if it were already clearly in mind. This paper is a study of that first day's work—five brief sketches and one composition study—Picasso's first vision of *Guernica*.

The immediate motivation for starting the work was, of course, the shocking bombing of the Basque town of Guernica, the first photographs of which had appeared in Paris April 30. This news was intensified by the agony of the Spanish Civil War which during its first ten months had several times touched Picasso personally. Further, Picasso had just passed through a time of painful conflict in his personal life, and these conflicts had provided the imagery of much of his art from about 1933 to 1937. They appear almost solely in his graphic art, contrasting with the more conventional themes of portraits and still lifes in his painting. These images and symbols constitute a kind of iconography of his life. They are often formulated in a quasi-Surrealist symbolism involving Minotaurs and women as well as the familiar theme of the struggle between the horse and the bull as taken from the *corrida*. The power of this imagery is demonstrated by unusually wide fluctuations of style which resulted from these emotionally overwhelming themes.

The studies of the first day are drawn largely from the bullfight, which of course had obsessed Picasso from childhood. Thus both the emotional and iconographical sources of *Guernica* lie in the special meaning of the bullfight for an Andalusian, and in the personal conflicts which had been expressed through the images of horse and bull. The third source—his immediate response to the specific historical event—was the only one of these elements that was at all unusual in his art.

Picasso's first vision of *Guernica* was in terms of a familiar episode from the bullfight: the bull's attack on the horse. This is the most common bullfight scene in his art and goes back to his childhood in Malaga. In the first sketch he represents the bull standing proudly erect while the horse lies dead with one leg extended grotesquely in the air. The most definite image, however, is of the alarmed woman observing the scene from a second-story window. It is also the only image to persist



1 Study I. May 1, 1937.

unchanged from the first sketch to the final painting. This stagelike setting, including the witness to the tragic conflict, has been seen several times before, as, for example, the two blond women observing the tragic bull-man from a second-story window in the *Minotauremachie* of 1935.¹ This earlier image as well as its painful personal associations may have been recalled and reinforced by the gaunt walls and empty windows in the first photograph of the stricken city to reach Paris (Fig. 2). This one is from *Le Figaro* of the previous day, Friday, April 30, but the same photograph appeared in most of the Paris newspapers on the same or on the following day.² Together with the sensational headlines of Wednesday and Thursday, April 28 and 29 (Fig. 3), the first photographs of the devastating bombing attack surely had a strong impact on a Spaniard who, because he was even then deeply committed to the Republican cause, already considered himself a refugee.

The Bombing of Guernica

If the imminent deadline for the opening of the World's Fair did not impose an urgency on the first day's work—for, after all, this was simply Picasso's usual response to deadlines—the news from Spain did. On May 1, even as he worked, a manifestation, the largest ever held in Paris, crowded the streets. The two themes of the demonstration were highly politicized: a celebration of the first anniversary of the Popular Front in France, and an alarm over the grave situation of the faltering Popular Front in Spain. For the past month the Nationalists had continued slowly to crush the Basque

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2 *Le Figaro*, Apr. 30, 1937.



4 *The Times* (London), Apr. 29, 1937.

LE DEBUT DE LA GUERRE D'ESPAGNE

Mille bombes incendiaires

lancées par les avions de Hitler et de Mussolini

Après le bombardement de la ville de Guernica, par les avions de la légion Condor allemande. Morts, blessés, maisons incendiées, ruines de la ville.

réduisent en cendres la ville de Guernica

LE NOMBRE DES MORTS ET DES BLESSÉS

3 *L'Humanité*, Apr. 28, 1937.

defenders of Bilbao—only 50 miles from the French frontier (Fig. 4). The port of Bilbao was the center of Spain's heavy industry and war plants, and Franco had promised most of the output to Hitler, and Bilbao was half as far from Germany as the other major port, Cadiz. Even on this May 1, blockade runners were taking aboard women and children refugees from the city now apparently doomed.

In Vitoria just behind the lines to the south, the concentrated forces of the German Condor Legion were supporting the campaign. The Commanding Officer's equipment report of April 12 described what was probably, in 1937, the most powerful air force ever assembled.³

On April 26, the day of the bombing, the Nationalist advance upon Bilbao was less than six miles from the town of Guernica, which lay directly in its path.⁴ The Condor Legion air base was only 30 miles south of Guernica—a flying time of less than 12 minutes even for the slowest plane.

There was alarming news from still another source. On the same day as the bombing, Hermann Goering, Commander-in-Chief of the Legion, was in Rome for a conference with Mussolini, the chief topic of which was how to quickly end the war in Spain. Goering had apparently been kept waiting for a day while Mussolini was engaged in talks with the Austrian Chancellor, the results of which constituted Italian support of Austria in its resistance to Hitler. But the final escalation in the deadly rivalry was Goering's, for at four-thirty in the afternoon—one-half hour before his appointment with Mussolini—German bombs began to fall on Guernica.⁵

Picasso and the Spanish Republican Government

All this was reported with alarm in the Paris press (Fig. 5) but nowhere with more emotion than in the bulletins of the Spanish Government Information Service. This agency was directed principally by Juan Larrea, the poet, who later was to write the first book on Picasso's *Guernica*, and by José-Luis Sert, the architect of the Spanish pavilion where Picasso's painting was to be placed. Both were close friends of Picasso and it was they who had arranged his various contributions to the Republican cause.

Both the etching suite, *Dream and Lie of Franco*, which was to be reproduced and sold for refugee relief, and the plans for the mural project for the World's Fair, were made during the beginning of January 1937. At this time the news from Spain was especially disheartening for the Republicans. On January 6 Hitler's ultimatum to the Basque government in Bilbao to surrender or face destruction appeared in the Paris press, and the next day one of the heaviest bombing attacks of the war

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5 *Le Figaro*, Apr. 10, 1937.

struck Madrid. Hitler also declared a blockade of all Spanish ports and enforced this with the torpedoing of a Republican ship off the Catalan coast. Since the Rome Conference of December 6, 1936, when Germany and Italy confirmed their policy of vigorous intervention, Mussolini had been eager for Italian troops to take the lead. At the end of December a large contingent of Italians heavily equipped with tanks and planes began disembarking at Cadiz, proceeding overland eastward to surround Malaga on three sides. Simultaneously, this seaport, the most desirable for an invasion from Italy, was being heavily bombed from the air and bombarded from the sea.⁶ Although Picasso had not visited Malaga, his birthplace, for many years, most of his family still lived there and he remembered it with great affection. The Italian assault, which obviously had been in preparation for several weeks, actually began on January 10, the day after Picasso completed the first part of the etching series.

On Monday, May 3, and again on Sunday, May 30, while Picasso was working, the war was to strike even closer. On May 3, violent riots which had been threatening, suddenly broke out in Barcelona between the Anarchists and the Communist-Socialist government, and several hundred people were killed. The worst of the fighting took place in the *Barrio Gótico*, the quarter where Picasso had lived. While the reports of these events were in general either confused or omitted altogether in the Paris press, *L'Humanité*, following the position adopted by Moscow, declared the Anarchists to be traitors to the Republican cause and in the pay of the Nazis.⁷ This charge, based on a bitter struggle for influence, must have been very painful for Picasso, who in his youth in Barcelona had looked with admiration to the Anarchists as the defenders of freedom and promoters of the new ideas Spain lacked.

On May 30, when *Guernica* was still in progress, the *Barrio Gótico* and the waterfront were suddenly attacked by the Italian air force based on Majorca and about 150 people were killed.⁸ In the center of the destruction, in the family apartment one block from *La Lonja*, the art school where Picasso's father had taught, lived his mother, now 81 years of age, with his sister Lola, both of them widowed, and Lola's five children. In a letter, unfortunately not dated, Señora Ruiz-Picasso described the destruction of a convent next door to them and the stench of smoke in their rooms.⁹

When on November 29, 1936, Picasso was asked to become honorary director of the Prado, the Republican Government had just fled from Madrid to Valencia, taking with them many of the paintings. Since the Prado had been struck by a bomb the Valencia Government could justifiably claim that they were the protectors of Spanish culture and Franco the destroyer. With Picasso as director of the Prado, and the paintings to be shown in Paris, this claim would be projected onto an international stage. This position is clearly reflected in the two statements attributed to Picasso in 1937. It may be significant, however, that both these statements were released first in English to American newspapers and that both coincided with manifestations of support of Republican Spain: the first an exhibition of Spanish Republican posters in New York sponsored by the North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy, and the second a response to a request for a statement from the American Artists' Congress.¹⁰

Further, Picasso's most intimate friend for several years was Paul Eluard, Surrealist poet and lifetime Communist, who with his new wife, Nusch, had taken his friend into the family for much of the time since Olga's departure in 1935. Eluard's adoration for Picasso is expressed in some poems to him but nowhere with greater emotion than in the opening words of a lecture he delivered in 1936 at Picasso's exhibitions in Barcelona, Bilbao, and Madrid: "I speak of that which helps me to live—that which is good."¹¹ Eluard had been instrumental in arranging the exhibitions, which were highly successful and resulted in several critical articles on Picasso in Spanish journals. In Barcelona he had arranged a reading of Picasso's poetry by his poet friend, Ramón Gomez de la Serna, and Eluard's own lecture was broadcast on Radio Barcelona, which a few months later was to become the voice of Catalan resistance to Franco. Eluard was still in Spain at the time of the elections of February 18, 1936 when the Popular Front came to power.¹²

Eluard, a regular contributor to the Communist party newspaper *L'Humanité*, held a militant view of artists' role in society. In 1936 he wrote:

The time has come when all poets have the right and the duty to declare that they are profoundly involved in the lives of other men and in the communal life.¹³

This view is reflected in Picasso's statements of 1944 at the time he announced his membership in the Communist Party, a move he admitted was influenced by the example of Eluard and his friends.

Eluard's own response to *Guernica* was a poem. Written at the same time Picasso was painting his picture, it too was exhibited at the Spanish pavilion in Paris. While the degree to which one might have been influenced by the other is unknown, a later version of the poem, more vivid in imagery, suggests that Eluard was thinking of Picasso's painting. It was in fact used in 1951 as the text of a film by Alain Resnais on *Guernica*:

My brothers, transformed into carrion
into broken skeletons
The earth turns in your orbits
You are in a decaying desert
And death has shattered the
equilibrium of time.¹⁴

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5 *Le Figaro*, Apr. 10, 1937

struck Madrid. Hitler also declared a blockade of all Spanish ports and enforced this with the torpedoing of a Republican ship off the Catalan coast. Since the Rome Conference of December 6, 1936, when Germany and Italy confirmed their policy of vigorous intervention, Mussolini had been eager for Italian troops to take the lead. At the end of December a large contingent of Italians heavily equipped with tanks and planes began disembarking at Cadix, proceeding overland eastward to surround Malaga on three sides. Simultaneously, this seaport, the most desirable for an invasion from Italy, was being heavily bombed from the air and bombarded from the sea.⁶ Although Picasso had not visited Malaga, his birthplace, for many years, most of his family still lived there and he remembered it with great affection. The Italian assault, which obviously had been in preparation for several weeks, actually began on January 10, the day after Picasso completed the first part of the etching series.

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6 Study III, May 1, 1937 (detail) Z.IX.3

Marie-Thérèse Walter

The clearest and most emphatic image in the first sketch is the alarmed observer leaning from the upper window. Her identity is made clear in a detail from the third sketch of May 1 where the most familiar profile in all of Picasso's art appears (Fig. 6). It closely resembles Marie-Thérèse Walter whose face and body had dominated his art since 1931 (Fig. 7). She is lightly touched up with ochre paint—the only paint used that day. The Marie-Thérèse profile had often appeared throughout these troubled years as a sympathetic observer—usually of scenes of crisis—but always as a serene and gentle onlooker. Her type of face is shown twice in the upper window overlooking the tragic scene in the *Minotauromachy* of 1935, and it is clearly her image repeated several times that becomes the witness to the furious *corridos* in the series of paintings of the summer of 1934 (Fig. 8). When in the etching series of May 1933 the Minotaur turns an idyllic bacchanal (Fig. 9) into a series of violent rapes (Fig. 10) and then dies the death of a beast in the arena, a woman resembling her leans from the stands in a tender gesture of sympathy (Fig. 11). Her consoling image appears at other times of crisis: as a child in the fourth of the *Blind Minotaur* series of 1934 (Fig. 12) when she guides the stricken beast, and as a matador in the *Minotauromachy* of 1935 when she turns away the sword normally aimed at the beast's heart (Fig. 13). Although in an etching of July 1934, she hides her face from the vicious combat of bull and horse, she extends her arm with the candle toward the scene (Fig. 14). It appears that the candle is less a means of illumination or a symbol than a part of the ritual of her serene and detached presence in times of crisis. This sympathetic observer figure—as though returning the affectionate attention the Minotaur had bestowed upon her when he was the sleep-watcher—is always attentive and loving.¹⁵

The Bullfight

In his initial visualization of *Guernica* Picasso chose the moment in the *corrida* just after the bull has achieved the supreme satisfaction of driving his horns into a living body (Fig. 15). This episode is one of the first to appear in Picasso's art and it is the most common in all the themes of the *corrida*.



7 Marie-Thérèse Walter, Jan. 22, 1939.

His first painting in oil at age eight was of a picador on his horse awaiting the bull; in a notebook, probably from his Malaga years—hence made before his tenth birthday—is a drawing of a charging bull and a wounded horse (Fig. 16). The horse, incidentally, is almost identical both in its posture and in its realistic style to Study 5 of May 1, almost 50 years later (Fig. 17). Picasso's conception of the bull standing proudly aloof from the writhing horse was arrived at in his boyhood and dominated all of his *corrida* scenes except during that period of tortuous conflict, the summer of 1934.¹⁶ It conforms with the traditional Spanish view of the fighting bull as an admirable heroic animal whose qualities provide a model to be emulated by young men, and the horse of the bullfight as only a neutral and emotionless supporting actor in the drama.

Although the bull-horse encounter had no place in the iconography or the emotional climate of the Blue Period or of Cubism, it reappeared soon after. A long series of studies appeared in 1917 while Picasso was spending the summer in Barcelona with the Ballet Russe. The fact that he had followed the ballet to Barcelona from Rome in order to be with one of the dancers, Olga Koklova, and further that he was now engaged to her, may help to explain the persistence with which the bull explores the horse's body (Fig. 18). The combat is now seen as a highly personal assault by the bull with the goring action of his horns the central theme. The ritual of the bullfight fades in the background, even in the little tableaux—like the posturing of ballet dancers—where the fallen picador becomes involved in the struggle (Fig. 19). The growing separation of the combat from the ritual of the bullfight and its humanization—not to say eroticization—as in the improbable encounter of 1927 (Fig. 20), has earned Picasso the disfavor of aficionados, for whom the bull-horse encounter has no emotion and hence little meaning.

For the aficionado it is the contest between the bull and the man that creates the emotion and gives meaning to the ritual.

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8 July 22, 1934 (detail of painting) Z.VIII. 229.



11 *The Minotaur*, May 30, 1933 (etching) G.II. 366.



14 July 24, 1934 (etching) Z. VIII. 215.



17 Study V. May 1, 1937. Z.IX. 5



9 *The Minotaur*, May 18, 1933 (etching) G.II. 351



12 *Blind Minotaur*, Nov. 1934 (detail of aquatint) G.II. 437



15 From E. Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, 1932.



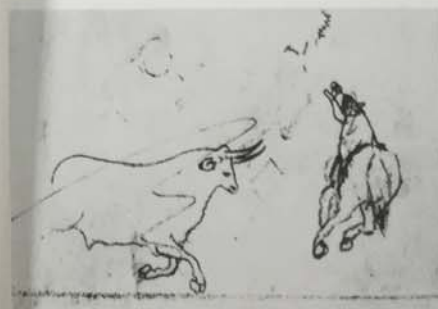
18 1917. Z.III. 50.



10 *The Minotaur*, May 23, 1933 (etching) G.II. 356



13 *Minotauromachy*, 1935 (detail of etching) B.288



16 Sketch book, c. 1890



19 1923. ZV. 145

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20 1927 (etching). G.I. 125.

For this reason they have given the term "moment of truth" to the matador's final and most dangerous act, his sword thrust for the bull's heart. It is at this moment that what Lorca calls *duende* is either revealed or shown to be lacking. It is the uniquely Spanish ritual of walking on the brink of death, where true bravery and absolute disregard of danger lead to a nobility of spirit that is admired in both man and beast.¹⁷ It is the ever-present possibility of tragedy that endows the ritual of the man-bull conflict with meaning. By contrast, the horse is a passive supporting actor in only one short episode of the drama and is wholly without emotion. This neutral role is assured by the practical device of blindfolding him—thoughtfully with a red bandanna—and by a prior minor operation on his vocal chords. Even when the strict ritual breaks down and chaos prevails, the fate of the horse is of little concern.

In avoiding completely the man-bull contest, the most meaningful and hence most emotionally charged episode, and instead choosing the bull-horse encounter, Picasso provides a context which, precisely because it lacks ritual significance, offers vaster potentialities for the expression of other wider meanings. The pathos of the suffering horse lends itself to the subject of the suffering of the victims of Guernica, just as it had served to express states of suffering in Picasso's own years of personal conflict.

