

"ECHOS OF PAPIERS COLLÉS IN PICASSO'S 'EL GUERNICA'"

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Art
History of Art

1991

660-8428

ABSTRACT

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In 1937 when Pablo Picasso painted what is his most famous and politically charged work of all, El Guernica, we encounter what cannot help but be seen as an "allusion" to the artist's collage period of 1912-1913 and, more specifically, newsprint. The use of newspaper clippings in Picasso's first collages were not only intended to solve a formal problem encountered in the analytical phase of cubism, but, a selected tool by which the artist intended to convey specific socio-political messages such as events of the on going Balkan Wars (1912-13), or tragic-comical stories ranging from uncanny accidents to puns and ironical comments.

From 1916, newspaper clippings tend to disappear in the artist's work and very rarely are they used in his later collages. Yet, twenty-five years later, the making of El Guernica brings back the memories of the newspaper influence with all and its feelings of world anxiety and despair.

By establishing the existing connection between Picasso's early newsprint collage imagery and the subsequent use of newsprint symbolism as depicted in El Guernica, (from a stylistical, historical, social and, political perspective), this thesis concludes that "newspapers" had such an impact on Picasso that they become sources of inspiration, both conceptually and visually.

For my daughter Gabriela

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Eldon Van Liere for his continuous support, advise and contributions to this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Linda O. Stanford, who in fact, encouraged me to pursue this subject, and professors Webster Smith and Phillis Floyd for their suggestions and observations. To my husband Leonardo, my most special and profoundest thanks for all the help, reassurance and patience he offered me throughout the various stages of this project.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1937 when Picasso painted what is his most famous and politically charged work of all, El Guernica, we encounter what cannot help but be seen as an "allusion" to the earlier collage period of 1912-13 and, more specifically, newsprint. In fact, the use of newspaper clippings in Pablo Picasso's early collages, was not only a device for the solution of formal problems encountered in the analytical phase of cubism, but a carefully selected tool by which the artist intended to convey specific socio-political messages.

Interestingly enough, from 1916, newspaper clippings tend to disappear in the artists' work and very rarely does one see them reincorporated in his later collages. Still, twenty-five years later, the making of El Guernica brings back the memories of the newspaper influence with all and its feelings of world anxiety and despair, just as the Balkan Wars (1912-13) had previously marked Picasso's early collage oeuvre.

Picasso's Cubist paintings and collages have traditionally been seen as his most abstract work. Yet, very few scholars have analyzed their iconography and message content and not until the early 1970's was this issue examined in any depth. The first scholarly approach in this respect seems to have been Robert Rosenblum's Picasso and

the Typography of Cubism (1973), but this study is geared towards interpreting the use of newspaper clippings only for their suggestive, whimsical and comical purposes. Nonetheless, Rosenblum's article gave a new dimension to the interpretation of Picasso's collages in terms of his utilization of newspaper as a vehicle for alluding to accounts of important incidents, in particular, political ones. More recently, Patricia Leighton's Re-ordering the Universe, Picasso and Anarchism 1897-1914 (1989), has successfully reviewed and analysed Picassos collages from this point of view. Based on the artists' early contact with the Spanish and French anarchist movements, Leighton re-examines these works from an angle scholars in the past tended to ignore.

Unlike Leighton's book, this research establishes the connection between El Guernica's newsprint features and the early collage period, relating the press' historical and ideological impact on Picasso with his creative translation of journalistic images into the central characters of this masterpiece. Indeed, the linkage is made looking at the Barcelona and Paris socio-political milieu, for which Leighton's analysis has been most helpful.

Thus, in this thesis, the existing connection between Picasso's early newsprint collage imagery and the subsequent use of newsprint symbolism as depicted in El Guernica, (from a stylistical, historical, social and political

perspective), will be the central focus of inquiry.

In doing so, chapter 1, will formulate an historical-political, social, stylistical connection between El Guernica and the collage period, based on historical accounts of the creation and a formal description of the painting.

Chapter 2 will survey Barcelona's socio-political and cultural scene during the 1890's emphasizing its direct influence on Picasso's political formation and artistic development. Here, Picasso's experience in Paris, during the first decade of the twentieth century, and his new avant-garde friends and their influence on the artist will also be discussed.

Finally, chapter 3 will close by following the evolution of Cubism as leading to the invention of collage and subsequently to the emergence of papiers collés and their well known employment of newspaper fragments. This section will therefore review the newspaper collages showing their significance as messages with clear socio-political meaning. A discussion of the Balkan Wars will also be included as they are an influential subject matter for many of Picasso's papiers collés. At this point, the works by Apollinaire, Jarry and Mallarmé, as sources for style and content in the newspaper collages, will be considered.

It is the main conclusion that in both El Guernica and the Collages of 1912-14, Picasso reacted to times of outrage

with similar artistic and political force, helping us understand that an early formation (materialized in external stimuli, e.g. newspapers) did assist him intermittently as a secure source of conceptual and visual inspiration.

CHAPTER 1

EL GUERNICA

Historical Background

In preparation for Spain's participation in the Paris World Fair of 1937, several representatives of the Spanish government in Paris approached Picasso to petition his participation in the decoration of the Spanish Pavilion. Their intention was to place a large mural or painting by the artist at the very entrance of the Pavilion.¹ As a consequence of the then chaotic political situation in Spain, which had resulted in a civil war, the commissioned painting was intended to draw attention towards the Spanish people's sufferings, and as political propaganda for the Republican government.²

In July of 1936 there had been a military uprising in Spain, which, led by General Francisco Franco and strongly promoted by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, seriously threatened the newly legitimate elected Republican government. Consequently, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, Luis Araquistain, conveniently embraced the opportunity of representing Spain in the Paris World Fair as a way of reaffirming the standing of the Republican government before

the international community. It was the Ambassador's intention to prove the legitimacy of the Spanish Republic and to deny Franco's illegally imposed military regime. When the Spanish Popular Front, formed by a coalition between socialists, communists and anarchists, democratically came to power in 1936, with Manuel Azana as president, an ultra-rightest rebellion erupted that July led by the military. The insurgents, supported by aristocrats, elitist church officials and wealthy industrialists led the country into a bloody civil war which lasted from 1936 to 1939. In its conclusion the legitimate Republicans or Loyalists were defeated and the victorious so called Nationalists put General Franco in power (a position he maintained until his death in 1975). The Spanish civil war, much like the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which preceded World War I and from which Picasso sought inspiration for his newspaper collages (details in chapter 3), foreshadowed another human tragedy: World War II.

From the very beginning, and as mentioned earlier, the Insurgents were supported by the Fascist dictators Hitler and Mussolini who in November, only after four months into the war, recognized the Nationalists (Franco's forces) as the sole official government of Spain with Franco as Head of State.

Of the international community, the only country that unconditionally recognized the legitimacy of the Republicans

was the Soviet Union which supplied them with military aid and immediately organized International Brigades of volunteers.³ On the other hand, the Western "democracies" not wanting to recognize a leftist elected government, mainly because of conservative influences, remained neutral. Nonetheless, the young intellectuals, poets, leftists, and true democrats of these neutral countries acknowledged the Republican government. From the United States alone, approximately 3,000 volunteers arrived in France and then illegally entered Spain through the Pyrenees to fight against fascism whether in guerrilla groups or with the International Brigades.⁴ Unfortunately, the international volunteers were not properly trained or equipped and about a third lost their lives. In addition, well known authors, such as Ernest Hemingway, André Malraux, George Orwell, many poets and filmmakers, contributed to the Republican cause by extolling and immortalizing its noble ideals.⁵

During the early months of the civil war, Picasso did not publicly voice his concerns about the events, even though he was on top of the news, through constant contact with his mother, who lived in Barcelona, his close Spanish friends, and reading local Parisian newspapers. As for the latter, daily detailed accounts were given about the political conflict and violence that were tearing Spain apart. Still, Picasso seemed undecided whether to play a more active role in the Spanish crisis. His work in the early years of the

crisis reveals nothing of the violence and struggles devastating his native country, on the contrary it is dominated by sensual themes inspired by his relationships with Marie-Therese Walter and his new companion Dora Maar.⁶ If Picasso were in Spain at this time, undoubtedly, he would have remained politically active (by participating in the heated debates in the cafes discussing the different political views and reading the various newspaper accounts of the latest events) and kept his anarchist friends as he had during the Barcelona years of his early youth (1895-1904).

When asked to collaborate with a mural painting for the Spanish Pavilion, Picasso was hesitant and uncompromising. This reaction was mainly due to previous unpleasant experiences with Spanish government officials. Some years earlier while preparing a proposed exhibition of some of his work to be shown in Madrid, the artist was insulted by the director general of Fine Arts who, firstly, "questioned his Spanish citizenship," and to make things worse, had compared him to several "traditional" Spanish artists of no special importance.⁷ Another unfortunate experience occurred in 1934, in San Sebastian, again with officials concerning the plans of another exhibition. This time his paintings were not being insured and the only protection offered was the escort of the "Guardia Civil" during the trip by train. It was not only this inadequacy of protection that infuriated

Picasso, but also the mere presence of the Guardia Civil, which had for so long symbolized repression especially for freethinkers. This sentiment against the Guardia Civil he shared with other Spanish artists and anarchist circles, was in itself reason enough for him not to trust his work to them. Moreover, Picasso had always been unsympathetic towards officialdom and the pavilion was, after all, official business geared towards political propaganda for the Republican government.⁸

And yet, despite these past experiences with the Spanish bureaucracy, Picasso could not have remained totally aloof in relation to the Spanish crisis and surely he wholeheartedly sympathized with the Republican cause.

After the separation from his wife Olga in 1935, Picasso once again found himself surrounded by a very politicized milieu. His closest friends the poet-writers Luis Aragon and Paul Eluard, both founders of the Surrealist movement and members of the French Communist Party, actively participated in French campaigns to aide the Spanish struggle, and brought the artist even closer to the Spanish reality.⁹

However, the most influential factor leading to Picasso's direct involvement with the Spanish civil war was, when President Azana, in September of 1936, recognized Picasso as Spain's greatest living artist and named him Honorary Director of the Museo del Prado.¹⁰ This was a well deserved and overdue recognition and Picasso accepted with great

pride and satisfaction.

In November of the same year, Franco's Nationalist troops attacked and bombed Madrid aided by the German Condor Legion. The capital city was massively damaged, including the Museo del Prado and on November 6 the official government was compelled to evacuate the city and establish itself in Valencia. As for the Museo del Prado it was decided that the masterpieces should also be moved to Valencia and housed in the Museo Provisional de Pinturas in the reinforced castle Las Torres de Serranos.¹¹ The art treasures, very well guarded, were transported at night, by truck, fortunately arriving safely at their destination. To further insure their safety, Picasso had the idea of transporting them out of Spain to Geneva and then to Paris, but, they were in fact not evacuated until 1939, when the Nationalists were moving into Catalonia. Initially Picasso had intended to show the paintings at a second Paris World's Fair, but this project was cancelled; they were finally exhibited in Geneva in the summer of 1939.¹²

In response to Madrid's bombing and occupation, Picasso wrote a poem entitled Dream and Lie of Franco (Sueno y Mentira de Franco) accompanied by an 18 panel series of etchings and aquatints, with the same name (figs. 1, 2). The two plates, in comic strip format and style, depict Franco as a repulsive creature representing evil caught up in different situations, either comical, horrible or

grotesque. Dream and Lie of Franco, both poem and etchings were, until then, Picasso's most direct expression of his views about the Spanish civil war and his abhorrence towards Franco and the Insurgents. The etchings were executed between January 8 and 9 of 1937, with the exception of the last 4 panels of the second plate that were finished and added later in June. This etching suite as well as a painting called Portrait of the Marquesa, Christian Slut tossing a coin to the Moorish soldiers, defenders of the Virgin, 1937-38 (fig. 3), are "the only two works by Picasso that can be considered true propagandist art,"¹³ as they go straight to the point and truly grasp a political concept.

Even though Picasso was already involved with the Republican cause, when asked for his contribution to the Spanish Pavilion, he still remained reluctant and answered that he did not know if he could do such a painting. On the one hand, Picasso had never been commissioned to paint a specific picture and besides he always felt, as Herschel B. Chipp points out, in his book Picasso's Guernica (1988), adversity towards "polemic painting and political dogmas."¹⁴

On the occasions when the artist executed commissioned works, his artistic freedom and subject matter had been respected and never questioned. For example, in the curtain and set for the Ballet Parade of 1917, the theme was one which Picasso was familiar with: it depicted a backstage circus scene. The commission for the Spanish Pavilion

however, represented a much more serious task: Picasso had to work out an inspiring painting for the Spanish cause, but without jeopardizing his artistic freedom.

The indiscriminate bombing of the small civilian Basque town, Guernica, on April 26 1937, was the source of inspiration for Picasso's most politically charged and impacting painting of his entire artistic career. By this date the artist had no particular project in mind for the commission but stunned by the tragic news about Guernica, he immediately started to work concentrating on this devastating event.

The history surrounding the bombing of Guernica is one that invokes horror and disbelief. The real facts were hidden for quite some time and even at one point it has been denied that such events ever took place.¹⁵

With the outbreak of the civil war, Nazi Germany felt threatened by the growing Russian influence in Spain and considered that intervention would be in their own best interest. At the same time, they saw the opportunity of testing their newly equipped air force under wartime conditions. Almost immediately after the uprising, German bomber fighters with their pilots wearing Spanish uniforms, began to arrive. This German outfit was known as the Condor Legion; they were the ones who aided the Insurgents in the bombing of Madrid that November.¹⁶ The main German objective was to occupy the major Spanish ports before they fell into

Russian hands. Bilbao, the Basque capital located in the north on the Bay of Biscay, was extremely important to them since it was Spain's most important mining, industrial and shipbuilding center, and geographically it was closer to Germany than any of the other important ports, such as Cadiz, located in the south. Guernica, with a population of 7,000 and found halfway between San Sebastian and the capital Bilbao, became a military target for the Condor Legion as a bridge over the tiny Mundaca river, located in the northern edge of town, was the only escape route available for fleeing Loyalist Basque troops who had been forced out of the mountains by the enemy and were then heading towards Bilbao.

The bombing of Guernica, the most ancient town for the Basques and center of their cultural tradition, occurred, on a market day, at 4:30 pm. and ended at 7:45 p.m. Seventy percent of the town was destroyed and hundreds of civilians were killed. Nearly 3,000 pounds of bombs were dropped on this small Spanish village.¹⁷

According to recent historical research,¹⁸ Franco had no direct participation in the planning of the bombing of the town. In fact he found out about it the following day. It is believed that Lieutenant Colonel Wolfram von Richthofen, chief of staff and commander of all German air force personnel in Spain, commanded the attack with direct orders from Berlin. On the other hand, General Werner von Blomberg,

the then minister of war, claimed he was never notified. Still other sources maintain that it was a decision made exclusively by Richthofen,¹⁹ who was eager to try out the new bombers and to stop the Loyalists from advancing into Bilbao.

