



1 Lee Miller, Picasso still at work (Picasso and Lee Miller in the artist's studio after the Liberation of Paris), in: *Vogue* (UK), 15 October 1944, p. 98

*Picasso libre**

Martin Schieder

Just a few days before the liberation of Paris, the Second World War came close to claiming one of its most prominent victims. When Picasso looked out of his window in the last days of August 1944 to observe the street battles between the Résistance and the German occupying forces, a bullet – if one is to believe the recollections of Françoise Gilot – hissed past his head and bored into the wall beside him.¹ On 6 October 1944, on the occasion of Picasso's joining the Parti communiste français (PCF), the newspaper *Ce Soir* published a different account, in which the artist relates how he had stepped outside “au moment où crépitaient les coups de feu”, which led him to join the *parti des fusillés*: “et comme je ne voulais pas être au milieu, j'ai choisi.”² And finally there is a photo in a family album of Picasso which shows the artist with his daughter, Maya, and his dog Kazbek on Marie-Thérèse's balcony shortly after the Libération – the victory garlands are still wafting from the balcony balustrade.³

Picasso's balcony episodes are just one example of the numerous stories, anecdotes and rumors that circulated about Picasso between Gestapo and Résistance, between collaboration and Communism, between Arno Breker and André Malraux.⁴ One of these tales is the one about the liberation of the most significant modern artist, whose work had been banned from public exhibition during the Occupation, who

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1 Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Vivre avec Picasso*, Paris, 1973, p. 64.

2 L. P. (Louis Parrot), “Picasso au Salon de Libération”, in *Ce Soir*, 06.10.1944, p. 1.

3 See Gertje Utey, *Picasso: The Communist Years*, Yale, 2000, p. 35.

4 On Picasso during the war and Occupation, see Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *L'art de la défaite 1940–1944*, Paris, 1993; Ludwig Ullmann, *Picasso und der Krieg*, Bielefeld, 1993; *Picasso and the War Years, 1937–1945*, Steven A. Nash (ed.), exh. cat., San Francisco, Fine Arts Museum, London 1998; Michael Carlo Klepsch, *Picasso und der Nationalsozialismus*, Düsseldorf, 2007.

had nonetheless continued working in inner emigration in his studio in the Rue des Grands Augustins, and who now was celebrating his newly-regained artistic freedom. Independently of this personal experience, which is well-nigh impossible to evaluate, *another* narrative exists that has not yet been told: the one about how France and the world marked Picasso's liberation as a public event. It deals with the medial strategies and politico-cultural interests with which the artist presented his previously banned work to a public both fascinated and bewildered. His liberation was played out as a political *mise-en-scène* in which various parties with differing interests participated: the (inter)national press, the PCF, the extremely heterogeneous École de Paris art scene, the art market, the network around Picasso, and, not least of all, the artist himself. Both national and international media made use of him, and Picasso, in his turn, used them.⁵ Implied here is less the specialized press, i.e. avant-garde journals such as *Cahiers d'art* or *Derrière le miroir*, than the mass media. On the one hand, the story was covered by the French daily press, in particular that of the PCF, the Résistance and the Front National (FN), such as *L'Humanité*, *Ce Soir* and *Les Lettres françaises*. On the other hand, countless interviews and articles appeared in the leading international newspapers and gazettes. Especially in the US, where France's liberation had been conceived as a victory of the Résistance and democracy, Picasso was stylized in lifestyle magazines, such as *LIFE*, *Vogue*, and *Harper's Bazaar*, as a figurehead of freedom regained.⁶ Admirers and critics alike made use of the press to politically instrumentalize or discredit the artist. His omnipresence in the media (even on the radio⁷) turned him into an icon of liberated modernity and a star of the masses; "Picasso est passé du rang de vedette internationale à celui de héros populaire".⁸ All at once, he was no longer known only to audiences with an interest in art; instead, the entire world admired him as a pioneer of modern art, as a *génie*. Thus, in September 1944, *LIFE* opened an article with a photograph by Brassai that shows a plaster cast of Picasso's right hand – "the most influential living hand in modern art."⁹ While art history and media studies to date have only dealt rudimentarily with Picasso's image-making and press relations, it was Louis Parrot, a journalist close to the Résistance, who, as early as September 1944, astutely analyzed Picasso's liberation as a visual and media event:

5 Picasso himself had all press reports about him collected through *Courrier de la Presse*.

6 See Yves-Marie Péréon, *L'image de la France dans la presse américaine, 1936–1947*, Paris, 2011, pp. 306ff.

7 See the interview by Michel Droit with Picasso, broadcast on 8 October 1944 by RDF, URL: <http://www.ina.fr/audio/P13108791> [accessed: 23.04.2016].

8 Fernand Perdriel, "Picasso 1945", in *Monde illustré*, 14.07.1945.

9 "New French Art. Picasso fostered it under the Nazis", in *LIFE*, 13.11.1944, p. 72.

“Sa conversation est une perpétuelle surprise et pendant les jours qui suivirent l’entrée des Alliés à Paris, elle devait être une merveilleuse mine d’images malicieuses, de paradoxes et de récits dont les biographes futurs feront bien de ne pas rechercher l’origine ailleurs que dans une imagination jamais prise de court.”¹⁰

In fact, between 1944 and 1946, the French and Allied media created a collective pictorial memory of the Libération, of which, in addition to the dramatic images of street battles, cheering, liberated Parisians, and De Gaulle’s victory parade on the Champs-Élysées, that of *Picasso libre* is also part and parcel.¹¹

Photo Press Liberation

Of all people, Picasso – who at the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* in 1937 indicted the National Socialists with *Guernica* and whose art was vilified as “degenerate” by them, who defied Franco and who made no secret of his Communist sympathies –, this very same Picasso remained in his Paris studio during the war and Occupation and did not go into exile as did so many of his colleagues. A provocation to the Nazis and to the dismay of his worried friends. His remaining was perhaps the most powerful gesture that Picasso had ever carried out as an artist, and which contributed decisively to his myth during his lifetime: “Ceux qui avaient décroché ses toiles de leurs musées lui avaient interdit d’exposer à Paris, mais ils ne pouvaient l’empêcher de peindre.”¹² Also in the US media, he was “Picasso the painter who defied the Germans”.¹³ His studio on Rue des Grands Augustins, the place where he had created *Guernica*, was now transfigured into a mythic space of intellectual freedom and humanism. In the days of the Libération, Picasso’s studio was, in effect, transformed into a public place, where the artist received friends, colleagues, journalists, museum directors, Allied soldiers, and even tourists. As an article in *LIFE* reports, Picasso opened his “house every day from 11 to 1.”¹⁴ *Time* counted the studio among the three most important sight-seeing desti-

10 Louis Parrot, “Hommage à Pablo Picasso, qui vécut toujours de la vie de la France”, in *Les Lettres françaises*, 09.09.1944, p. 8.

11 See Susan Keith, “Collective Memory and the End of Occupation: Remembering (and Forgetting) the Liberation of Paris in Images”, in *Visual Communication Quarterly* 17/3, 2010, pp. 134–146.

12 Parrot, 1944 (note 10).

13 Gaston H. Archambault, “Picasso. The painter who defied the Germans finds himself the hero of a revolutionary mood”, in *The New York Times*, 29.10.1944.

14 “New French Art”, 1944 (note 9), p. 73.

nations in the liberated capital: “G.I.s visiting Paris want to see the Eiffel Tower, the Folies Bergère, and Pablo Picasso. [...] Since then the Red Cross has been running tours to the studio.” Hundreds visited, leaving the artist feeling as if he were in a zoo.¹⁵ One day, exhausted, he greeted his friend Brassai with the words: “Oui, c’était l’invasion! Paris était libéré, mais moi, j’ai été et je suis toujours assiégé.”¹⁶

