

CRUEL ART : PICASSO, DALÍ AND THE BANALITY OF EVIL

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Hitlerism supposes a real and vast ideological movement. Hitlerism constitutes a new phenomenon, sudden, unanticipated, hyper-original. Hitlerism touches real, vital agitations underestimated by marxism....

Salvador Dalí, 'Long Live War! Surrealism and Hitler, 1933-4'¹

A huge yellowed figure kneels in the bay of Portlligat and the rocks of the Cadaques coast; a small boy with hoop, on the sand, looks on, transfixed. Dalí's diminutive [Spectre of Sex-Appeal](#), 1934 (18 x 14 cm) shows a body atrophied, leprous, supported by two crutches. The breasts have turned into dry bags: Spain herself at this time is mutilated, lacking in resources as the political situation degenerates.

The *Spectre of Sex-Appeal*, was shown in the exhibition *Art Cruel* (Cruel Art) which opened in Paris at the Galerie Billiet-Worms on 17 December 1937. It came at the end of an extraordinary year, dominated by the Soviet-Nazi confrontation at the Paris World Fair, the Spanish Civil War and the compromise of France's Popular Front government — out of power by June 1937, with no brotherly support extended financially or in terms of military assistance to the Frente Popular. At this acute moment, the representation of cruelty and evil, of the sadomasochistic in its relationship to fascism — present in the work of Picasso but most explicitly raised by Dalí, raises the spectre, in the preface to *Art Cruel*, of an unnameable excess "something called Spain." This excess is itself connected via the trope of the double (paranoiac) image to the "double-effect" and recent thoughts by philosopher Jacques Rancière about 'the dream of a suitable political work of art'. The relationship between Dalí's tropes of bathos, and what Hannah Arendt would designate as the "banality of evil", challenge Picasso's pathos, and more "sincere" use of transposed violence. More contemporary works relating to Dalí and Picasso, concerned with fascism and power will sharpen these readings.

Art Cruel was deliberately eclectic, in Popular Front spirit, mixing the work of artists of the status of Picasso and Dalí with younger followers from the Communist art centre known in Soviet manner as the "House of Culture" (la Maison de la Culture).² The Galerie Billiet-Worms, which hosted the show was the focus of Franco-Soviet cultural relations, linked to the Comintern and the A.E.A.R., the Paris-based Association of Revolutionary Writers and Artists.³ In *Art Cruel*, Picasso exhibited the lacerating double engraving that he had made the previous January before the bombing of Guernica in April: [Songe et Mensonge de Franco](#). In this comic-strip or filmreel format, designed with postcards in mind, the weeping woman, the bull representing Spain, the horse - part of peasant life and also the 'corrida' - prefigure their appearance in [Guernica](#). Franco is depicted as monstrous, ridiculous: a priapic, wormy figure, tilting against windmills with the pomp and inanity of a deformed Don Quixote, while the similarity to Jarry's *Ubu Roi* drawings emphasises parallels between totalitarianism and megalomania.⁴ Picasso's influence can be seen directly in the young André Fougeron's drawing *Hommage à Franco*, a paper-hatted Franco on a spindly horse. (His Dürer-inspired [Four Horses of the Apocalypse](#), a stronger ink drawing, is now part of Tate Modern's Fougeron collection). As the artist recalled: 'It was the time to choose for me: painting on enrolment in the International Brigades.'⁵

Edouard Goerg's *Death in Spain*, a fibrous, Bosch-like agglomeration of narrative elements was exhibited in preference to his *The hours and the pains of the peasant* (*Heures et Malheurs du paysan*) (which picked up on the punning *Songe et mensonge* element in

Picasso's title).⁶ Joining Fougeron was Francis Gruber, with *The impatient victim*, Edmond Küss with *The Terrace* (similar in style to his *Spain*, 1937), Suzanne Roger with *The Empaled Victims*, Henri-Georges Adam with four etchings, André Auclair with four engravings. Georg Grosz and Franz Masereel bore witness to as precursors to this young socially-engaged graphic art. The “Forces Nouvelles” group were also represented by two paintings: Henri Heraut: *Heros* and Robert Humblot: *The Angel Makers*. Finally Erwin Blumenfeld's photcollage, *The Minotaur*, with its decapitated calf's head, shiny male torso and Caesar-like cloak — all intimations of fascism — added to the emigré German presence in the show. The half-Spanish writer and critic Jean Cassou (promoted to the now defunct Popular Front Cabinet of Jean Zay, Minister of Education and the Beaux-Arts) underlined the disturbing proximity between surrealism and fascism in his catalogue preface:

In the demonstrations of cruelty united here at the Galerie Billiet, one can distinguish two ways of reacting with horror to the contemporary world: two currents: one the German current coming from George Grosz and expressionism which unmasks the monstrous and automatic dimension of people and things with a sort of hideously romantic humour. This humour goes to the very heart of the spectacle, revealing its most intimate dynamic: the secret, sex, fatality (*le secret, le sexe, la fatalité*). The other style which appears here forms at the point where certain aspirations, concealed by the name of surrealism or by other names, have encountered something called Spain, at the very moment when this fantomatic name became the most screaming and bloody reality of the universe, placed — with a tragic gesture and the most prodigious of evidence — on the very knife-edge separating life and death.⁷

Dalí's fascination with the paranoiac nature of totalitarianism as megalomania had originated in the early 1930s. The huge, Salon-size painting [The Engima of William Tell](#), 1933, had dared to depict the father-figure as Lenin with a three-metre long flaccid buttock supported on a crutch. It played a role in his trial and first exclusion from the Surrealist group in February 1934. (Dalí denied any attack on Lenin).⁸ Despite the unease that Dalí caused the Surrealist group by 1936 – in the very midst of their “Communist” tergiversation — the State (Zay's ministry with Cassou's influential advice) had purchased Dalí's equally irreverent [Apparition with Six Heads of Lenin on a Piano](#) in 1936. In no way, then, could Dalí have officially been considered “a fascist” at this time; the humorous Lenin critique must also have been acceptable....The review *Inquisitions* — and later scholarship — demonstrates the ambiguities of the era.⁹

The Spectre of Sex Appeal dates back to the beginning of this scandal, its crutch metaphors obviously related to the Lenin image.¹⁰ Dalí indeed cautioned Breton against involvement with Georges Bataille's “Contre-Attaque” group.¹¹ Yet André Masson's *Carlist*, a parody of the supporters of the Royalist Bourbon dynasty, with its crutch, swastika and recognisable beret was evidently an attack on Dalí. It did not feature in *Art Cruel* but was displaced by four viciously anticlerical works of the same series, with titles like *The New Host* (a bullet instead of communion wafer); *A Satisfied Curate*, or *Corpse Connoisseurs*. Animal heads derived from Goya's *Caprichos* and *Desastres de la Guerra* ratified Masson's new role as political caricaturist.¹² These works were reproduced in *Cahiers d'Art*, 1937, in the same issue as *Songe et Mensonge de Franco*.¹³ Masson's collaboration with Bataille on the review *Acéphale* puts these Spanish drawings into a context where the sadistic concerns of surrealism were deliberately juxtaposed with investigations into the psychology of fascism (see Bataille's study of the psychological structure of fascism in 1933, juxtaposing the “infantile dementia” of German nationalism with the “senile dementia” of French nationalism).¹⁴ *Acéphale* was disturbingly preoccupied with brute force, erotic pain, the desire for annihilation and absorption into a greater whole - precisely

mirrored within fascism itself, where Hitler could be imagined – see Blumenfeld’s *Minotaure* — as a brainless, monster-leader.^{15 16}

Blumenfeld’s earlier photomontage of Hitler morphing into a skull (1933) may be compared with Dalí’s *Visage of War*, 1940, with its *mis-en-abyme* of screaming skulls in decaying eye-sockets: a fulfilment of the prediction of the Spanish Civil war itself — and what Jean Cassou in his *Art Cruel* preface had called “something called Spain”. The word “Spain” functions here as a metonymy; a word standing for an unnameable excess. The excess that could not be envisaged in 1937 was released into a global arena by the time Dalí painted the *Visage of War* in California: the ultimate excesses of the Holocaust were still unimaginable.