The Press and Guernica

The news of the attack and burning of Guernica reached Bilbao (located some 30 kilometers away) at approximately 10 p.m. on the night of April 26. There were four foreign professional correspondents, three English and one Belgian.²⁰ They were: George L. Steer from the Times (London), Noel Monks of the Daily Express, Christopher Holme of Reuters News Agency and Mathieu Corman of the Parisian daily Ce Soir. They were the first to arrive at Guernica and witness the aftermath of the bombing. The first most accurate and impartial account appeared in the Times on April 28 by Steer, who wrote especially about the tactics used by the planes and how and where they dropped their bombs.²¹ However, the very first news that reached Paris was in a broadcast by Radio Bilbao the evening following the attack.²² In this transmission, the Basque President accused the Condor Legion, that under direct orders of Franco, as responsible for the bombing. Immediately those radio networks controlled by the Nationalists denied such attacks and the German DNE news agency emphatically repudiated any German participation whatsoever and even came up with the

outrageous explanation that the Basques themselves had destroyed their town as propaganda to obtain international support. The then recently founded Paris afternoon daily Ce Soir was the first to report about the events to the French public. Although appeared on the evening of April 27 it was dated April 28. It was a brief report but the correspondent described the event as "the most horrible bombardment of the war."²³ It was accompanied by a photograph of dead women and children. This evening paper had been founded a month earlier and its editor was Picasso's closest friend the poet and member of the French communist party, Louis Aragon, hence, the paper was definitely a supporter of the Republican cause.²⁴ Nonetheless, the great majority of French newspapers gave contradictory accounts of the bombing, most of which favored the Nationalist Insurgents and denying any German or Italian intervention. In general the French press made no effort of presenting a balanced account of the controversies surrounding the Spanish Civil War. This attitude was mainly due to the fear of a German and Italian attack towards France.²⁵

It is observed that the journalistic display²⁶ concerning Guernica is one that can be paralleled to that of the Balkan Wars in 1912-13 (see chapter 3). Even though the circumstances are quite different, the press in both instances gave a sensationalist coverage of both wars and constantly stated the threat of a possible Pan-European war

creating much controversy and uneasiness throughout the continent.

During the Guernica coverage the newspapers most read by Picasso were: Figaro, a conservative paper, which printed sporadic accounts of the war, on its back pages, with no definite editorial position regarding the Spanish Civil War; Le Journal, the same paper used by the artist for his collages of 1912-14, very popular and widely circulated and well known for its art reviews, which however was pro-Franco. Le Journal only published the denials of German intervention and disregarded the bombing altogether; Ce Soir, mentioned earlier; L'Humanite', the French Communist paper, which was the only truly committed newspaper that openly denounced the atrocity against Guernica and the only one that kept the issue alive throughout the month of May. This paper also published the horrifying eyewitness account of the Basque priest Father Alberto de Onaindia, who was able to escape from the town on a road crowded by refugees but was, nonetheless, indiscriminately bombarded and fired upon by the Condor Legion's low-flying fighter planes.²⁷

As had been the case in 1912-13, Picasso, was, once again in a politically controversial atmosphere dealing with the tragic events of a war. But this time the war has a direct impact on him; it is taking place in his native country. In the making of El Guernica, the importance of the press reemerges as Picasso is inspired by its powerful directness

and impacting photojournalism.

El Guernica: A Description

The bombing of Guernica became the most shocking and criticized single act of aggression in history, as it was the first case in which modern "total war" was used against a defenseless population. As the press coverage concerning Guernica expanded, eliciting differences in political attitudes and positions among the various French newspapers, Picasso, nonetheless, in following the news very carefully, only believed the accounts given by those papers who defended the Republican cause (e.g. L'Humanité, Ce Soir, Le Populaire).²⁸ Not until April 30, that is, four days after the attack, photographs of the ruined town were published for the first time.²⁹ These visual accounts of Guernica's tragedy and the controversy surrounding the incident, are probably what motivated Picasso specifically to begin work on the painting, for he started with great energy and enthusiasm the following day: on May 1 (fig. 4).

In ten days Picasso drew twenty-one sketches. The first five sketches are drawn over blue paper. This could well have been a coincidence or Picasso might have intentionally used blue to associate the Guernica events with his Blue Period.³⁰ Nevertheless, the blue colored paper disappears after the eighth sketch, but the color blue does not vanish altogether. Even though the final painting has a monochrome quality, the colors black, white and various shades of gray,

which vary from neutral tints to dark bluish grays and purples to brownish grays, are used and dominate the entire picture.

The initial drawings are very sketchy and, as intended by the artist, they do not depict a war scene. Surprisingly, the final composition of El Guernica includes more of the basic elements used in Picasso's first preliminary drawing, than any other subsequent sketches. The main characters, such as the woman with the lamp, the bull, a bird, the fallen bodies, a wounded horse are immediately used by Picasso. In reference to this, Oppler in Picasso's Guernica (1988), quotes an interesting observation the artist had made earlier in 1935: "basically a picture does not change... the first "vision" remains almost intact..."³¹ In this initial drawing each of the figures is located in its final place as well. The woman is pushing the lamp out of the window; the bull is in the same place as in the final painting, so, too, the bird perched on the bull, although in the finished work it will stand on a table.

Picasso made a total of five sketches on this first day of work. In the second of these sketches, the paper is divided into two different compositions; at the top of the paper the same compositional characteristics, as found in the first sketch, can be detected with the difference that the bull is now facing the woman of the lamp. At the bottom part of the sheet, the bull is clarified together with its

rider: a tiny winged horse. Here the artist has introduced an allegorical figure: Pegasus, the winged horse of the poets (figs. 5, 6).³² It is important to note that from its very inception, the preparatory sketches for El Guernica were carefully recorded by Picasso. In fact, early in 1935 during an interview with Christian Zervos, the artist remarked about his desire to have "the metamorphoses of a picture" recorded photographically. He also added that "in this way one might perhaps understand the mental processes leading to the embodiment of the artist's dream."³³ In the case of El Guernica it was the first time that an artist thought about systematically preserving all the stages of a painting, and cataloging them, before actually starting on the final work.³⁴ While working on the canvas, Dora Maar, Picasso's close companion at this time, photographed the different stages of his work, from the first sketches to the conclusion of the painting. The canvas was photographed seven times in all. Through these pictures we can closely follow the evolution of the making of Guernica.

At the end of his first day of work, Picasso made a composition study in pencil on gessoed wood (25 1/2" X 21 1/8"), (fig. 7) where he presents the familiar figures introduced in the first drawing. This time the bull dominates the picture and the horse is in a diagonal position with body and head pointing in the same direction. The small winged horse is now away from the bull and is

emerging from a side wound of the horse. There is a dead warrior with classical helmet intertwined with the feet of the horse and the bull. At a distance, the woman holding a lamp leans out from a window.

The next day on May 2, Picasso executed a series of five drawings, three of them concentrating on the horse, and again a summarized drawing on gesso (fig. 8). The last sketch, however, is undated but most likely to have been done in early May.³⁵ Picasso rested for five days and resumed work the following weekend making two drawings on May 8; three on May 9; five on May 10. Several of these sketches are studies of a mother fleeing with her dead child, very possibly affected and influenced by the news reports about Spanish refugees reaching France. L'Humanité editor Paul Valliant-Couturier had traveled to the north of Spain to report on the Basque campaign and rescue operations. A fund was set up to collect money for the victims and Picasso alone contributed 400,000 francs.³⁶

A second compositional study executed on May 9 becomes, at this point, the most complex and horrifying of all. This drawing especially recalls the graphic accounts of Father Alberto de Onaindia as he described the bombing of the town to the reporter of L'Humanité published on May 5.³⁷ In the composition the ground is full of dismembered bodies under a sprawling horse. Behind a wheel cart stands a bull with wide opened eyes and looking out into the distance as if foreign

to his surroundings; the woman with the lamp still in the same position is now lighting the darkened setting. Flames of fire in the background rise up from the buildings; a mother holding a child in her arms crawls trying to escape the flames; a few arms with clenched fists, raised in the anti-Fascist and Loyalist salute, are seen coming out of windows as in symbolic protest (fig. 9).

On May 11 Picasso outlined the first images on the canvas prepared exclusively for the painting. Due to its size (11'6" by 25'6"), Dora Maar specifically rented a studio on the rue des Grandes-Augustins big enough for Picasso to work on the commissioned mural. From here on the different "states" of the painting were photographed by Dora. Unfortunately, of these pictures only the first one taken is dated; all the preparatory drawings made during the making of the painting (a total of 25), nonetheless, are meticulously dated and preserved.

In the first state of the painting (fig. 10), Picasso clarifies the figures and practically establishes the architectural background with the roof and windows of the burning house. The canvas is divided with vertical and diagonal lines. At the extreme right emerges a woman in flames; on the left side of the canvas is the fleeing woman with her dead child; the horse, with turned down neck, remains in the center of the composition with the dead warrior at his feet who in turn tightly holds a broken sword

in his left hand; in between the burning woman and the horse is a woman lying across the foreground with a dead bird by her arm and a flower beside her head; a woman beside her lunges forward with her head thrust out in terror. The bull still remains in his original position but he is now looking out to the left again detached from the events. The clenched fists of the composition of May 9 have disappeared and are now substituted by one arm in Loyalist salute placed in the center of the picture.

In state two, the clenched hand is replaced by a clenched fist holding twigs of what seems to be wheat grain that is stretched upwards in a dominant position and against a sunflower sun. The horse has a clear open wound on its back and the dead soldier's arm with hand holding the broken sword is now detached from the body (fig. 11).

Important changes occur in state three. The raised fist full of grain is removed and the sun is flattened into an eclipse. The soldier's body is now reoriented with head facing the floor. The horse is restructured with head rising towards the left. The breasts of the women are defined; the flames are reduced.

In state four, Picasso concentrates on the bull and horse. The bull now faces the scene, yet his face is turned away. The head of the horse is lifted and from his open mouth comes out a pointed tongue which helps emphasize his agony and suffering as a spear pierces his body. In this

state Picasso experiments with collage elements. For the running woman figure, he places a textured cloth, resembling a scarf, instead of hair, wallpaper for her dress and the tears running down her cheeks are painted in red (fig. 12).

In the fifth state Picasso concentrates on the horse and the burning woman now depicted as falling from a building engulfed in flames.

Collage reappears in the sixth state. The falling woman is given a checkered dress and the grieving mother a wallpapered dress. By the seventh and last state, which has been dated June 3 and 4, Picasso has removed the collage elements. The soldier's head is now looking upwards and given a sculptural quality; the floor is patterned into a grid to resemble the tiles of an outside courtyard giving depth to the painting. A shrieking bird is outlined and placed on a table beside the bull. The eclipsed flattened sun is replaced by an electric bulb sending off rays of light. He introduced a door with a doorknob at the far right, and dresses the grieving mother with a striped skirt. Lastly, Picasso gave texture to the horse's hide giving it the appearance of hair as to bring out the body from the rest of the figures. This textured horse may also suggest newsprint.³⁸

The exact date of the completion of El Guernica is unknown. If it is assumed that Picasso worked on the mural as long as he made sketches for it, then, we can conclude

that it was finished between June 3 and 4, that is, when his last drawings related to the painting are dated.³⁹

Symbolism in El Guernica

In the early thirties, Picasso executed many drawings and prints depicting the bull or Minotaur as representing his alter ego. These series are epitomized in 1935 with his large, mystifying etching Minotauromachy (fig. 13).

Allusions of this print's composition in El Guernica have long been recognized. The original drawing on the metal plate has a great resemblance to the painting. This suggests that Minotauromachy had such an impact on Picasso's psyche that unconsciously he was influenced by its composition when making El Guernica.⁴⁰ The characters in both works match.

The bison-headed Minotaur corresponds to Guernica's bull; both wounded horses share the same positions and poses; the flower-child with candle suggests the woman with the lamp, and the bearded man on the ladder corresponds to the falling woman. Concerning the etching, many interpretations have been made ranging from the most personal, dealing with Picasso's hidden anxieties and private life, to his own interpretations of Mediterranean mythologies and "Jungian models of the collective unconscious."⁴¹

Seen in a different context, the animals of El Guernica, are considered as having ambiguous symbolic meanings. From a naturalistic point of view, and as mentioned earlier, they could well be farm animals since the town was an

agricultural center and it was a market day when the bombing occurred. In addition to this, critics have identified the bull and horse with the Spanish corrida (bullfight) associating the two opposing actors of the bullfight with the two main opponents of the civil war.⁴² And when asked about the symbolism behind the bull and the horse, Picasso said: "the bull there represents brutality, the horse the people."⁴³ When interviewed in 1945 by New Masses, Seckler, his interviewer, suggested if the bull was a symbol of Franco and fascist brutality, Picasso emphatically replied: "no, the bull is not fascism, but it is brutality and darkness."⁴⁴

Based on the etching plates of Dream and Lie of Franco, other critics interpret the bull of El Guernica in a completely different manner. In one plate the bull ferociously attacks the caricatured Franco and in another, as it is haloed in sun rays, it confronts a despicable creature representing Franco and by the end of the series, the bull manages to survive the catastrophes of the war depicted in the final scenes. The bull in this respect, is "the symbol of the enduring force of life, the only power capable of eternal survival," an emblem of the very soul of Spain.⁴⁵

(The horse also embodies several meanings. If associated with its role in the bullfight as the creature in charge of inflicting pain on the bull, the horse can well be

interpreted as the symbol of Franco's forces. However, for Picasso, the horse conveys positive connotations. In El Guernica the horse clearly embodies suffering and the spectator is compelled to sympathize with its agony. It becomes a symbol of "the universal victim."⁴⁶

Picasso has always been well known for his paradoxical views when explaining about his own work. When finally asked to resolve the conflicting interpretations about his animal symbolism he stated:

But this bull is a bull and this horse is a horse. There's a sort of bird, too, a chicken, or a pigeon, I don't remember now exactly what it is, on a table. And this chicken is a chicken. Sure they're symbols. But it isn't up to the painter to create symbols; otherwise, it would be better if he wrote them out in so many words instead of painting them. The public who look at the picture must see in the horse and in the bull symbols which they interpret as they understand them. There are some animals. These are animals, massacred animals. That's all, so far as I'm concerned. It's up to the public to see what it wants to see.⁴⁷

The three women, depicted in the painting, with their dramatic gestures, heads and arms raised in agony and mouths opened wide, have been interpreted as making reference to important historical works of art. The action and gestures of the woman carrying her dead child has been closely related to those found in the works by Guido Reni and Nicolas Poussin's Massacre of the Innocents, ca. 1611 and 1628-29 respectively (figs. 14, 15), where the mouth wide open gesticulating a scream, and head violently thrown back in anguish are common traits.⁴⁸ The running woman on the right side of the painting and the woman falling in flames

are also protagonists in these classical works of art where women are portrayed in the most extreme human suffering. Other images, mentioned by critics, of having direct references with El Guernica, just to mention a few, are: Peter Paul Rubens', The Horrors of War, ca. 1637, it has been claimed that this painting was the eminent inspiration for Guernica;⁴⁹ Eugene Delacroix, Massacre at Scio, 1824; Jacques Louis David, Battle of the Sabines and Romans, 1799; etc.

