

The dream of commitment

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On 8 January 1937 Picasso started working on *Dream and Lie of Franco*. Some authors have dated from that same month the Spanish Republican government's contacts with Picasso to enlist his urgent cooperation, but it seems clear that this contact had occurred earlier, at least prior to the painter's appointment as director of the Prado Museum (according to the decree issued by President Manuel Azaña on 19 September 1936, published the following day in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, no. 264)¹ replacing Ramón Pérez de Ayala, who had been relieved of his duties on 4 September (the final day of exhibitions was 30 August).² The painter never took up his post, and Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, the museum's deputy director, served as acting director.

Azaña, who had become President of the Republic a few days earlier after a change of government, was clearly intellectually hostile to the power of the Army and the Church even though he had been Minister of War in 1931. Following the resignation of José Giral — which coincided with Pérez de Ayala's sacking as director of the Prado — the Socialist Francisco Largo Caballero became Prime Minister, presiding a coalition government of the Popular Front parties. The new Minister of Public Education, the Communist Jesús Hernández, named Josep Renau to head the Directorate-General of Fine Arts (a post Renau assumed on 7 September 1936).

Josep Renau Berenguer (1907-1982), like Picasso the son of a painter and art teacher, began working in 1925 as a painter and graphic designer, and soon was winning prizes at poster competitions. His left-wing and anarchist ideas and artistic interests led him to found the magazine *Proa*, to make his first photomontages (1929) and to take an interest in the German magazine *Aiz* and the work of Käthe Kollwitz, George Grosz, Otto Dix and John

Heartfield, in addition to that of the Russian Constructivists. In 1931 he joined the Communist Party and his work gradually grew more social and political. He also helped to found the UEAP (Union of Proletarian Writers and Artists) and worked at the magazine *Nueva Cultura* with Max Aub and Gil Albert. Due to his political and artistic activities he went into exile in 1939, first in France, then in Mexico and finally, from 1958, in Germany. In the archives of the Musée Picasso in Paris there is a letter, dated 24 September 1936, from Renau to Picasso, 'the most eminent man, with the most alert and heroic mind in the world of art'. In this contradictory and baroque missive, he speaks of a 'holy war against fascism' and implies that Picasso might be expected 'to decide to live with this magnificent Spanish nation'.³ While Picasso's return to his country at that time would not have been only reckless but virtually impossible, his sympathy for the cause had to be exploited in other ways.

In the summer of 1937 Paris hosted the International Exposition, the theme of which was 'Art and Technology in Modern Life'.⁴ Clearly, the Spanish government could not pass up an international showcase such as this to denounce before the world both the alliance of the rebel army with Germany and Italy against a legitimate government and the non-intervention policy of the rest of Europe. It is likely that in December 1936, while on a visit to Paris in relation to the Spanish Pavilion at the International Exposition, Renau asked Picasso to go beyond the token acceptance of the directorship of the Prado Museum — more honorary than real — in demonstrating his support for the Republic. A letter from 17 December of that year, signed by the Deputy Minister of Public Education, Wenceslao Roces, again stressed the idea of Picasso returning to Spain 'to see on the ground the work being carried out by the government of the Republic for the protection and salvation of our national artistic treasures'.⁵

Late that year, Picasso, along with over one hundred Catalan intellectuals, signed a manifesto denouncing the November 1936 bombing of Madrid.⁶ But there was more Picasso could do for the Republic, and his battle would not be waged from a museum director's office in France or Spain, but from his studio.

At that time the idea was to create a work specially for the pavilion. At the latest, the official invitation must have come in early January 1937. When the official delegation visited him, Picasso showed them the first print runs of *Dream and Lie of Franco*, his satirical attack on the military uprising,⁷ from partially completed etchings on copper plates, dated by the artist 8 and 9 January. However, from Josep Renau's memoirs of those days we might draw the conclusion that the invitation to contribute to the exposition came earlier: 'The mission that took me to Paris in December 1936 was eminently political: to invite the many Spanish artists living there to join in the fight against fascism being waged by the Spanish people, either by offering work done specially for the Spanish pavilion at the [1937 Exposition] or by showing previously executed pieces in it. [...] In the list of priorities for the guest artists that I brought from Spain, Picasso stood at the top.'⁸ We can therefore only speculate about the cause-effect relationship that the official delegation's visit might have had on the creation of *Dream and Lie of Franco*. However, the evidence points to a request for a large painting, while it seems that it was Picasso's personal desire to have these prints made and to show in the Spanish pavilion five sculptures he made between 1931 and 1933, four of which he had cast in cement expressly for the event.⁹

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF A WORK

As noted above, between 8 and 9 January 1937, Picasso printed a first state of the plates of *Dream and Lie of Franco* (1 and 2), a series of line etchings in which he had left blank four of the panels on the second plate.