Among the visitors were the famous photographers of the period: Brassai, Robert Capa, Henri Cartier-Bresson and Lee Miller. Their photos visualized the (inter)national coverage of the liberated Picasso. They mostly showed him in his studio, although not at work, but posing for or with his visitors in front of his works. With articles such as “Picasso at home”, the reports satisfied the world’s need to feel close to the genius.¹⁷ Among all the photos taken in Picasso’s studio following the Libération, one by Lee Miller developed a particular agency. It shows the two friends in a warm embrace (fig. 1). At first glance, one is moved by the reunion expressed in glimpse and touch. But then the observer gets the *punctum* of the photograph: A man and a woman encountering each other in a studio; but – unlike in so many of Picasso’s works – not as artist and model. Rather, we see the artist with a cigarette and a uniformed female soldier in front of his sculpture *Man with a Lamb*, which had risen in 1943 as a symbol of Occupied France. “The first Allied soldier I should see is a woman – and she is you!”, is what Picasso is supposed to have said.¹⁸ The photo’s political message is revealed in the way it is framed in the publication. Miller photographed and wrote in the baggage train of the US 83rd Infantry Regiment for the British and American editions of *Vogue*.¹⁹ She was not working as a fashion journalist or art critic, but as an accredited war correspondent. Her coverage in “Unarmed Warriors” ranks among the most important documents of the brutality and absurdity of war and of the end of the fascist regime.²⁰ She reported on the siege of Saint-Malo, the Libération of Paris, and the battles in Alsace, and photographed the bodies in the Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps. The iconic photo in which she sits in Hitler’s bathtub, scrubbing away the dust of war, was taken at Prinzregentenstraße 16, where the dictator once resided. On 26 August 1944 Miller reached Paris, where she stayed at the Hôtel

15 “Americans in Paris”, in *Time*, 09.07.1945, p. 59.

16 Brassai, *Conversations avec Picasso*, Paris, 1964, pp. 182–183 (12.05.1945).

17 “Picasso at Home”, in *Time*, 07.05.1945.

18 Quoted from Holly Williams, “When Picasso met Lee Miller”, in *Independent*, 22.05.2015.

19 See Annalisa Zox-Waeber, “When the War was in *Vogue*: Lee Miller’s War Reports”, in *Women’s Studies: An inter-disciplinary journal* 32/2, 2003, pp. 131–163; Becky E. Conekin, “Lee Miller: Model, Photographer, and War Correspondent in *Vogue*, 1927–1953”, in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 10/1, 2006, pp. 97–125.

20 Lee Miller, “Unarmed Warriors”, in *Vogue* (UK and US), 15.09.1944.

Scribe with other Allied journalists, and then visited her old friends Jean, Nusch, Paul and Pablo. For *Vogue*, she was to document Parisians' daily lives and the revival of French culture and fashion in the aftermath of the Second World War. Her photo essay opened with the “Liberation of Paris”, documenting the street battles and arrests of collaborators.²¹ In alignment with the expectations of her (female) readers, Lee focused on photos of collaborators in “Paris Fashions – First Report from the French couture since 1940” in which she notes French women’s altered attitude toward fashion after the withdrawal of the German “souris gris”. Finally, “Picasso still at work” follows, in which she has the artist pose with his friends in front of the works created during the Occupation. Like all correspondents, she emphasizes that Picasso “didn’t abandon the ship” and had become an “inspiration for others”. Now the grey uniforms had disappeared from the city and “the world’s most celebrated painter plays informal and happy host to the camera.”²²

In the editorial of her article, Miller counts herself among the group known as the Photo Press Liberation, who, with their photos, aimed to provide a “picture testimonial of how Paris threw off the Nazi yoke”. Together with Robert Capa, Germaine Krull, David “Chim” Seymour, Henri Cartier-Bresson, and Pierre Jahan, among others, Miller was one of the correspondents to whom we owe the iconic photos of the street battles, De Gaulle’s victory parade on the Champs-Élysées, and jubilant crowds.²³ She turned Picasso into a hero of the Résistance and the liberation of his studio into a military victory. The place where Picasso had been visited by the Gestapo and the Wehrmacht was liberated by a female Allied soldier. In this way, Miller’s photo became a symbol of the liberated Picasso and thereby of free modern art.