[The woman with the lamp however, involves an entire different symbolic interpretation. As she thrusts the lamp out of the window, she gives light to the tragic scene as to "enlighten the world."] Comparing her to a Greek chorus, Oppler sees her, as "witness and commentator."⁵⁰ In Pierre Paul Prud'hon's, Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime, 1808, she is Nemesis, the Greek Goddess of vengeance, or she is La Marseillaise, in Francois Rude, Departure of the Volunteers, 1792, leading the people into battle urging volunteers to participate in the revolution.⁵¹

[The fallen warrior transformed into a broken statue, evokes the classical fragments and portrait busts that Picasso had painted into his early still lifes.⁵² It could well be interpreted as the end of the academic classical tradition or even as the collapse of civilization.⁵³

In El Guernica, the animal and human figures are combinations of both fact and symbol. The symbols were not

invented especially for this painting but had existed and were slowly maturing in the artist's mind in previous years. Whereas in the past, they had expressed very personal tragedies, with El Guernica, Picasso was able to place them in a higher level and use them to express his personal reaction to a universal human tragedy.⁵⁴

The official opening of the World Fair of Paris was postponed from May 1 to May 24 as the result of massive demonstrations and riots. The principal theme of the Fair was to exalt the many advances in modern technology and science, thus, it was officially called the Exposition internationale des arts et techniques dans la vie moderne. The influence of the architect Le Corbusier was reflected in the different structures of the pavilions and huge murals were painted with themes related to the progresses made in industry. Many murals were also designed by artists who by using their semi-abstract styles, offsprings of Cubism, conveyed likenesses with technological and industrial products.⁵⁵ In contrast, however, the Spanish Pavilion, opened seven weeks late, was "devoted to the suffering and struggles of the Spanish people."⁵⁶ Except for five female sculptures made by Picasso, all the art in this pavilion was related to the Republican cause. At the entrance wall was El Guernica and facing the painting, on the opposite wall was a large photomural of the Andalusian poet Federico Garcia Lorca (fig. 16), assassinated at the beginning of the war,

and who came to represent the martyr of the Spanish left. Other artists of great significance who collaborated with the Spanish pavilion were: Alberto Sanchez, with a 39 foot quasi-abstract wooden column entitled The Spanish People Follow a Way that Leads to a Star; Julio Gonzalez, with a life-size sculpture of a woman holding a child made in sheet iron called Peasant Woman of Montserrat (fig. 17); Alexander Calder, with his famous circular fountain mobile Spanish Mercury from Almaden; Joan Miro and his mural painting El Segador (The Reaper); and documentary films on the war, such as Madrid '36 by Luis Bunuel, Spanish Earth by Joris Ivens and Ernest Hemingway and The Heart of Spain by Paul Strand that were shown almost continuous in an open-air auditorium opposite the entrance to the pavilion. In addition to the art works, there were shocking photomurals on the life of the Spanish people during the war and of their despair, giving the spectators a glimpse of the nightmarish reality of Spain.

El Guernica and its link to Picasso's Collage Period of 1912-14.

It is found that in the 1912-14 Collages, Picasso incorporated very specific newspaper clippings to stress the devastating events of a major regional war. Not only did the massive journalistic display given to such conflict influence the artist to deal with this subject matter but the heated debates and predictions about its consequences

leading to a major world war were instrumental as well. Newspapers in this respect (especially Le Journal) represented for Picasso tools of work as well as sources of inspiration. Twenty five years later Picasso is caught in a very similar situation as he is once again confronted by a major tragic event. This time, however, the disastrous incident takes place in his native country and he is compelled to take on a much more active role. In this occasion as well, the exploitative nature of the press is so significant that Picasso is drawn again towards its sensationalism and display as incentives for his creative force.

As with the early collages the influence of the media, especially the press, is recognized and emphasized in El Guernica. Comparing the newspaper reports and the photojournalism of the events with many of the graphic elements used by the artist in the mural painting, we see there is a definite connection. Shocking headlines such as: "THE MOST HORRIBLE BOMBARDMENT SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR IN SPAIN," and "ONLY FIVE HOUSES LEFT STANDING IN GUERNICA! AND MOLA DECLARES HE WILL RAZE BILBAO!," accompanied by tragic close-up pictures of dead women and children, or survivors fleeing the burning town in desperation, were all sources of inspiration for Picasso. In the finished painting, the figures of the grieving woman with her dead child in her arms, the falling woman in flames

with arms raised in a gesture of agony, another woman wounded in the leg trying to run away from the chaos, are associated with both the chilling accounts of Father Onaindia and with the striking newspaper photographs Picasso was so much moved by. The wounded horse, the presence of the bull, and the shrieking bird, make reference to the fact that the bombing took place on a market day. Furthermore, Picasso emphasized his journalistic source by painting El Guernica in black and white imitating those colors of newspaper print. Even the ordered lines imitating hair on the horse's hide, suggest lines of type-"the horse as a public declaration in print, the offshoot of early uses of newspaper in collage."⁵⁷ In this context, El Guernica can be seen as a gigantic black and white photomontage summarizing the shocking destruction of a small town.

Stylistically, El Guernica is a combination of Cubism, analytical and synthetic, of Collage, Surrealism and Expressionism. Even the Blue Period can be detected, at first, through his use of bluish tones in the overall painting and secondly through the emotionally charged figures. How contradictory these styles might seem, Picasso, nonetheless, manages to bring them together to create a powerful statement. The painting has a collage-like characteristic as if the forms were cut up to be combined creating the final composition. The figures might seem overlapping each other, all in disorderly confusion, but,

after studying the picture with care, it becomes a unified and solid composition.

Besides amalgamating five different artistic styles in one painting, Picasso linked various themes from his past creating a diverse imagery full of symbolisms. William Rubin, in his book Dada and Surrealist Art (1969), most effectively encapsulated this aspect of the painting as he noted: "in [Guernica's] iconography the reverberations of the three "myths" that preoccupied Picasso throughout the period when he was close to Surrealism are resolved into a single harmonious triad," these three myths, as he continued, are "those of the Minotaur, the Crucifixion and the Bullfight: these represent respectively the classical Mediterranean heritage, the Christian heritage, and the Spanish national heritage..."⁵⁸

Much as in the 1912-14 Collages, in El Guernica there exists an array of dualities and ambiguities: an electric light bulb referring to day and night, interior illumination, and exterior light that imply a specific time span. The viewer can also find himself looking into a room, but then finds it to be an open plaza. The figures are in frontal or profile and the directional lines of the mural are filled with horizontals and verticals.

As discussed later on, Picasso's anarchist associations during his Barcelona and Paris years prior to World War I were pivotal for his political and artistic formation.

Although the outbreak of the war politically split the anarchist movement, its spirit continued to affect Picasso. In the early 1920's when the artist met André Breton, the founder of the Surrealist movement and member of the French Communist Party, Picasso once again found himself surrounded by a very politicized group of friends. By this time anarchism had largely been replaced by Soviet Communism, an ideology immediately embraced by the great majority of anarchist militants and sympathizers. Among the artist's closest friends who were politically committed to the Communist Party were the poet Paul Eluard and Picasso's mistress Dora Maar. Eventually Picasso would become more involved with the Party as he sided with the Republican cause during his country's civil war. But not until 1944, after the end of World War II did he officially become a member of the French Communist Party.⁵⁹

The intense political debates so much in the order of the day during the pre-war period of 1912-14 were not so different to the ones Picasso found himself involved during the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. While the former was exteriorized through Collages, Picasso immortalized the latter with the mural painting El Guernica.

CHAPTER 2

ANARCHISM: FROM BARCELONA TO PARIS

Picasso and Barcelona

To fully understand Pablo Picasso's El Guernica and the painting's connection with the artist's collage period of 1912-14, it is essential to reach back into his early career, as the focus of the previous chapter can not stand alone to grasp the relationships between both artistic creations.

The most significant impressionable years of the artist's life were those he spent in Barcelona from the age of fourteen to the age of twenty-three (1895-1904). During this period Barcelona had become the cultural center of the Catalan Renaissance as well as "the most artistically active city in Spain, the cradle of its avant-garde."⁶⁰

The cultural evolution of Catalonia at this time is linked to its socio-economic growth. The province grew at such a rapid pace from 1870 to 1890 that it became Spain's most industrialized and wealthiest region. At the same time, Catalonia experienced a new sharpened awareness of its cultural heritage, and this sense of revival was given artistic expression.⁶¹

In its past history the province of Catalonia had already formed many links with northern Europe, and thus has never

been considered an organic part of Spain. Up to the thirteenth century it had belonged to the advanced Langue d'Oc civilization of southern France and northern Italy. Even the Catalan language is more similar to Provençal than to Spanish although both have Latin roots. Separated from France during the Crusades against the Albigensian heresy,⁶² and later cut off from Constantinople because of the Turkish conquest, Catalonia was forced to turn away from the north and look toward the Iberian Peninsula.⁶³ From then on Catalonia has been well known for its separatist and regionalist attitudes as well as for its resistance to Castilian domination, a sentiment that has persisted to the present.⁶⁴

The sudden economic growth of the last quarter of the nineteenth century refurbished the sentiment for "Catalanismo," that is, the revival of everything purely Catalan--music, literature, art, folk, language, etc. The founding of universities, art academies, and specialized schools throughout the region contributed to a brighter future of regional developments which in turn inspired the advancement and growth in the arts.⁶⁵ Prosperity and wealth also created a whole new class of a new rich bourgeois who prided themselves on their Catalan heritage and objected to making money for a nation which they considered backward and weak. This "Catalanismo" was to influence their political and economic thinking as well as the art and literature of

the region.

The art of "Catalanismo" was especially responsive to the European modern movement in general, following its tendency to rebel against predominant academic traditions. Its main goal was to satisfy the demands of a society and culture that was maturing and growing at great speed. Radical changes in the arts were needed and, as they were introduced, the Catalan Renaissance emerged leading to the flourishing of what is called "Modernismo."⁶⁶

The Catalan Renaissance needed an artistic style with which to identify, and its artists sought to find it through their own cultural heritage. But the desire to be progressive and modern, and not wanting to be entirely rural, encouraged the acceptance of foreign trends. Therefore, Modernismo appeared within the rebirth of Catalonian art as a movement characterized for its eclecticism. In sum, Cervera defines Modernismo as:

The summation of a series of foreign trends which were made to serve a point of view deemed appropriate to Catalonia. It was an intra-cultural synthesis, an attempt to reconcile or unite under one roof opposing practices and principles; that roof was Catalanismo.⁶⁷

When young Picasso moved to Barcelona in 1895, Modernismo was very well established and the Catalan artists Santiago Rusinol, Ramon Casas, Isidro Nonell, Dionisio Baixeras, Joan Llimona, Alejandro de Riquer, and Adria Gual⁶⁸ dominated the Barcelona art scene. As a young artist, Picasso was very much influenced by the movement and its painters and he

continuously explored all aspects of it, trying to find a unique style of his own. In such works as First Communion (1896), and Science and Charity, (1897) (fig. 18), we find academic studies whose importance lies in their reflection of Picasso's artistic skills at the young age of fifteen. As for their style, it is obvious that he was influenced by Joan Llimona, whose work was considered the most representative of Catalanismo art at that time⁶⁹ The Modernista influence on Picasso can also be detected during his first important exhibition held at Els Quatre Gats Cafe in early February of 1900. Jaume Sabartés, one of Picasso's closest friends and biographers, recalled that one of the strongest motives for the show was to rival the exclusive reputation of Ramon Casas as a portraitist at the peak of his artistic career. Picasso showed charcoal portraits of his friends, pastel sketches and three oil paintings, done with heavy contour outlines and lightly sketched details that were stylistically influenced by those of Casas.⁷⁰

Els Quatre Gats Cafe was the tertulia place (cafe-meeting place) of the avant-garde in Barcelona and was crucial to the Modernista movement. Inaugurated on June 12, 1897 ⁷¹ the cerveceria-taverna-hostal (beer hall-tavern-inn), was located on the first floor of a building that had a mixture of late Catalan Gothic architecture combined with native Catalonian ironwork decorations.⁷² Els Quatre Gats, meaning "The Four Cats," is a colloquial Catalan expression for

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"only a few people."⁷³ The originators of the cafe were the artists Pere Romeu, Santiago Rusinol, Ramon Casas and Miguel Utrillo who considered themselves "the four cats." But the true source of its name comes from the desire of a Barcelona counterpart of the celebrated Parisian cafe Le Chat Noir, (The Black Cat), whose owner had died recently, and where the four artists had shared very pleasant experiences while living in Paris. Their intentions were also to have a place for tertulias, the Spanish name for an informal social gathering where intellectuals and the like discussed art and politics.

The discussions in Els Quatre Gats were mainly centered around newspapers, journal articles and periodicals that the cafe received locally and from abroad. Many of these dealt with interesting accounts of the European avant-garde, political theory and aesthetics. Curious about the "new" trends in art and politics, Picasso and his friends became avid readers of these publications.

From a very early age, Picasso showed his fascination for newspapers. At twelve, when the family moved from Málaga, his birth place, to Corunna, the young Pablo produced his own newsletter in the fall of 1893, to send back to his extended family in Málaga. He called it Azul y Blanco (Blue and White) after the most popular Spanish weekly paper (with the same name) and "was full of drawings and little writing from P. Ruiz Picasso, el director, about life in Corunna."

There was even a section reserved for advertisements, with one advertisement paid by his loyal supporter, his father Don Jose: "Wanted to Purchase: Thoroughbred Pigeons. Address, 14 Payo Gomez Street, 2nd floor."⁷⁴

Picasso's association with Els Quatre Gats began in 1898,⁷⁵ although he had already met some of the younger group members such as the artist Manuel Pallares, when he moved to Barcelona with his family in 1895. His contact with the modernista group associated with the cafe is considered to have had a great impact on his emotional development and in his formation as an artist. At this early age, Picasso found enormous support among the older established generation of painters, who gave him confidence in his artistic experimentation. He was specially impressed by Casas, Rusinol and Nonell, from whom we can detect a direct influence in style and in subject matter, in his work of this period (figs. 19, 20). Furthermore, later in life, Picasso would return to many of the themes that originated during his Barcelona period, a clear indication of his indebtedness to the "modernista" movement and their ideas. During this time the young Picasso produced a large body of work which includes several advertisements for Els Quatre Gats and menu covers as well as caricatures and drawings for avant-garde art journals (figs. 21, 22).