This episode in which, while the bull is attempting to gore the horse, the picador is in turn driving his lance into the bull's straining neck muscles, provides some tense moments in the bullfight.¹⁸ For the bull it means that although he is enjoying a moment of supreme instinctual satisfaction, he is also suffering grave damage to his offensive capabilities that will make him a more ready victim to the matador's sword in the final act. The sexual implications of this symbolic death act have been commented upon and seem particularly to underlie Picasso's series of bull, horse, man encounters of the summer of 1934. If we recall that on a trip to Spain that summer he was accompanied not by his wife but by Marie-Thérèse, then its unusual emotional intensity becomes more explicable. The extreme violence of these combats fuses all the figures into a whirling maze of bodies that shakes the arena (Fig. 21). But on the several occasions when the bull and horse appear alone, their fury is clearly directed one against the other (Fig. 22).



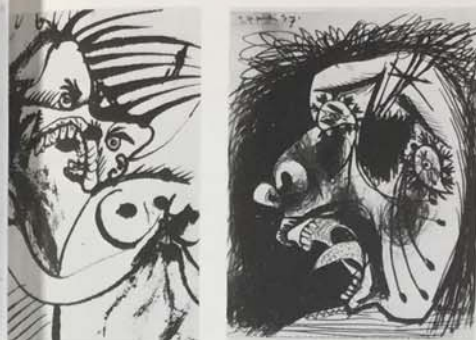
21 Sept. 8, 1934 (etching) G.II. 433.



22 July 24, 1934 Z.VIII. 217.



23 July 7, 1934 Z.VIII. 216.



24 Left: July 10, 1934 (detail of etching) and Right: Study, May 24, 1937. Z.VIII. 222; Z.IX. 33.



25. Feb. 6, 1934. Z.VIII. 182.

The theme of conflict reaches such violence at one time (July 7 and 10) that it is transposed from the arena to a domestic interior—usually for Picasso the setting for passive and pleasurable activities. In a series of drawings from mid-July his gentle blond companion becomes the victim of a vicious attack with a kitchen knife by a brunette woman whose features are distorted by rage and hate (Fig. 23). In a second version this face, now somewhat abstracted, is almost identical to one which reappears in the later studies for *Guernica* (Fig. 24). Her spearlike tongue appears twice in the final painting, perhaps significantly only in the images of the horse and the woman.

This unknown assailant has been seen before. In a series of 13 drawings of February 7-18 of the same year, she is shown writhing on a bed in postures not unlike those of the gored horse in the arena (Fig. 25). As the series progresses her agonized body degenerates into a Surrealist collection of



26 Feb. 8, 1934. Z.VIII. 176.



27 May 1, 1934. Z.VIII. 207.

objects, until finally all that remains is the spearlike tongue, a snagged, toothy mouth, and a vulva (Fig. 26). By contrast, Marie-Thérèse appears in a series of drawings of April 30 and May 1 in a wholly different style and as sensuously erotic as she ever was in the paintings of 1932 and 1933 (Fig. 27).

The most furious *corridos* and the attacks with the knife occur about the middle of July. In the midst of these falls an important date, July 12, which Olga observed with all the

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28 *Femme Torero I*, June 12, 1934 (etching). G.II. 425.

30 Study VI, May 1, 1937. Z. IX. 10.

29 *Femme Torero IV*, June 22, 1934 (etching). G.II. 428.31 *Femme Torero III*, June 22, 1934 (etching). G.II. 427.

conventional ceremonies but which was only of casual interest to Picasso—their wedding anniversary. It was, in fact, on this very date a year later that she left Picasso, for on July 13, 1935, Picasso wrote to Sabartes that he was now alone.

A series of etchings called *Femme Torero* of late June, probably derived from the bull, horse, and fallen picador figure groups of the '20s, now portrays three characters in an emotionally charged dramatic triangle (Fig. 28). The Marie-Thérèse figure at its most seductive is carried away on the back of the bull, more like the abduction of Europa than an accident in the arena. And while he plants an impassioned kiss upon her lips he tramples underfoot the anguished and disemboweled horse. A few days later in the same series, still as the gentle sleeper, she lies between the two animals (Fig. 29). The personnel of this murderous drama of 1934—like a tragedy of Lorca—make up the characters, and even the composition, for Study 6 of May 1, 1937, Picasso's first

version of the central figure group of *Guernica* (Fig. 30). The wounded bull towers over the dying horse, who writhes on the ground with neck upstretched. This group persists to become the central group in the final conception of the painting.¹⁹ In another version of *Femme Torero* (Fig. 31) of the same day, June 22, 1934, the gentle sleeper, like a victim of the fury, lies prone in the same position in which, in Study 6 of May 1, Picasso was to portray the first victim of *Guernica*. It is also the position of the victims in the first photograph that accompanied the news of the bombings on April 28 (Fig. 32).

The Minotaur

In the fall of 1934 the Minotaur image returns to Picasso's art but in a wholly different mode from that of the reveling man-beast of 1933. After the wild *corridos* of the summer of 1934 had disappeared, as though emotionally exhausted by the

stress, the Minotaur returns. In a series of five closely related versions over the next few months he is shown as a tragic figure, blinded and stricken as though his suffering had drained him even of normal feeling. Also as in the initial sketches for *Guernica*, several images from earlier work appear, and with them associations from the past. The little girl holding out a bouquet of flowers in the first version recalls a familiar painting from the Blue Period, but she is replaced in the fourth by another child with the features of Marie-Thérèse (Fig. 12). The seashore setting with the sailboat appeared in the summer of 1933 at Cannes as the setting for the sculptor figure carrying the sleeping Marie-Thérèse in his arms. The man on the ladder in the last version, the *Minotauromachy* of 1935, himself the classical hero type who is sometimes portrayed as the antithesis of the bull-man, recalls a similar image in the *Crucifixion* of February 7, 1930.²⁰ And the first vision of the anguished mother with child in the sketches for *Guernica* shows her mounted on a ladder. A ladder is also included among the Minotaur's meager possessions in the painting depicting him pulling the cart bearing the dead horse with child; the painting is dated April 6, 1936, a period of extreme anguish for Picasso. Thus the ladder carried with it into *Guernica* these painful associations.

Olga had moved out of their apartment at 23, rue la Boétie on July 12, their 17th wedding anniversary, and in the following months she and Picasso were engaged through their lawyers in a bitter conflict over the terms of a separation. Since Picasso as a Spanish citizen residing in France was required to obey Spanish law, which even under the Republicans still did not recognize divorce, a legal separation was the only solution. Picasso retained at Boisgeloup only his sculpture studio where he had executed the sculptures, etchings, and most of the drawings of Marie-Thérèse, but during this time all his work was placed under the control of the court. Further, Marie-Thérèse had been pregnant since about the time of the stricken Minotaur series in early 1935, and toward the end of the year she gave birth to a daughter, Picasso's second child. On November 13, now living alone, he drew a tender portrait of his 14 year-old son, Paolo, who had disappeared from his art during the previous 10 years. Picasso then virtually abandoned painting for poetry.

On November 28 he wrote a poem which underwent successive transformations on December 5, 6, and 24. It reflects the Surrealist spirit of his closest friends, Paul Eluard and Louis Aragon and, as José Barrio-Garay has shown, suggests in its complex imagery the story of his inner torment over his love for Marie-Thérèse now irremediably lost: "Predominantly visual, this imagery reveals a world of lyricism and fantasy, but also one in which the erotic, painful, distressful, incongruous, and contradictory exist." As in his art the image of a *jaca* or young female horse appears, at first erotic, then is replaced by the woman of "the long blond hair" who "masquerades as a bullfighter" (See Figs. 28 and 29 and Fig. 13). Barrio-Garay relates this to the beginning of the break with Marie-Thérèse, an event depicted in his art only later, in May 1936, with the death of the Minotaur in the bullfight at the hands of the woman of the "long blond hair," and the liberation of the horse from her role as the victim of the bull-man.

When the Minotaur reappeared once more in a series of narrative scenes of April 1936, he was no longer the symbolic bull-man but simply a man holding a bull mask. These

32 Top: Study VI, May 1, 1937 (detail) and Bottom: photograph from *L'Humanité*, Apr. 28, 1937. Z. IX. 10.

drawings seem to deal directly with Picasso's personal life as if they were illustrations for it. As in the Minotaur series of 1933, he is initially shown as his human self, enjoying the pleasures of human love. In both the 1933 and 1936 series he is again reduced to his animal self and dies the death of a beast in the bullring. He first appeared on April 5 drawing a cart bearing the body of a dead horse (Fig. 33). The most unusual posture of the horse, with head dangling and leg projecting grotesquely in the air, was to be Picasso's first vision of *Guernica* in Study 1 of May 1. The next day he made a painting of the scene, included a ladder and a painting in the cart, and changed the small newborn horse (seen between the posts of the cart) still in her open belly into a child. Later, he emphatically stated to David Duncan that she was not disemboweled but was having a baby. The baby horse motif, now with wings, emerges again in the earliest *Guernica* sketches. In Study 2 he is sitting on the back of the bull who bears him proudly and protectively, and in Study 6 he is rising out of a wound in the horse's side. However, since this image started as that of a bird in Study 1 and became a bird again in the final painting, and since Picasso said later that he didn't remember what it was but thought it was some kind of pigeon or chicken, the baby horse motif might be taken as only a fleeting image. Whether it carried with it associations that were too personal, or whether finally it did not belong in the *Guernica* conception at all, it appeared only twice on May 1 and never again.

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33 Apr. 5. 1936. Z.VIII. 276



34 Apr. 7. 1936. Z.VIII. 279

About March 25, a few days before this series began, Picasso, taking Marie-Thérèse and their baby with him, fled from Paris, not even telling Sabartes where he was going. According to Sabartes, he had been extremely depressed and the publicity aroused by his recent exhibitions had only caused him to become more restless and impatient.²¹ For several weeks they lived in seclusion in Juan-les-Pins under the name of Ruiz, his father's name. In this series of narrative episodes he represents the Minotaur with his family and the transformation that takes place in his identity. On April 7 he dropped his Minotaur mask, revealing the handsome, youthful face of the classical hero type (Fig. 34). He is, however, wholly oblivious of Marie-Thérèse—here shown in one of her loveliest representations—and also oblivious of the child. In a second scene of April 27 he still does not recognize the child who reaches out to him in vain (Fig. 35). On the same day Picasso wrote to Sabartes that he was giving up painting, sculpture, and poetry.²² There are two drawings from April 29. In one



35 Apr. 23. 1936. Z.VIII. 278.



36 Apr. 27. 1936. Z.VIII. 281.

he opens his arms to receive the child, but he has meanwhile become an old man (Fig. 36). In the other which, according to Penrose, Picasso himself titled *Two Old Men Looking at Themselves in a Mirror*, two senile old men are shown laughing bizarrely.²³ Three days later Picasso wrote Sabartes that "I cannot live in peace a minute worrying about so many things," and he implied that he did not know why he was still there and that he might be returning soon to Paris.²⁴ On May 8, 9, and 10, the theme of the Minotaur is reintroduced, and once more, just as at the end of the 1933 series, meets the death of a fighting bull in the arena. In the second of the series he has thrust himself through with a sword—now broken—while a blond woman resembling Marie-Thérèse rides a rearing horse and, as she had done in the *Minotauromachy*, turns her lance away (Fig. 37). In the last version he lies dying, transfixed by the lance (Fig. 38). The blond woman, although still bearing traces of the gestures of Marie-Thérèse, resembles her less and less. She was in fact soon to disappear completely as a partner of the Minotaur in his art. Although Picasso was later to paint many more portraits of her, they were always formal, posed portraits in which she was completely clothed. The horse, meanwhile, appears whole here, and soars upward in an ecstatic dance as if to take wing. Four days later Picasso and his family returned to Paris.

The Minotaur was to make a final appearance in a small painting made a few days after the return to Paris when Picasso was once more alone and back in his apartment. Later it was used as a design for the curtain for the play, *14 Juillet*. It is wholly consistent with his personal imagery and style at this time and hence can be taken as a personal document (Fig. 39). Like the preceding three scenes, it is symbolic rather than narrative, and thus should be read in the spirit of the *Minotauromachy*. It is a confrontation between Minotaur and horse; both are represented by empty skins. The Minotaur's body represented in harlequin costume recalls several early self-portraits as a harlequin. It is carried by a hideous bird-headed monster. In contrast, the horse's pelt is worn by the bearded sculptorlike figure who bears on his back the youthful hero type. The sculptor holds in his right hand a rock which he is preparing to hurl at the monster. The opposition between repulsive and beautiful figures, and of beings suggestive of evil and good, could hardly be more clearly defined. The Minotaur is for the first time associated with evil. Six weeks after he painted this image, Picasso returned alone to the Côte d'Azur where Dora Maar was waiting for him, thus opening a new era in his personal life.

Although the Minotaur image itself does not appear in *Guernica*, the conception of the bull-man or the man-bull underlies all the studies and the final image of the bull. Two studies of May 10—the last sketches before the painting was laid out on the full-sized canvas—depict the bull with the head of a man. Usually titled, inexplicably, *Head of Bull* (except on the Museum of Modern Art's label), this one clearly bears the sensitive human features of the classical hero type with only slight bullish modifications (Fig. 40). The other study shows the body of the bull with a clearly defined and realistic head of a man. These are of course reversals of the Minotaur—who is a bull-headed man—but they demonstrate the wide range of possibilities lying between the polar concepts of man and beast. Even the head of the bull in the final painting cannot be taken simply as the head of a bull, for it has many human characteristics, among them the upright posture of the head



37 May 9. 1936. Z.VIII. 286.



38 May 10. 1936. Z.VIII. 288.



39 May 28. 1936. Z.VIII. 287.

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40 Study II, May 10, 1937 Z.IX. 20

41 Left: Self-Portrait, 1906, and Right: Guernica, 1937 (details of paintings). ZII-1. 8.

and its hairless skin. Most human of all are the wide-open staring eyes that are not unrelated to Picasso's own images of himself (Fig. 41). Thus the concept of the Minotaur, like the bull and the horse, is in a constant state of metamorphosis in both form and meaning. At one pole are the hero types, the artist, king, and classical youth, and at the other is the beast who dies a miserable death as the fighting bull in the arena.

Picasso's images therefore have not one but many meanings, most of them allusions to, or evocations of, ideas that may lie on several different levels of meaning. They cannot adequately be explained as simple allegories or symbols drawn from the common culture as in traditional art. The process is more akin to that of his own poetry which had absorbed him even more than painting and drawing during the preceding two or three years. It relies upon free association and the irrational juxtaposition of unrelated elements similar to the methods of his Surrealist poet friends. This attitude opened up to a far greater degree than before the realm of the intimate personal life as a source of emotion. Picasso has himself confirmed this. Poetry is the most important thing in painting, he once told Kahnweiler,²⁵ and Penrose quotes him as saying, "You can paint a picture in words just as you can paint sensations in a poem."²⁶

The First Studies of May 1

At the end of work on Saturday, May 1, after five brief sketches, the basic concept of *Guernica*, as it was finally to appear, was essentially complete. The sixth study is large and carefully composed, utilizing all the elements developed so far (Fig. 30). The proud posture of the bull towering over the horse, whose neck and head are upstretched in agony, the fallen victim, and the alarmed observer—all were to persist

almost unchanged from the first conception until the final painting. The little winged horse emerging from the wound, the side of the dying horse is probably associated with the only other little horse in his art—the baby horse in the body of the dead mother of April 5, 1936 (Fig. 33)—carrying with associations of the painful rejection of Marie-Thérèse. However, the proudly protective posture of the bull, and the slightly human characteristics of his head, in Study 2 of May (Fig. 42) and the secure position of the little horse, seem to place the bull in a virtuous, paternalistic role.

The wound in the horse's side, seemingly related in form to the wounds portrayed earlier as a result of the bull's goring, persists throughout the studies. They recall Lorca's belief that wounds and especially blood are essential elements in drama and hence are prerequisites to tragedy. For him pain intensifies emotion with a sense of death. But the horse's wounds seem to have changing meanings. They are erotic in the series of bull-horse encounters of 1917 (Fig. 18), repulsive in the disembowelments of the summer of 1934 (Fig. 22), and repulsive as well as symbolic in the *Dream and Lie of Franco* (Fig. 43). This persistence of certain images as a means for the expression of diverse meanings has been seen to be characteristic of Picasso's art from the earliest drawings.

These images, already a part of Picasso's art, were awakened by the shock of the news of the bombing victims' suffering, and they carried with them into the new painting multiple and changing associations on various levels of meaning. They evoke periods of extreme suffering in his own life, the wounds and the blood of the bull-horse episode in the bullfight, and the tragedy that had overwhelmed his countrymen. The diverse images and accompanying associations flowing from these profound sources, as in his poetry, merged in an irrational juxtaposition of exceptional pictorial power. Their resonance on different levels of meaning, while replete with ambiguities,



42 Study II, May 1, 1937 (detail). Z.IX. 2

provides an emotional power commensurate with the power and drama of the subject.