Here I would like to quote Jacques Rancière, whose analysis of this excess of meaning employs the words “dream” and “double-effect”, which take us back to Dalí:

The dream of a suitable political work of art is in fact the dream of disrupting the relationship between the visible, the sayable and the thinkable ...It is the dream of an art that would transmit meanings in the form of a rupture with the very logic of meaningful situations.... Suitable political art would ensure, at one and the same time, the production of a double effect: the readability of a political signification and a sensible or perceptual shock caused, conversely, by the uncanny, by that which resists signification. In fact this ideal effect is always the object of a negotiation between opposites, between the readability of a message that threatens to destroy the sensible form of art and the radical uncanniness that threatens to destroy all political meaning....¹⁷

A curiously dialectical relationship exists between the monstrous and the uncanny, spectral aspects of *Art Cruel*: the monstrous and “Minotaur” images sexualise and personalise political *rappports de force*: yet animal behaviour is a law of nature. The only response is passivity, or the transformation of attack into spectacle. François Moulignat’s pioneering doctorate on the Spanish Civil War referred to Jacques Derrida’s linking of monstrosity to the unenvisageable future.¹⁸ The future « cannot be anticipated except in the form of absolute danger. It is what breaks absolutely with what constitutes normality, and can only begin to form, to present itself under the aspect of monstrosity. »¹⁹ But he adds the sadomasochistic touch: “Thus Cruel Art is also the exposition of cruelty in action. Each work is also a fantasmatic *mise-en-scène* of the relationship between oppressor and victim lived as a relationship of pleasure.”²⁰ As future war victims or survivors, the artists themselves, Dalí and Picasso included, were complicit with this pleasure....

I’d like to return to the paranoiac question and reflect once more upon the complexities of the double image. Evidently I am acquainted with the literature on optical illusions, on Dalí’s relationship with Lacan and anamorphosis.²¹ For example, Dalí inscribes an anamorphic skull along length of a baguette-cum- penis-like protuberance in *The Meditation on the Harp*, 1933-34. To go back, for example, to Dutch sixteenth-century allegorical painting – Josse de Momper’s *Winter* — the entirely traditional metamorphic landscape posits a war between nature, wildness, animal instincts and ‘culture’.²² To look now at Dalí’s early ink-blot portrait of Garcia Lorca, 1924, it posits not only the creation but possible dissolution of the image back into that “nature”, that materiality. To return, then, to Dalí’s *Great Paranoiac*, the head fused with the Spanish landscape —in all its melancholy, its contemplative witnessing of destruction, a kind of *jouissance devant la mort* (to quote Bataille in *Acéphale*) – and despite the evocation of Leonardo’s battle scenes or love of stains on walls (more

explicit in *Spain*, 1938), I have always experienced a lack in the “optical illusion (plus Lacan) equals paranoia” explication. I must here salute the collaborators in Jean-Hubert Martin’s show *Une image peut cache une autre...* where the origins of double and composite image are traced back not only through the European Renaissance and Islamic civilisations.²³ Here, Thierry Dufrêne posits the relation (beyond Leonardo) between the *Great Paranoiac* and Albrecht Dürer’s *St Jérôme in His Study* 1521, the face covered with with “micro-figures”; while Michel Weemans, seeing faces in the rocks behind Durer’s *St Jerome in Penitence*, 1496, recalls the saint’s letter to Eustochium: the *imitatio Christi* is a practice founded upon a rejection of the earthly world subject to demoniacal illusions: two axes cross: the saint worships the crucifix (drawing a horizontal axis across the print); we gaze, along with the artist at another cross (on a perpendicular axis to the saint) straight ahead into the background; within our fallen world.

The idea of a holy palimpsest behind the *Great Paranoiac*, dialectically suggesting an unholy world – including all the tropes of sexual temptation – sets up a psychomachia between the sacred and profane, emphasized by other more orgiastic engravings, which explicitly introduce notion of the *profanation* of the crucifix and blasphemy (for example a drawing where a naked woman masturbates Christ on a prone crucifix).²⁴ To speak of “the horrors of war” (with the exception of the mention of Gaudi’s body dragged through the streets during our conference) is to use metonymy or a “something called Spain” as a way of *not* recognizing the pillage of churches, the rape of nuns, the desire to desecrate conjoined with the desire to sexually defile – a male war-panic, frightening, intense, linked with sin, shame and disgust that was played out in everyday scenes of atrocity in Spain where personal “limit-experiences” encounter the banality of evil. (The embarrassment of pro-Republicans as regards the violent destruction of cultural heritage was addressed by the “Liberty in Spain” number of the A.E.A.R Paris branch’s in-house periodical).²⁵