Political awareness and participation characterizes the "modernista" movement. A great majority, if not all, of the

artists were sympathizers or active members of the anarchist movement of Barcelona, which at this time had become quite strong.

Anarchism was introduced in Spain in 1868, by the Italian Guiseppe Fanelli, who was sent by the Russian active revolutionary and organizer of the movement, Mikhail Bakunin. There is no simple explanation of why this movement achieved such great acceptance in Spain, more than anywhere else in Europe. As James Joll states in his book The Anarchists (1964), the Spanish temperament responded to the extremist doctrines of the movement and because "a population used to centuries of religious fanaticism had no problems accepting a fanaticism of another kind."⁷⁶ The reasons, however, are much more complex. Even though Fanelli arrived in Spain at the moment of the proclamation of the First Republic--a period of disorder and political chaos, which abetted the wide acceptance of anarchism--other factors should be taken in consideration: a backward country with an unstable government, the growing gap between the rich and poor, a peasantry that was socially and economically neglected, that led to a history of frequent peasant revolts, an oppressed working class, and a middle class that was denied participation in government. These and many other determinants made it favorable for a strong anarchist movement in Spain.⁷⁷

In popular thought, anarchism is associated with chaos,

rebellion, terrorism, and insurgency. In the pure historical socio-political context however, it is a doctrine which basically emerged from the most libertarian ideals. Since its starting point is society itself, "anarchism" is concerned with the vision of man in relation to his society. It criticizes the existing society, and it anticipates an aspiring future one. Anarchism's aim is always social change, and its means is always social rebellion, no matter what kind.⁷⁸ The word "anarchist" itself derives from the greek "anarchos," meaning without head or chief, and "anarchism," by way of "anarchia," means "the condition of a people without a government."⁷⁹ The two terms were first used in a derogatory way during the French Revolution to denote opposition to a rival party or parties. It is believed that the Girondin Brissot used the term anarchist for the first time in 1793, against a group known as the "Enrages" which he strongly opposed. Brissot found it necessary to define "anarchist," especially because his condemnation towards the Enrages was so determined:

Laws that are not carried into effect, authorities without force and despised, crime unpunished, property attacked, the safety of the individual violated, the morality of the people corrupted, no constitution, no government, no justice, these are the features of anarchy.⁸⁰

In 1840, the Frenchman Pierre Joseph Proudhon, was the first to proudly proclaim himself to be an anarchist in his famous book "What is Property?" in which he gave his own question the answer: "Property is theft." Here he

legitimizes the term and uses it in a socially positive way. Proudhon, a close friend of the painter Gustave Courbet, from whom he developed a keen interest in art theory, never sought followers and "denied any suggestion that he had created a system of any kind."⁸¹ Even his immediate followers preferred to call themselves Mutualists, and not until the later 1870's, with the division created in the First International between the followers of Karl Marx and Bakunin, did the latter start to call themselves Anarchists. All the basic ideas of anarchism are developed in Proudhon's writings. Patricia Leighton accurately summarizes Proudhon's ideals as follows:

Anarchism is anti-authoritarian, anti-industrialist, anti-militarist, anti-patriotic, anti-parliamentarian, and against property and religion; it is pacifist and internationalist; it embraces individual independence and liberty, the social necessity and moral virtue of work, and sees the future society in terms of small, mutually supporting groups in relations of "natural" interdependence.⁸²

Bakunin, mentioned above, and Peter Kropotkin, the great thinker of the movement in the late nineteenth century, rooted their ideology in Proudhon's ideas. By the 1860's these ideas had developed not only among the French working-class but throughout the rest of Europe, specially in Italy and Spain.

The anarchist ideologists regarded the arts highly. The importance given to individualism, the strong social aims, and this interest in the arts attracted many avant-garde writers and artists to the movement in the second half of

the nineteenth century. Among them we find Stephane Mallarme, Guillaume Apollinaire, Alfred Jarry, Max Jacob, Camille Pissarro, the young Picasso and Diego Rivera, the Americans George Bellows and Robert Henri, just to name a few, all of whom were socially-conscious anarchists and therefore thought about art in anarchist terms. They associated artistic freedom with anarchist ideas.⁸³ Members of the Symbolist movement were especially attracted to the anarchist notion of individualism as an attack against bourgeois society. When the anarchist movement declined, many of these artists, Diego Rivera and Pablo Picasso included, eventually found it easy to embrace Marxism.

Barcelona itself had become, by the 1890's, the most politically active city in Spain. It was also the most industrialized city in the Iberian peninsula. Most of its workers came from the southern provinces of Spain, especially Andalusia, as they fled from extreme poverty and exploitation, but the working conditions offered in the big city were unfortunately not much different from those these workers had left behind. The average Barcelona factory worker had very long working hours at near-subsistence wages. He lived in the most inadequate conditions, without sanitary facilities and adequate ventilation.⁸⁴ As early as the 1830's the labor movement in Barcelona had been quite active. Several strikes had been organized and there was a great demand for a workers' organization that would

represent the interests of the laborers. Not until 1865, under the tolerant administration of a liberal government, did these workers' organizations surface but only to be suppressed a year later with the fall of the liberals. There existed a constant distrust towards the government with its repressive political system, and, as the Church supported the government, a strong anti-clerical sentiment prevailed throughout Spain. It is no surprise that the Spanish workers and peasants would be attracted to the anarchist ideals of a harmonious life with perfect equality and no authoritarian corruption. In Barcelona the growing popularity of Catalonia's regional independence enhanced the inclination towards anarchism.

Picasso's own circle of friends were anarchist sympathizers or militants, and, besides, the whole city of Barcelona was so politically-charged with an increasing number of anarchist acts, mainly workers' strikes and terrorist acts, that for the young Picasso it would have been impossible to be indifferent to or unaware of these incidents.

Els Quatre Gats cafe subscribed to the most important avant-garde journals in Europe.⁸⁵ Since aesthetic theory was then included in such political writings, the works by Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin were translated and frequently read together with the writings of Tolstoy, Wagner, and Nietzsche. These often appeared in Barcelona

newspapers and journals where they were avidly read by the Catalan avant-garde, anarchists, and their sympathizers. Between 1895 and 1913, the years Picasso lived and visited Barcelona, eighteen anarchist periodicals⁸⁶ were in circulation and avidly read by a very politically-aware public. Just to name a few: Ciencia Social (1895-1896); Ariete Anarquista (1896); Huelga General (1901-1903); Tierra y Libertad (1902-1913); La Anarquía (1906); El Rebelde (1907-1908); Tierra Libre (1908); the anarchist newspaper La Vanguardia, and the art journals Juventut, Cu-Cut!, and L'Avenc which championed anarchist ideals. These periodicals included translations of European and American anarchists: among them the political writings of principally Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin, together with Sebastian Faure', Giuseppe Fanelli, Octave Mirbeau, Emma Goldman, Emile Vandervelde, Jean Grave, Alexander Herzen and Karl Marx. Among writers and artists: Tolstoy, Zola, Gorky, Ibsen, Nietzsche, Ruskin, Hauptmann, Courbet, Hugo, Chekov, Balzac, Maeterlinck, Strindberg, Wagner and Mallarmé. Spanish writers also contributed to the vast anarchist literature; among them we find those based in Madrid: Pio Baroja, Azorin, Unamuno, Ruben Dario, Ramiro de Maetzu, Joaquin Costa; and the Barcelona writers: Joan Maragall, Pompeu Gener, Jaume Brossa, Alexandre Cortada, Fermin Salvoechia, and others.⁸⁷

The Catalan art journals of this period such as Luz

(1898), Hispania (1899-1903), La Ilustracion Catalana (1883-1903), La Renaxensa (1871-1905), La Ilustacion Iberica (1883-98), Els Quatre Gats (1899), Pel & Ploma (successor to Els Quatre Gats, 1899-1903), Juventut (1900-1906), Cataluna Artistica (1900-1905); Catalonia (successor to L'Avenc, 1898-1900), and Forma (successor to Pel & Ploma, 1904-1907) included works by the above mentioned writers as well as articles concerning avant-garde art and artists.⁸⁸

In 1900 Pablo Picasso, accompanied by his painter friend Carles Casagemas, visited Paris for the first time. His interest in Paris had been aroused most likely by the Universal Exhibition⁸⁹ as well as by the French Art journals he read devotedly at Els Quatre Gats. This visit lasted only from October until Christmas, when he became homesick and decided to return to Barcelona. But right after the festivities of New Year, Picasso became weary and desiring to be in touch with new avant-garde circles, decided to move to Madrid. This time he went with his friend Francisco Soler with whom he started his magazine Arte Joven, based on the model of Pel i Ploma, edited by the Catalans Miguel Utrillo and Ramon Casas.⁹⁰ In Madrid the young Picasso was in contact with the famous literary group known as the generation of '98' (los noventayochistas)⁹¹ which included Pio Baroja, Miguel de Unamuno, Azorin (Jose Martinez Ruiz) and Jose Ortega y Gasset. Arte Joven only lasted five numbers but the magazine included, besides many

illustrations by Picasso, works by the important Barcelona avant-garde artists such as Casas, Rusinol, Utrillo, Nonell, and Raventos, advertisements for Quatre Gats, Pel i Ploma, other Catalan publications, and, together with Catalan writers, Madrid-based authors like Pio Baroja and Unamuno contributed articles. The importance of Arte Joven lies in the fact that being the only publication Picasso ever had total control of was significantly inclined towards social and political topics faithful to the anarchist ideology.⁹² Madrid did not change Picasso's political beliefs or views considering that the noventayochistas were extremely political and many of these writers were either anarchists or socialists. The magazine published poems, articles with political overtones, short stories, translations of the well known European authors on art theory or philosophy and drawings by avant-garde artists.

Perhaps the most influential intellectual at this time in both the Madrid and Barcelona milieu was the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (b.1844-d.1900). In 1899 Thus Spoke Zarathustra had been translated and by 1905 all of his writings were available in Spanish. Among the noventayochistas Nietzsche had a special appeal and was in general considered "the spiritual leader of the Generation of '98."⁹³ Nietzsche was first introduced to Barcelona by Pompeyo Gener. On the staff of the journal Juventut, Gener translated several Nietzschean publications and wrote

several articles about the philosopher, including Arte Dionisiaco on the occasion of Nietzsche's death in 1900 and published in Picasso's art journal Arte Joven in 1901.⁹⁴ Nietzsche's anti-Christian, anti-bourgeois, anti-Philistine ideas justified the anarchist stand against bourgeois society and it was this aspect of his philosophy to which the Spanish intellectuals and artists were so attracted. It is most likely that Nietzsche's ideas impinged directly on Picasso's own opinions, which would reject everything that represented traditional values. Picasso's constant change in style and disregard for criticism could well be motivated by Nietzsche's belief that art should be the outcome of violent explosions, and that self-expression should never be hampered.⁹⁵ Recent studies by Leo Steinberg and Ron Johnson have related Nietzschean concepts such as tragedy and the process of creation through destruction to specific works by the artist, specifically in The Old Guitarist, 1903, Family of Saltimbanques, 1905, for the former and in Les Femmes d'Alger, 1907, for the latter.⁹⁶ And going a step further, Mark Rosenthal states that "Picasso's vision of himself and of his responsibilities as an artist is very nearly identical to Nietzsche's elaborately articulated concept of the artist and/or superman."⁹⁷

The importance given to art in anarchist ideology can be traced back to Proudhon and his close friendship with the painter Gustave Courbet. Very much influenced by Courbet's

position on art as being a weapon against the social system, Proudhon wrote Du principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale (1865), exclusively dedicated to the social importance of art. Similar to his English contemporary John Ruskin, Proudhon expresses "that art must have a moral purpose and social relevance in order to have meaning."⁹⁸

Another great influence in Picasso's early years as a painter was the renowned Catalan artist Isidro Nonell, considered to be "the first Spanish painter of the time to show the poor with realism and compassion, rather than as the stock, picturesque beggars of traditional genre."⁹⁹ Nonell belonged to a group of artists called the Colla Sant Marti (Sant Marti group), a name given to them after one of the slums in Barcelona. Their pictorial themes centered around the outcasts and the destitute and have thus been considered to be the visual counterpart to the Generation of '98 (fig. 23). Another recurrent theme among these visual and literary artists was the devastation brought to the Spanish soldiers of the Cuban War, the most unpopular war of Spain, known as the Desastre Nacional (1898), who were abandoned after the defeat at the port of Barcelona without pay, many sick and wounded. Picasso and Nonell both had studios in the same building,¹⁰⁰ and both artists seemed to have shared the same subject matter: the miserable figures repatriated from the Cuban war, and the poor and the beggars who abounded at the time throughout the streets of

Barcelona. Picasso's Blue Period, although originating in Paris in 1901, is marked by the influence of Nonell through the silhouettes of figures huddled together and expressing the pain and resignation of their reality. In addition to Nonell, the influence of Paul Gauguin, who was greatly admired by both artists, can also be detected in Picasso's early period especially as he adopted the style of heavy contours.¹⁰¹

At this time many artists, including Picasso, became to admire Gauguin particularly, not only for his style in painting but more for his determination to exalt the primitive or the childlike in man.¹⁰² This was an attitude which started in the second half of the nineteenth century in response to the growing rejection of industrialism which many thought was generating corruption and decadence. A sort of cult of the primitive or of the childlike was central to the Symbolist movement and in Barcelona it took the form of reviving the regional Catalan folklore, music, arts and literature. Picasso's attraction to the primitive is also well documented through his Arte Joven journal, as it proves to be a record of Picasso's artistic and political inclinations and sympathies of the time. A sonnet by Miguel de Unamuno, a member of the Generation of '98, was selected for the first number and it begins: "I return to thee my childhood, as Anateus returned to earth to regain his strength," and in an article called Our Aesthetic a

quotation from Goethe is chosen:

The true poet receives his knowledge of the world from nature, and to depict it he does not need a great experience or great technique.¹⁰³

Picasso and Paris

Between 1900 and 1904, when Picasso moved back and forth from Barcelona to Paris, political unrest began to escalate in Spain and specially in Catalonia. Massive unemployment, being the main cause, triggered riots, and labor unions went on strike against job insecurity and mistreatment. In response, the government increased repression in a brutal and violent way by hunting down all those connected with the anarchist movement or with leftist ideals. By 1904, the Catalan Modernista movement came to an end; the Quatre Gats was closed and many of the artists such as Casas, Utrillo, Riquier and Rusinol, the main Modernista exponents, left Barcelona. Thus, searching for a more open and secure society, Picasso moved definitely to Paris where he found tranquility and an atmosphere in which he might express himself freely.