By the end of that first day's work Picasso had made five studies in pencil and then turned to the last. It was the first compositional study of the entire central group, complete with bull, horse, observing woman in an upstairs window, and a victim (Fig. 3). The figures are clearly realized, and they would remain essentially unchanged six weeks later in the finished painting. They are accurately drawn and carefully composed on a wooden panel 25½ inches wide which had been prepared with a gesso ground. It was as if he were now ready to execute the final painting of *Guernica*. As he had said to Zervos in 1932, "Basically a picture doesn't change, the first vision remains almost intact."²⁷

Picasso was to work on the painting for six weeks longer and alter some of the images, but then usually restore them to the original vision. But he had performed the astounding feat of arriving at the clearly defined final image for *Guernica* at the end of the same day that he began work.

Picasso's Method

The news of the bombing of Guernica had provided the shock necessary to precipitate Picasso into action on his long-delayed painting. Within 24 hours, and with an overpoweringly dramatic theme provided by a real event, he now accomplished what he had been unable to do for four months—he began to work. All of the images in the initial studies were already a part of Picasso's art, and some of them, like the bull and the horse, had appeared many times in the very form they now took. They were, therefore, along with their associated meanings, latent in his subconscious. This response to shock is a perfect Surrealist situation, and is especially pertinent when we recall that, for quite a few years, Picasso's closest friends were the Surrealist poets, and at this time of personal suffering he had himself rejected painting and turned to poetry in that vein.

Picasso has always insisted on the personal sources of his art. I use things in my paintings as my passions tell me, he told Zervos in 1935, and later told Penrose that we live our work. Françoise Gilot quotes him as saying that he paints his



43 Dream and Lie of Franco, Jan. 9, 1936 (detail of etching). B.298.

autobiography, but Kahnweiler puts it more directly as "his subjects are his loves."²⁸ As has been shown in this article images suggestive of the women in his life in 1937 appear from the beginning. Both the faces and the emotions associated with them provide much of the power of the painting. The only image to persist unchanged from beginning to end is the woman with a lamp who always resembles, but at one time clearly bears the profile of, Marie-Thérèse. And drawings of Dora Maar weeping, made while the painting was in progress, provided not only a model for the anguished victims of the bombing but also launched a series of "postscripts" which continued after the painting was completed. Further, what is usually seen as the protective attitude of the bull over the mother and child in the painting has a possible prototype in the several paternalistic and obviously autobiographical Minotaurs of 1936.

Selecting from the complex ritual of the bullfight only the incidental contest between the bull and horse, Picasso employs these figures for wholly other ends. Juan Larrea writes that Picasso told him before *Guernica* that the horse in his art represents for him the most important women in his life,²⁹ and Françoise Gilot quotes him as saying that her symbol is the horse while his, the proudest of all, is the bull.³⁰ The horse receives more attention than any of the other figures. Most of the variations have to do with explorations of different attitudes of suffering, which is also true of Picasso's images of horses all the way back to his youth.

Although usually identified in the painting simply as a bull, the face and especially the eyes of the figure of the bull are actually more human than animal (Fig. 41). It has been seen in the studies that this image shifted from one meaning to the other, which is of course the basic meaning of the half man/half beast creature, the Minotaur. He has the potentiality of representing a serene and heroic personage resembling Picasso's artists, classical heroes, and kings, all of them associated with the artist himself, but he has also the potentiality to undergo a metamorphosis into his beastly self and in that role to suffer the death of a beast in the bullring.

Lending meaning to this procedure is the method of Surrealism, which from his poetry we know Picasso to have understood and used. However, it would be wrong, as Barrio-Garay has demonstrated, to see Picasso's method as

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Guernica, oil on canvas, 11'6" x 25'8", 1937 (Photo Courtesy Museum of Modern Art)

wholly Surrealist. The poetic quality of his art, which was greatly admired by the Surrealist poets, always had an extraordinary capacity to transform personal emotion into formal images.

The meanings of the images first evoked on May 1, all of which had appeared earlier in his art, lay deep within Picasso's personal experience. They also drew upon a kind of personal symbolism which long ago had found an effective medium in the ritual conflict of bull and horse. The shock and outrage over the bombing terror were reinforced by the accumulated emotions of conflict carried over in images suggestive of his personal life, and all were transformed and intensified in a final image. Picasso never attempted to represent the event nor to allegorize or symbolize it but, rather, on multilevels of meaning and emotion in human as well as artistic terms to create a powerful painting that would stand for it.

This article represents an extended version of a paper presented at the meeting of the College Art Association, January, 1973, New York. It is now being developed to include all the studies and additional documentary material for presentation as a book.

Illustrations are of prints, drawings, or watercolors unless otherwise noted.

G. = Bernhard Geiser, *Picasso: peintre-graveur*, 2 vols., Vol. I (1899-1931), 1933; Vol. II (1932-1933), 1968, Berne, Kornfeld and Klipstein.

B. = Georges Bloch, *Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé et lithographié, 1904-1967*, Berne, Kornfeld and Klipstein, 1968.

Z. = Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso: oeuvre catalogue*, Paris, Cahiers d'Art, 1932-25 vols. to date including works until 1967.

Since differing titles are often applied to the same graphic works, many of them much later by the authors of books, and since Picasso himself almost never titles his works, they will be cited here only when they originate at the time the work was produced and in a context close to the artist. Generally, however, only dates will be cited.

¹ For a more recent image see the illustration for Paul Eluard's poem *Barre d'appui*, early June 1936, B., 295.

² Sabartes describes how Picasso regularly read the daily newspapers, *Figaro*, *Excelsior*, and *Le Journal* (Jaime Sabartes, *Picasso: An Intimate Portrait*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948, p. 107). Of these *Le Figaro* gave the best coverage to news items, but, because of its conservative policies a tendency to favor the Franco government, quickly dropped the coverage over *Guernica*. *Excelsior* was a picture newspaper with no particular opinion on the Spanish Civil War, and *Le Journal*, which carried the best views of art exhibitions, presented only routine news from Spain. It may have been almost impossible for Picasso not to have read *L'Humanité*. His best friends wrote regularly for it, and it carried by far the most extensive news from Spain. For more than a month after the event it thoroughly covered in its pages the heated propaganda battle over the responsibility for the destruction of *Guernica*, and it printed photographs of the ruins of victims and refugees.

³ Vicente Talon, *Arde Guernica*, Madrid, San Martín, 1970, pp. 141-142.

⁴ Undeclared cities had been bombed before. General Mola's offensive against Bilbao had opened on March 31 with the bombing of Durango, in south of Guernica, where a church was hit during a mass. But due to intense strife between the various military factions supporting Franco, the offensive had slowed down, much to the displeasure of General Faupel, Hitler's representative to Franco's government. At the time of the bombing of Guernica the Nationalists had renewed their drive toward Bilbao, and recent Spanish studies of the history of the war suggest that the severity of this attack was part of the campaign to terrorize Bilbao and force its surrender without the necessity of bombing its war industries. However, even with the aid of heavy bombings, it took the Nationalists another seven weeks to overcome the Basque defenses and occupy Bilbao. By this time Picasso's painting was in place in the Spanish pavilion in Paris.

⁵ *Le Journal*, April 26; *Le Figaro*, April 27, 1937.

⁶ *L'Humanité*, January 6, 1936.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 4; *Le Figaro*, May 5, 1937.

⁸ *Excelsior*, May 30, 1937.

⁹ Roland Penrose, *Picasso, His Life and Work*, New York, Schocken, 1961, ed., p. 266.

¹⁰ *Springfield Republican* (Mass.), July 18, 1937; *New York Times*, Dec. 18, 1937; both reprinted in Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1946, pp. 202, 264.

¹¹ From an essay in *Cahiers d'Art*, Paris, 7-10, 1935, p. 165.

¹² On December 17, 1936 at the height of the first battle for Madrid, *L'Humanité* published Eluard's poem on the Civil War which began: "See at work the builders of ruins/They are rich, patient, ordered, black and beastly/they do their utmost to be alone upon the earth/They have borne man down and heap of fall upon him..."

¹³ Louis Parrott and Jean Marcenac, *Paul Eluard*, Paris, Seghers, 1969 ed., p. 47.

¹⁴ *L'Avant-Scène du Cinema* (Paris), 38, June 15, 1964.

¹⁵ For a deeply perceptive study of the theme see Leo Steinberg's "Picasso's Sleepwatchers" in his *Other Criteria*, New York, Oxford Press, 1972, pp. 93-114.

¹⁶ For a study of the persistence of early images in recent works, see Beryl Barr-Sharrar, "Some Aspects of Early Autobiographical Imagery in Picasso's Suite 347," *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 4, Dec. 1972, pp. 516-533.

¹⁷ From a lecture "Theory and Function of the *Duende*" delivered in Buenos Aires and Havana. Translated and reprinted in J. L. Gili, *Lorca*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1960, pp. 127-139.

¹⁸ Before 1927 horses were unprotected and several usually met their death in a single bullfight. After a national law required that they be protected with the padded canvas *peto*, death or serious injuries became rare. Aficionados, including Picasso, resented the padded coat on the grounds that it frustrated the bull's natural instincts and hence diminished his will to fight. For a lengthy discourse on the issue, see Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, New York, Scribner, 1932, *passim*.

¹⁹ In a perceptive study of Picasso's poems of November 6-December 24, 1935, José Barrio-Garay in a paper, *An Inquiry Into Picasso's Poetic Imagery*, read at the meeting of the CAA on January 1973, provides by an analysis of the imagery of the poems interesting and important evidence that the horse is closely associated with the state of affairs with the woman in his life, Marie-Thérèse Walter. Since some first-hand witnesses, including Larrea and Françoise Gilot, quote Picasso to the effect that his horses are indeed associated with women in his life at the time, we may reasonably study images of horses in his art in terms of his corresponding personal life.

The *jaca* or young female horse appears several times in a group of untitled poems. In one, she is first seen as a nude lion masquerading as a bull-fighter, then as an erotic object given to "nights of carnal love," then with her long blond hair confined behind an iron door, hiding her shame under a tablecloth.

In the second version of the same poem, kisses turn evil and sour like lemons and are bestowed upon a "chinch bug of the sun." Although the *jaca* gets the painter out of trouble she is the target of obscene insults, and then reduced to the miserable state of the wounded horse in the bullfight "making the round of the ring bleeding and dragging its guts."

The poetic imagery—so very graphic—is remarkably parallel to the im-

ages in his art from 1933 to 1936 (as discussed above), and since it also closely parallels events in his personal life (indeed, Barrio-Garay sees in it the deterioration of his love for Marie-Thérèse) we can consider very seriously Picasso's own insistence that for him poetry and painting were the same (see footnotes 25 and 26).

²⁰ *Crucifixion*, Feb. 7, 1930 (Z.VII, 287). This painting, 20" x 26", is almost exactly the same size as the first composition, Study VI of May 1, 1937, 21 1/4" x 25 1/2".

²¹ Sabartes, *Picasso*, p. 124.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²³ Penrose, *Picasso, His Life and Work*, p. 258.

²⁴ Sabartes, *Picasso*, pp. 128-129.

²⁵ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *Gespräche mit Picasso, Jahresting 59-60*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlag, 1959, pp. 85-98.

²⁶ Penrose, *Picasso, His Life and Work*, pp. 366-367. Barrio-Garay, *An Inquiry*, concludes that the poems are automatic writing in the same sense as those of Eluard and Aragon. He writes that they are composed of images "devoid of discursive reasoning or clear propositions as if thought were captured in all its spontaneous immediacy." This is precisely the process we have observed in Picasso's quick sketches of May 1 where images from several levels of consciousness and different areas of experience appear juxtaposed.

²⁷ Christian Zervos, *Cahiers d'Art* (Paris), X, no. 10, 1935, p. 173.

²⁸ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "Le sujet chez Picasso," *Verve*, Nos. 25-26, 1951, p. 1.

²⁹ Juan Larrea, *Guernica*, New York, Valentin, 1947, p. 33.

³⁰ Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964, p. 362.

³¹ It seems unnecessary to mention that the method utilized here yields meanings quite different from those conventionally argued, e.g., that the horse represents Franco and the bull the Spanish people (or vice-versa), as well as allegories of Truth in the blond woman with a lamp, or Pegasus, or a Grecoesque ascension of the soul of the horse, or the favorable augury for the Spanish Republicans in the horseshoe on the upturned foot (which also had appeared earlier several times in different contexts), etc.

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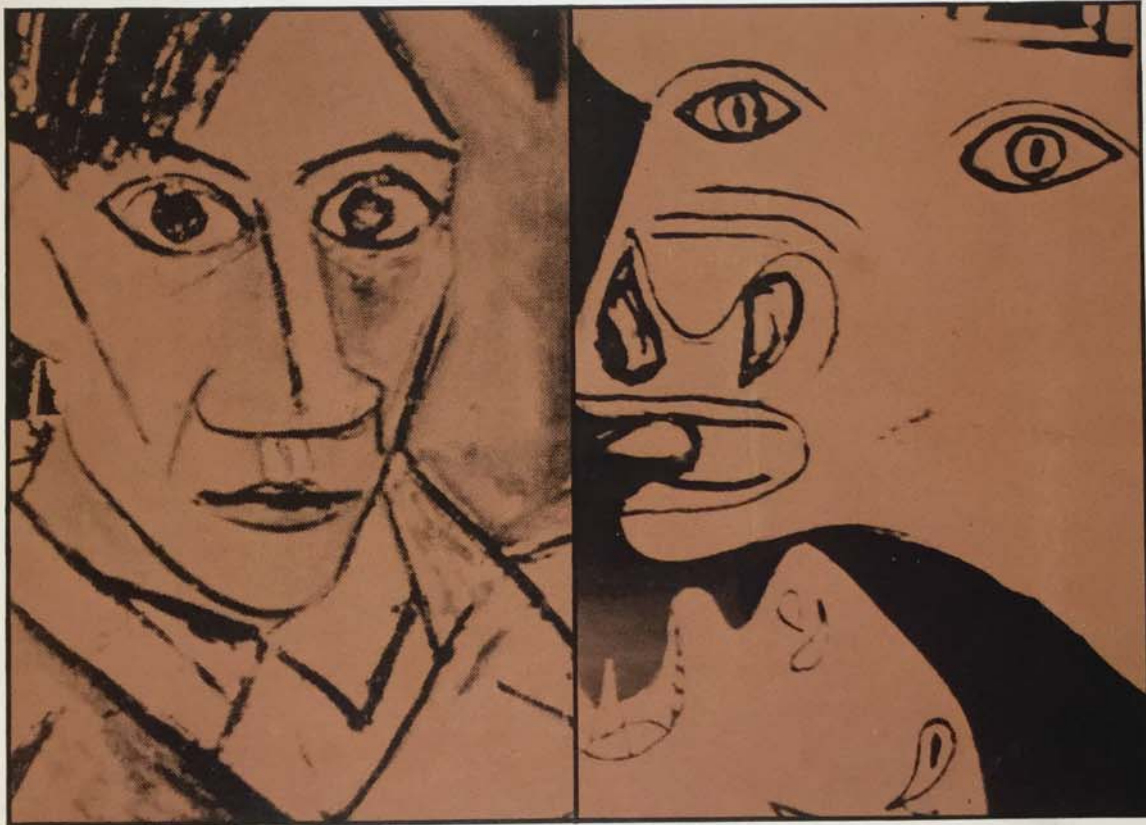
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COVER: Picasso, (left) *Self-Portrait*, 1906, and (right) *Guernica*, 1937 (detail of paintings).

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Guernica: Love, War, and the Bullfight

HERSCHEL B. CHIPP

Picasso finally began work on *Guernica*, as everyone knows, on Saturday, May 1, 1937, with this brief sketch (Fig. 1). We also know that he had delayed for four months, apparently without having given any thought to the subject, and that a painting by him was to be exhibited at the opening of the Paris World's Fair in 24 days. This was hardly enough time to complete a 25-foot painting even if it were already clearly in mind. This paper is a study of that first day's work—five brief sketches and one composition study—Picasso's first vision of *Guernica*.

The immediate motivation for starting the work was, of course, the shocking bombing of the Basque town of Guernica, the first photographs of which had appeared in Paris April 30. This news was intensified by the agony of the Spanish Civil War which during its first ten months had several times touched Picasso personally. Further, Picasso had just passed through a time of painful conflict in his personal life, and these conflicts had provided the imagery of much of his art from about 1933 to 1937. They appear almost solely in his graphic art, contrasting with the more conventional themes of portraits and still lifes in his painting. These images and symbols constitute a kind of iconography of his life. They are often formulated in a quasi-Surrealist symbolism involving Minotaurs and women as well as the familiar theme of the struggle between the horse and the bull as taken from the *corrida*. The power of this imagery is demonstrated by unusually wide fluctuations of style which resulted from these emotionally overwhelming themes.

The studies of the first day are drawn largely from the bullfight, which of course had obsessed Picasso from childhood. Thus both the emotional and iconographical sources of *Guernica* lie in the special meaning of the bullfight for an Andalusian, and in the personal conflicts which had been expressed through the images of horse and bull. The third source—his immediate response to the specific historical event—was the only one of these elements that was at all unusual in his art.