Art et Résistance

When Picasso invited the world into his studio in August 1944, hardly anyone was familiar with the works he had created during the war and Occupation. All at once, he became a public figure, behind which his own oeuvre seemingly retreated. But can one speak of a “‘disembodiment’ [...] between the artist and his public image”, as Michael

21 Lee Miller, “Paris”, in *Vogue* (UK and US), 15.10.1944, pp. 98–99, 149–150 and 155.

22 *Harper’s Bazaar* acknowledged Picasso’s retreat into his studio in a similar fashion – “contemptuous of the invader, confident of the eventual triumph of the civilization”: “Picasso. Photographed by Brassai”, in *Harper’s Bazaar*, February 1946, pp. 132–135, here p. 132.

23 See *Paris libéré, photographié, exposé*, Hélène Studievic and Catherine Tambrun (eds.), exh. cat., Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 2014.

Fitzgerald does?²⁴ In point of fact, Picasso knew very well how to link his art in a way that effectively generated media attention. As he had done with *Guernica* at the *Exposition internationale* as early as 1937, after the Libération, he positioned himself as an *artiste engagé*, by publishing and exhibiting selected works in various formats and contexts. In an interview, he professed to be a political actor who used his art as a weapon: “Non, la peinture n’est pas faite pour décorer les appartements. C’est un instrument de guerre offensive et défensive contre l’ennemi.”²⁵ After the war, Michel Leiris, among others, recognized that Picasso’s artistic “liberté” expressed itself in the symbolic “evidence” of his works.²⁶ Thus in the days of the Libération, Picasso’s interpretation of Poussin’s *Triumph of Pan* on the one hand, demonstrated an aesthetic commitment to a “classical” renaissance of French art and, on the other hand, expressed the French people’s bacchanalian rejoicing at the Libération, which was still underscored by the horrifying images of the street battles.²⁷ But it was *Guernica*, in particular, that was interpreted as an emblem of the resistance against the Germans, especially since its artist had held out in the very same studio in which he painted it. Picasso’s alleged encounter with the German ambassador Otto Abetz, to whom he is supposed to have shown a reproduction of *Guernica*, is legendary. When Abetz should have asked him if he had created it, Picasso is said to have answered: “No, you!”²⁸ The epochal painting toured the US beginning in 1939 before it was hung in MoMA in August 1943 as a symbol of resistance to Hitler. In the last days of the war, it became an emblem of the Libération and thereby of Picasso himself. At the sight of the street battles, he recalled “toutes les images héroïques et populaires de la vieille Espagne”; he was seized by the horror “qu’éveillait autrefois en nous la grande fresque de Guernica”, as one newspaper put it.²⁹ And when the first military vehicles arrived at the Place de l’Hôtel de Ville, one of them

24 Michael Fitzgerald, “Reports from the Home Fronts: Some Skirmishes over Picasso’s Reputation”, in exh. cat., London, 1998 (note 4), pp. 113–121, here p. 114.

25 Simone Téry, “Picasso n’est pas officier dans l’armée française”, in *Les Lettres françaises*, 24.03.1945, p. 6. Elsewhere Picasso states that he does not work like a photographer, “[but] later on perhaps the historians will find them and show that my style has changed under the war’s influence”; Peter D. Whitney, “Picasso is safe”, in *San Francisco Chronicle*, 03.09.1944.

26 Michel Leiris, “L’Exposition Picasso à la Galerie Louis Carré (1945)”, quoted in id., *Écrits sur l’art*, Paris, 2011, pp. 314–317, p. 317.

27 See Victoria Beck Newman, “‘The triumph of Pan’: Picasso and the Liberation”, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62, 1999, pp. 106–122.

28 See Juan Marinello, “Picasso: A timeless artist”, in *The New Masses*, 13.06.1944, pp. 23–28, here p. 27; Alfred H. Barr, “Picasso 1940–1944: A Digest with Notes”, in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 12/3, January 1945, pp. 2–9, here p. 3. The legend was refuted by Picasso himself; see “Picasso and the Gestapo”, in *Newsweek* 24/13, 25.09.1944, pp. 98–100.