Reverting to the history of the double image: as well as the nature/ culture dichotomy of Joss de Momper’s (or Arcimboldo’s) *Seasons* paintings, there is the long satirical tradition of what I shall call the “dickhead”, evidently the male obsessed with sex (long before Freud); a complement to the prehistoric Venus and her avatars. Born with popular and primitive cultures, the idea enters the realm of high art for example in Renaissance maiolica: Francesca di Urbini’s, *Testa di Cazzi*, 1536, inscribed *Ogni homo mi guarda come fosse una testa di cazzi*: ‘Everyman looks at me as if I were a head of dicks’²⁶ Or take the portrait medallion, bearded and august, of Pietro Bacci, known as Arentino, the father of modern pornography: there is a ‘dick-head’ complementary portrait on the other side (a new meaning to ‘heads and tails’...)²⁷. These depictions of men, wielders of power who are also dick-heads, have something to say about the relationship between sex and power: sex in the brain of the elder statesman, the animal motors of masculine judgement... The tradition continues within nineteenth-century caricature or twentieth-century postcards; phallic female nudes-in-the-head can also be substitutes for penises. Within the modern tradition, the shining gold head and neck of Brancusi’s *Princesse X*, 1916, was perceived instantly as a phallus (apocryphally by Picasso or Matisse), continuing the game of the switch of sexes. Within surrealism, the apotropaic, Medusa-like stare of Magritte’s *Rape*, 1934, is well-known: a contemporary of Dalí’s *Spectre of Sex Appeal*.

Thus Dalí’s *William Tell (Lenin)*, pillorying the cult of Lenin as early as 1933, transforms the “dick-head” to “dick-tail.” It was of course a posthumous portrait.... Stalin was in charge, and engaged annihilating the kulaks: three million starving to

death, while the public tittered at the Salon des Indépendants (where *William Tell* was shown in 1934)... It is in 1933 after the Reichstag fire, that the first of 40,000 German refugees flooded into Paris and international Comintern operations were set up there. Between the years 1935-1937, Russians in flight from the Soviet regime, Boris Souvarine, Victor Serge, Leon Trotsky with his *Revolution Betrayed* (1936) countered a cult or personality not only of the dead Lenin but of Stalin that not only Dalí – even Breton – could call cretinous. Writers André Gide and subsequently André Malraux would follow suit.²⁸

By the time of Dalí's paintings referring to the Munich crisis and Hitler (1938-9) his was the intelligence to pillory the new "telephone diplomacy": a type of war-mongering even more insidious in terms of the "rationality of decision making", when Hitler's labour camps and eugenic principles of victim selection were known to the French press as early as 1934... In *The Engima of Hitler*, 1939, the great prick – if I may be so bold – has become a huge telephone, a great blob of transparent sperm at its end, complementing the aggressive pincer fantasies of belligerence. England's transparently limp umbrella hangs in a Spanish desert landscape. Surely Hitler's face as tiny photograph (on a soup plate along with a few boiled beans) epitomises the desolation of the scene of political exchange — via media representation and the rhetoric of warmongers and pacifists. Dalí's *Eggs on the Plate (without the Plate)*, 1932, an alternative version, recalls to me the trajectory of the great political survivor and thinker, Zygmunt Bauman's concept of *Liquid Modernity* — a later evolution of his thought from *Modernity and the Holocaust* which plots the horrific inevitability to which Dalí bore witness ...²⁹ The dish will be served — and the Dalí collections in Saint Petersburg include the telephone, collapsed and smashed onto the plate with three half-eaten sardines Bathos, the banal, the everyday: these emphasise the foreboding.

Returning to Dalí's *Face of War*, 1940, with its *mise-en-abyme* of skulls and death in eye sockets and orifices – a place of worms and snakes, of human putrefaction, I would like to compare it Carpaccio's *Dead Christ*, 1520, where a rocky cave with two cavities signifies Adam's skull and eye sockets: where the earth itself — *adâmah* in Hebrew — surrounds the event with the aura of predestination: Christ as the Second Coming.³⁰ – In the sacred, pre-'paranoiac' image, the material, spiritual and eternal worlds interpenetrate: human redemption versus sin and death, are at stake. Dalí's skull which generates skulls, generated by a skull in *War* predicts war's infinite regression, its infinite promise of reparations.....no redemption here.

1940 marks a huge break in Dalí's career and indeed the career of Picasso (to whom I will return). Yet the perennial issue of warmongering, fascism and the Hitler legacy as treated by other artists, help us to reread the perhaps too familiar work of the 1930s – and the question of "Cruel Art".