Picasso's first vision of *Guernica* was in terms of a familiar episode from the bullfight: the bull's attack on the horse. This is the most common bullfight scene in his art and goes back to his childhood in Malaga. In the first sketch he represents the bull standing proudly erect while the horse lies dead with one leg extended grotesquely in the air. The most definite image, however, is of the alarmed woman observing the scene from a second-story window. It is also the only image to persist



1 Study I, May 1, 1937.

unchanged from the first sketch to the final painting. This stagelike setting, including the witness to the tragic conflict, has been seen several times before, as, for example, the two blond women observing the tragic bull-man from a second-story window in the *Minotauromachy* of 1935.¹ This earlier image as well as its painful personal associations may have been recalled and reinforced by the gaunt walls and empty windows in the first photograph of the stricken city to reach Paris (Fig. 2). This one is from *Le Figaro* of the previous day, Friday, April 30, but the same photograph appeared in most of the Paris newspapers on the same or on the following day.² Together with the sensational headlines of Wednesday and Thursday, April 28 and 29 (Fig. 3), the first photographs of the devastating bombing attack surely had a strong impact on a Spaniard who, because he was even then deeply committed to the Republican cause, already considered himself a refugee.

The Bombing of Guernica

If the imminent deadline for the opening of the World's Fair did not impose an urgency on the first day's work—for, after all, this was simply Picasso's usual response to deadlines—the news from Spain did. On May 1, even as he worked, a manifestation, the largest every held in Paris, crowded the streets. The two themes of the demonstration were highly politicized: a celebration of the first anniversary of the Popular Front in France, and an alarm over the grave situation of the faltering Popular Front in Spain. For the past month the Nationalists had continued slowly to crush the Basque

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2 *Le Figaro*, Apr. 30, 1937.



4 *The Times* (London), Apr. 29, 1937.

APRÈS LE DÉBUT DE LA GUERRE D'ESPAGNE

Mille bombes incendiaires lancées par les avions de Hitler et de Mussolini



Après le début de la guerre d'Espagne, les avions allemands et italiens ont bombardé la ville de Guernica. Mille bombes incendiaires ont été lancées sur la ville, causant de nombreuses victimes et détruisant la ville.

réduisent en cendres la ville de Guernica

LE NOMBRE DES MORTS ET DES BLESSÉS

3 *L'Humanité*, Apr. 28, 1937.

defenders of Bilbao—only 50 miles from the French frontier (Fig. 4). The port of Bilbao was the center of Spain's heavy industry and war plants, and Franco had promised most of the output to Hitler, and Bilbao was half as far from Germany as the other major port, Cadiz. Even on this May 1, blockade runners were taking aboard women and children refugees from the city now apparently doomed.

In Vitoria just behind the lines to the south, the concentrated forces of the German Condor Legion were supporting the campaign. The Commanding Officer's equipment report of April 12 described what was probably, in 1937, the most powerful air force ever assembled.³

On April 26, the day of the bombing, the Nationalist advance upon Bilbao was less than six miles from the town of Guernica, which lay directly in its path.⁴ The Condor Legion air base was only 30 miles south of Guernica—a flying time of less than 12 minutes even for the slowest plane.

There was alarming news from still another source. On the same day as the bombing, Hermann Goering, Commander-in-Chief of the Legion, was in Rome for a conference with Mussolini, the chief topic of which was how to quickly end the war in Spain. Goering had apparently been kept waiting for a day while Mussolini was engaged in talks with the Austrian Chancellor, the results of which constituted Italian support of Austria in its resistance to Hitler. But the final escalation in the deadly rivalry was Goering's, for at four-thirty in the afternoon—one-half hour before his appointment with Mussolini—German bombs began to fall on Guernica.⁵

Picasso and the Spanish Republican Government

All this was reported with alarm in the Paris press (Fig. 5) but nowhere with more emotion than in the bulletins of the Spanish Government Information Service. This agency was directed principally by Juan Larrea, the poet, who later was to write the first book on Picasso's *Guernica*, and by José-Luis Sert, the architect of the Spanish pavilion where Picasso's painting was to be placed. Both were close friends of Picasso and it was they who had arranged his various contributions to the Republican cause.

Both the etching suite, *Dream and Lie of Franco*, which was to be reproduced and sold for refugee relief, and the plans for the mural project for the World's Fair, were made during the beginning of January 1937. At this time the news from Spain was especially disheartening for the Republicans. On January 6 Hitler's ultimatum to the Basque government in Bilbao to surrender or face destruction appeared in the Paris press, and the next day one of the heaviest bombing attacks of the war

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6 *Le Figaro*, Apr. 10, 1937.

struck Madrid. Hitler also declared a blockade of all Spanish ports and enforced this with the torpedoing of a Republican ship off the Catalan coast. Since the Rome Conference of December 6, 1936, when Germany and Italy confirmed their policy of vigorous intervention, Mussolini had been eager for Italian troops to take the lead. At the end of December a large contingent of Italians heavily equipped with tanks and planes began disembarking at Cadiz, proceeding overland eastward to surround Malaga on three sides. Simultaneously, this seaport, the most desirable for an invasion from Italy, was being heavily bombed from the air and bombarded from the sea.⁶ Although Picasso had not visited Malaga, his birthplace, for many years, most of his family still lived there and he remembered it with great affection. The Italian assault, which obviously had been in preparation for several weeks, actually began on January 10, the day after Picasso completed the first part of the etching series.

On Monday, May 3, and again on Sunday, May 30, while Picasso was working, the war was to strike even closer. On May 3, violent riots which had been threatening, suddenly broke out in Barcelona between the Anarchists and the Communist-Socialist government, and several hundred people were killed. The worst of the fighting took place in the *Barrio Gótico*, the quarter where Picasso had lived. While the reports of these events were in general either confused or omitted altogether in the Paris press, *L'Humanité*, following the position adopted by Moscow, declared the Anarchists to be traitors to the Republican cause and in the pay of the Nazis.⁷ This charge, based on a bitter struggle for influence, must have been very painful for Picasso, who in his youth in Barcelona had looked with admiration to the Anarchists as the defenders of freedom and promoters of the new ideas Spain lacked.

On May 30, when *Guernica* was still in progress, the *Barrio Gótico* and the waterfront were suddenly attacked by the Italian air force based on Majorca and about 150 people were killed.⁸ In the center of the destruction, in the family apartment one block from *La Lonja*, the art school where Picasso's father had taught, lived his mother, now 81 years of age, with his sister Lola, both of them widowed, and Lola's five children. In a letter, unfortunately not dated, Señora Ruiz-Picasso described the destruction of a convent next door to them and the stench of smoke in their rooms.⁹

When on November 29, 1936, Picasso was asked to become honorary director of the Prado, the Republican Government had just fled from Madrid to Valencia, taking with them many of the paintings. Since the Prado had been struck by a bomb the Valencia Government could justifiably claim that they were the protectors of Spanish culture and Franco the destroyer. With Picasso as director of the Prado, and the paintings to be shown in Paris, this claim would be projected onto an international stage. This position is clearly reflected in the two statements attributed to Picasso in 1937. It may be significant, however, that both these statements were released first in English to American newspapers and that both coincided with manifestations of support of Republican Spain: the first an exhibition of Spanish Republican posters in New York sponsored by the North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy, and the second a response to a request for a statement from the American Artists' Congress.¹⁰

Further, Picasso's most intimate friend for several years was Paul Eluard, Surrealist poet and lifetime Communist, who with his new wife, Nusch, had taken his friend into the family for much of the time since Olga's departure in 1935. Eluard's adoration for Picasso is expressed in some poems to him but nowhere with greater emotion than in the opening words of a lecture he delivered in 1936 at Picasso's exhibitions in Barcelona, Bilbao, and Madrid: "I speak of that which helps me to live—of that which is good."¹¹ Eluard had been instrumental in arranging the exhibitions, which were highly successful and resulted in several critical articles on Picasso in Spanish journals. In Barcelona he had arranged a reading of Picasso's poetry by his poet friend, Ramón Gomez de la Serna, and Eluard's own lecture was broadcast on Radio Barcelona, which a few months later was to become the voice of Catalan resistance to Franco. Eluard was still in Spain at the time of the elections of February 18, 1936 when the Popular Front came to power.¹²

Eluard, a regular contributor to the Communist party newspaper *L'Humanité*, held a militant view of artists' role in society. In 1936 he wrote:

The time has come when all poets have the right and the duty to declare that they are profoundly involved in the lives of other men and in the communal life.¹³

This view is reflected in Picasso's statements of 1944 at the time he announced his membership in the Communist Party, a move he admitted was influenced by the example of Eluard and his friends.

Eluard's own response to *Guernica* was a poem. Written at the same time Picasso was painting his picture, it too was exhibited at the Spanish pavilion in Paris. While the degree to which one might have been influenced by the other is unknown, a later version of the poem, more vivid in imagery, in fact used in 1951 as the text of a film by Alain Resnais on *Guernica*:

My brothers, transformed into carrion
into broken skeletons
The earth turns in your orbits
You are in a decaying desert
And death has shattered the
equilibrium of time.¹⁴

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6 Study III, May 1, 1937 (detail), Z.IX. 3.

Marie-Thérèse Walter

The clearest and most emphatic image in the first sketch is the alarmed observer leaning from the upper window. Her identity is made clear in a detail from the third sketch of May 1 where the most familiar profile in all of Picasso's art appears (Fig. 6). It closely resembles Marie-Thérèse Walter whose face and body had dominated his art since 1931 (Fig. 7). She is lightly touched up with ochre paint—the only paint used that day. The Marie-Thérèse profile had often appeared throughout these troubled years as a sympathetic observer—usually of scenes of crisis—but always as a serene and gentle onlooker. Her type of face is shown twice in the upper window overlooking the tragic scene in the *Minotauromachy* of 1935, and it is clearly her image repeated several times that becomes the witness to the furious *corridos* in the series of paintings of the summer of 1934 (Fig. 8). When in the etching series of May 1933 the Minotaur turns an idyllic bacchanal (Fig. 9) into a series of violent rapes (Fig. 10) and then dies the death of a beast in the arena, a woman resembling her leans from the stands in a tender gesture of sympathy (Fig. 11). Her consoling image appears at other times of crisis: as a child in the fourth of the *Blind Minotaur* series of 1934 (Fig. 12) when she guides the stricken beast, and as a matador in the *Minotauromachy* of 1935 when she turns away the sword normally aimed at the beast's heart (Fig. 13). Although in an etching of July 1934, she hides her face from the vicious combat of bull and horse, she extends her arm with the candle toward the scene (Fig. 14). It appears that the candle is less a means of illumination or a symbol than a part of the ritual of her serene and detached presence in times of crisis. This sympathetic observer figure—as though returning the affectionate attention the Minotaur had bestowed upon her when he was the sleep-watcher—is always attentive and loving.¹⁵

The Bullfight

In his initial visualization of *Guernica* Picasso chose the moment in the *corrida* just after the bull has achieved the supreme satisfaction of driving his horns into a living body (Fig. 15). This episode is one of the first to appear in Picasso's art and it is the most common in all the themes of the *corrida*.



7 Marie-Thérèse Walter, Jan. 22, 1939.

His first painting in oil at age eight was of a picador on his horse awaiting the bull; in a notebook, probably from his Malaga years—hence made before his tenth birthday—is a drawing of a charging bull and a wounded horse (Fig. 16). The horse, incidentally, is almost identical both in its posture and in its realistic style to Study 5 of May 1, almost 50 years later (Fig. 17). Picasso's conception of the bull standing proudly aloof from the writhing horse was arrived at in his boyhood and dominated all of his *corrida* scenes except during that period of tortuous conflict, the summer of 1934.¹⁶ It conforms with the traditional Spanish view of the fighting bull as an admirable heroic animal whose qualities provide a model to be emulated by young men, and the horse of the bullring as only a neutral and emotionless supporting actor in the drama.

Although the bull-horse encounter had no place in the iconography or the emotional climate of the Blue Period or of Cubism, it reappeared soon after. A long series of studies appeared in 1917 while Picasso was spending the summer in Barcelona with the Ballet Russe. The fact that he had followed the ballet to Barcelona from Rome in order to be with one of the dancers, Olga Koklova, and further that he was now engaged to her, may help to explain the persistence with which the bull explores the horse's body (Fig. 18). The combat is now seen as a highly personal assault by the bull with the goring action of his horns the central theme. The ritual of the bullfight fades in the background, even in the little tableaux—like the posturing of ballet dancers—where the fallen picador becomes involved in the struggle (Fig. 19). The growing separation of the combat from the ritual of the bullfight and its humanization—not to say eroticization—as in the improbable encounter of 1927 (Fig. 20), has earned Picasso the disfavor of aficionados, for whom the bull-horse encounter has no emotion and hence little meaning.

For the aficionado it is the contest between the bull and the man that creates the emotion and gives meaning to the ritual.

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8 July 22, 1934 (detail of painting). Z.VIII, 229.



11 *The Minotaur*, May 30, 1933 (etching). G.II, 366.



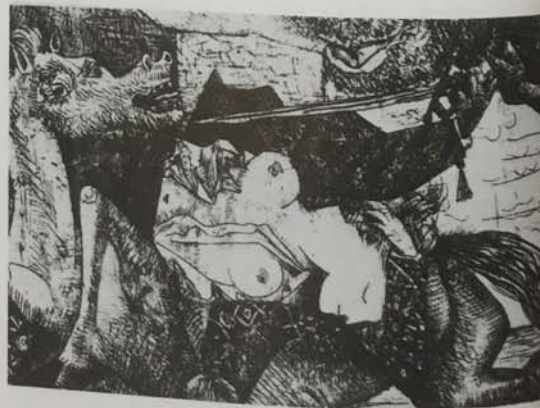
9 *The Minotaur*, May 18, 1933 (etching). G.II, 351.



12 *Blind Minotaur*, Nov, 1934 (detail of aquatint). G.II, 437.



10 *The Minotaur*, May 23, 1933 (etching). G.II, 356.



13 *Minotauromachy*, 1935 (detail of etching). B.288.

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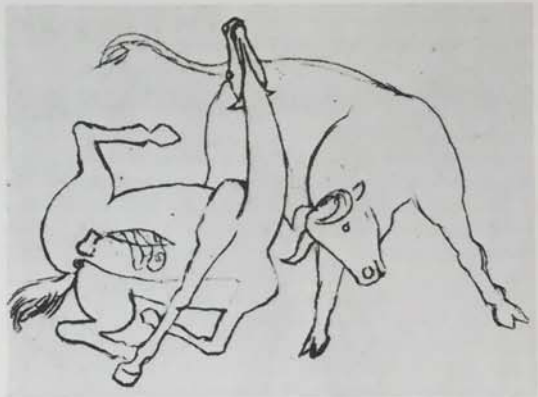
14 July 24, 1934 (etching). Z. VIII, 215.



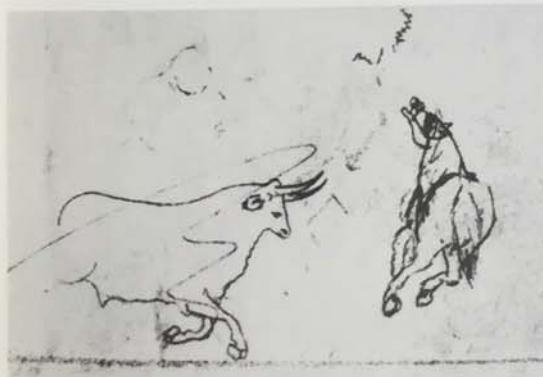
17 Study V. May 1, 1937. Z.IX, 5.



15 From E. Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, 1932.



18 1917. Z.III, 50.



16 Sketch book, c. 1890.



19 1923. ZV, 145

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20 1927 (etching). G.I. 125.

For this reason they have given the term "moment of truth" to the matador's final and most dangerous act, his sword thrust for the bull's heart. It is at this moment that what Lorca calls *duende* is either revealed or shown to be lacking. It is the uniquely Spanish ritual of walking on the brink of death, where true bravery and absolute disregard of danger lead to a nobility of spirit that is admired in both man and beast.¹⁷ It is the ever-present possibility of tragedy that endows the ritual of the man-bull conflict with meaning. By contrast, the horse is a passive supporting actor in only one short episode of the drama and is wholly without emotion. This neutral role is assured by the practical device of blindfolding him—thoughtfully with a red bandanna—and by a prior minor operation on his vocal chords. Even when the strict ritual breaks down and chaos prevails, the fate of the horse is of little concern.

In avoiding completely the man-bull contest, the most meaningful and hence most emotionally charged episode, and instead choosing the bull-horse encounter, Picasso provides a context which, precisely because it lacks ritual significance, offers vaster potentialities for the expression of other wider meanings. The pathos of the suffering horse lends itself to the subject of the suffering of the victims of Guernica, just as it had served to express states of suffering in Picasso's own years of personal conflict.

This episode in which, while the bull is attempting to gore the horse, the picador is in turn driving his lance into the bull's straining neck muscles, provides some tense moments in the bullfight.¹⁸ For the bull it means that although he is enjoying a moment of supreme instinctual satisfaction, he is also suffering grave damage to his offensive capabilities that will make him a more ready victim to the matador's sword in the final act. The sexual implications of this symbolic death act have been commented upon and seem particularly to underlie Picasso's series of bull, horse, man encounters of the summer of 1934. If we recall that on a trip to Spain that summer he was accompanied not by his wife but by Marie-Thérèse, then its unusual emotional intensity becomes more explicable. The extreme violence of these combats fuses all the figures into a whirling maze of bodies that shakes the arena (Fig. 21). But on the several occasions when the bull and horse appear alone, their fury is clearly directed one against the other (Fig. 22).