29 Parrot, 1944 (note 10).



2 Robert Capa, US soldiers in Picasso's studio shortly after the liberation of the Paris, September 1944

prominently bore the name *Guernica*. Indeed, historic photos of the entry of the Free French Second Armoured Division under the command of Captain Raymond Dronne on 24 August 1944 document that many members of the legendary *Nueve*, which included also Spanish Republicans, had written “Guernica” on their vehicles. Against the backdrop of these historic events, Picasso was stylized by the (inter) national press as a resistance fighter, as the artist “qui a le plus efficacement symbolisé l'esprit de la résistance.”³⁰ This agenda is also followed by the article “Picasso 1940–1944”, published by Alfred H. Barr in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* in 1945. The article, illustrated with a photo of GIs taken by Capa in Picasso's studio (fig. 2), quotes US press reports by journalists on their encounters with Picasso. They all underscore that “his position in the Resistance Movement is of

³⁰ Parrot, 1944 (note 2).

unique importance.”³¹ None other than Christian Zervos expressly contradicted Barr to obviate a mystification of the artist as a resistance fighter, since Picasso “n’a jamais été engagé dans la Résistance. Comprenez que son œuvre elle-même est la plus grande forme de résistance.”³² Although he was in contact with fighters and intellectuals of the Résistance during the Occupation, Picasso evidently did not play an active part. Nonetheless, after the Libération, he put himself and his oeuvre at the service of the Communist and Spanish resistance. In her article, Miller published a photo of Picasso in front of his latest works. The caption sets the reading with which the Allied press interpreted Picasso’s behavior during the Occupation: “Picasso, great

CRATUIT 5 HEURES DU MATIN ÉDITION PARISIENNE

l'Humanité

ORGANE CENTRAL DU PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANÇAIS
FONDATEUR: JEAN JAURES RÉDACTEUR EN CHEF: HENRI WALLANT-COUTURIER
DIRECTEUR: MARCEL CACHIN, membre du
BUREAU POLITIQUE DU P.C.F.

47, rue de Valenciennes - PARIS (11^e)
TÉLÉPHONE: 20-10

JEUDI 5 OCTOBRE 1944

Prévoyant l'avance profonde des Alliés en Allemagne, GOEBBELS APPELLE A UNE GUERRILLA DÉSESPÉRÉE

L'armée de Tito à 10 kilomètres de Belgrade sur laquelle foncent les blindés soviétiques

« Saute mais saute donc! »

« Et le condamné à mort s'échappe miraculeusement »

LE RETABLISSEMENT DE LA LEGALITE REPUBLICAINE

Waldemar Rechet nous expose: Pourquoi les musulmans d'Algérie ont créé « Les Amis de la Démocratie »

On ne passe pas! On dit à 20.000 Boches devant La Calanette deux cents prisonniers soviétiques évadés

MORALE PUBLIQUE

PROMESSE INOUEE par Paul ELUARD

« Les Amis de la Démocratie »

RENDEZ-VOUS du Souvenir

DIMANCHE 8 OCTOBRE
à PERE-LACHAISE

PICASSO

A APPORTÉ SON ADHÉSION au Parti de la Renaissance française

Francis JOURDAIN a été reçu en intime temps dans la famille communiste par Jacques DUCLOS et Marcel CACHIN

« Saute mais saute donc! »

« Et le condamné à mort s'échappe miraculeusement »

LE RETABLISSEMENT DE LA LEGALITE REPUBLICAINE

Waldemar Rechet nous expose: Pourquoi les musulmans d'Algérie ont créé « Les Amis de la Démocratie »

On ne passe pas! On dit à 20.000 Boches devant La Calanette deux cents prisonniers soviétiques évadés

MORALE PUBLIQUE

PROMESSE INOUEE par Paul ELUARD

« Les Amis de la Démocratie »

RENDEZ-VOUS du Souvenir

DIMANCHE 8 OCTOBRE
à PERE-LACHAISE

3 “Picasso a apporté son adhésion au Parti de la Renaissance française”, in: *L'Humanité*, 5 October 1944, p. 1

31 Barr, 1945 (note 28), p. 2.

32 Christian Zervos to Alfred Barr, 28.03.1945; quoted in *Picasso, Dora Maar: Il faisait tellement noir...*, Anne Baldassari (ed.), exh. cat., Paris, Musée Picasso, Paris, 2006, p. 251.