The two copper plates, each measuring roughly 31 x 42 cm, were each divided into nine rectangular panels, leaving a blank 2-cm margin running across the top and bottom. The panels were framed by double horizontal and vertical lines drawn with a straightedge, creating the margins needed for his original intentions; that is, a set of postcards, one from each of the 9 x 14-cm panels. For this, the postcards would have to be cut out, and thus he took into account the space for the bevelling necessary for intaglio printing. This technique was nothing new for Picasso, as

he had previously used it in 1936 for the three etchings of the artwork he did for *La Barre d'appui* by Paul Éluard (published that June), executed on a single plate alongside the imprint of the artist's right hand (3). Although he did a small trial run — eighteen uncut plates — of the plate, with the four panels printed together, in the book the three etchings appear separately (without the palm print).¹⁰ This technique was suitable in terms of the homogeneity of the finished work, convenience and savings in time and material. In addition, it allowed Picasso to do something which was habitual in his creative processes: the mixing and juxtaposition of styles.

In executing *Dream and Lie of Franco* Picasso used intaglio, or cutting into the surface, on two copper plates, given both his familiarity and experience with the technique and its suitability for producing graphic works in series. This duplication is not exclusive to his graphic works (the moulds he used in sculpting the Boisgeloup heads for the pavilion are another example), but rather a demonstration of a specific concept: the creation of a plate as a medium. Intaglio consists of making an incised design, that is, by removing material from the plate. The resulting incisions hold the ink, which is transferred onto the paper by means of the high pressure exerted by a roller press. The particular technique employed determines the final appearance of the work on paper (the print). In the case of this series, the procedure used was etching, an indirect acid-based technique in which the plate is covered with a varnish on which the artist draws with an etching needle, creating lines of bare metal where the acid bites into the plate. The biggest advantage of this procedure compared with direct methods is that it allows the artist great fluency and spontaneity in the needle strokes. The resulting image in the final print is a series of lines on a white background. Even though substantial changes may be effected in a print during the printing process, in his etchings Picasso used black ink and standard cleaning and printing processes, which reproduced faithfully the etched design, without adding other elements — a process the artist had done at specialised printshops, which at that time usually meant that of Roger Lacourrière.

During the printing process the image is inverted; what is right in the plate comes out left in the print, and vice versa. Thus the storyline of the successive images in *Dream and Lie of Franco* was reversed, and what was the first panel on the plate became the third on the paper. This would not have happened had he stuck with the original idea of cutting the plate; on the other hand, this inversion did not bother the artist, as evidenced by the fact that in his prints figures often hold things in their left hand and execution dates frequently come out backwards.¹¹ In some cases, Picasso even toyed with this phenomenon, as in *Table of Etchings* (4), in which the artist did two sets of etchings of mirror images of the same designs (note the subsequent corrections in the Roman numerals). Here we can see clearly Picasso's heterogeneous method, the paradigm of a self-speculating work.

Respecting the original narrative development, in our monographic study in this catalogue (pp. 44-81) we analyse the panels on each plate in the order in which they were etched. We can see this layout in the plates themselves, now cancelled, held at the Museum Ludwig in Cologne (5 and 6). They record all of the processes carried out in their execution, which constitute, as Picasso would say, not the stages of a work, but its metamorphosis.¹² We are fortunate to have, in the proofs of state, this photographic record of the etching, the fruit of Picasso's curiosity. In addition, we have Picasso's habitually meticulous dating of his works, not just the finished work, but also, in many instances, its different stages of execution.¹³ The successive dates of *Dream and Lie of Franco* provide us with the temporal contexts of the different processes of the work and enable us better to understand its formal and iconographic development; in other words, to reconstruct the logbook of its evolution.

The first plate, the most homogenous in terms of the execution of the panels and the relationship between them, was done entirely, in its first state, with etching, and is dated at the centre of the upper margin '8 janvier 1937' (1).

The second plate, also entirely etched in its first state, has the same date — '8 janvier 1937' — in the same place. In this first

state, the lower left corner of the margin of the matrix, bears the date 9 January 1937, preceded by a small X in superscript ('9 janvier 1937').¹⁴ To the regular thin lines of the etching, done with a needle, the artist added others of greater thickness executed with a scraper, which resulted in darker blacks, especially in the landscape of two naturalist scenes. At first glance it is clear that this second print does not have the homogeneity of the first: the grotesque character does not appear in all the panels, nor are they done with the stage-like low horizon line (2).