21 Sept. 8, 1934 (etching). G. II, 433.



22 July 24, 1934. Z.VIII, 217.



23 July 7, 1934. Z.VIII, 216.

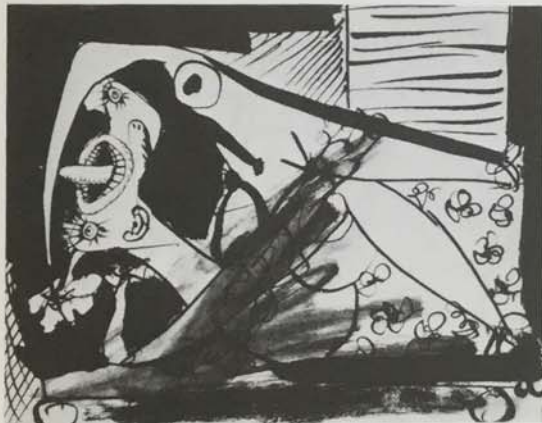
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24 Left: July 10, 1934 (detail of etching) and Right: Study, May 24, 1937. Z.VIII, 222, Z.IX, 33.



26 Feb. 8, 1934 Z.VIII, 176.



25. Feb. 6, 1934, Z.VIII, 182.



27 May 1, 1934. Z.VIII, 207.

The theme of conflict reaches such violence at one time (July 7 and 10) that it is transposed from the arena to a domestic interior—usually for Picasso the setting for passive and pleasurable activities. In a series of drawings from mid-July his gentle blond companion becomes the victim of a vicious attack with a kitchen knife by a brunette woman whose features are distorted by rage and hate (Fig. 23). In a second version this face, now somewhat abstracted, is almost identical to one which reappears in the later studies for *Guernica* (Fig. 24). Her spearlike tongue appears twice in the final painting, perhaps significantly only in the images of the horse and the woman.

This unknown assailant has been seen before. In a series of 13 drawings of February 7-18 of the same year, she is shown writhing on a bed in postures not unlike those of the gored horse in the arena (Fig. 25). As the series progresses her agonized body degenerates into a Surrealist collection of

objects, until finally all that remains is the spearlike tongue, a snagged, toothy mouth, and a vulva (Fig. 26). By contrast, Marie-Thérèse appears in a series of drawings of April 30 and May 1 in a wholly different style and as sensuously erotic as she ever was in the paintings of 1932 and 1933 (Fig. 27).

The most furious *corridos* and the attacks with the knife occur about the middle of July. In the midst of these falls an important date, July 12, which Olga observed with all the

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28 *Femme Torero I*. June 12, 1934 (etching). G.II. 425.



30 Study VI. May 1, 1937. Z. IX. 10.



29 *Femme Torero IV*. June 22, 1934 (etching). G.II. 428.



31 *Femme Torero III*. June 22, 1934 (etching). G.II. 427.

conventional ceremonies but which was only of casual interest to Picasso—their wedding anniversary. It was, in fact, on this very date a year later that she left Picasso, for on July 13, 1935, Picasso wrote to Sabartes that he was now alone.

A series of etchings called *Femme Torero* of late June, probably derived from the '20s, now portrays three characters in an emotionally charged dramatic triangle (Fig. 28). The Marie-Thérèse figure at its most seductive is carried away on the back of the bull, more like the abduction of Europa than an accident in the arena. And while he plants an impassioned kiss upon her lips he tramples underfoot the anguished and disemboweled horse. A few days later in the same series, still as the gentle sleeper, she lies between the two animals (Fig. 29). The personnel of this murderous drama of 1934—like a tragedy of Lorca—make up the characters, and even the composition, for Study 6 of May 1, 1937, Picasso's first

version of the central figure group of *Guernica* (Fig. 30). The wounded bull towers over the dying horse, who writhes on the ground with neck upstretched. This group persists to become the central group in the final conception of the painting.¹⁹ In another version of *Femme Torero* (Fig. 31) of the same day, June 22, 1934, the gentle sleeper, like a victim of the fury, lies prone in the same position in which, in Study 6 of May 1, Picasso was to portray the first victim of *Guernica*. It is also the position of the victims in the first photograph that accompanied the news of the bombings on April 28 (Fig. 32).

The Minotaur

In the fall of 1934 the Minotaur image returns to Picasso's art but in a wholly different mode from that of the reveling man-beast of 1933. After the wild *corridos* of the summer of 1934 had disappeared, as though emotionally exhausted by the

...of the closely related
...he is shown as a tragic
...through his suffering had drained
...in the initial sketches for
...work appear, and with
...The little girl holding out a
...recalls a familiar
...is replaced in the fourth
...of Marie-Thérèse (Fig. 12).
...appeared in the summer
...for the sculptor figure
...in his arms. The man on
...who is sometimes portrayed as
...recalls a similar image in the
... And the first vision of
... A ladder is also included
...age possessions in the painting
...bearing the dead horse with
...the ladder carried with it into
...
...of their apartment at 23, rue la Boétie
...the wedding anniversary, and in the
...Picasso were engaged through the
...over the terms of a separation
...citizen residing in France w
...law, which even under th
...to recognize divorce, a legal separati
...Picasso retained at Boisgeloup only
...when he had executed the sculptur
...of his drawings of Marie-Thérèse, t
...his work was placed under the control
...Marie-Thérèse had been pregnant si
...the Minotaur series in early 19
...the year she gave birth to a daugh
...on November 13, now living alone
...the 14-year-old son, Paolo, who
...during the previous 10 years. Pic
...wrote a poem which under
...on December 5, 6, and 2
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...as José Barrio-Garay has s
...Marie-Thérèse now irremediably
...reveals a world of the erotic, p
...and contradictory exist." As in
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...man holding a bull ma

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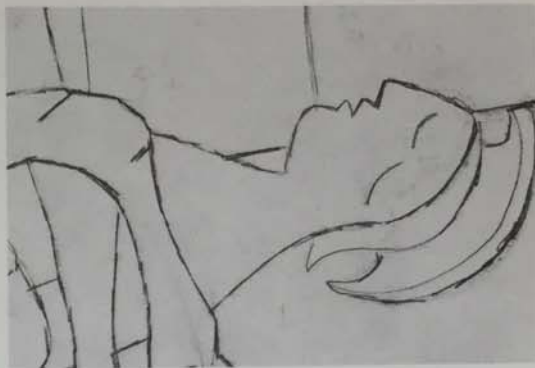
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stress, the Minotaur returns. In a series of five closely related versions over the next few months he is shown as a tragic figure, blinded and stricken as though his suffering had drained him even of normal feeling. Also as in the initial sketches for *Guernica*, several images from earlier work appear, and with them associations from the past. The little girl holding out a bouquet of flowers in the first version recalls a familiar painting from the Blue Period, but she is replaced in the fourth by another child with the features of Marie-Thérèse (Fig. 12). The seashore setting with the sailboat appeared in the summer of 1933 at Cannes as the setting for the sculptor figure carrying the sleeping Marie-Thérèse in his arms. The man on the ladder in the last version, the *Minotauromachy* of 1935, himself the classical hero type who is sometimes portrayed as the antithesis of the bull-man, recalls a similar image in the *Crucifixion* of February 7, 1930.²⁰ And the first vision of the anguished mother with child in the sketches for *Guernica* shows her mounted on a ladder. A ladder is also included among the Minotaur's meager possessions in the painting depicting him pulling the cart bearing the dead horse with child; the painting is dated April 6, 1936, a period of extreme anguish for Picasso. Thus the ladder carried with it into *Guernica* these painful associations.

Olga had moved out of their apartment at 23, rue la Boétie on July 12, their 17th wedding anniversary, and in the following months she and Picasso were engaged through their lawyers in a bitter conflict over the terms of a separation. Since Picasso as a Spanish citizen residing in France was required to obey Spanish law, which even under the Republicans still did not recognize divorce, a legal separation was the only solution. Picasso retained at Boisgeloup only his sculpture studio where he had executed the sculptures, etchings, and most of the drawings of Marie-Thérèse, but during this time all his work was placed under the control of the court. Further, Marie-Thérèse had been pregnant since about the time of the stricken Minotaur series in early 1935, and toward the end of the year she gave birth to a daughter, Picasso's second child. On November 13, now living alone, he drew a tender portrait of his 14 year-old son, Paolo, who had disappeared from his art during the previous 10 years. Picasso then virtually abandoned painting for poetry.

On November 28 he wrote a poem which underwent successive transformations on December 5, 6, and 24. It reflects the Surrealist spirit of his closest friends, Paul Eluard and Louis Aragon and, as José Barrio-Garay has shown, suggests in its complex imagery the story of his inner torment over his love for Marie-Thérèse now irremediably lost: "Predominantly visual, this imagery reveals a world of lyricism and fantasy, but also one in which the erotic, painful, distressful, incongruous, and contradictory exist." As in his art the image of a *jaca* or young female horse appears, at first erotic, then is replaced by the woman of "the long blond hair" who "masquerades as a bullfighter" (See Figs. 28 and 29 and Fig. 13). Barrio-Garay relates this to the beginning of the break with Marie-Thérèse, an event depicted in his art only later, in May 1936, with the death of the Minotaur in the bullring at the hands of the woman of the "long blond hair," and the liberation of the horse from her role as the victim of the bull-man.

When the Minotaur reappeared once more in a series of narrative scenes of April 1936, he was no longer the symbolic bull-man but simply a man holding a bull mask. These



32 Top: Study VI, May 1, 1937 (detail) and Bottom: photograph from *L'Humanité*, Apr. 28, 1937. Z. IX. 10.

drawings seem to deal directly with Picasso's personal life as if they were illustrations for it. As in the Minotaur series of 1933, he is initially shown as his human self, enjoying the pleasures of human love. In both the 1933 and 1936 series he is again reduced to his animal self and dies the death of a beast in the bullring. He first appeared on April 5 drawing a cart bearing the body of a dead horse (Fig. 33). The most unusual posture of the horse, with head dangling and leg projecting grotesquely in the air, was to be Picasso's first vision of *Guernica* in Study 1 of May 1. The next day he made a painting of the scene, included a ladder and a painting in the cart, and changed the small newborn horse (seen between the posts of the cart) still in her open belly into a child. Later, he emphatically stated to David Duncan that she was not disemboweled but was having a baby. The baby horse motif, now with wings, emerges again in the earliest *Guernica* sketches. In Study 2 he is sitting on the back of the bull who bears him proudly and protectively, and in Study 6 he is rising out of a wound in the horse's side. However, since this image started as that of a bird in Study 1 and became a bird again in the final painting, and since Picasso said later that he didn't remember what it was but thought it was some kind of pigeon or chicken, the baby horse motif might be taken as only a fleeting image. Whether it carried with it associations that were too personal, or whether finally it did not belong in the *Guernica* conception at all, it appeared only twice on May 1 and never again.

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33 Apr. 5, 1936. Z.VIII. 276.



34 Apr. 7, 1936. Z.VIII. 279.

About March 25, a few days before this series began, Picasso, taking Marie-Thérèse and their baby with him, fled from Paris, not even telling Sabartes where he was going. According to Sabartes, he had been extremely depressed and the publicity aroused by his recent exhibitions had only caused him to become more restless and impatient.²¹ For several weeks they lived in seclusion in Juan-les-Pins under the name of Ruiz, his father's name. In this series of narrative episodes he represents the Minotaur with his family and the transformation that takes place in his identity. On April 7 he dropped his Minotaur mask, revealing the handsome, youthful face of the classical hero type (Fig. 34). He is, however, wholly oblivious of Marie-Thérèse—here shown in one of her loveliest representations—and also oblivious of the child. In a second scene of April 27 he still does not recognize the child who reaches out to him in vain (Fig. 35). On the same day Picasso wrote to Sabartes that he was giving up painting, sculpture, and poetry.²² There are two drawings from April 29. In one



35 Apr. 23, 1936. Z.VIII. 278.



36 Apr. 27, 1936. Z.VIII. 281.

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he opens his arms to receive the child, but he has meanwhile become an old man (Fig. 36). In the other which, according to Penrose, Picasso himself titled *Two Old Men Looking at Themselves in a Mirror*, two senile old men are shown laughing bizarrely.²³ Three days later Picasso wrote Sabartes that "I cannot live in peace a minute worrying about so many things," and he implied that he did not know why he was still there and that he might be returning soon to Paris.²⁴ On May 8, 9, and 10, the theme of the Minotaur is reintroduced, and once more, just as at the end of the 1933 series, meets the death of a fighting bull in the arena. In the second of the series he has thrust himself through with a sword—now broken—while a blond woman resembling Marie-Thérèse rides a rearing horse and, as she had done in the *Minotauremachie*, turns her lance away (Fig. 37). In the last version he lies dying, transfixed by the lance (Fig. 38). The blond woman, although still bearing traces of the gestures of Marie-Thérèse, resembles her less and less. She was in fact soon to disappear completely as a partner of the Minotaur in his art. Although Picasso was later to paint many more portraits of her, they were always formal, posed portraits in which she was completely clothed. The horse, meanwhile, appears whole here, and soars upward in an ecstatic dance as if to take wing. Four days later Picasso and his family returned to Paris.

The Minotaur was to make a final appearance in a small painting made a few days after the return to Paris when Picasso was once more alone and back in his apartment. Later it was used as a design for the curtain for the play, *14 Juillet*. It is wholly consistent with his personal imagery and style at this time and hence can be taken as a personal document (Fig. 39). Like the preceding three scenes, it is symbolic rather than narrative, and thus should be read in the spirit of the *Minotauremachie*. It is a confrontation between Minotaur and horse; both are represented by empty skins. The Minotaur's body represented in harlequin costume recalls several early self-portraits as a harlequin. It is carried by a hideous bird-headed monster. In contrast, the horse's pelt is worn by the bearded sculptorlike figure who bears on his back the youthful hero type. The sculptor holds in his right hand a rock which he is preparing to hurl at the monster. The opposition between repulsive and beautiful figures, and of beings suggestive of evil and good, could hardly be more clearly defined. The Minotaur is for the first time associated with evil. Six weeks after he painted this image, Picasso returned alone to the Côte d'Azur where Dora Maar was waiting for him, thus opening a new era in his personal life.

Although the Minotaur image itself does not appear in *Guernica*, the conception of the bull-man or the man-bull underlies all the studies and the final image of the bull. Two studies of May 10—the last sketches before the painting was laid out on the full-sized canvas—depict the bull with the head of a man. Usually titled, inexplicably, *Head of Bull* (except on the Museum of Modern Art's label), this one clearly bears the sensitive human features of the classical hero type with only slight bullish modifications (Fig. 40). The other study shows the body of the bull with a clearly defined and realistic head of a man. These are of course reversals of the Minotaur—who is a bull-headed man—but they demonstrate the wide range of possibilities lying between the polar concepts of man and beast. Even the head of the bull in the final painting cannot be taken simply as the head of a bull, for it has many human characteristics, among them the upright posture of the head



37 May 9, 1936. Z.VIII. 286.



38 May 10, 1936. Z.VIII. 288.



39 May 28, 1936. Z.VIII. 287.

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40 Study II, May 10, 1937. Z.IX, 20.

41 Left: *Self-Portrait*, 1906, and Right: *Guernica*, 1937 (details of paintings). Z.II: 1, 8.

and its hairless skin. Most human of all are the wide-open staring eyes that are not unrelated to Picasso's own images of himself (Fig. 41). Thus the concept of the Minotaur, like the bull and the horse, is in a constant state of metamorphosis in both form and meaning. At one pole are the hero types, the artist, king, and classical youth, and at the other is the beast who dies a miserable death as the fighting bull in the arena.

Picasso's images therefore have not one but many meanings, most of them allusions to, or evocations of, ideas that may lie on several different levels of meaning. They cannot adequately be explained as simple allegories or symbols drawn from the common culture as in traditional art. The process is more akin to that of his own poetry which had absorbed him even more than painting and drawing during the preceding two or three years. It relies upon free association and the irrational juxtaposition of unrelated elements similar to the methods of his Surrealist poet friends. This attitude opened up to a far greater degree than before the realm of the intimate personal life as a source of emotion. Picasso has himself confirmed this. Poetry is the most important thing in painting, he once told Kahnweiler,²⁵ and Penrose quotes him as saying, "You can paint a picture in words just as you can paint sensations in a poem."²⁶

The First Studies of May 1

At the end of work on Saturday, May 1, after five brief sketches, the basic concept of *Guernica*, as it was finally to appear, was essentially complete. The sixth study is large and carefully composed, utilizing all the elements developed so far (Fig. 30). The proud posture of the bull towering over the horse, whose neck and head are upstretched in agony, the fallen victim, and the alarmed observer—all were to persist

almost unchanged from the first conception until the final painting. The little winged horse emerging from the wound in the side of the dying horse is probably associated with the only other little horse in his art—the baby horse in the body of the dead mother of April 5, 1936 (Fig. 33)—carrying with it associations of the painful rejection of Marie-Thérèse. However, the proudly protective posture of the bull, and the slightly human characteristics of his head, in Study 2 of May 1 (Fig. 42) and the secure position of the little horse, seem to place the bull in a virtuous, paternalistic role.