The Icelandic painter Erró's *Birth of Hitler* was exhibited in 1967 at the Galerie Schwarz in Milan in the greatest ever Cold War exhibition, conceptually-speaking, and a comprehensive demonstration of European appropriation art *avant la lettre*.³¹ Colliding in painted tripartite structures were juxtapositions such as Roy Lichtenstein's *reprise* of Picasso's *Seated Woman* with Mayakovsky's anti-alcohol posters — separated by a caveman hunting a hairy rhinoceros.... The two by three meter canvas *The Birth of Hitler* dominated the rest. Based evidently on photocollage but painted in oils, the

critical usage of what Dalí would constantly call ‘ugliness’ in *The Cuckolds of Modern Art* (*Les cocus du vieil art moderne*, 1956, Picasso as ‘pure bestiality’) was evident in the distorted, teeth-baring faces juxtaposed with animal maws.³² On the back of the catalogue a handy key to each vignettes was provided, including “The Baby of Goebbels with open syphilis brain”, “Bulldog with the blind eye of Hitler 1918”, “Hitler with his Nurse” or “Pure race in hand of Bormann,” each one a demonstration of his virtuoso painting skills.

The second largest history painting showed *The Victors of Leningrad Supported by Matisse’s Colourblind Monsters*, Erró’s own storming of Winter Palace. Erró’s aggressive attacks take on Matisse’s entire repertoire of portraiture and more, mixed with Godzilla, Frankenstein, Dracula or Dorian Gray, cutting the work horizontally above a painted still from Sergei Eisenstein’s recreation of the revolutionary events of 1917 on the steps of the Tsar’s palace (the soldiers of 1917 were of course reenacting “themselves” while simultaneously fighting in real battles near Petrograd).

In his afterword to Rancière’s *Politics of Aesthetics*, Žižek points to this very scene in a discussion of the dangerous proximities of left versus right-wing “mass-ideological-aesthetic experience”:

... not only are such mass performances not inherently fascist, they are not even ‘neutral’, waiting to be appropriated by Left or Right — it was Nazism that stole them and appropriated them from the workers’ movement, their original site of birth. What makes them ‘Fascist’ is only their specific articulation.... In other words there is no ‘Fascism *avant la lettre*’ because it is *the letter itself, the (nomination) which makes out of the bundle of elements Fascism proper*.³³

Erró’s extensive critique of the Cold War *in toto* is not my point here: he used contemporary kitsch culled from the New York World Fair and his visit to the Moscow May Day celebrations of 1965 as inspiration. His sources are indistinguishable, including space race memorabilia, *except for certain cultural markers* (if we refer back to Žižek). He was also acting as a painter – a painter in oils – while actively engaged in performance pieces against the Vietnam war (where sex and obscenity as parody were part of the denunciation). 1967 also signaled the Six Day War in Israel, which, with action, death, and arguments about *Lebensraum* would directly follow the piercing the analyses of fascism written by Hannah Arendt for a world public, following her day-by-day experience of the trial of Hitler’s executioner Adolph Eichmann in Jerusalem.

The proximity, deliberate I must surmise, between Erró’s distorted faces — his ‘Cruel Art’ in *The Birth of Hitler* and those in the well-known 1937 *Degenerate Art* exhibition catalogue, makes a point to be considered in the light of two problems discussed by Arendt when analysing Eichmann’s precepts, acquiescences, his defense and its consequences: ‘the relationship of exception and rule which is of prime importance for recognizing the criminality of an order executed by a subordinate – reversed in the case of Eichmann’s actions’, and her observation: ‘Since the whole of respectable society had in one way or another succumbed to Hitler, the moral maxims which determine social behaviour and the religious commandments which guide conscience had virtually vanished’³⁴

The fascist phenomenon — and ultimately the ‘politics of aesthetics’ in relation to the Holocaust — poses the greatest retrospective intellectual challenge of the twentieth century. Initially unnameable (Jean Cassou’s ‘something called Spain’, 1937),

it continued into the 1960s, as the 'Cruel Art' of a Picasso, Dalí — or Erró — demonstrate. It continues today. Representation is constantly at stake...