Four months after starting work on the two plates for *Dream and Lie of Franco*, Picasso returned to them. Although Brigitte Baer gives no date for the new state of the plates, it seems clear that it was not prior to 1 May, since there are proofs of the first state dedicated to Christian Zervos with the date 'Paris 1 mai XXXVII', and it seems odd that Picasso would dedicate and make a gift of such proofs when he was working on the next stage in the evolution of the work (which he also dedicated, in this case to Yvonne Zervos).¹⁵

Both Patricia Failing¹⁶ and Patrick Cramer¹⁷ mention 25 May as the date on which Picasso supplemented the line etching on the plates with brushstrokes in sugar-lift aquatint, a highly plastic technique, which provided a homogeneous medium grey, highlighting the main forms against the background, and added strong planes that bolstered the dynamic graphics of the needle lines (15 and 7).

Sugar aquatint is one of the few etching techniques that allow the artist to create a positive image, working with the freshness of a brush, in the knowledge that the stroke on the plate will be preserved in the print, its intensity depending on the biting time of the acid. This is evidenced in the seven brushstrokes in the lower right margin of the second plate, where the etcher seems to be testing the expressiveness of the brush dipped in the mixture of gum arabic, ink and sugar. In the first plate Picasso filled in the figures with grey (except in panels 3 and 8, in which Franco's teeth and eyes are left white), lending them materiality and differentiating them from the background, which remained

white and neutral. This procedure was followed only partially in the second plate, where the figures in panels 11 and 12 (from which the grotesque Franco figure is absent) have been left white.

There are several peculiarities in the use of grey. In panel 1 (p. 42) the silhouette of Franco on horseback stands out against a pool of white, while in panel 4 (p. 50), perhaps one of the richest in terms of technique, the lines of the skirt and mantilla are enriched by varying the shades to achieve the desired effect of transparency, which in the mantilla is executed with loose, splotchy grey cross-hatching. In panel 5 (p. 52) one notices the way in which the grey filling in the bull does not quite conform to the outline, which creates the effect of sharp light and shade, something not seen in the Franco figure. In addition, the dust kicked up by the bull acquires a special texture due to the sugar being applied with the thumb, leaving the artist's fingerprints; this special texture is repeated in the bull in panel 14 (p. 70). In panel 6 (p. 54) there is no grey filling in the distant mountains, which avoids overlap with the kneeling figure, the prie-dieu and the pedestal, and in panel 7 (p. 56) the toads and snakes are highlighted against the white background. In panel 9 (p. 60) the pig's two left legs (far side, from the viewer's perspective) are done solely with aquatint, and do not exist in the etching, thus imbuing the whole with a greater sense of stillness.

In sum, the shading is varied both for greater overall expressiveness and to distinguish the different elements in each image.

On 7 June 1937, Picasso further developed the second plate, finishing the etching of the empty panels, and, in the lower margin added, to the previously etched date, '7 juin 37' preceded by a dash (16). These dramatic images show a radical departure from the parodic intent of the previous sequence and point to what he would do in *Guernica*, but they also differ in formal terms, as in the new images the etched line drawings are not enhanced with aquatint. It could be that by the time Picasso decided to do the empty panels he had already dropped the idea of cutting the plates to make postcards.¹⁸

Previous to this, Brigitte Baer speaks of a third etching state (only in the second plate) — after the aquatint — with further development of the lines in the bulls in panels 13 and 14 (more lines in the horns and pelt), the guts of the horse, the dust (lines added to heighten the sense of lateral and upward movement) and Franco's crown. In panel 14 he highlighted the flag and reworked the borders at the sides, highlighting the reds in the rebel army standard. We should also note the reworking of the horse's mane, extending the upper locks out of the panel into the side margin and lending the scene an effect of great depth.

In a fourth state (also in the second plate only), in panel 12 (p. 66), Picasso used a scraper to shave down the rough surface created by the aquatint in order to lighten the trousers and hips of the figure — creating the effect of greater volume, thereby according the figure greater importance — and the landscape in the upper left background. In panel 13 (p. 68) he modified the bull's snout and Franco's head, also in order to change the volume, as he did in panel 14 (p. 70) with the bull's torso and the horrible guts spilling out of the horse's belly.