But Paris itself was not indifferent to the anarchist and socialist movements. On the contrary, in Paris anarchism was actually centered in the artistic and intellectual avant-garde.¹⁰⁴ Thus Picasso had simply moved from one anarchist milieu to another. And yet the differences between these two cities were clearly apparent to him. While Barcelona championed an art expressed in a plain and socially-critical

narrative way, Paris on the other hand, sponsored a much greater and richer artistic radicalism. In the end, Picasso remained faithful to his Barcelona influences.

Although the gaunt, depressed figures of his Blue Period (1901-1905) reflect the anarchist view that the role of the artist is to depict and thus criticize the hard reality of contemporary society, his style changes from the narrative to several phases of self experimentation. These years were perhaps the most difficult for the young Picasso. As a struggling artist, he too, suffered an impoverished and insecure life, and was affected by personal tragedies, such as the suicide of his dearest friend, the Catalan Carles Casagemas. Thus any interpretation of Picasso's Blue period style and subject matter, has to bear in mind the general melancholy of the fin-de-siecle in both Barcelona and Paris,¹⁰⁵ the literary and artistic influences of the Symbolist movement, personal factors and the anarchist circles he so much frequented and admired.

Paris, the birthplace of the avant-garde, attracted many advanced French painters as well as foreign ones. Before 1914, many either lived there temporarily, or chose to stay indefinitely. Among the most reputed foreign artists who settled in Paris were: the Czechoslovakian Frantisek Kupka, already about 1895, the Polish Louis Marcoussis in 1903, the Romanian Constantin Brancusi in 1904, the Bulgarian Julius Pascin in 1905, the Spanish Juan Gris, the Italians Gino

Severini, and Amadeo Modigliani in 1906, the Russian Alexander Archipenko in 1908, the Polish Jacques Lipchitz in 1909, the French Marc Chagall and the Dutch Piet Mondrian in 1910, and the Lithuanian Chaim Soutine and the Italian Giorgio de Chirico in 1911.¹⁰⁶ There was also an artistic and literary Spanish colony, and Picasso spent much of his time with this circle during his first trips to Paris. Among them we find: the engraver Ricardo Canals who taught Picasso etching; Jaume Sabartes who later would become his secretary, closest friend and biographer; Isidro Nonell of the group Colla Sant Marti, mentioned earlier; the painter Ramon Pichot who married the girl who was unfortunately connected to Casagemas' death; the anarchists Jaume Brossa and Alexandre Cortada; the painter Paco Durio, friend and follower of Gauguin and from whom Picasso rented his studio at the Bateau-Lavoir, in April 1904.

In the summer of 1901, before the Blue period, and during the first exhibition of his work at the gallery of Ambroise Vollard, Picasso met the Frenchman Max Jacob. This friendship had an enormous influence on Picasso, especially from an intellectual point of view. Thanks to Jacob, in 1904 Picasso met the writer/poet and art critic Guillaume Apollinaire, as well as André Salmon and Alfred Jarry, also poets, who immensely influenced his formative years and became to be known as the "bande a Picasso." Through Max Jacob, also a brilliant poet and art critic, Picasso was

introduced to the French symbolist/anarchist circles and to the literary works of Verlaine, Rimbaud and Mallarmé.

Picasso shared Max Jacob's ironies, distasteful jokes, and love for nonsense. In fact both friends "shared the same room on the Boulevard de Clichy, where one slept by night, the other by day."¹⁰⁷ Apollinaire, however, most influenced Picasso, by constantly giving him artistic confidence and motivation. Both were foreigners in Paris attracted by the anarchist movement and its emphasis on individualism and position against bourgeois society. They also shared an admiration for the Symbolist movement, especially the poets whose politicized work rejected bourgeois values in a new literary form. While embracing the anarchist political and aesthetic positions, Apollinaire and Picasso added a new language of Modernism to their work in terms of the freedom of the artist and the liberation of the imagination.¹⁰⁸

Guillaume Apollinaire settled in Paris in 1902 and was soon connected with the main figures of the anarchist-Symbolist movement. Felix Feneón, the art critic and secretary general for the anarchist publication La Revue Blanche published much of his work until it closed down in 1903.¹⁰⁹ Soon afterwards, L'Europeen a pacifist journal and La Plume, an avant-garde review, continued to publish his articles. At this same time, Apollinaire met André' Salmon with whom he started his own review, naming it Festin d'Esope, Revue des belles lettres. This journal only printed

nine issues between November 1903 and August 1904 and, like Picasso's also short-lived Arte Joven, it was a radical journal that included articles on politics and art. After Le Festin d'Esopo Apollinaire continued to publish on a variety of subjects and literary forms in several other journals such as La Plume, Le Temps, La Revue d'Art dramatique, La phalange, Poesie, just to name a few. Being multilingual, Apollinaire had the opportunity to review and translate journals published in Germany, Spain, Belgium, the United States, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Russia, Great Britain and Hungary, and particularly choosing those articles with leftist overtones.¹¹⁰ Between 1912-1914, Apollinaire became the editor of Les Soirées de Paris, a journal with the same characteristics as Le Festin d'Esopo. Besides art criticism and poetry, news about the Balkan Wars were published as well as important political happenings, pacifist articles and interviews with anarchist leaders or the principal anarchist-symbolists poets. Artworks such as Picasso's collage-constructions and Alfred Jarry's Ubu roi marionettes were also included.¹¹¹ Apollinaire developed a special interest in art criticism and always wrote and defended the modern artists. Through his articles he praised the avant-gardists and repeatedly reminded them about their obligation to herald "the new and be the voice of the future."¹¹²

By promoting the new art, Apollinaire was also expressing

the "optimistic faiths of anarchist aestheticians."¹¹³ As he wrote:

I personally am a great admirer of the modern school of painting because it seems to me the most audacious school that ever existed. It has raised the questions of what beauty is in itself. The modern painters want to represent beauty detached from the pleasure that man finds in man--and that is something that no European artist, from the beginning of recorded time, had ever dared to do. The new artists are searching for an ideal beauty that will no longer be merely the prideful expression of the species.¹¹⁴

Like many of his contemporaries who were influenced by the aesthetic ideas of P. Kropotkin, Apollinaire believed that art should be the reflection of its times and express a society as a whole--politically, socially and philosophically. The importance of rejecting everything that bourgeois society represented was to embrace a new kind of artistic, moral and political freedom that would consequently lead them into the "new better" future so much a part of the anarchist ideal.¹¹⁵

Freedom of art was of special importance to both Apollinaire and Picasso since, as modernists, they believed that life and art were inseparable. The reason why we encounter ambiguities, overlaps, allusions to modern day life and absurdities in their work are due to the desire to combine that reality with the aesthetic experience.¹¹⁶ Picasso's future use of newspaper clippings as vital elements in his collages, clearly reflects this attitude. The collages with their very carefully chosen newspaper articles are immersed in political anarchist overtones. In

Apollinaire's opening and closing poems for Alcools (1898-1913), for example, we can detect that the poems Zone and Vendémaire are reminiscent of Picasso's pre-war collages (1912-1914) in content, and later his Calligrammes 1913-1916 (fig. 24), represent his Cubist venture in poetry.¹¹⁷

Perhaps the individual who influenced these two artists the most in the sense of considering life and art as inseparable and indistinguishable from one another, was the anarchist-writer-poet, Alfred Jarry. Jarry, came to enact this belief through his personality, by living every moment of his life as though it were a work of art.¹¹⁸ His eccentricities and, most of the time, absurd behavior, and his satire and black humor, reflect such a position. Thus Jarry's anarchism was partly projected through his artistic revolt, his dress and conduct. Through the Ubu Roi productions, the writer satirized and condemned contemporary society, and expressed a violent grotesque and destructive world.¹¹⁹

Jarry's behavior and his taste for the strange and eccentric affected Apollinaire as much as it did Picasso. Jarry carried a revolver and would fire it into the air for no reason, a practice that Picasso would copy.¹²⁰

In Apollinaire's work there seem to be elements that strongly relate to the beginnings of Cubism. In the play Les Mamelles de Tirésias (1903 but produced in 1917), the writer calls for adventure in all creative fields. He states the

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need of reason over taste, to love audacity and the importance of change and experimentation. He also "advocated the liberation of art from everyday logic and the exaltation of intuition and the creative role of the unconscious."¹²¹

When Picasso definitely moved to Paris in April 1904, he was entering the last "mannerist" stage of his Blue Period. Finally, settled in Paris on the Rue Ravignan at the Butte de Montmartre, then baptized by Max Jacob as the Bateau Lavoir, Picasso met Fernande Olivier, who became his mistress, lived with him for the next six years, and helped change his tragic mood to a more optimistic one. By the latter part of 1904, Picasso starts his Rose Period with the "Circus Family" as central subject matter. This period was to culminate with the famous Salimbanques, Paris, 1905, the largest picture Picasso had ever worked on.

In May of 1906, Picasso and Fernande journey to Barcelona where Picasso meets with his closest Catalan friends and is exposed to the new Catalan mediterranean classicism in vogue at the time. Then he ventures to a remote village called "Gosol", in the Pyrenees, where he spends three months experimenting and using certain elements of the Catalan classicism within his paintings and drawings. Examples of his work from Gosol are: The Peasants 1906, The Toilette 1906 (fig. 25), and there are several portraits of the innkeeper, of Fernande (fig. 26), still lifes with typical Catalan pottery, and several landscapes of the area.¹²²

Back in Paris, Picasso's pastoralism and classicizing forms done while in Gosol, are replaced by pictures of stocky, geometricized figures leaning towards the grotesque. Shockingly, we see Picasso shifting from classical beauty towards a primitive violence. Continuing to work in this direction, (in a period of six months) Picasso's nudes become increasingly violent and the radicalism of his painting more apparent. This aesthetic revolution led Picasso into the making of the famous painting Les Femmes d'Alger (O.J. 1907) (fig. 27), regarded today as "the key monument of this century's culture" ¹²³ and by all means it helped forge Picasso's way towards the beginnings of Cubism.

CHAPTER 3

THE RISE OF CUBISM AND COLLAGE

By the time Picasso painted Les Demoiselles d' Avignon, he had already established a reputation as an original and independent artist. His paintings of the Blue and Rose periods were being bought by private collectors and they had caught the eye of the well reputed art dealer Ambroise Vollard. He was at the same time considered, together with Matisse, a leader of the avant-garde movement in painting.¹²⁴ Les Demoiselles, though unfinished, was shown in the autumn of 1907, and was a shock for those who saw it. A total departure from his previous work, this painting was incomprehensible to many and a mockery and offense to others. The French Fauvist painter Georges Braque, who met Picasso through Guillaume Apollinaire by the end of 1907, was at first bewildered when he first glanced at Les Demoiselles, but then, soon after, understood that this particular work was to "mark an important new departure."¹²⁵ Braque's response to Les Demoiselles was his own painting called Grand Nu (fig. 28) of spring 1908. Very different from Picasso's violent angularity, Grand Nu is a distortion of a female nude figure with free curvilinear lines and a

background treated with large angular planes. Together with Les Femmes d'Alger, it is considered a milestone in the history of Cubism.

Braque's interest in Picasso's new direction in art led to a collaborative friendship between the two artists that culminated in one of the utmost revolutionary styles in art: Cubism.

Early Cubism followed an evolution that, stemming from the influence of Primitive art (African art and early Iberian art in Picasso's case) to the influence of Paul Cezanne, helped free themselves from all conventions that had governed western painting for the last five hundred years. Cubists essentially antitraditionalists developed a unique way of looking at the exterior world by using different means to record it.

In the unfolding of Cubism, the contributions of both Picasso and Braque are intimately related and often difficult to distinguish. Their close relationship made it possible for new advancements in the new painting method, and both "deserve credit and both are admirable artists, each in his own way."¹²⁶

As Picasso and Braque ventured into this radical new art style, new discoveries are made and though working toward an increasing abstraction of form, the artists never completely detached themselves from the real world. The most common subjects used for painting during the cubist period were

musical instruments, first introduced by Braque,¹²⁷ which became an important and favorite element throughout the cubist still life painting. Other motifs are landscapes, bottles, glasses or fruit bowls and common objects found on modest cafe tables, such as matches, newspapers, wine bottles, cups, etc. Picasso added portraits and female figures while Braque rarely introduced the human figure in his cubist work.

The first cubist painting in which Picasso depicts a musical instrument with a figure is in Woman with Mandolin, (fig. 29) Paris, spring 1909 and by 1911, the musician becomes one of his major subjects. For the next two years musical instruments are depicted in almost half of all his paintings and collages (most generally they are string instruments-guitar, violin, etc.), either alone, in still lifes or accompanied by musicians.¹²⁸ To explain Picasso's interest in linking music with his work, Leighton (1989) states:

The representation of music in Picasso's work came to represent the power of art, its ability to express and evoke emotion, to move people with thoughts and feelings otherwise difficult to approach.¹²⁹

The reference to music can also be an analogy to abstraction considering that music is the most abstract art form, and Cubism is an abstracted form of reality. Going a step further, Rosenblum in Picasso and the Typography of Cubism (1973) concludes:

Like newspapers and the brand names of alcohol,

references to music are as common in the Cubist dictionary of words as in the Cubist repertory of still life objects. Although Braque, alluded often to classical music with words like SONATE, ETUDE, DUO, ARIA, RONDO, or the names BACH, MOZART, KUBELICK, it was popular music that dominated most Cubist art.¹³⁰

Ever since the Spanish painter Juan Gris, another major exponent of Cubism, explained the differences between the early period of "analysis" in Cubist painting and a later phase which becomes the "synthesis" of the first,¹³¹ scholars, thus influenced by Gris' interpretation, have continued to divide Cubism in two distinct periods: an analytical phase and a synthetic phase.¹³² While one can assume that Analytical Cubism is based on breaking down or "analysis," and that Synthetic Cubism on building up or "synthesis," (as Alfred Barr described in his "Cubism and Abstract Art", 1936)¹³³ this is not the case. The former is actually based on representing the visible, "tangible" world through accumulations of little brushstrokes, lines, planes, edges, becoming lyrical and plastic where recognizable details give the viewer a clue of the object represented. Even though representation is not done in a literal way, the analytical phase of Cubism attempts a new pictorial analysis of the real world and Passage is used throughout as a coherent principal in the paintings, thus creating a continuum. The feeling of mass in the representation of forms is replaced by fragmentation and interpenetrating planes offering multiple views or simultaneity of the form

itself.