As a postscript, I should like to return to Picasso and his [Dream and Lie of Franco](#), juxtaposing it with this *Dream and Lie : Carel*, Moiseiwitch's anti-Ronald Reagan cartoon parody 'with acknowledgements to Picasso.' He uses Erró-like distortions of faces writhing within Picasso's structure and grid, while the *Songe et Mensonge – Dream / Lie* political rubric denounces more recent decisions of war and warmongering.³⁵

Let us revert to Picasso's work of early 1937, finished in June, shown in *Art Cruel* in November for a moment. Details, particularly of Franco as a whiskey dickhead — rather 'all dick' — demonstrate this metonym for warmongering, for Picasso's own portrayal of political evil and the animal forces that drive self-created political 'leaders'. Kathleen Brunner's revealing book *Picasso Rewriting Picasso* almost exhaustively examines his memories, thoughts and language. Yet the 'dick-head' trope actually offers us an alternative reading of Picasso's use of syntax — as the representation of a convoluted brain full of images and desires. In particular note the use of genetives here....(using Roland Penrose's translation):

'Fandango of shivering owls souse of swords of evil-omened polyps scouring brush of hairs from priests' tonsures standing naked in the middle of the the frying pan — placed upon the ice-cream cone of codfish in the cabs of his lead ox-heart — his mouth full of the chinch-bug jelly of his words —³⁶

Poor Dalí! The 'Hitlerian' curve in the back of his wet-nurse, painted contemplating the ruins of history from her puddle ([The Weaning of Furniture-Nutrition](#), 1934, The Dalí Museum, St. Petersburg) was so very mild. Dalí in *Diary of a Genius*, 1964, claimed he repeated constantly at the time of his expulsion from the Surrealist group that his 'hitlerian vertige' was apolitical'.³⁷ Again we might turn to Žižek's 'There is no 'Fascism *avant la lettre*' because it is *the letter itself, the (nomination)* which makes out of the bundle of elements Fascism proper' ...

After 1945, and in contrast with Picasso's daily practice of Communist engagement (himself incidentally an early visitor to Auschwitz concentration camp in 1948) — Dalí opted for the apotheoses and the nadirs of dandyism, while his paintings broached atomic explosion, sublimation and again the dissolution of 'this' world... The paranoiac landscape of Hitler reappears in his film *Impressions of Higher Mongolia, Hommage to Raymond Roussel*, 1974-5: a moment of 'Cruel Art' in film: *Mireu la boca cruel de Hitler* ('Look at Hitler's cruel mouth') is written across a black-and-white 'landscape' before the camera retreats to reveal the face of the leader on a diagonal (another appearance of the banality of Evil in Hannah Arendt's phrase).³⁸ The context of this film was works such as Luigi Visconti's *The Damned*, 1969; Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Salò, or 120 Days of Sodom*, 1975 (a conflation of fascist Italy with the Marquis de Sade) and German intellectuals' final self-examination in the midst of Red Brigade terrorism and civilian slaughter.³⁹

Erró's *Birth of Hitler* never saw him accused of fascism; nor did Susan Sontag face the charge for her 'Fascinating Fascism' in 1975, a critique of Leni Riefensthal and the

fad for Nazi memorabilia.⁴⁰ (Incidentally the *fascinus* was the Roman name for the phallic cult of Greece: the bunch of phalluses of the dick-head linking etymologically with the fascism itself, and the political concept of phallocracy). Dalí's 'Cruel Art' of the 1930s interrogated the dark side of desire and its slippage into the fascination for authority, the cult of personality, the links between self, abjection and the death drive. After *Guernica*, Picasso had to respond to the challenges of his chosen Party as a Cold War icon. Philip Halsman's photographic portrait, *Picasso-Dalí*, with which I conclude my talk is horribly disconcerting because — despite the rich *Picasso-Dalí* show — their divergence became total. Picasso was forced to play a 'man of the people'; Dalí the dandy, became the circus-master of death in his well known staging (with Halsman) of a skull composed of naked Hollywood beauties. *In Voluptate Mors*, an ironic materialisation of the spectre — is the repetition for another era, another country, of the *Spectre of Sex Appeal* — and the *Visage of War*.

¹ 'L'hitlérisme par contre suppose un réel et vaste mouvement idéologique. L'hitlérisme consitue un phénomène nouveau, subit, imprévu, hyper-original, L'hitlérisme touche à des réelles agitations vitales sous-estimées par le marxisme'. Dalí, 'Vive la Guerre! Le Surréalisme et Hitler', from the manuscript in French, (Figueres RI 445) partly published in Jean-Hubert Martin et al. *Dalí*, Paris, Éditions du Centre Georges Pompidou, 2012, p. 329 (my translation).