PUBLICATION

The two plates were published in Paris in June 1937, after beveling and acierage to withstand Lacourière's large print run: 150 proofs on China paper glued to Japan paper (signed and numbered 1 to 150) and 850 proofs on Montval laid paper (the signature stamped in grey ink, and numbered 1 to 850). The edition consisted of the two etchings and a page with the manuscript text of a poem (with the typed versions in Spanish and French on the back), all in a portfolio with a facsimile of the handwritten title — *Dream and Lie of Franco* — glued to the cover (8). According to Cramer it also included a half page with the English translation of the poem.

The portfolio, published by Picasso, was exhibited at the Spanish Pavilion at the Paris International Exposition, on the ground floor, directly opposite *Guernica*, and was sold at an affordable price. All proceeds went to support the Republican cause.¹⁹ Upon entering the pavilion one came to a covered portico with the huge

painting to the right, Alexander Calder's mercury fountain at the centre, and the desk and publications showcase to the left. Through a *jalousie* behind the first showcases one could see the exit stairs, under which stood Picasso's cast concrete sculpture, *Large Head of a Woman* from 1931. Above the showcases on the wall, facing *Guernica*, was written: '*La culture n'est digne de ce nom que dans la mesure [qu'elle] l'est pour tous les hommes*' (culture is worthy of that name only to the extent that it is for all men'). The upright showcase farthest from the *jalousie* contained, on the left, a large photograph of Federico García Lorca (under the inscription *POÉTE FUSILLÉ A GRENADE* (poet shot in Granada) there were editions of *Llanto por Ignacio Sanchez Mejias* and *Romancero General de la Guerra de España*); to the right an announcement for the exhibition of Catalan art; and in the centre — displayed for sale — *Dream and Lie of Franco*. Above, laid out in a row, was the text, the cover of the portfolio and the printed versions of the poem, and below that row the two etchings. There were also postcards, as there were for *Guernica*.

According to Cramer, on 9 June 1939 Picasso authorised the cutting of the scenes from the two prints and their mounting as individual drawings.²⁰ Let us recall that after a tour of England starting in October 1938, *Guernica* arrived in New York, where it was shown from 5 to 27 May at the Valentine Gallery. Picasso paid the shipping costs. In August, the painting began a three-month tour of cities across the country (August in Los Angeles, September in San Francisco, October in Chicago). It was clearly at this time that the decision was made to do this new edition, or rather the new version of the previous edition.

We should note here that the title of the work — *Dream and Lie of Franco* — did not appear in the original manuscript of the poem accompanying the edition, although it did appear on the cover as a facsimile of Picasso's handwritten version. The title first appeared on page 8 (recto) of the *carnet en cuir* held in the archives of the Musée national Picasso. This *carnet* is a small notebook (13.5 x 10 cm) with a brown leather cover, containing 34 pages of graph paper. On page 33 (verso) we find the phrase '*dicha desdicha/de Franco*', which may have been an early idea for

a title²¹ and, Ramírez notes, a bit of wordplay, this time in Spanish.²² Titles were very rare in the poems Picasso had written to date, and he only used them for plays, as in *Le Désir attrapé par la queue* (1941) and *Les Quatre petites filles* (1947), and texts conceived to be published as a whole, as in *The Burial of Count Orgaz* (1957) and *Hunk of Skin* (1959).

From the outset all sorts of meanings and references were assigned to the title. Juan Antonio Ramírez has compiled most of them, including the allusions to Goya and his famous etching *The Dream of Reason Produces Monsters*, or its relationship with Spanish Golden Age literature, stressing Picasso's surrealist taste for puns, depending on how we pronounce the French title: *Songe et mensonge de Franco*.²³

Herschel B. Chipp deals with the references to Spanish literature in detail and points out the dual origins of the title in a popular saying in turn inspired by the works of Calderon de la Barca's *Life is a Dream* and *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo es mentira* (In This Life All Is Both Truth and Lie).²⁴ In his study of the Spanish pavilion at the Paris Exposition, Fernando Martín cites the writer José Bergamín, who claimed that he suggested the title to Picasso, based on a text by the Catalan poet Joan Maragall, a title that Picasso found 'Goyaesque' according to Bergamín.²⁵ On the other hand, Picasso may have been familiar with one of Goya's unpublished *Caprichos*, of which proofs and studies exist, entitled *Sueño de la Mentira y la Ynconstancia* (Dream of Lying and Inconsistency; 11). What we can be absolutely certain of is that the advert for the *Dream and Lie of Franco* prints, published in June 1937 during the exhibition (12) — hence the '*Acaba de aparecer*' (just out) — includes a text from *La hora de todos* (Everyone's Hour), by Francisco de Quevedo, which reads: '*Yo administro unos hombres a medio podrir, entre vivos y muertos, que traen bien aliñada fantasma y tratan de que les herede su apetito y pagan en buena moneda lo roñoso de su estantigua*.'²⁶