Synthetic Cubism, on the other hand is reductive and evocative. Collage elements come into play, and it is extremely planar opposed to the plasticity of its former phase. The Synthetic phase introduces a whole new set of sign systems, a new pictorial language. While Analytical Cubism works from particular facts to general conclusions or ideas, Synthetic Cubism starts from general objects available and known to the artist, randomly selected, to the specific or new order or work of art, based on pre-existing ideas, not experienced ones.¹³⁴

As Picasso and Braque advanced, the Analytical Phase of Cubism becomes more complex and there was a tendency towards an ever increasing abstraction, thus, making the legibility of the painting more troublesome. The images were so far from the source of the object, with infinite fragmentation blocking the articulations of space, that a total break with reality was feared. It was Georges Braque, who, perhaps unconsciously, introduced a solution to these formal problems. He worked out a means to maintain fragmentation but where one could still make reference to spatial elements. This was done through his famous nail in *trompe l'oeil* painted in the vertical still life Violin and Palette, 1910 (fig. 30) and in Jug and Violin, 1910 (fig. 31).¹³⁵ The illusionistically painted nail is, hence, an affirmation of the artist's intentions of reference to

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reality. Besides the "nail," Braque, for the first time, introduces lettering in his painting. In the still life Le Pyrogene, 1910, (fig. 32) Braque hand painted the name of the newspaper, "blending the title into the composition and with no other function than that of identifying as a newspaper the object over which the name is painted."¹³⁶ In the summer of 1911 Picasso followed Braque's example with his still life L'Independant (fig. 33) where the title of the newspaper is painted in gothic script. In the same summer, Picasso came up with a totally new approach in his still lifes The Torero (fig. 34) and in The Bottle of Rhum. Instead of spelling out the entire words, he only used the first letters of a possible title in order to refer to the subject of the picture. Thus, the letters serve as a reference which forces the spectator to draw his own conclusions.¹³⁷

Probably copying Picasso's idea of a reference, Braque used stencilled letters and numerals in his famous The Portuguese (fig. 35) (made also during the summer of 1911), giving, as a result, a whole new dimension to the picture plane. The stencilled letters and numbers D BAL / 10, 40 / & / OCD do not give an immediate meaning any more than the figure and the space, but the fact that the letters are stencilled suggest that they are external elements totally independent from the artist's hand. Therefore, the value of stencilled lettering as a spatial clue was considerably

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emphasized, becoming an "intrusion into the picture like the raw material of external reality."¹³⁸ At the same time, its effect on the paintings themselves served to stress their quality as objects. Stencilled lettering brought forward a new phase of Cubist painting and opened the way for collage.¹³⁹

In the last months of 1911, Picasso's canvases tended to rely more on not only "clues" given through printed lettering but "again began to center on the object painted, or rather on the relationship between it and the surrounding space, which it modified and disrupted."¹⁴⁰ The subjects chosen by Picasso were objects that were connected to common Parisian cafes. Matches, wineglasses, newspapers, cups, coffee-pots, pipes, menus, wine bottles, all everyday objects that could be found on cafe tables were painted and, of course, reduced to their minimal linear expression offering us just a perceptible fragmentation of the object itself. Out of thirty-one still-lives produced in winter 1911-1912, nineteen, more than half, include part or all of a table in a cafe.¹⁴¹ Now, the fragmented objects and the allusive fragmented painted letters (forming words) are used as spatial guides but, most importantly, Picasso began to use a new pictorial language that combined signs referring to concrete objects and still others "referring to concepts."¹⁴²

Picasso's invention of collage was the result of a desire to introduce more precise information into his new

paintings. Instead of implementing the illusionistic trompe-l'oeil, Picasso went a step further and used a fragment of a ready-made object and directly placed it on to the canvas. His first collage Still-life with Chair-caning, May 1912 (fig. 36), became the first painting ever in which foreign objects or materials are applied to the picture surface and considered to be a legitimate art form.¹⁴³ Collage also marks the beginning of the Synthetic Phase of Cubism.

Analysing this first collage, Still-life with Chair-caning, we encounter the painted letters JOURNAL (with the letter "U" twisted forward and out of place), a slice of lemon, the stem of a pipe, a bowl pointing towards us, and most importantly, stuck on to the surface, a piece of oil cloth patterned with the imitation of chair-caning. The oil cloth was placed on the canvas giving the impression of depth where Picasso paints on the round base of a wineglass, a cast shadow and the edge of a chair. Even the shape of the canvas is nontraditional since it derived from a series of oval canvases through which he was trying to abolish the traditional rectangular format.¹⁴⁴ As a final touch, rope surrounds the canvas which first functions as a conventional frame to enclose a pictorial illusion, and then, contradicts this function by creating the illusion of decorative wood carving on the edge of a flat surface.

Picasso's discovery of collage was followed, for some reason, by a six month period of artistic inactivity.¹⁴⁵

During this period he travelled, first to Ceret and then to Sources (in France). But during his absence, Braque made another major contribution to Cubism. In his painting Fruit Dish, September 1912 (fig. 37), Braque pasted on paper fragments, thus becoming the first to initiate the technique of papier collé--a term that refers specifically to the use of paper fragments as opposed to the more inclusive term "collage." Collage implies the insertion into the picture of fragments of some foreign material creating a pictorial illusion. On the other hand, papier collé (pasted paper) is a medium, a complete pictorial system, based on the differences in substance, texture, relief, provoked by the material stuck on, that is by the optical modifications of the visible surface.¹⁴⁶ In contrast to Picasso's first collage, what is remarkable about Braque's first papier collé, Fruit Dish, which served as the imitation of an object, is that the introduction of three pieces of wall paper (in this case with the imitation of wall panelling), is independent of the form. The strips can be interpreted as indicating the wooden surfaces in the background, but above all, they are acting spatially, creating the effect of depth as well as conveying the sign of wood, information which we immediately relate to the presence of the table.

While often made to represent objects, in Braque's works the strips of papier collé always fulfill a primary pictorial or compositional function. On the other hand,

Picasso, who took up the device at once, also uses papier collé in this relatively simple way, but his attitude is more intellectual and imaginative. Picasso becomes interested in the possibilities of transforming the elements applied to the pictures by giving them a new and specific meaning. The immediacy given to the picture plane through the use of newspaper clippings, cigarette paper packets, advertisements, bottle labels, playing cards, should not be seen as only solutions to formal problems encountered in this second phase of Cubism. On the contrary, these objects become the tools through which messages are directly or indirectly channeled.¹⁴⁷

In Patricia Leighton's article, Picasso's Collages and the Threat of War 1912-1913 (1983) and, later, in her book Re-Ordering the Universe Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914 (1989), the author introduces a totally new approach to viewing Picasso's collages with newspaper clippings. She is apparently the first to establish that:

... they (the newspaper clipping collages) to be not arbitrary bits of printed matter or just signs designating themselves, but they are accounts and reports of specific events that immediately anticipate or forshadow the coming of World War I.¹⁴⁸

In conclusion, Leighton establishes that it is not surprising to find concrete political meanings in many of Picasso's collages. As noted earlier, anarchist ideology was pivotal in his earlier development and it continues to be for the newspaper items he chose reflect a profound interest

in this radical point of view while other clippings reveal him avidly following reports dealing with the issues and events of the Balkan Wars.

Picasso's interest in including and, thus, following the issues of this war, is directly linked to his political awareness acquired during his Barcelona years and later when he moved to Paris. As discussed earlier in this paper, Picasso, from his early teens, had always been in contact with leftist groups, especially with the anarchist ideology. Therefore, having developed a social sensibility towards those under oppression over a period of nearly twenty years, Picasso became attentive to the events of this war. The objective of the Balkan conflict, which started on October 15 of 1912, was to emancipate Macedonia from the oppression of Turkish rule. Geographically, Macedonia lies between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, and ethnographically it is an extension of their races. But apart from the expansionist ambitions and the racial sympathies, the expulsion of the Turks not only secured Macedonia's independence but meant the end of a long Muslim hegemony in that part of Europe. Consequently, the Balkan league was formed and within a few months the power of Turkey collapsed.¹⁴⁹ Besides, the sensationalist news coverage given to the Balkan affair made it impossible for Picasso to be uninformed about it and much less indifferent.

Leighen discovered that more than half of the newspaper

articles used in Picasso's collages of 1912-14 make reference to the Balkan Wars and to the anarchist and socialist response to them.¹⁵⁰ Another quarter of the collages involve uncanny stories of suicide, murder, vandalism; the remainder alludes to the artistic bohemia and cafe world.¹⁵¹

In the collage Guitar-Sheet Music and Wineglass, dated autumn 1912 (fig. 38), Picasso introduced for the first time a newspaper clipping.¹⁵² In this collage Leighton also discovers that it is the first in a series of collages that deals with the Balkan War since Picasso uses part of the headline from the daily newspaper Le Journal (dated November 10, 1912) that reads: La Bataille s'est Engage (The Battle is joined).¹⁵³ In Bottle of Suze autumn 1912 (fig. 39), the third work Picasso uses newsprint, Leighton analyses the collage by actually reading the newspaper fragments glued onto the canvas. In this particular collage the author deciphers an article that describes a report about war victims, the wounded, battle strategies and specifically the account of a cholera epidemic among the Turkish soldiers. Of the latter it reads:

Before long I saw the first corpse still grimacing with suffering and whose face was almost black. Then I saw two, four, ten, twenty, then I saw a hundred corpses. They were stretched out there where they had fallen during the march of the left convoy, in the ditches or across the road, and the files of cars loaded with almost dead everywhere stretched themselves out on the devastated route. How many cholericics did I come upon like that? Two thousand, three thousand? I don't dare give a precise figure. Over a distance of about twenty

kilometers, I saw cadavers strewn the cursed route where a wind of death blow and I saw the dying march, ominous in the middle of troops indifferent and preparing themselves for combat. But I had seen nothing yet.¹⁵⁴

Within this same collage, Leighton points out to us an article that deals with a pacifist meeting organized by the socialist and anarchist parties.¹⁵⁵

According to Leighton's study, between November 1912 and all of 1913, Picasso made approximately 80 collages of which 52 have newspaper fragments with at least half dealing with the Balkan Wars and the political atmosphere of Europe.¹⁵⁶

Le Journal, the largest newspaper in France, reaching a daily circulation of a million copies in 1913,¹⁵⁷ with predominantly military and nationalistic attitudes, was Picasso's main source of newspaper clippings used for his collaged canvases. It was quite a sensationalist newspaper that encouraged its journalists to emphasize on stories of violence and scandal. A paper that became the ideal vehicle for incorporating in the collages:

the widely publicized war news and those macabre human interest stories of murder, suicide and vandalism which make up another quarter of the newsprint items used in the period between 1912-1914.¹⁵⁸

Picasso's use of many kinds of typography, such as the body text, headlines, large type from labels and advertisements were used to extend ambiguity within the collages, and Picasso was a master in this area. His resourceful use with the semantics gave him the arena for creating a pun or to comment on human and political

issues.¹⁵⁹

As seen in Student with a Newspaper, Winter 1912-1913 (fig. 40), Picasso shortens the word JOURNAL to URNAL thus making what Rosenblum called "a slightly indecent pun,"¹⁶⁰ as the combination of the letters can easily be associated with "URINAL." In the still life Siphon, Glass, Newspaper and Violin, December 1912 (fig. 41), the drawing of a glass lies over the cartoon of a floating boat, the head of the violin is drawn on the entertainment page and the bottle is created from an advertisement for wines. The newspaper is here described by an outline and the word JOURNAL.¹⁶¹

Rosenblum also associates a joke in the collage Table with Bottle, Wineglass and Newspaper, autumn-winter 1912 (fig. 42), where the newspaper title is shortened to URNAL and then underneath follows the cropped headline UN COUP DE THE. The original title reads Un coup de Theatre and it relates to an article about the Balkan Wars dated 4 December 1912. Having in mind the ambiguities created by Picasso in the collages, UN COUP DE THE may allude not only to tea, but to Stephane Mallarmé's famous poem Un coup de dés jamais n'abolirá le hasard (A throw of dice will never abolish chance).¹⁶²

Stephane Mallarmé, probably the foremost representative of the Symbolist movement, extensively condemned "the commercial use of language" by means of the newspaper throughout his critical essays.¹⁶³ He also criticized the

column format of the papers stating that it was monotonous and arbitrary for the reader. Mallarmé's ideal was to create a new poetic form where sound and vision would predominate the actual meaning of its words. The poem in which he tried to fulfill this ideal was Un Coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard (A throw of dice will never abolish chance), (fig. 43) first published in 1897. The poem, as Mallarmé meant it to be, has a free flowing format, contrary to the construction of traditional poetry. Its typography is inconsistent throughout the poem and at times specific lettering is used to emphasize the meaning of a word. White also predominates and in some pages we find at the bottom, top or middle of the page a word printed in large bold type or in tiny slanted letters. Other pages have words scattered across the page forming some kind of movement resembling the flow of music. On the occasion of its publication, Mallarmé wrote a preface to indicate the readers on how to approach his poem and at the same time justifies his new poetic order and condemns the commercialized newspaper form.¹⁶⁴

It is well known that Picasso was familiar with Mallarmé's poetry and the use of news print in his collages could well be a deliberate attack against Symbolist values. As seen in the 1912 collage Table with Bottle, Wineglass and Newspaper, the association with Mallarmé's famous poem is evident. While Mallarmé despised the blatancy of newspaper headlines, Picasso incorporated them into the collages using

them as instruments to create puns and ironic statements or to just communicate very specific messages. Even though Picasso, from an early age, had moved and worked within Symbolist values, his use of newspaper could well be seen as a statement against the purist attitudes of the movement,¹⁶⁵ and can well be seen as a threat to nineteenth century theories of originality and self expression. Nonetheless, Picasso demonstrates his creative process and originality through the collages. The fact that he directly incorporates ready-made objects onto the surface of the canvas, such as wallpaper, musical scores and newspaper fragments, instead of representing them by conventional and academic "paint and brush," does not make his work less original or self expressive. On the contrary, by manipulating elements derived from popular culture and mass communication Picasso created an imaginative new pictorial form with a language of its own. Furthermore, in response to Mallarmé's criticisms about the commercial use of language, Picasso's papiers collés could well be an intent to demonstrate that commercialized language, when placed and used in a specific artistic framework, can become a unique and valid art form.

The satire, black humor and macabre related subjects that characterize nearly a quarter of the newsprint matter in Picasso's collages, are, according to Leighton's research, manifestations of social criticism mainly derived from the influence of his closest friends, the poet-writers Guillaume

Apollinaire and most importantly Alfred Jarry.