² The generational mix with young Communist politically-engaged artists echoes the Alhambra theatre foyer show in 1936 and the performance of Romain Rolland's 'Le Quatorze Juillet, with Picasso's stage curtain. See Wilson, *Picasso / Marx and socialist realism in France*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2013, ch. 2.

³ The A.E.A.R is documented in my PhD thesis, 'Art and the Politics of the Left in France, 1935-1955, University of London, 1992. Its genesis goes back to the exhibition of Galerie-Billiet Worms documents in the Spanish Civil War section of *Paris-Paris, Créations en France, 1937-1957*, M.N.A.M. Centre Georges Pompidou, 1981, and my collaboration with Pierre Worms, Joseph Billiet's partner. See also Eleanor Rose Watson on the Galerie Billiet, MA, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2015

⁴ *Songe et Mensonge de Franco*, reproduced in *Cahiers d'Art* no 1-3, 1937, figured in 'Art Cruel' as no. 39.

⁵. 'C'était le temps du choix pour moi, la peinture ou l'enrôlement dans les Brigades internationales', in André Fougeron se souvient', *Paris-Paris, Créations en France, 1937-1957*, 1981, p. 50.

⁶. For Goerg's *La mort en Espagne*, see François Moulignat 'Art Cruel', *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne* no 9, 1982, p 57.

⁷. 'Dans les témoignages de cruauté qu'on a réunis à la Galerie Billiet on distinguera deux façons de s'épouvanter du monde actuel, et comme deux courants: l'un le courant allemand, qui vient de

Grosz et de l'expressionnisme et dévoile avec une sorte d'humour hideusement romantique l'aspect monstrueux et automatique des choses et des personnages. Cet humour va au fond du spectacle et en révèle le moteur intime, le secret, le sexe, la fatalité. L'autre style, qui apparaît ici, se forme au point où certaines aspirations cachées sous le nom du surréalisme ou sous d'autres noms, ont rencontré une chose qui s'appelle l'Espagne, et au moment même où ce nom fantômatique devenait la plus criante et la plus sanglante réalité de l'univers et se situait, d'un geste tragique et avec une prodigieuse évidence, à la cime qui sépare la vie de la mort.' See Jean Cassou, preface to 'Art Cruel', Galerie Billiet Worms, December 17th, 1937. (Moulinat 'Art Cruel', 1982 p 59.)

⁸ See 'L'affaire Breton/Dalí' archives in Jean-Hubert Martin et al., *Dalí*, Centre Pompidou, 2012, p. 231.

⁹ See *Inquisitions. Du surréalisme au Front Populaire* June, 1936, presented by Henri Béhar, Editions du Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1990..

¹⁰ [L'Enigme de Guillaume Tell](#), an immensely large, academic Salon painting is in the Moderna Museet, Stockholm.

¹¹ See Georges Bataille et André Breton, 'Contre-Attaque' *Union de lutte des intellectuels révolutionnaires*, preface by Michel Surya, Paris, Ypsilon, 2013.

¹² Masson showed *Pas assez de terre, La nouvelle hostie, Amateurs de cadavres, Jamais rassasiés*, from a series including *Tuez les Pauvres!* and *Un curé satisfait*

¹³ Masson showed *Pas assez de terre, La nouvelle hostie, Amateurs de cadavres, Jamais rassasiés*, from a series including *Tuez les Pauvres!* and *Un curé satisfait*. See Georges Besson in *Commune*, no 41, January, 1937 p. 621.

¹⁴ See Georges Bataille: 'La Structure psychologique du fascisme', *La Critique Sociale*, 10, 1933 (English translation 1979, online).

¹⁵ See Bataille ed., *Acéphale* No 1-5, 1936-39, Paris, facsimile, Editions Jean-Michel Place, 1995.

¹⁶ Erwin Blumenfeld's *Minotaure à la tête de veau* or *Le Dictateur* exists in at least three versions.

¹⁷ Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics. The Distribution of the Sensible*, London, Bloomsbury, 2004, p. 63.

¹⁸ François Moulinat, *Les artistes en France face à la crise et la montée du fascisme, 1936-1939*, Université de Paris-Sorbonne 1, 1977, crucial for *Paris-Paris*, 1981, chapters 2 and 3 of my doctoral thesis (1992) and acknowledged in *Picasso-Marx*, 2013.

¹⁹ 43 'L'avenir ne peut s'anticiper que dans la forme du danger absolu. Il est ce qui rompt absolument avec la normalité constituée et ne peut donc s'annoncer, se présenter, que sous l'espèce de la monstruosité'. Jacques Derrida, *De la Grammatologie* (Paris: Minuit, 1967), p.