The first manuscript of the poem (9), written in black pencil, that accompanied the etchings, on a sheet of paper folded in two

(31 x 20 cm), has several indications concerning time. At the top of the text, on the left, written vertically is '15 juin 37' followed by 'a las 3 de madrugada' (at 3 in the morning) — note the mix of French and Spanish — with a horizontal line separating it from the next paragraph; the text ends with the word 'tripas' (guts). Below, also on the left side and written vertically, there is the note 'por la mañana después de dormir a eso de 9' (in the morning after sleeping round 9); the text ends with the word 'azucenas' (lilies). The opposite page begins with the date '17 juin 37', underscored, horizontal and on the left, and the last two lines are dated '18 junio 1937' (change of language in the dating). That text, unamended, was written out in longhand again, this time in India ink, and reproduced in facsimile with the published version of *Dream and Lie of Franco* (10). On the back of the same sheet were added the Spanish and French transcripts of the text in type.

The text, originally written in Spanish, is as follows:

'Fandango de lechuzas escabeche de espadas de pulpos de mal agüero estropajo de pelos de coronillas de pie en medio de la sartén en pelotas puesto sobre el cucurucho del sorbete de bacalao frito en la sarna de su corazón de cabestro — la boca llena de la jalea de chinches de sus palabras — cascabeles del plato de caracoles trenzando tripas — meñique en erección ni uva ni breva — comedia del arte de mal tejer y teñir nubes productos de belleza del carro de la basura — rapto de las meninas en lágrimas y en lagrimones — al hombro el ataúd relleno de chorizos y de bocas — la rabia retorciendo el dibujo de la sombra que le azota los dientes clavados en la arena y el caballo abierto de par en par al sol que lo lee a las moscas que hilvanan a los nudos de la red llena de boquerones el cohete de azucenas — farol de piojos donde está el perro nudo de ratas y escondrijo del palacio de trapos viejos — las banderas que fríen en la sartén se retuercen en el negro de la salsa de la tinta derramada en las gotas de sangre que lo fusilan — la calle sube a las nubes atada por los pies al mar de cera que pudre sus entrañas y el velo que la cubre canta y baila loco de pena — el vuelo de cañas de pescar y alhigui alhigui del

entierro de primera del carro de mudanza — las alas rotas rodando sobre la tela de araña del pan seco y agua clara de la paella de azúcar y terciopelo que pinta el latigazo en sus mejillas — la luz se tapa los ojos delante del espejo que hace el mono y el trozo de turrón de las llamas se muerde los labios de la herida — gritos de niños gritos de mujeres gritos de pájaros gritos de flores gritos de maderas y de piedras gritos de ladrillos gritos de muebles de camas de sillas de cortinas de cazuelas de gatos y de papeles gritos de olores que se arañan gritos de humo picando en el morrillo de los gritos que cuecen en el caldero y de la lluvia de pájaros que inunda el mar que roe el hueso y se rompe los dientes mordiendo el algodón que el sol rebaña en el plato que el bolsín y la bolsa esconden en la huella que el pie deja en la roca.²⁷

Under the text facsimile, on a signed copy dedicated to Christian and Yvonne Zervos, Picasso drew a 'weeping woman', and it could hardly be a coincidence that purple and yellow, the colours of the Republican flag, appear throughout the work, especially as part of a series of stripes in a central column that runs from the top of the page to the drawing of a head at the bottom, ploughing through the sea of letters like a vertical wake.

This text includes virtually all the usual features of Picasso's early poetry:²⁸ dynamism, created by gerunds and the absence of punctuation (limited to a few scattered dashes); the abundance of food terms (souse, octopus,²⁹ fried, sausages, etc.); the Spanishisms, not only in reference to food but also fandango, *alhigui* or maids; terms of the trade such as 'outline of the shadow' or 'ink-sauce shed', and, above all, the outbursts of cruelty and excess in expressions such as 'souse of sword', 'evil-omened', 'chinch-bug jelly', 'braiding guts', etc. This in addition to the existence in the text of a peculiar and rich bestiary (owl, octopus, lead-ox, snails, etc.); satirical references to the Church and curia ('hairs from priests' tonsures') and allusions to the graphic elements of the work: to the recumbent figures in the expression 'teeth driven in the sand', to the gutted horse in 'horse open wide' or 'rots its entrails', also in 'the shroud stuffed with sausages and mouths', and direct references to the sun and ban-

ners, and a peculiar set of screams entirely suited to the latter images in the series.