As mentioned earlier (Chapter 2), for the "modernists" art becomes inseparable from all facets of life and expressly freedom of art takes on a social-political stand when dealing with a stagnant and restrictive society. In this sense, Alfred Jarry's influence on both Apollinaire and Picasso cannot be overlooked. Satire was Jarry's main vehicle for ridiculing and attacking art and society, an attitude Picasso did not hesitate to embrace.

Besides newsprint collages dealing with Pre-War and related political events, Picasso's remaining collages are centered around incidents that appeal to the absurdness of a bourgeois society that is seduced by this new kind of feature journalism based on "tragic-comical" stories. These "stories" which range from suicides, acts of vandalism, gory crimes and accidents to crimes of passion, were undoubtedly chosen by Picasso with the intention of being read as social criticisms.¹⁶⁶ Again, Patricia Leighton discovered that:

Table with Bottle and Wineglass, autumn 1912, the pasted article tells about an old man who was mugged, beaten and left for dead; Vieux Marc, Glass and Newspaper, spring 1913 (fig. 44), mixes an article on war, strikes and pacifist demonstrations, with one about an artiste who poisoned her lover; Man with a Violin, autumn 1912 (fig. 45), includes the story of a singer who commits suicide after a performance; Bottle and Wineglass, autumn 1912, a vagabond

accuses himself of murder; Bottle, Cup and Newspaper, autumn 1912 (fig. 46), describes the vandalizing of public monuments by "la bande noire," a well known gang of vandals of the time.¹⁶⁷ Other collages include pages with sports events, the financial page, the listing of theatre shows and advertisements for tonic waters and liquor (figs. 47, 48). The great majority of these clippings were deliberately taken from the sensationalist and widely read daily Le Journal as if the collages were specifically made for its readers.

With the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, many unmistakably saw the coming of an even larger and devastating war involving almost all of Europe. Picasso and his French friends frequently discussed the delicate political atmosphere of the continent and the roles each one would take in case the threat of war was inevitable. Those who followed the Anarcho-Symbolist ideals of antimilitarism and pacifism, Picasso included, most emphatically opposed any position that argued direct participation.¹⁶⁸ Nonetheless, when the war did break out, virtually the entire avant-garde marched off to war, including those fervent antimilitarists. Surprisingly, Kropotkin, the anarchist ideologist, had preferred to encourage participation in the war rather than risk domination by the Germans. While Apollinaire became a French citizen in order to join the army, and Braque voluntarily enlisted, Picasso remained faithful to the

antimilitarist and pacifist ideals of anarchism.¹⁶⁹

As Leighton writes, during the pre-war period the press not only saturated its readers with accounts of the Balkan Wars but included the heated debates of the different political parties, left and right, dealing with the threat of a major war. Picasso never used anarchist or radical dailies, "which would have replaced description with polemic,"¹⁷⁰ but most of the time preferred to employ articles from Le Journal. Its constant bombardement of news about the Balkan Wars and the controversy surrounding its consequences, together with its photojournalism, that was as direct and gory as its headlines, made it near to impossible for Picasso to ignore.

As the fever of patriotism grew throughout France, anarchists included, Picasso nonetheless remained consistent with the antiwar ideology of the movement. The socio-politically charged newsprint collages manifest Picasso's interest and concern over the events of the time but can well be interpreted as criticisms towards a growing violent world. The collages themselves represent interesting journalistic accounts of the period since Picasso carefully clipped entire columns of articles so as to preserve their legibility. If some were cut into the text, Picasso managed to retain the general sense of the article.¹⁷¹

During the autumn and winter of 1912 Picasso practically replaced painting by collage, as he became more and more

involved with this new technique and its content. In five months he executed fifty-one works of which thirty-nine were collages, while only twelve were paintings, including oil, watercolor and gouache.¹⁷² As observed by Leighton, these twelve paintings followed the formal elements of Guitar, Sheet-Music and Wineglass, Paris, autumn 1912, and Guitar and Sheet of Music, Paris, autumn 1912 (fig. 49), proving his interest of adapting the collage medium to painting.

Of the forty-six collages made during the following year, 1914, only four include newsprint with relevant world events, a clear indication that he no longer wanted to deal with these issues.¹⁷³

Picasso did not use collage exclusively as a means for raising political themes. In a series of paintings known as Notre Avenir est dans l'air (Our Future is in the Air), all dated spring 1912 (fig. 50), before Still-life with Chair-caning, the possibility of a war is feared. Therefore they become the first Cubist paintings with concrete political subject matter.¹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, collage replaces painting with its direct language.¹⁷⁵

As the war went on, Picasso remained in Paris at the side of his mistress Eva who was dying of tuberculosis. The obsession with death and feeling uncomfortably out of place at the sight of soldiers returning from the front line, wounded or on leave, affected Picasso's work considerably. After seven years of developing the Cubist style side by

side with Braque, the subsequent experience of being suddenly left alone, led to radical changes in his work. Abruptly, his paintings shifted, back and forth, from almost total abstraction to linear realism (e.g. Portrait of Ambroise Vollard, Paris 1915 (fig. 51), pencil on paper). He also went back to allegorical themes; in 1915-16, a series of harlequins appeared as allegorical self-portraits in extreme abstract geometric designs.¹⁷⁶ This period can be considered a very creative and diverse phase for Picasso, at the same time that he now found himself very lonely, since practically the entire avant-garde had gone to war.

In 1917 the artist met the cultural entrepreneur Jean Cocteau who at the time was connected with the Ballets Russes. In fact Cocteau offered Picasso the job of decorating the set and costumes for Parade, a new ballet being choreographed by Diaghilev and with music by Eric Satie. Moving to Rome where the Ballet was to be staged, while working on its decor, Picasso travelled to Florence and Milan and met the "futurists" and its main artist Umberto Boccioni. He also met his future wife the Russian ballerina Olga Koklova, daughter of a prominent general and member of the Russian bourgeoisie.

Back in Paris by Fall of 1916, the Ballet Parade opened in May of 1917, and in 1918 he married Olga. During these war years, the avant-garde artists who remained in Paris scorned Picasso's new work as they considered it a total

break from the Cubist philosophy and ideals, and he thus became more and more aloof from his old circle of friends. Picasso's marriage to Olga contributed to a further distancing of himself from these friends, as he began to move within the wealthy and aristocratic circles in Paris. In 1918, at the end of the war, Apollinaire died in the autumn and Braque, back from the war, totally disapproved Picasso's new art style and his new companions and, even more, his new, bourgeois inclinations. Never again did they work together.

During the 1920's, Picasso totally removed politics from his work as they no longer served a central role in his life. As for Cubism, Picasso never abandoned it, even though the style of some of his work, from the years 1917-1921, turned towards "the pursuit of classical or "Latin virtues."¹⁷⁷ Picasso's Cubism after the Great War, was never the same as during the Analytical or Synthetic Phase, but as much as those art critics who oppose Cubism tend to reject, Picasso's work remained essentially Cubist.

Picasso's friendship with the founder of the Surrealist movement and member of the French Communist Party, Andre Breton, introduced him once again to a circle of artists who saw their art as serving socio-political and revolutionary ideals.¹⁷⁸ By the late 1920's and during the 1930's, Picasso gradually moved back to the left until one major event that took place in the Spanish Basque town Guernica, in 1937,

urged him to take a clear political stance, publicly and openly. As protest to the bombing of this Spanish town, by General Franco's German allies, Picasso responded with the monumental painting El Guernica, considered to be his major masterpiece and most politically charged work. El Guernica is related to the artist's Synthetic Phase of Cubism and is allusive to the collages of the same period.

CONCLUSION

As with El Guernica, different interpretations are being given to Picasso's Collages of 1912-14. And ambiguities abound in both. Critics have always traced the symbolism involved in El Guernica to Picasso's private life and the development of a very personal language, based on Mediterranean mythology, which he created in previous works, (e.g., The Vollard Suite, 1930-37, and the Minotauromachy, 1935) and that he transforms to be re-used in El Guernica. On a more direct and universal level, El Guernica is the denunciation of the brutal destruction of a small defenseless Basque town. On the other hand, the Collages of 1912-14 had always been analyzed from a formal point of view. Only when art historians begin to give importance to the deliberately chosen text and unravel their hidden messages, do we encounter a more complex art that offers a totally new dimension with different interpretations. The Collages that deal with the Balkan Wars overemphasize the brutality of the war, the casualties and the devastation through the artist's careful selection of articles. In this sense, the Collages are very direct with their political commentaries considering that the spectator can read the text. Furthermore, by juxtaposing word and image Picasso

makes humorous and ironical comments adding an ambiguous quality to them.

With El Guernica, Picasso relied mostly on the news reports and editorials printed in L'Humanit, the French Communist paper, for visual ideas and ideological content.¹⁷⁹ Reports such as "a thousand incendiary bombs dropped by the planes of Hitler and Mussolini reduced to ashes the city of Guernica. The number of dead and wounded is incalculable,"¹⁸⁰ and the emphasis on the fact that the majority of victims were women and children, were not overlooked by Picasso. The editorials stressed both the victims of Guernica and criticized France and England's position of neutrality by stating "Women and children perished in the flames because France and Great Britain let Hitler and Mussolini transport incendiary bombs to Spain."¹⁸¹ Even though Picasso completely omits pasting newspaper clippings on El Guernica, one still detects a reference to "newspaper."

In general, newspapers had a tremendous impact on Picasso. To such an extent, that in his art, they become a source of inspiration, conceptually and visually. The legacy left by the Collages of 1912-14 are immediately detected in El Guernica. The central figure of the mural painting, the horse, is textured imitating printed-type; the monochrome quality of the painting, where blacks, whites and grays dominate, also allude to newspaper; and the overall

composition is based on a collage-like style.

El Guernica and the Collages of 1912-14 follow a very similar historical framework. In both instances Picasso responds, through his art, to major world events surrounding a human tragedy that foreshadows the threat of a mayor war (World War I and II). Picasso's political convictions, however, never interfered with his artistic freedom. With El Guernica, not only does his personal symbolic language come into play, but, past styles are also interwoven in the final painting. And, yet, its artistic expression successfully displays the outrage of a brutal act against humanity. In the Collages, Picasso's freedom of choosing the newspaper articles, do not prevent him from doing what he had proposed to do from the beginning: to avoid total abstraction in his Cubist work.

ENDNOTES

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7. Ibid, p. 4.
8. See Chipp, for a more detailed account of Picasso's reluctance to collaborate with the Spanish Pavilion; pp. 4-5.
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10. Ibid, p. 7, and Oppler, p. 51.
11. Chipp, p. 7.
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16. See Chipp for a detailed account of the German intervention in the Spanish civil war.
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41. Ibid.
42. Ibid, p. 94.
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59. See Oppler, pp. 250-1 for a detailed account of Picasso's explanation on why he joined the French Communist Party.

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161. Marcus, p. 26.
162. Rosenblum, p. 52.
163. Christine Poggi, "Mallarmé, Picasso, and the Newspaper as Commodity." The Yale Journal of Criticism (Fall 1987), p. 135.
164. Stephane Mallarmé, Dice Thrown never will annul Chance. Translation by Brian Coffey of Un coup de des jamais n'abolir le hasard. (Dublin: Dufour Editions, Inc., 1965) passim
165. Poggi, p. 138.
166. Leighton, 1989, p. 131.
167. These examples and their content were taken from Patricia Leighton's article: "La propagande par le Rire": Satire and Subversion in Apollinaire, Jarry and Picasso's Collages," Gazette des Beaux Arts, Tome CXII, 1437 livraison, (Oct. 1988), pp. 168-169.
168. Ibid, 1989, p. 130.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid.
171. Ibid, p. 134.
172. Ibid, p. 128.
173. Ibid, p. 129.
174. Ibid.
175. See Daix/Rosselet, p. 278, nos. 463, 464 and 465.
176. Ibid, p. 169.
177. Christopher Green, Cubism and its Enemies, Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 14.
178. See Egbert, pp. 97-308, for a description of the Surrealist's connection with Communism.

179. Tuchman, pp. 44-51.

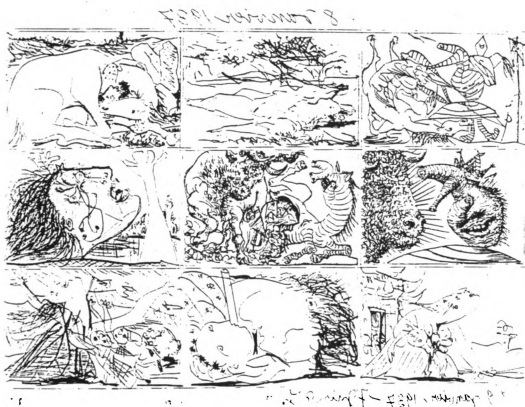
180. Ibid, p. 46.

181. Ibid.

APPENDIX



1. Dream and Lie of Franco I, January 8, 1937.



2. Dream and Lie of Franco II, January 8-9, June 7, 1937.



3. Portrait of the Marquesa, A Christian Slut Tossing a Coin to the Moorish Soldiers, Defenders of the Virgin, 1937-1938.



4. El Guernica, 1937.



5. Composition Study I, May 1, 1937.



6. Composition Study II, May 1, 1937.



7. Composition Study Pencil on gesso on wood, May 1, 1937.



8. Composition Study on Pencil and Gouache on gesso on wood, May 2, 1937.



9. Composition Study Pencil on white paper, May 9, 1937.



10. State I. Photographed May 11, 1937.



11. State II. Photographed around May 13, 1937.



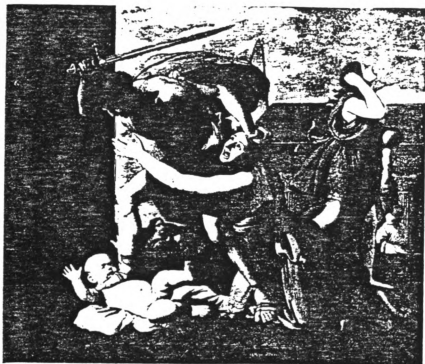
12. State IV. Photographed between May 20 and 24, 1937.