The wound in the horse's side, seemingly related in form to the wounds portrayed earlier as a result of the bull's goings, persists throughout the studies. They recall Lorca's belief that wounds and especially blood are essential elements in *duende* and hence are prerequisites to tragedy. For him pain intensifies emotion with a sense of death. But the horse's wounds seem to have changing meanings. They are erotic in the series of bull-horse encounters of 1917 (Fig. 18), repulsive in the disembowelments of the summer of 1934 (Fig. 22), and repulsive as well as symbolic in the *Dream and Lie of Franco* (Fig. 43). This persistence of certain images as a means for the expression of diverse meanings has been seen to be a characteristic of Picasso's art from the earliest drawings.

These images, already a part of Picasso's art, were awakened by the shock of the news of the bombing victims' suffering, and they carried with them into the new painting multiple and changing associations on various levels of meaning. They evoke periods of extreme suffering in his own life, the wounds and the blood of the bull-horse episode in the bullfight, and the tragedy that had overwhelmed his countrymen. The diverse images and accompanying associations flowing from these profound sources, as in his poetry, merged in an irrational juxtaposition of exceptional pictorial power. Their resonance on different levels of meaning, while replete with ambiguities,

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42 Study II, May 1, 1937 (detail). Z.IX. 2.



43 Dream and Lie of Franco, Jan. 9, 1936 (detail of etching). B.298.

provides an emotional power commensurate with the power and drama of the subject.

By the end of that first day's work Picasso had made five studies in pencil and then turned to the last. It was the first compositional study of the entire central group, complete with bull, horse, observing woman in an upstairs window, and a victim (Fig. 3). The figures are clearly realized, and they would remain essentially unchanged six weeks later in the finished painting. They are accurately drawn and carefully composed on a wooden panel 25½ inches wide which had been prepared with a gesso ground. It was as if he were now ready to execute the final painting of *Guernica*. As he had said to Zervos in 1932, "Basically a picture doesn't change, the first vision remains almost intact."²⁷

Picasso was to work on the painting for six weeks longer and alter some of the images, but then usually restore them to the original vision. But he had performed the astounding feat of arriving at the clearly defined final image for *Guernica* at the end of the same day that he began work.

Picasso's Method

The news of the bombing of *Guernica* had provided the shock necessary to precipitate Picasso into action on his long-delayed painting. Within 24 hours, and with an overpoweringly dramatic theme provided by a real event, he now accomplished what he had been unable to do for four months—he began to work. All of the images in the initial studies were already a part of Picasso's art, and some of them, like the bull and the horse, had appeared many times in the very form they now took. They were, therefore, along with their associated meanings, latent in his subconscious. This response to shock is a perfect Surrealist situation, and is especially pertinent when we recall that, for quite a few years, Picasso's closest friends were the Surrealist poets, and at this time of personal suffering he had himself rejected painting and turned to poetry in that vein.

Picasso has always insisted on the personal sources of his art. I use things in my paintings as my passions tell me, he told Zervos in 1935, and later told Penrose that we live our work. Françoise Gilot quotes him as saying that he paints his

autobiography, but Kahnweiler puts it more directly as "his subjects are his loves."²⁸ As has been shown in this article images suggestive of the women in his life in 1937 appear from the beginning. Both the faces and the emotions associated with them provide much of the power of the painting. The only image to persist unchanged from beginning to end is the woman with a lamp who always resembles, but at one time clearly bears the profile of, Marie-Thérèse. And drawings of Dora Maar weeping, made while the painting was in progress, provided not only a model for the anguished victims of the bombing but also launched a series of "postscripts" which continued after the painting was completed. Further, what is usually seen as the protective attitude of the bull over the mother and child in the painting has a possible prototype in the several paternalistic and obviously autobiographical Minotaurs of 1936.

Selecting from the complex ritual of the bullfight only the incidental contest between the bull and horse, Picasso employs these figures for wholly other ends. Juan Larrea writes that Picasso told him before *Guernica* that the horse in his art represents for him the most important women in his life,²⁹ and Françoise Gilot quotes him as saying that her symbol is the horse while his, the proudest of all, is the bull.³⁰ The horse receives more attention than any of the other figures. Most of the variations have to do with explorations of different attitudes of suffering, which is also true of Picasso's images of horses all the way back to his youth.

Although usually identified in the painting simply as a bull, the face and especially the eyes of the figure of the bull are actually more human than animal (Fig. 41). It has been seen in the studies that this image shifted from one meaning to the other, which is of course the basic meaning of the half man/half beast creature, the Minotaur. He has the potentiality of representing a serene and heroic personage resembling Picasso's artists, classical heroes, and kings, all of them associated with the artist himself, but he has also the potentiality to undergo a metamorphosis into his beastly self and in that role to suffer the death of a beast in the bullring.

Lending meaning to this procedure is the method of Surrealism, which from his poetry we know Picasso to have understood and used. However, it would be wrong, as Barrio-Garay has demonstrated, to see Picasso's method as

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Guernica, oil on canvas, 11'6" x 25'8", 1937. (Photo Courtesy Museum of Modern Art.)

wholly Surrealist. The poetic quality of his art, which was greatly admired by the Surrealist poets, always had an extraordinary capacity to transform personal emotion into formal images.

The meanings of the images first evoked on May 1, all of which had appeared earlier in his art, lay deep within Picasso's personal experience. They also drew upon a kind of personal symbolism which long ago had found an effective medium in the ritual conflict of bull and horse. The shock and outrage over the bombing terror were reinforced by the accumulated emotions of conflict carried over in images suggestive of his personal life, and all were transformed and intensified in a final image. Picasso never attempted to represent the event nor to allegorize or symbolize it but, rather, on multilevels of meaning and emotion in human as well as artistic terms to create a powerful painting that would stand for it. ■

This article represents an extended version of a paper presented at the meeting of the College Art Association, January, 1973, New York. It is now being developed to include all the studies and additional documentary material for presentation as a book.

Illustrations are of prints, drawings, or watercolors unless otherwise noted.

G. = Bernhard Geiser, *Picasso: peintre-graveur*, 2 vols., Vol. I (1899-1931), 1933; Vol. II (1932-1933), 1968. Berne, Kornfeld and Klipstein.

B. = Georges Bloch, *Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé et lithographié, 1904-1967*, Berne, Kornfeld and Klipstein, 1968.

Z. = Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso: oeuvre catalogue*, Paris, Cahiers d'Art, 1932-25 vols. to date including works until 1967.

Since differing titles are often applied to the same graphic works, many of them much later by the authors of books, and since Picasso himself almost never titles his works, they will be cited here only when they originate at the time the work was produced and in a context close to the artist. Generally, however, only dates will be cited.

¹ For a more recent image see the illustration for Paul Eluard's poem *Barre d'appui*, early June 1936. B., 295.

² Sabartes describes how Picasso regularly read the daily newspapers, *Le Figaro*, *Excelsior*, and *Le Journal* (Jaime Sabartes, *Picasso: An Intimate Portrait*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1948, p. 107). Of these *Le Figaro* gave the best coverage to world news, but, because of its conservative policies and tendency to favor the Franco government, quickly dropped the controversy over *Guernica*. *Excelsior* was a picture newspaper with no particular position on the Spanish Civil War, and *Le Journal*, which carried the best reviews of art exhibitions, presented only routine news from Spain. It would have been almost impossible for Picasso not to have read *L'Humanité*. His best friends wrote regularly for it, and it carried by far the most extensive news from Spain. For more than a month after the event it thoroughly covered in its pages the heated propaganda battle over the responsibility for the destruction of Guernica, and it printed photographs of the ruins and of victims and refugees.

³ Vicente Talon, *Arde Guernica*, Madrid, San Martin, 1970, pp. 141-142.

⁴ Undeclared cities had been bombed before. General Mola's offensive against Bilbao had opened on March 31 with the bombing of Durango, just south of Guernica, where a church was hit during a mass. But due to internal strife between the various military factions supporting Franco, the offensive had slowed down, much to the displeasure of General Faupel, Hitler's representative to Franco's government. At the time of the bombing of Guernica the Nationalists had renewed their drive toward Bilbao, and recent Spanish studies of the history of the war suggest that the severity of this attack was part of the campaign to terrorize Bilbao and force its surrender without the necessity of bombing its war industries. However, even with the aid of terror bombings, it took the Nationalists another seven weeks to overcome the Basque defenses and occupy Bilbao. By this time Picasso's painting was in place in the Spanish pavilion in Paris.

⁵ *Le Journal*, April 26; *Le Figaro*, April 27, 1937.

⁶ *L'Humanité*, January 6, 1936.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 4; *Le Figaro*, May 5, 1937.

⁸ *Excelsior*, May 30, 1937.

⁹ Roland Penrose, *Picasso, His Life and Work*, New York, Schocken, 1962 ed., p. 266.

¹⁰ *Springfield Republican* (Mass.), July 18, 1937; *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1937; both reprinted in Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1946, pp. 202, 264.

¹¹ From an essay in *Cahiers d'Art*, Paris, 7-10, 1935, p. 165.

¹² On December 17, 1936 at the height of the first battle for Madrid, *L'Humanité* published Eluard's poem on the Civil War which began: "See at work the builders of ruins/They are rich, patient, ordered, black and beastly/Bul they do their utmost to be alone upon the earth/They have borne man down and heap of fall upon him..."

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¹³ Louis Parrott and Jean Marcenac, *Paul Eluard*, Paris, Seghers, 1969 ed., p. 47.

¹⁴ *L'Avant-Scène du Cinema* (Paris), 38, June 15, 1964.

¹⁵ For a deeply perceptive study of the theme see Leo Steinberg's "Picasso's Sleepwatchers" in his *Other Criteria*, New York, Oxford Press, 1972, pp. 93-114.

¹⁶ For a study of the persistence of early images in recent works, see Beryl Barr-Sharrar, "Some Aspects of Early Autobiographical Imagery in Picasso's Suite 347," *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 4, Dec. 1972, pp. 516-533.

¹⁷ From a lecture "Theory and Function of the *Duende*" delivered in Buenos Aires and Havana. Translated and reprinted in J. L. Gill, *Lorca*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1960, pp. 127-139.

¹⁸ Before 1927 horses were unprotected and several usually met their death in a single bullfight. After a national law required that they be protected with the padded canvas *peto*, death or serious goings became rare. Aficionados, including Picasso, resented the padded coat on the grounds that it frustrated the bull's natural instincts and hence diminished his will to fight. For a lengthy discourse on the issue, see Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, New York, Scribner, 1932, *passim*.

¹⁹ In a perceptive study of Picasso's poems of November 6-December 24, 1935, José Barrio-Garay in a paper, *An Inquiry Into Picasso's Poetic Imagery*, read at the meeting of the CAA on January 1973, provides by an analysis of the imagery of the poems interesting and important evidence that the horse is closely associated with the state of affairs with the woman in his life, Marie-Thérèse Walter. Since some first-hand witnesses, including Larrea and Françoise Gilot, quote Picasso to the effect that his horses are indeed associated with women in his life at the time, we may reasonably study images of horses in his art in terms of his corresponding personal life.

The *jaca* or young female horse appears several times in a group of un-titled poems. In one, she is first seen as a nude lion masquerading as a bull-fighter, then as an erotic object given to "nights of carnal love," then with her long blond hair confined behind an iron door, hiding her shame under a table-cloth.

In the second version of the same poem, kisses turn evil and sour like lemons and are bestowed upon a "chinch bug of the sun." Although the *jaca* gets the painter out of trouble she is the target of obscene insults, and then reduced to the miserable state of the wounded horse in the bullfight "making the round of the ring bleeding and dragging its guts."

The poetic imagery—so very graphic—is remarkably parallel to the im-

ages in his art from 1933 to 1936 (as discussed above), and since it also closely parallels events in his personal life (indeed, Barrio-Garay sees in it the deterioration of his love for Marie-Thérèse) we can consider very seriously Picasso's own insistence that for him poetry and painting were the same (see footnotes 25 and 26).

²⁰ *Crucifixion*, Feb. 7, 1930 (Z.VII, 287). This painting, 20" x 26", is almost exactly the same size as the first composition, Study VI of May 1, 1937, 21 1/8" x 25 1/2".

²¹ Sabartes, *Picasso*, p. 124.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²³ Penrose, *Picasso, His Life and Work*, p. 258.

²⁴ Sabartes, *Picasso*, pp. 128-129.

²⁵ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *Gespräche mit Picasso, Jahresting 59-60*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlag, 1959, pp. 85-98.

²⁶ Penrose, *Picasso, His Life and Work*, pp. 366-367. Barrio-Garay, *An Inquiry*, concludes that the poems are automatic writing in the same sense as those of Eluard and Aragon. He writes that they are composed of images "devoid of discursive reasoning or clear propositions as if thought were captured in all its spontaneous immediacy." This is precisely the process we have observed in Picasso's quick sketches of May 1 where images from several levels of consciousness and different areas of experience appear juxtaposed.

²⁷ Christian Zervos, *Cahiers d'Art* (Paris), X, no. 10, 1935, p. 173.

²⁸ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "Le sujet chez Picasso," *Verve*, Nos. 25-26, 1951, p. 1.

²⁹ Juan Larrea, *Guernica*, New York, Valentin, 1947, p. 33.

³⁰ Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964, p. 362.

³¹ It seems unnecessary to mention that the method utilized here yields meanings quite different from those conventionally argued, e.g., that the horse represents Franco and the bull the Spanish people (or vice-versa), as well as allegories of Truth in the blond woman with a lamp, or Pegasus, or a Grecoesque ascension of the soul of the horse, or the favorable augury for the Spanish Republicans in the horseshoe on the upturned foot (which also had appeared earlier several times in different contexts), etc.

Herschel B. Chipp, the author of *Theories of Modern Art*, is professor of art history at the University of California, Berkeley.



ssso regularly read the daily newspaper (Jaime Sabartes, *Picasso: An Introduction*, 1948, p. 107). Of these *Le Figaro* but, because of its conservative political government, quickly dropped the cartoon picture newspaper with no political and *Le Journal*, which carried the only routine news from Spain for Picasso not to have read *Le Figaro* for it, and it carried by far the more than a month after the event of the propaganda battle over the newspaper, and it printed photographs of the

Madrid, San Martin, 1970, pp. 14-15, bombed before. General Mola on March 31 with the bombing of Durango which was hit during a mass. But also the various factions supporting Franco, the displeasure of General Franco, the drive toward Bilbao, and recent suggest that the severity of the Bilbao and force its surrender to industries. However, even with the lasts another seven weeks to ouster Bilbao. By this time Picasso's presence Paris, April 27, 1937.