TIME OF GUERNICAS

On 19 January 1937, ten days after³⁰ putting the plate through its second acid bath, Picasso created what might be considered the first postscript to *Dream and Lie of Franco*. In this case, he changed artistic media and did a small painting on canvas (38 x 46 cm) called *Figure of a Woman Inspired by the Spanish Civil War (Portrait of the marchioness of Christian arse...)*. On the left, in the middle ground, a female figure in a ridiculous hat leans over the railing of a balcony, her body bent forward, looking down, with a flag in her left hand and her right arm extended with her hand open. There is a formal relationship with panel 4 of the etching (p. 50): here the stereotypical Spanish woman with swaying hips is the woman-house of old Spain, on her balcony watching a procession or parade, watching but never participating, with a half moon on her hat and a hairy upper lip. She is leaning downward, contrary to the woman-house, who emerges upward from her window in *Guernica*.

One of the peculiarities of this painting is the inscription behind the woman, within the confines of the balcony and following the contours of her arched back. In scrawling hand it reads: 'RETRATO DE LA MARQUE / SA DE CULO CRISTIANO / ECHÁNDOLES UN / DURO A LOS SOL / DADOS MOROS / DEFENSORES / DE LA / VIR / GE / N' (Portrait of the marchioness of Christian arse tossing a coin to the Moorish soldiers defenders of the Virgin). Picasso here makes clear barbed references to the upper classes and their financial support for the insurgents (marchioness, coin), to the Church (Christian, Virgin) and the rebel army (Moorish soldiers), piling on the criticism of the participation and assistance of other nationalities under the misleading concept of 'National'. In addition, there is the word 'arse', in the same way that the etchings highlighted grotesque, caricaturised buttocks (panel 2, p. 46) or the anal region of some of the horses (panels 1 and 14, pp. 42 and 70). Thus there are adjectives seemingly incongruent but devastating in propaganda terms: 'Christian' in reference to 'arse' and 'defenders of the Virgin' in reference to 'Moorish soldiers', just as the verbal

phrase 'tossing a coin' also points to the derogatory intent of the inscription.

Clearly, Picasso refers to the importance of capital in the war, as in panel 6 of *Dream and Lie of Franco* (p. 54), and uses the symbol of the flag, as seen in panel 14, here its importance underscored by the use of colour. In formal terms, the neck is done with the same textures as in the panels 13 and 14 (pp. 68 and 70), the thick, rough neck of an animal, as well as in her right hand and fingernails. Below we refer to the possible influence on the caricature of Franco in Dora Maar's photo *Portrait of Ubu* (112, p. 85). If there was something in Dora's photo — or in the supposed armadillo foetus itself, since we recall that as well as being lovers, they shared their artistic lives, two aspects perhaps virtually inseparable — that seems to have caught Picasso's eye, it was the feet with long, sharp toes, which we again find in the figure of the marchioness.

The painting is almost a grisaille, with very few touches of colour: the yellow background (as in the middle stripe of the flag), the outlandish blue feather-duster on her head and the touches of red in the flag.³¹ The work thus maintains the formal appearance of a drawing or etching, with the predominance of whites, supporting the idea of this painting as an extension of his work on *Dream and Lie of Franco*.

On the first day of May 1937, Picasso changed the focus of the huge painting that he had been commissioned to do for the Spanish Pavilion at the International Exposition. The bombing of the civilian population of Guernica on 26 April and the worldwide coverage of the massacre returned the artist to the theatre of war. Until then, his ideas for the painting had focused, in his sketches, on the relationship between artist and model. Moreover, he was not even thinking of a painting, but of a scenography with elements both real and of his own creation,³² with a sculptured figure of woman-painter at the centre.³³ Picasso returned to his work in *Dream and Lie of Franco* and its grotesque characters, now with his pencils and brushes and in a different tone, first to explore models he had already created and then to create and develop

other forms. These forms of war were unfortunately a part of the reality of the country in that month of May, and were recorded on camera and seen round the world in magazines such as *Vu*, with contributions from Robert Capa, and *The Literary Digest*; they spoke of human suffering, and Picasso wanted to talk about the same thing.