14, (English: author's translation).

²⁰ 'Ainsi 'L'Art Cruel', c'est aussi l'exposition d'être cruel. Chaque oeuvre qu'elle présente est aussi une mise en scène fantasmagorique de la relation oppresseur/opprimé vécue comme une relation de plaisir', Moulignat, *ibid.*, 1989, p. 57.

²¹ See Dawn Ades ed., *Dalí's Optical Illusions*, Wadsworth Atheneum / New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2000 ; Robin Adèle Greeley, "Dalí's fascism, Lacan's paranoia", *Art History*, 24, 4, 2001, pp. 465-492 ; « Dalí, fascism and the ruin of surrealism », *Surrealism and the Spanish Civil War*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2006 , pp. 51-89; William Jeffett, Introduction à la méthode paranoïac-critique' Dalí, Centre Pompidou, 2012, pp. 116-7, etc.

²² See Josse de Momper (1564-1635) *The Four Seasons*, (undated) in Jean-Hubert Martin et al. *Une image peut cacher une autre. Arcimboldo, Dalí, Raetz*, Paris, Grand Palais, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2009, pp. 158-9.

²³ See Michael Barry's contributions on the passage from Iranian to Indian composite monsters, *ibid.*, p. 94-111.

²⁴ I showed *Erotic drawing*, , pen and pencil on paper, Sotheby's *Impressionist and modern works on paper*, London 20 June, 2006, lot 200., dated 1931 by Sotheby's, this anticipates the later atrocities I mention.

²⁵ See the *Journal des Peintres et Sculpteurs de la Maison de la Culture*, no 5, 'La Liberté de l'Esprit en régime fasciste, 5 May, 1938.

²⁶ Francesco Urbini, *Testa di Cazzi*, maiolica, from Casteldurante) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1536 (see <http://wtfarthistory.com/post/22715373938/testa-di-cazzi-aka-dick-head>)

²⁷ Only the 'tails' side of this anonymous medal is illustrated in *Une image peut cacher une autre*, 2009, p. 274.

²⁸ See my extensive discussion in *Picasso/Marx*, 2013 chapter 3.

²⁹ See Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989 ; and *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2000.

³⁰ Jeannette Zwingenberger on Carpaccio's *Dead Christ*, 1520, in *Une image peut en cacher une autre*, 2009, p. 70.

³¹ Ferró (Erró), *Forty-Seven Years*, Milan, Gallery Arturo Schwarz, artist's interview with by Jean-Jaques Lebel, trilingual (unpaginated).

³² Dalí on Modern Art, *The cuckolds of antiquated modern art*, tr. Haakon Chevalier, London, Vision, 1958; attacks on Picasso, pp. 17, 19, 21, 25 (original French pp. 105-109).

³³ Slavoj Žižek, in Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 2004, afterword , p. 78.

³⁴ Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (London, Penguin Books, 1963, reissued 2006) followed her *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1951, using a new 1960s bibliography on fascism and nazism, including Gerard Reitlinger's *The Final Solution*, New York, 1953 and Raoul Hilberg's *The destruction of the European Jews*, Chicago, 1961, See *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, pp. 121, 125.

³⁵ Carel Moiseivitch, 'With acknowledgements to Picasso....', *Flash Marks* #1, June , 1989, issue 'The Dream and the Lie of Reagan', <http://madamepickwickartblog.com/2012/02/101-candles-and-counting-bedtime-for-birthdays/>

³⁶ Roland Penrose, translation of *Songe et mensonge de Franco*, 1937. See Kathleen Brunner, *Picasso rewriting Picasso*, London, Black Dog, 2004, pp. 64-5, and note 17, p. 179, for the Spanish transcription.

³⁷ 'J'avais beau me répéter que mon vertige hitlérien était apolitique...', see Dalí, *Journal d'un génie*, Paris, Gallimard, 1964 , pp. 29-30.

³⁸ Photogrammes from the *Impressions de la haute Mongolie* (Westdeutsche Rundfunk) in *Une image peut en cacher une autre*, 2012, p. 348.

³⁹ See Giacomo Vigiliari, 'Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Salò, or the 120 Days of Sodom* and the Afterlife of Fascism in Italy' MA, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2015.

⁴⁰ Susan Sontag, 'Fascinating Fascism', (*The New Yorker*, 6 February 1975, online).