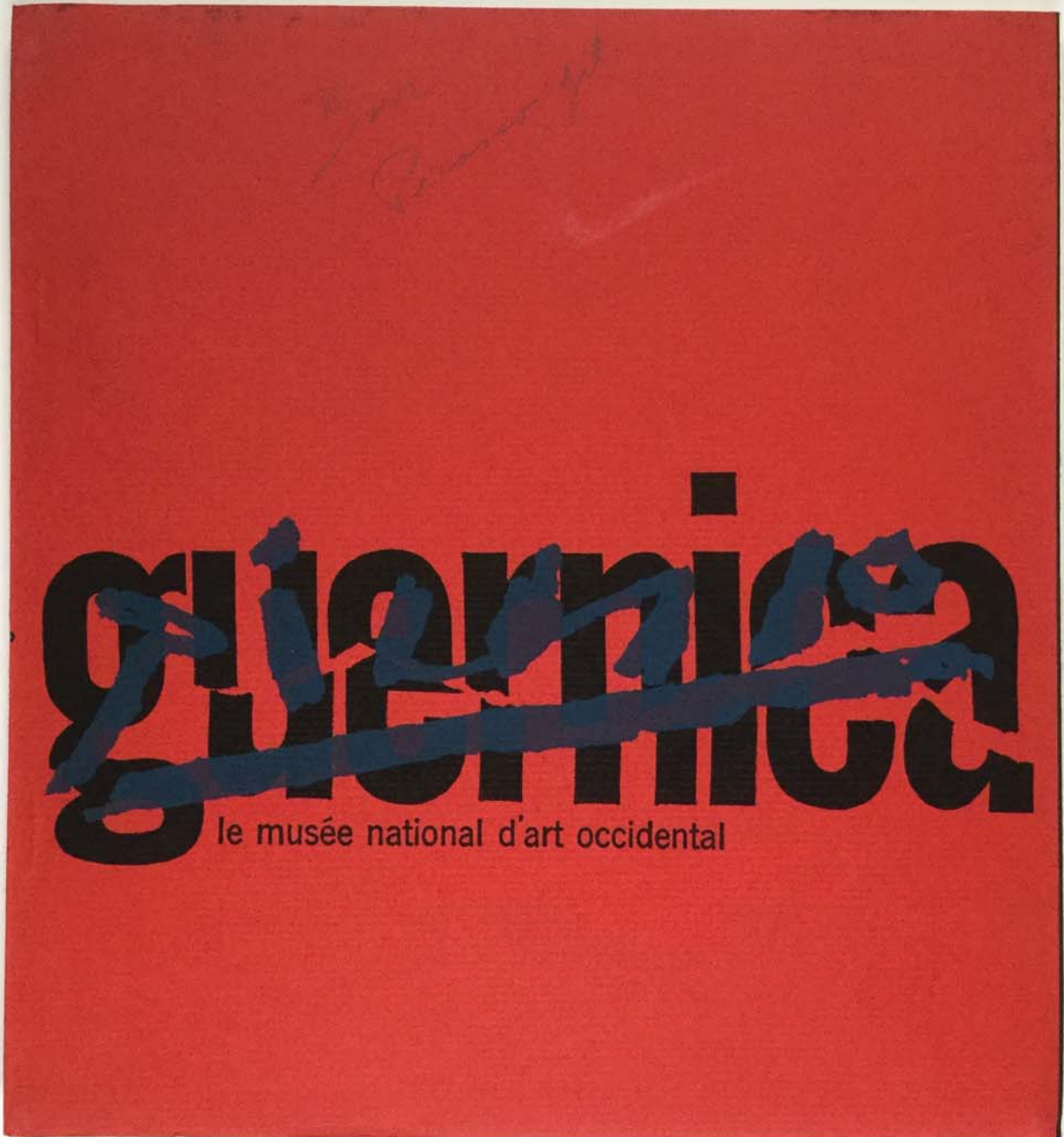
1937. *Life and Work*, New York, Schocken, July 18, 1937. *New York Times*, H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of Art*, 1946, pp. 202, 264. *Art*, Paris, 7-10, 1935, p. 165. the height of the first battle for on the Civil War which began which, patient, ordered, black and upon the earth/They have been



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le musée national d'art occidental

ピカソ・ゲルニカ展

Picasso

guernica

1962年11月3日→12月23日

主催—国立西洋美術館 朝日新聞社 アート・フレンド・アソシエーション

後援—外務省 文部省 協賛—ニューヨーク近代美術館

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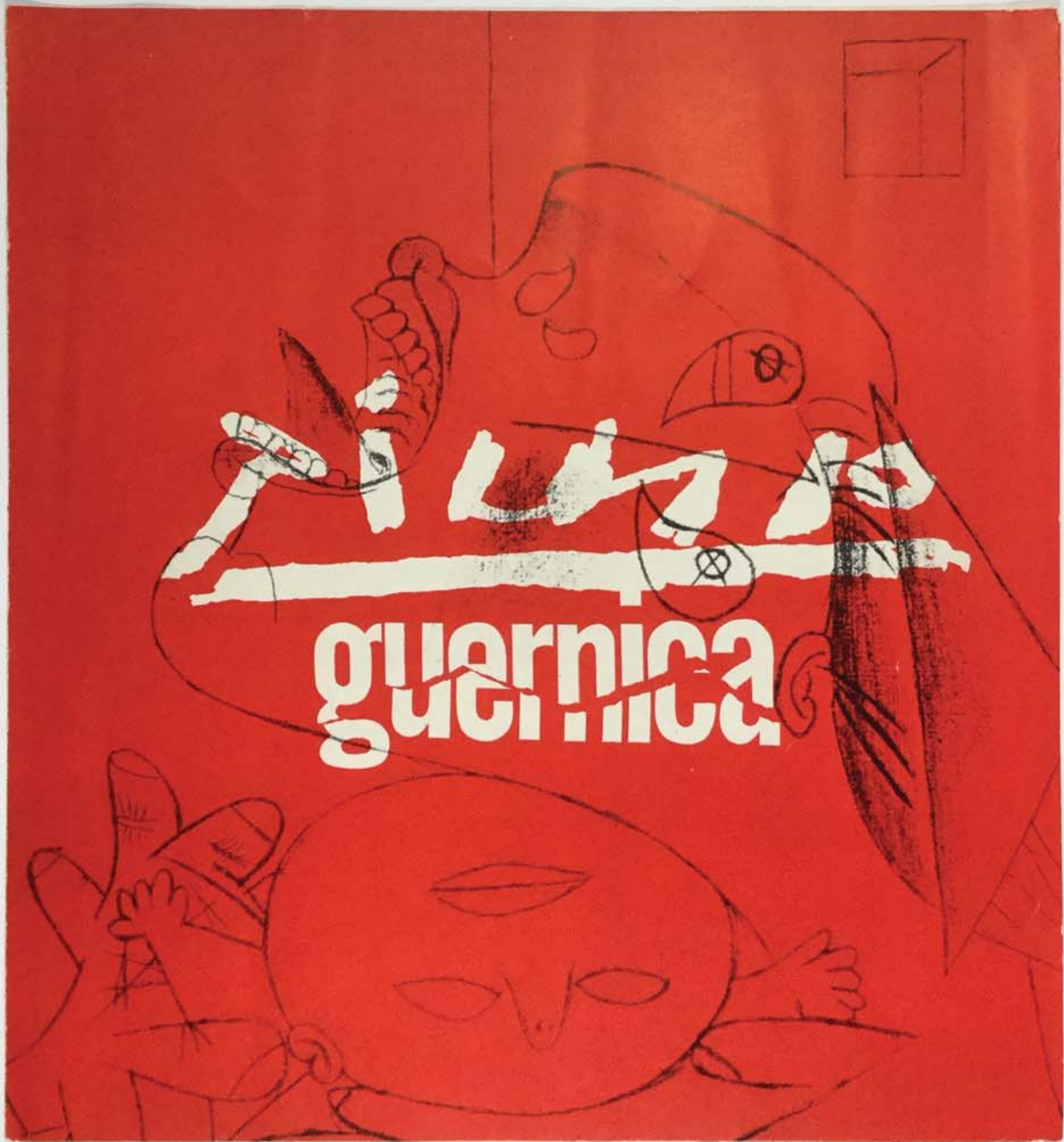
この《ピカソ・ゲルニカ展》は パブロ・ピカソ氏の好意により
同氏の代理人ダニエル・ザイデンバーグ氏 ダニエル・アンリ・カーンウェイレル氏
パリ ルイズ・レイリス画廊のモーリス・ジャルドー氏
ニューヨーク近代美術館館長アルフレッド・バー氏 同館のミラー嬢
の御協力を得て開催されたものです
上記の方々およびその他御協力を頂いた各位に
心から感謝いたします

Nous exprimons ici toutes nos reconnaissances à Monsieur Pablo Picasso
qui a bien voulu nous donner son accord pour cette exposition,
et à Messieurs Daniel Seidenberg, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Maurice Jardot,
ainsi qu'à Monsieur Alfred Barr, Directeur du Musée d'Art Moderne de New York
et à Mademoiselle Miller du même Musée,
qui ont tous donné leurs précieux concours à sa réalisation.

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馬の顔部著作



泣く顔



牡牛の顔部著作



ほしの上の母親と死んだ児



ハンカチを持つ泣く顔

ゲルニカについて

ゲルニカは、スペインのバスク地方にある小さな町です。ムンタカ谷間に、人口3,600人ほどを擁する静かな町です。この平和な町に、1937年4月28日、突然おそろしい悪魔の手が襲いかかりました。ヒトラーの指揮するナチス・ドイツの空軍が、大挙襲来したのです。当時スペインは、内乱の騒ぎの真っ最中で、国内は物情騒然としていました。後にスペインの支配者となるフランコ將軍は、軍隊の力を借りてスペインを統治しようと思ひ、そのため、ヒトラーのナチスと手を組んだのです。それまで平和で静かな生活をいとんでいたこの町は、一瞬のうちに地獄と変わりました。何の防備もなく、何の罪もない人々、女や、小供や、老人たちが、次ぎつぎと残酷な爆撃の犠牲となって死んで行きました。町全体は、煙塵と、悲鳴と、断末魔の叫びでうすめつくされました。それは、やがて来るべき第二次世界大戦の悲しい前奏曲でもありました。

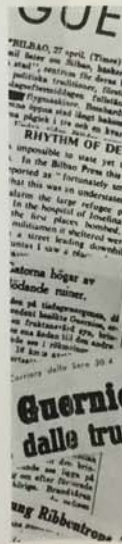
この悲劇の報せを受取った時、ピカソはパリに居ました。パリのオーギュスタン街にあるアトリエの一室で、制作にふけていたのです。しかし、祖国スペインに起ったこの残酷な事件は、彼の祖国愛を燃立たせ、人類への愛をめざませました。彼は早速この事件を主題とした制作にとりかかりました。たまたまその年の夏には、パリで大がかりな万国博覧会が開かれる予定であり、ピカソは、その年の始めに、博覧会のスペイン館を飾る大きな壁画の注文をスペイン共和国より受けていました。注文を受けはし

たものの、まだ何を描くかも決めていなかったピカソは、ただちにこのゲルニカの事件をテーマにすることを思ひつきました。世界中の人々の集まる博覧会の会場に、この無法な暴力の不当さを告発することによって、ゲルニカの人々の霊を慰め、平和を訴えようとしたのです。

爆撃のあった日から3日後、5月1日にはピカソはもう最初のスケッチを手がけています。博覧会に出品する作品は、縦3メートル60、横7メートル80という大がかりなもので、それだけの大画面に、どのようなコンポジションを描き上げるかということが、最初の大きな問題だったのです。そのためピカソは、いくつものデッサンや習作を重ねました。死んだ児を抱いて悲嘆にくれる母親、両手をあげて落下して行く人物、地上に横たわった死者民衆の象徴である若々しい馬、折れた剣を握りしめる手、その他多くのモチーフが、次ぎつぎに描かれ、修正されて行きました。このようにして、6月の半ばには、20世紀不朽の名作と言われる大作《ゲルニカ》が誕生したのです。

しかもピカソは、大作ができ上がっただけでは満足しませんでした。博覧会に出品する作品が出来上がった後でも、彼は多くの主題を絶えず描きつづけてきました。水彩、グワッシュ、油絵のさまざまな作品が、このようにして生まれました。《ゲルニカ》は、いわば、スペインの町の悲劇をテーマとしたピカソの壮大な変奏曲と言ってもよいものです。

今回の展覧会は、この《ゲルニカ》を主題とした作品63点を集めたもので、ピカソの壮大な構想、その激しい筆の力、見事な表現



方が如実に示されている素晴らしい迫力の展覧会です。博覧会に出品された《ゲルニカ》は、現在ではニューヨーク近代美術館の壁にはめこまれているので動かすことはできませんが、その代り、この作品の前後に描かれた関係作品は、ほとんどすべてこの展覧会に展示されています。油絵7点、デッサン・グワッシュ・水彩・版画55点のほか、《ゲルニカ》の大構図とはほぼ同じ大きさのタピスリー（織機織り）まで含まれています。20世紀の最大の巨匠ピカソが、暴力に対する激しい怒りと、人間に対する深い愛情をこめて描き上げたこれらの作品は、まさに現代の記念碑とも呼ぶべき見事な成果であり、圧倒するような力強い迫力、見る人に訴えかけて来ることでしよう。

ピカソについて

パブロ・ピカソは、1881年スペインのカタルニア地方の町マラガに生まれました。父親は町の学校で絵の教師をしており、ピカソも早くから、絵画に対して驚くべき才能をあらわしました。後に父親がバルセロナの美術学校に転任したので、一家はバルセロナに移り、ピカソはそこの美術学校にはいることになりましたが、その入学試験の際には、普通は一ヶ月かかって課題作を仕上げたのに、ピカソはわずか一日で、それも先輩たちよりはるかに巧みに描き上げて、人々を驚嘆させました。1900年、19歳の時はじめてパリに出て、当時の最も新しい画廊の雰囲気に触れ、急速に彼の絵画を成熟させて行きます。最初のうちは、モンマルトルに住む貧しい人々、病人や、乞食や、不具者の姿を、青を主調とした哀

愁に満ちた筆致で描いていました。きわめて抒情的色彩の強いこの時代を、普通に「青の時代」と言っています。次いで、1905年頃から、サーカスや曲芸師の姿を明るく色鮮やかに描き出す「後色の時代」が来ます。この時期になると、ピカソは、抒情的表現よりもむしろ造形的表現にこそその関心を寄せるようになり、人物像を単純なかなまりとして力強く捉えるような方向にすすみます。この造形的関心が、やがて、ブラックとともに彼がその中心的指導者となるキュビズム運動を生み出すこととなります。

キュビズムは、対象を自由自在にさまざまな方向から眺めて、その多様な姿をそのまま画面に描き出そうとします。いわば、画家は対象を自在に分析して、それを画面の上で再び構成しなおすのです。これは、従来にはまったく見られなかった新しいものの見方をもたらすこととなります。20世紀のさまざまな絵画運動は、このキュビズムに、実に多くのものを負っているのです。

キュビズムの時代にあつて、第一次世界大戦中に、ピカソは突然、伝統的な古典的様式に復帰します。彼の優れたデッサン力は、この時代に最もよく発揮され、多くの美しい人物像が生み出されました。その後、シュルレアリスムの影響もあって、ピカソは次第に幻想的な方向に向います。1930年代は、ピカソの幻想的時代とも言えるでしょう。この時代の最も優れた作品が《ゲルニカ》をめぐる作品群であることは、言うまでもありません。ピカソは、第二次大戦後もなお活潑に制作を続け、現在では、南フランスの別荘に住んで悠々自適の生活を送るながら、80歳を越えた老人とは思えない元気で、日夜絵筆を握りつづけています。

(高橋秀爾)

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11月3日→12月23日

午前9時30分→午後5時 月曜休館

国立西洋美術館

料金＝大人 200円 学生 120円 小人 80円

団体＝学生 100円 小人 50円

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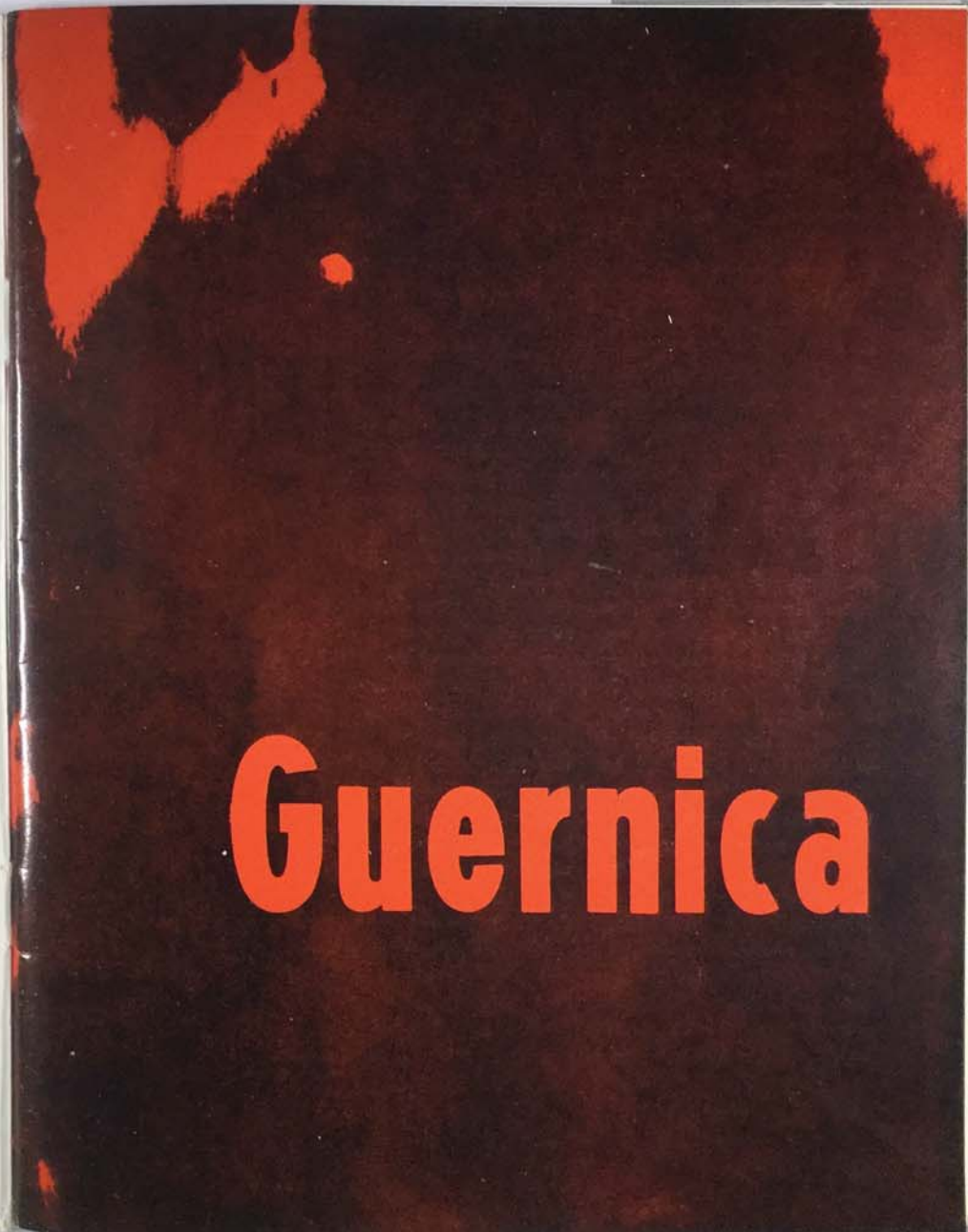
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FÖRORD

Medan arbetet på den inre omgestaltningen av byggnaden för det blivande museet för modern konst pågår, och innan denna omgestaltning tillnärmelsevis hunnit halvvägs, har vi, utan att på något sätt vilja gå händelserna i förväg, med en uppsåtligt improviserad utställning velat taga vara på ett enastående tillfälle som bjödits oss att i Stockholm visa vår tids måhända mest omskrivna målning, Picasso's "Guernica". Meningarna kan vara delade rörande det geniala fenomenet Picasso och hans konst, men ingen kan förneka det oerhörda inflytande, som denne konstnär under det senast förflutna halvsekle haft på den moderna konstens inriktning och utveckling. Under denna tid har Picasso varit världens mest omtalade och diskuterade konstnär. Han har mer än någon annan varit med om att spränga den vedertagna smakens gränser och skapat helt nya förutsättningar för den estetiska formuleringen, som ofta chockerat men samtidigt visat, att bildkonsten äger obegränsad frihet. Målningen "Guernica" utfördes till den spanska paviljongen på världsutställning-

en i Paris 1937, och blev redan vid sitt första framvisande en stor sensation. Det var Picassos protest mot det bestialiska inbördeskriget. Själv spanjor var han djupt engagerad i det spanska folkets kamp och upplevde staden Guernicas förintelse som en av mänsklighetens stora tragedier. Det har sagts, att Delacroix' målning av blodbadet på Chios är känd av flera människor än det krig som målningen hänsyftade på. Kanske skall en gång Picasso's "Guernica" utgöra den mest eklatanta påminnelsen om den tragiska händelse, som för två decennier sedan väckte mänsklighetens indignation och medkänsla.