13. Minotauromachy, 1935.



14. Guido Reni, Massacre of the Innocents, c. 1611.



15. Nicolas Poussin, Massacre of the Innocents, c. 1628-29.



16. Federico Garcia Lorca, photograph.



17. Julio Gonzalea, Peasant Woman of Montserrat, 1937.



18. Ciencia y Caridad (Science and Charity), 1897.



19. Ramon Casas, Poster: 4 Gats: Pere Romeu, c. 1900.



20. Portrait of Josef Cardona, 1899.

Cerveceria Cafe Restaurant

FOUR GATS
BARCELONA



Pere Romeu



21. Printed Menu Cover: 4 Gats: Menestra, 1899.

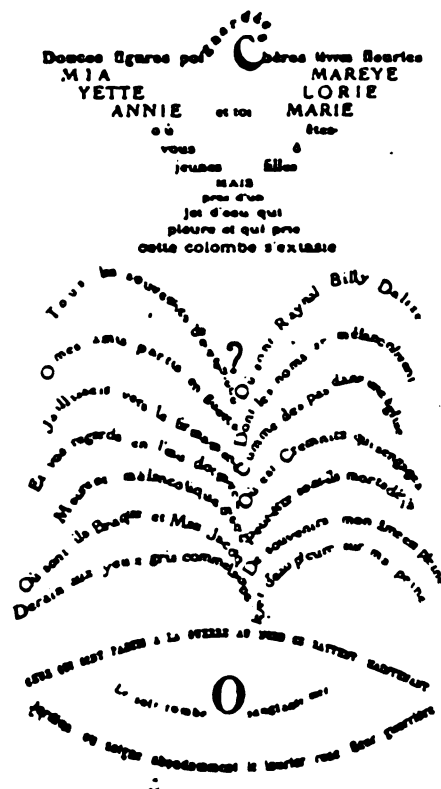


22. 4 Gats: Plat del Dia, c. 1900.



23, Isidro Nonell, Annunciation in the Slums, c. 1892.

*La Colombe Poignardée
et le Jet d'Eau*



LA COLOMBE POIGNARDÉE ET LE JET D'EAU

24. Guillaume Apollinaire, Calligrammes, "La Colombe Poignardée et Le Jet d'Eau", 1913-16.



25. The Toilette, 1906.



26. Fernande, 1906.



27. Les Femmes d'Alger (O Version O), 1907.



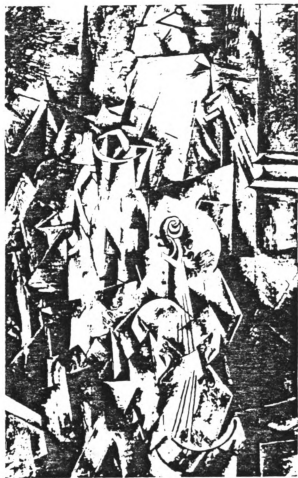
28. Georges Braque, Grand Nu, 1908.



29. Woman with Mandolin, spring 1909.



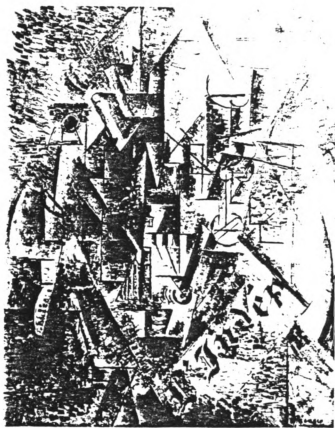
30. Georges Braque, Violin and Palette, 1910.



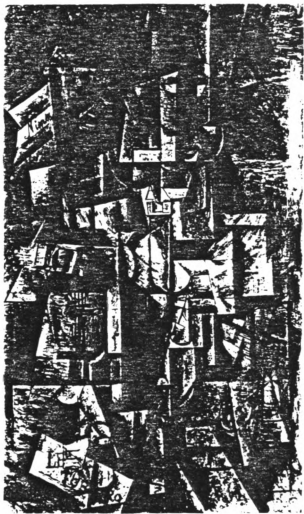
31. Georges Braque, Jug and Violin, 1910.



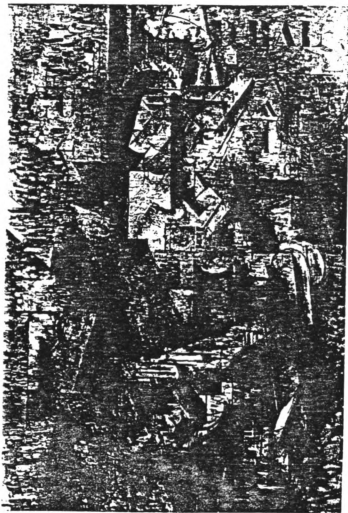
32. Georges Braque, Le Pyrogene, 1910.



33. L'Independant, summer 1911.



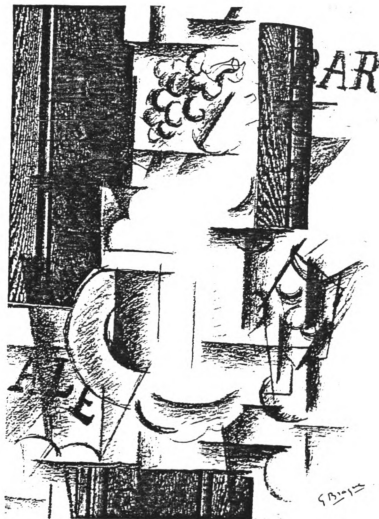
34. The Torero, summer 1911.



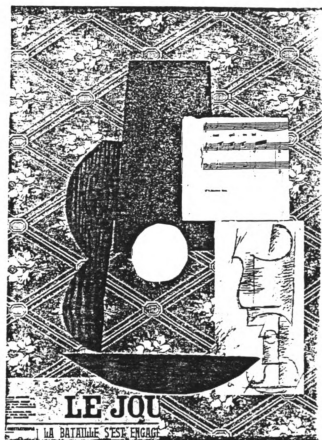
35. Georges Braque, The Portuguese, summer 1911.



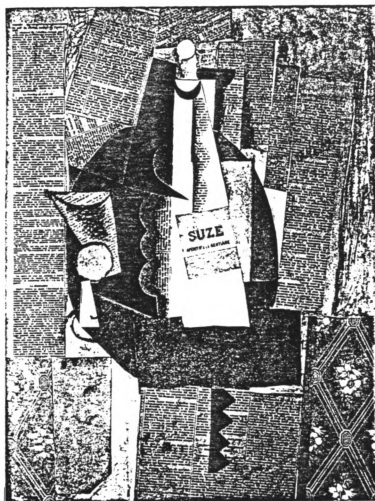
36. Still-life with Chair-caning, May 1912.



37. Georges Braque, Fruit Dish, September 1912.



38. Guitar, Sheet Music, and Glass, autumn 1912.



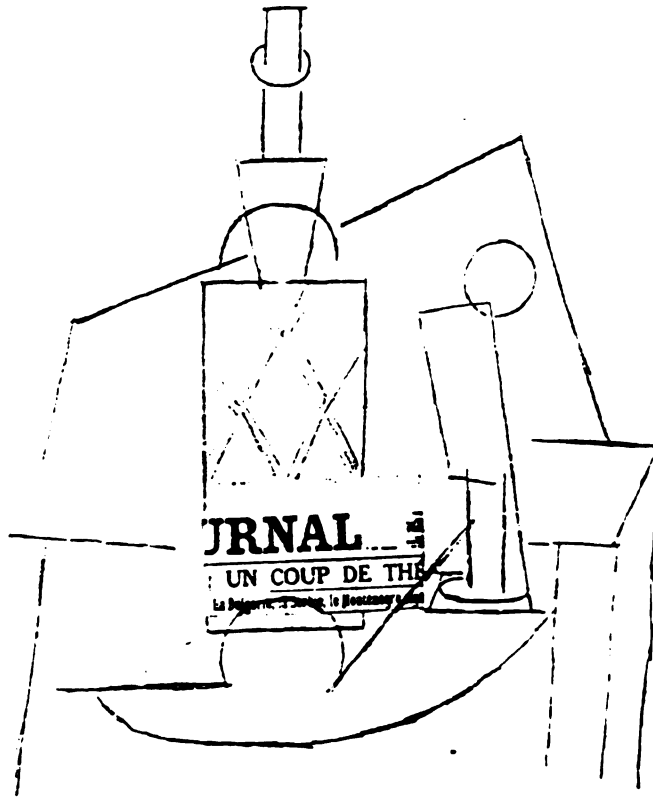
39. Bottle of Suze, autumn 1912.



40. Student with a Newspaper, winter 1912-13.



14. 41. Siphon, Glass, Newspaper, and Violin, December 1913-



42. Table with Bottle, Wineglass, and Newspaper, autumn-winter 1912.

IT WAS

here it is

THE NUMBER

MIGHT IT EXIST

harder than hallucination of scattered story
MIGHT IT BEGIN AND MIGHT IT END

rolling up as ground and bounded on show

at last

a some outpouring story told

MIGHT IT BE COUNTED

evidence of a lot of the same however little one

MIGHT IT ILLUMINE

IT WOULD BE

now

now

now now now

transferring one to more

CHANCE

Drops

the quail

rhythmical suspending of letters

to bury itself

in the original story

thence out later: those letters strong as 'at' as a track

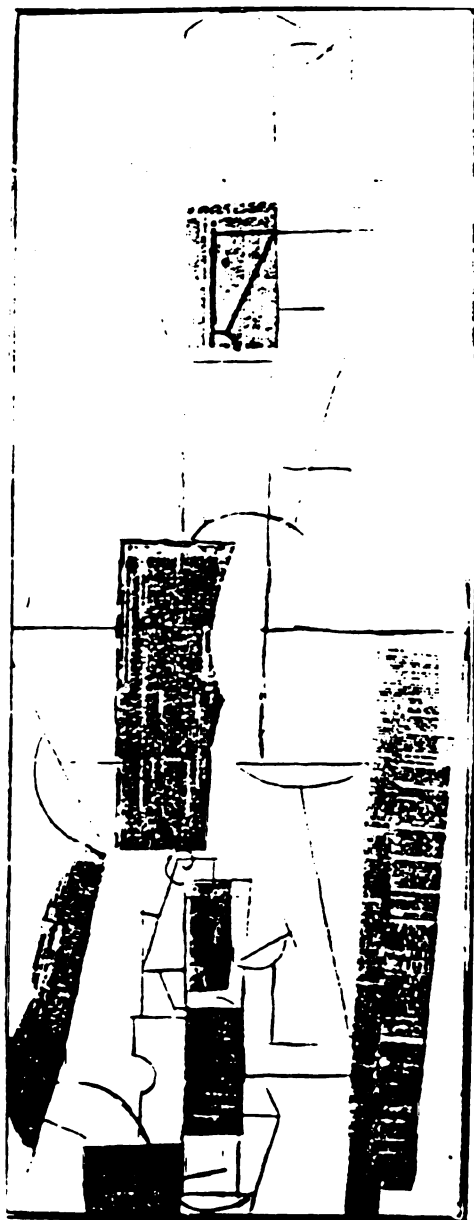
states

by the identical neutrality of the quail

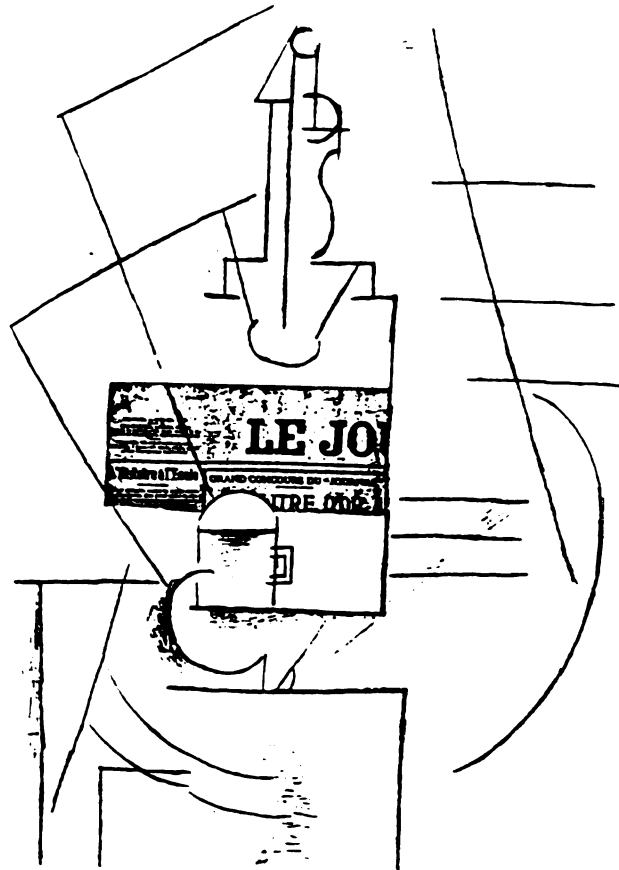
43. Stephane Mallarmé, Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard, page of poem.



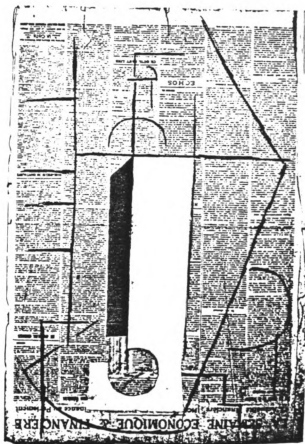
44. Vieux Marc, Glass, and Newspaper, spring 1913.



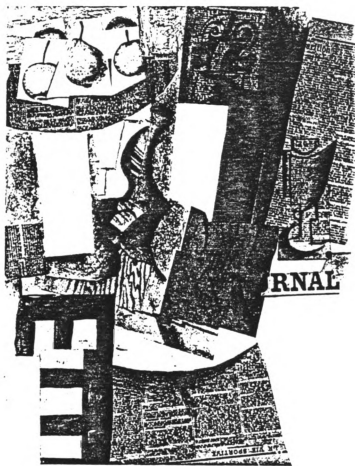
45. Man with a Violin, autumn 1912.



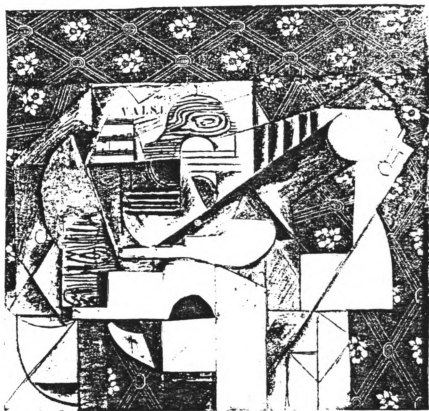
46. Bottle, Cup and Newspaper, autumn 1912.



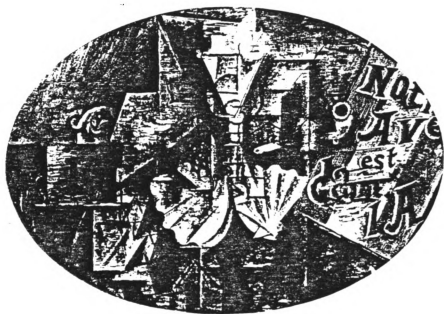
47. Bottle on a Table, 1912.



48. Bowl with Fruit, Violin and Wineglass, 1912.



49. Guitar and Sheet Music, autumn 1912.



50. Notre Avenir est dans l'Air, spring 1912.



51. Portrait of Ambroise Vollard, 1915.

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