Two drawings by Picasso dated 1 May provide evidence of the image of the winged horse, seen in panels 8 and 10 of *Dream and Lie of Franco* (pp. 58 and 62), being an idea that he worked on (especially in the form of a small horse) in the early phases of *Guernica*. The first of these drawings (13) shows a winged horse on the back of a bull which has reins to be led by and a harness with which to be ridden; and next to it another horse lies dying. This would seem a very clear reference to the idea of hope and freedom represented in the small Pegasus figure leading the force of the bull in war.

In the second — larger — drawing, the small horse no longer stands on the bull, which nonetheless remains in the scene, but rather emerges from the open belly of a dying horse, and although the composition is filled with death, with a recumbent soldier, this birth seems to light up the scene and bring hope. The winged horse gutted by the soldier's lance in *Dream and Lie of Franco* is capable of phoenix-like rebirth, beside the bull, carrying on the struggle without rest.

The winged horse again spread its wings in July and August 1952, in drawings for the large painting *Peace* from the same year. There, the Pegasus, led by a child, draws a plough.

On 8 May Picasso did, as part of the sketches for *Guernica* — and as part of a general outline of the composition (83, p. 67) — a figure we call 'mother with dead child', a pyramidal composition which shows a mother dragging herself along, practically horizontal to the ground, her head raised, her mouth open in lament, right arm extended downward, right hand on the ground and left arm curled around a limp, lifeless child. The same day, in another sketch, he repeated the same figure beside an injured

horse, with more definition in the execution and adding a headscarf with a stepped-fret border.

The next day, the artist continued working on this model in several preparatory drawings that began with highly defined pen work, which he subsequently inserted in the overall composition of the painting, on the right, as it appeared in the first drawing in the series. In other variations, the motif appears on a staircase. This latter variation was not developed, since in the first version of the painting *Guernica* itself, dated 11 May, the triangular composition of mother and dead child is on the left, as in the final painting. The scarf with stepped-fret border no longer appears on the mother with child and instead migrates to different places through the various stages of the execution of *Guernica*, from the bottom right of the painting in state IA, on the breast of the recumbent woman (who is not in the final painting), to, in the definitive version IV, the back of the woman on the right, also triangular in composition and long-suffering in attitude.

On 13 May he turned the motif round 180 degrees, and instead of the head being tilted, it now looked back as if in flight, emphasised by the arm extended horizontally and a shaded line alongside the outstretched hand. On the 28 May, the two new motifs, one with an open hand reaching down and the other with one arm stretched upward (14), were joined by a new form, that of the *Weeping Woman*.

This female figure appears on 13 May, in close-up and vertically, in *Head of a Woman*, with a studied focus on her open mouth and protruding tongue, while her eyes express incipient weeping. This weeping expression is not in the painting of *Guernica*; the tears had dried up before the huge canvas was presented in June. *Guernica* is the moment of pain, of the cry, which later — after the devastation — was to become tears in the eyes of the beholder.

But earlier, on 20 May, the head was thrown back, along with the rage; there appear in Picasso's works on paper and canvas close-ups of women in profile, their eyes literally and artistically rent by tears, first gently, from one eye to the other, and then

pouring down their faces, as in the two drawings from the 24th (73, p. 94), the 27th (with the variation of the bearded man), the 28th (companion of the two mothers crying with dead child in general perspective), the 31st and the three drawings from 3 June.³⁴ In each case, we see, in addition to tears, the open mouth and protruding pointed tongue. This tongue grows progressively more rounded in later versions of the theme, of which he did several variations in the following months.

The references in Picasso's work to his own female companions have been the subject of much comment. The weeping women could be inspired by Dora Maar, a strong but emotionally unstable person. According to Françoise Gilot, Picasso said of Dora Maar, 'I couldn't make a portrait of her laughing. For me she's the weeping woman.'³⁵