För att ge ett stöd åt vårt minne och en bakgrund till Guernica-utställningen har vi för presentationen av densamma hopbragt några förstasidor i världspressen, några tidningsrubriker, några för längesedan glömda indignationsutbrott, väl medvetna om att det inte är fråga om politisk propaganda utan ett rent moraliskt och mänskligt ståndpunktstagande. Och detta tidningsmaterial till utställningens introduktion har vi gjort så neutralt slätkammat och välfriserat



som vi förmått, ty i verkligheten talar Guernica-målningen sitt skräckfyllda språk tydligare än några som helst andra kommentarer.

Vår önskan är att ge den svenska konstintresserade allmänheten möjlighet att ännu en gång konfronteras med verket "Guernica", ty nära tjugo år har förflutit sedan dess tillkomst och aderton år sedan målningen — hör och häpna! — visades i Stockholm utan att bli tillräckligt uppmärksam. Den utställdes då genom gemensamt skandinaviskt initiativ på Liljevalchs Konsthall i Föreningen för Nutida Konstns regi, (sedan 1953 Moderna Museets Vänner). Det är föga sannolikt, att Guernica under de närmaste årtiondena kommer att kunna åter ses i Europa, ty efter utställningens slut återgår materialet till

Museum of Modern Art i New York, där det hör hemma.

Utställningen, som anordnas i samverkan med Föreningen Moderna Museets Vänner och kommer att pågå under tiden den 19 oktober—den 2 december, omfattar i allt 63 nr, skisser och förarbeten till denna vår tids största och mest betydande propagandaffisch mot krigets meningslöshet och grymma barbari.

Genom tillmötesgående från Picasso och Museum of Modern Art i New York har utställningen, som tidigare besökt Palais des Beaux-Arts i Bryssel och Stedelijk Museum i Amsterdam, nu kommit till Stockholm, och jag vill här ge uttryck åt vår tacksamhet härför, en tacksamhet som även riktar sig till Monsieur Kahnweiler i Paris, utan vilkens välvilliga bistånd utställningen skulle gått oss förbi.

Otte Sköld

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STOCKHOLM OKT.—NOV. 1956

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22-28 APRIL 1959

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Picasso för H 144 only

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för frihetlig politik

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Med sikte på månen

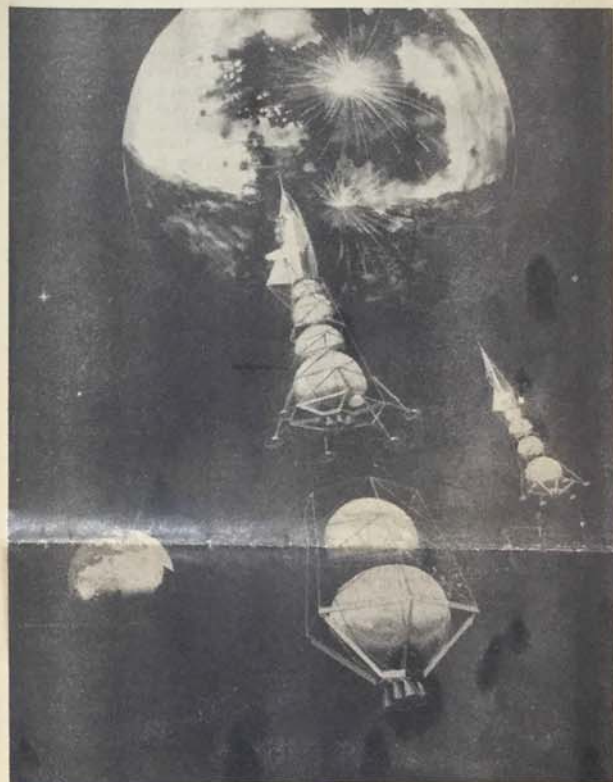
När går människans
färd ut i världsrymden?

Får vi någonsin uppleva att människan kan ta språnget ut i rymden och välbehållen sätta sin fot på andra planeter? Ja, svarar tysken Werner von Braun, mannen som leder de amerikanska raketexperimenten. Inom ett par årtionden skall människan kunna besegra avstånden mellan planeterna. Första steget blir att bygga rymdstationer för fast besättning, som svarar för observationer, beräkningar och raketbyggen. Om dessa rymdstationer, hur de skall byggas och brukas, berättar filie Karin Schultz. *Sidan 5*

AMSA och försvarsexpert diskuterar svensk a-bomb

Sidan 7

100 miljoner per dag betalar de svenska husmödrarna för varor och tjänster. Vi är alltså i hög grad storkonsumenter, och i framtiden kommer vi att bli det i än större utsträckning. Den konsumentupplysning som vägleder oss vid inköpen är av stort värde, men den är ofta färglös och enahanda, säger filie Brita Åkerman i en nyutkommen bok om konsumentfrågor. *Sidan 8*



Picasso och hans måleri har blivit föremål för en doktorsavhandling av filie Jan Runqvist. Den omfattar Picassos konst från år 1900 till 1937, det år som Picasso skapade sitt främsta konstverk, "Guernica". Guernica var en basisk stad som sönderbombades för 22 år sedan. Picassos målning har inte förlorat något av sitt symboliska värde, skriver i veckans nummer Ernesto Dethorey. Bilden nedan visar Picasso i hans ateljé. *Sidan 4*



I nästa nummer: Majläsning - Intervju med Ivar Lo-Johansson

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Arbetaren

Denna artikel är ett opprop till den disputation som den 11 april ägde rum i Uppsala och där fir le Jan Bunnqvist försvarade sin doktorsavhandling om Picasso (Minotauros — En studie i förhållandet mellan ikonografi och form i Picassos konst 1900—1937). En doktorsavhandling om Picasso hör inte till vardagen och måste anses som något av en sensation inte bara för Sverige utan även för världen. Jan Bunnqvists avhandling omfattar Picassos konst från 1900 till 1937. År 1937 betyder i Picassos konst först och främst "Guernica". Denna uppsats kan även tjäna som en påminnelse om årsdagen av Guernicas förstörelse, eftersom det den 26 april är tjugotvå år sedan illgärningen mot baskernas heliga stad begicks.



Picasso och Guernica

AV ERNESTO DETHOREY

Det spanska inbördeskrigets utlovt blev i mångt och mycket en världspunkt i Picassos liv och konst. Dittills hade man inte haft bevis på att Picasso hade något intresse till övers för politik. Men 1936 tog han öppet och uppriktligt parti för den lagliga republikanska regeringen. Bona bekant var han inte ensam i detta ställningstagande. Detsamma gjorde de festa radikal- eller vänsterinriktade konstnärer och intellektuella i världen. Och han som var — och fortfarande är — den moderna konstens främsta gestalt, målaren som blivit representativ och plastiskt tolkar vår tids anda, blev naturligtvis, den banerförande konstnären i kampen mot Franco och den spanska varianten av fascismen.

Denna variant var en blandning av tysk nazism och italiensk fascism och fick hjälp av dessaända fram till segrande över den demokratiska republiken för tjugo år sedan. När republiken upprättades i Spanien den 14 april 1931 — alltså just för tjugofem år sedan — gick det smärtsamt och utan blodutgjutelse. Men de gamla spanska oligarkerna — militärerna, kyrkan, storfamiljerna och de stora godsgårdarna — vilka var monarkister och långtade efter en återgång till tiden före 1831, skymplade från första början mot republiken. Till sist utlöste de med hjälp av den informationella fascismen ett inbördeskrig i Spanien. Det var således en förhållning försvarets kamp mot de makter som även utgjorde en fara för världsfreden, som det demokratiska Spanien förde. Allt detta stod naturligtvis klart för Picasso och han visste att han hade tagit parti för en svårare sak.

Var hans partistående i det spanska inbördeskriget partipolitiskt eller partifascistiskt? Var han redan då kommunist eller kommunistympatiskt? Ejder hade han reagerat som alla demokratiskt släsnade och humanistiskt inriktade människor då gjorde — överbordande av kultur, religion eller politisk hänsyn?

Picassos partistående har, om det någon gång återspeglats i hans konst, alltid varit allmännyttigt. Om Picassos kommunism skulle man kunna skriva en hel avhandling. Visserligen har hans Freddova, adopterats som emblem av den kommunistidgerade Världsfredkongressen och han är kanske "fredspartian", men hans porträtt av Stalin väckte indignation bland de rätttroiga och förkastades av partiet. De Picasso-tavlor som finns i sovjetmuseum är inte utställda, men de är det däremot i Spanien, i ex. i Barcelona.

"The Private World of Pablo Picasso" säger David Douglas Duncan: "Strängt bunden av konstarterna av egen uppfinnning... dock förklarar för andra tankesfärer i skapandet; troende i kommunismens filosofi... men ändå generöst bidragsgivare till katolska kyrkan; intensivt intresserad av de sista nyheterna... men levande nästan helt isolerad från världen omkring honom, är mannen en av historiens mest motståndsfulla personligheter..." Enligt Duncan säger utgången inget strategiskt mål och några skydderum fanns inte, men staden blev platsen som Franco och Hitler-Tyskland valde för det totala krigets första försök. Alltså inte kriget mellan fientliga stridskrafter utan mot en oöverbäddad och försvarslös civiltä befolkning.

Det var en månad, marknadsdag i Guernica. Vid halvmetern på eftermiddagen var det fortfarande mycket folk på gatorna. Först fälldes några bomber på den lilla järnvägsstationen. Femton minuter senare kom några Junker 52. Så snart de befann sig över Guernica började de kasta sin förtäande last, medan deras eskort av jaktplan besökt befolkningen som i panik flydde till tillstannerna av staden, där de trodde sig kunna finna bättre skydd än i de gamla byggnaderna. Hus flög i luften eller rasade och begrov alla som tagit skydd i dem, eldväder uppstod här och var. Män, kvinnor och barn sprang forskräckta åt alla håll och de som inte dög under de nedränsande husen, stupade på gator och vägar besjuttna av de lågflygande planen.

Men en kvart över fem började staden verkligen martyriera. Under två och en halv timme utspälles den skningslösa och utan uppenbart för det mest fruktansvärda bombardement som blivit-

Francos drömmar och lögner" ledsagas av en prosadikt i facsimil av Picassos med skrytning till gravrytarna och det hela utformades till en politisk småskrift mot Franco och hans framfar, en bitande satir och ett förljöglande av dikta-torn. Det är inte oerhört att Picasso i detta sammanhang har tänkt på de tillfälliga publikationer som han i sin ungdom torde ha läst i Barcelona. Lösa blad med en serie bilder med dithörande text, som på katalanska kallas "suques de rodolins" och på kastilianska "aleluyas", ett slags skillingtryck. Av var och en av de aderton bilderna trycktes sedan kort som såldes till förmån för den spanska republikanska regeringen.

Men Picassos viktigaste manifestation av sitt politiska engagemang blev "Guernica". Den 28 april 1937 publicerade världspresen nyheten att Guernica, baskernas heliga stad, den 26 hade förintats av tyska bombplan i Francos tjänst. Guernica utgjorde inget strategiskt mål och några skydderum fanns inte, men staden blev platsen som Franco och Hitler-Tyskland valde för det totala krigets första försök. Alltså inte kriget mellan fientliga stridskrafter utan mot en oöverbäddad och försvarslös civiltä befolkning.

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(1930), och framförelt med "Minotauros" (1935). Om denna, Picassos viktigaste gravyrt och kanske den lidigaste etsning som överhuvudtaget skapats i världen, har Artur Lundkvist sagt att "den ter sig som det drömlika förbudet och den fullständiga antitesen till Guernica-målningen två år senare".

I en studie om Picasso säger Jean Cassou, överintendent vid Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris, och en framstående hispanist: "För att sluta denna studie måste vi betrakta den mest intima och irrgiska av Picassos motgångar, den genom vilken han vänt sig som en man av sin tid, en man av sitt blod, rörd till botten av sin själ av verklighetens plöteliga framträdande. Och vilken verklighet! Då inbördeskriget utbröt i Spanien, var det inte längre vare sig Ingres eller negerkonsten eller antiken som inspirerade honom, inte heller någon av de stilar vilka bildar stilarnas historia och grammatik. Goyas stjärna uppenbarade sig i hans öde. Men hans konst tog ingen lärdom från Goyas. Beröringspunkten uppenbarade sig på annat sätt, från själ till själ. Den chock som hans lands olyckor frambragte hos Goya fann sitt eko hos Picasso då han plöteligt konfronterades med samma 'dessastre de la guerra'."

Spaniens tragedi ryckte Picasso ur hans duala eller förtrollning. Och självklart uppenbarar sig då åter i hans konst tjurfäktningsmotiven: hästarna, den symboliska tjuren, den iberiska tjuren, tjuren-toten. Tjuren och hästen är två av den iberiska tragedins oäkyljaktliga element. Den tredje är människorna. Då uppstår Francos drömmar och lögner" och framförelt "Guernica". "Guernica" är någonting övervildigande. Den är ett skri som givits plastisk utformning, men dock är fullständigt hörbart. Infor "Guernica" hör man smärtans, rasets, förbittringens och mot detta vår tids tecken företätt av våldsrörningar, anti-kulturrens brutala och omänskliga makt. Allt i målningen skriar, även de statiska elementen; även skuggornas svärta är som ett härresande jämmerrop. Allt skriar. De hållösa ögonen skriar; tungorna är spetsformade, vilket plastiskt gör skrien ännu skarpare.

Cassou nämner Goya i detta sammanhang och lyfter ut hans serie av raderingar "Dessastre de la guerra" (Krigets olyckor). Infor "Guernica" drar man sig särskilt till minnes Goyas "Arkebuseringarna den 3 maj 1808". Dessa bägge dukar företräder två tidsepocher och även två stilar. Två stilar inom raskonsten och i viss mån även tvänne inkräktares stilar eller framfar.

Eftersom "Guernica" — kanske Picassos främsta skapelse — inte beskriver någon bestämd geografisk plats utan bara tar dess namn, och det anekdotiska inte ens skymtar där, samt dess historiska episod som symboliserar mer och mer blir avlidgen alltför personlig lösen går — detaljerna i målningen förvandlas mer och mer till symboler med allt mindre anknytning till den verklighet de en gång "representerade" — blir "Guernica" i sin helhet, att betrakta mer och mer som en symbol i sig själv. En symbol för krigets fasor.

Efteråt har naturligtvis den vidriga historiska episod som "Guernica" symboliserar vida överträffats av ännu vidrigare och förskräckligare händelser än de som utspelades i den lilla baskiska staden. Men "Guernica" har inte förlorat något av sitt symboliska värde, utan snarare har detta ökat och blivit alltmer allmäntillgängligt. "Guernica" uppfattas således mindre och mindre som en beskrivning av en fullbordad tragedi och mer och mer som en varning för ännu fasansfullare och onådade tillräningar som skulle kunna begås i världen. Den Guernica genom Picassos konst förvandlats till symbol för evärdliga tider.

● **Exit Hornblower**

Sjöhjälten Horatio Hornblower tar avsked av sina svenska läsare med "Hornblower i Västindien" (Boniers, 48:50). Detta avsked borde inte vara lätt med tanke på allt nöje man med författaren C. S. Foresters benägna hjälp haft av Mr Hornblower, men han i dessa episodberättelser bedrivit nog inte vad han har varit. Den handlingskraftiga, rättfärdiga och självvinniska Hornblower uppträder där som en gnällig, småskuren kontermariral, som till råga på allt är sentimentall. Man skulle från honom utan saknad. Eller återgå hellre till de tidigare Hornblower-böckerna, friska i smaken och som stormby på Atlanten.

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