NOTES

1. Alix, 1993, p. 21.
2. Ara, 2003, p. 150, n. 15.
3. Alix, 1993, pp. 21-22.
4. The exposition was inaugurated officially on 24 May, with some pavilions still under construction (with opening planned for June 1937 and postponed until 12 July due to technical problems). Spies, 2002, p. 102.
5. Alix, 1993, p. 23.
6. Arias, 2000, p. 289, note 26.
7. See Calvo, 1999, p. 17, or Chipp, 1991, p. 80.
8. Renau, 1981, pp. 20-22.
9. Alix, 1987, p. 116.
10. Cramer, 1983, p. 76, no. 26.
11. See for example *Young Sculptor Working* (1933), one of the *Suite Vollard*. Bloch, 156; Baer, 309.
12. 'It would be very interesting to record photographically, not the stages of a painting, but its metamorphoses.' Zervos, 1935, p. 37.
13. 'Why do you think I date everything I make? Because it's not enough to know an artist's works. One must also know when he made them, why, how, under what circumstances. No doubt there will some day be a science, perhaps called "the science of man", which will seek above all to get a deeper understanding of man via man-the-creator. I often think of that science and I want the documentation I leave to posterity to be as complete as possible. That's why I date everything I make.' Brassai, 2002, p. 131.
14. There are at least two known proofs of this state, one at the Musée national Picasso in Paris (MP 2752) and the other at Vézelay, in the collection donated by Zervos, with the dedicatory 'Pour Zervos Picasso', dated 'Paris 1 mai XXXVII'.
15. Geiser and Baer, 1986, pp. 106-110.
16. Failing, 1977, p. 55.
17. Cramer, 1983, p. 82.
18. Ibid.
19. Another outstanding contribution was that of Miró, whose famous poster *Aidez l'Espagne* was sold at the modest price of one franc. Martin R., 2002, p. 112.
20. Cramer, 1983, p. 82.
21. Ibid.
22. Translator's note: a play on the words 'dicha' (said) and 'desdicha' (misfortune or retracted).
23. Ramírez, 1999, pp. 27-29. It should be noted that some French translations of the title also render '*Sueño*' (dream) as '*Rêve*'.
24. Chipp, 1991, pp. 11-12.
25. Martín F., 1982, p. 152, n. 73.
26. 'I administer men half rotten, between living and dead, who bring a well adorned phantom and do their best to have their appetite inherit them, and satisfy in full the squalor of their apparition.' Spanish text reproduced in Bernadac and Piot, 1989, p. 409.
27. 'fandango of shivering owls souse of swords of evil-omened polyyps scouring brush of hairs from priests' tonsures standing naked in the middle of the frying-pan - placed upon the ice cream cone of codfish fried in the scabs of his lead-ox heart - his mouth full of the chinch-bug jelly of his words - sleigh-bells of the plate of snails braiding guts - little finger in erection neither grape nor fig - commedia dell'arte of poor weaving and dyeing of clouds - beauty creams from the garbage wagon - rape of maids in tears and in snivels - on his shoulder the shroud stuffed with sausages and mouths - rage distorting the outline of the shadow which flogs his teeth driven in the sand and the horse open wide to the sun which reads it for the flies that stitch to the knots of the net full of anchovies the sky-rocket of lilies - torch of lice where the dog is knot of rats and hiding-place of the palace of old rags - the banners which fry in the pan writhe in the black of the ink-sauce shed in the drops of blood which shoot him - the street rises to the clouds tied by its feet to the sea of wax which rots its entrails and the veil which covers it sings and dances wild with pain - the flight of fishing rods and the alhigui alhigui of the first-class burial of the moving van - the broken wings rolling upon the spider's web of dry bread and clear water of the paella of sugar and velvet which the lash paints upon his cheeks - the light covers its eyes before the mirror which apes it and the nougat bar of the flames bites its lips at the wound - cries of children cries of women cries of birds cries of flowers cries of timbers and of stones cries of bricks cries of furniture of beds of chairs of curtains of pots of cats and of papers cries of odors which claw at one another cries of smoke pricking the shoulder of the cries which stew in the cauldron and of the rain of birds which inundates the sea which gnaws the bone and breaks its teeth biting the cotton wool which the sun mops up from the plate which the purse and pocket hide in the print which the foot leaves in the rock.'
28. Moreno, 1996, n. p.
29. 'Pulpo' in the original Spanish, but rendered as polyp in the translations.
30. Alix, however, dates the work between 24 and 27 May. Alix, 1993, p. 59.
31. From the chromatic point of view it conforms to an absolutely classical system of the colour composition based on the primary colours. Regarding the chromatic structure of his painting, years later Picasso told Françoise Gilot: 'I use the language of construction, and in a fairly traditional manner, the manner of painters like Tintoretto or El Greco who painted entirely en camaïeu, and then, once their painting was about finished would add transparent glazes of red or blue to brighten it up and make it stand out more.' Gilot and Lake, 1996, p. 386.
32. Spies, 1998, pp. 101-130.
33. See the preparatory studies held at the Musée national Picasso in Paris (MP 1178-MP 1191).
34. All held at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid. In the order of the text: Z IX, 32, 31, 33, 36, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41 and 44.
35. Gilot and Lake, 1996, p. 174.