Anti-Nazi of the art world, with some of his latest paintings – many are portraits of resistance men.” She writes that the painter showed her a few “portraits of imaginary FFI boys”, one of whom is on the floor, leaning on an easel; the viewer is led to compare it with one of her photos of young street fighters.³³ But Miller was not the only one Picasso allowed to feature this side of himself. A week later, *L’Humanité* published a drawing of Picasso’s, dated 13 August 1944, on its title page: “Cet adolescent a participé à l’insurrection de Paris. Picasso a su rendre à la fois sa prime jeunesse et son assurance d’une fierté superbe” (fig. 3).³⁴ Thus, Picasso was stylized as the chronicler of the Libération – a street fighter with a drafting pencil – by American and French Communist press organs on the initiative of the artist himself, who provided both the legend and the corroborating pictures. He made a similar appearance in the spring of 1945, when he participated in the exhibition *Art et Résistance* at the Palais de Tokyo, organized by the Amis des Francs-tireurs et Partisans français to ensure that the works of artists who had fought in the Résistance were represented in the newly-opened Musée d’art moderne: “Ce lien puissant, c’est l’esprit de la Résistance”, as the catalogue states.³⁵ The exhibit’s political orientation became clear to visitors at the latest when they came upon a sign-up form for the Comité militaire national des Francs-tireurs et partisans français, which called for “combat jusqu’à la Libération totale du territoire.” This was followed by a patriotic appeal signed by Picasso, Henri Matisse, Albert Marquet, and Pierre Bonnard: “C’est pourquoi, s’associant à l’Exposition ART ET RÉSISTANCE, ils [the painters] ont trouvé naturel que leur travail et leur art témoignassent de ce qui les lie à l’héroïsme français.”³⁶ Once again, photos were made available to the press, this time showing Picasso with Aragon and the organizers at the opening in front of a poster designed by Boris Taslitzky, *Je te salue ma France!*. Picasso’s artistic contribution to this exhibition was also programmatic: On the one hand, the painting *Le Charnier* (MoMA, New York) created between February and May 1945, shares an affinity with *Guernica* in its pictorial language and its grisaille technique, inspired by press photography; on the other hand, it references the shocking photographs of the liberated concentration camps. With this work, Picasso positioned himself as a painter who had created an

33 Miller, 1944 (note 21), pp. 99 and 148.

34 Pol Gaillard, “Pourquoi j’ai adhéré au Parti Communiste. Une interview de Picasso à la revue américaine ‘New Masses’”, in *L’Humanité*, 29./30.10.1944, pp. 1 and 2.

35 André Chamson, “Préface”, in *Art et Résistance*, exh. cat., Paris, Musée des Arts modernes, Paris, 1946, n.p.

36 Exh. cat., Paris, 1946 (note 35), n.p.

image of the inexpressible, the undepictable – a “*Memento mori* des camps de concentration.”³⁷

Between the PCF and de Gaulle

Picasso also pursued the strategy of presenting himself as an *artiste engagé* when, on 5 October 1944, he announced he had joined the PCF. This amounted to a political bombshell and became a controversial subject of discussion in both the Communist as well as the non-Communist press in France. With this step, Picasso became the Communists’ luminary. In his lead article “Le plus grand des peintres aujourd’hui vivants Picasso a apporté son adhésion au Parti de la Renaissance française”, with which *L’Humanité* opened that same day, party founder Marcel Cachin proudly announced: “Si l’on interrogeait aujourd’hui les artistes de l’U.R.S.S., ceux des pays anglo-saxons, comme ceux des nations latines, de consentement unanime, ils désigneraient Pablo Picasso comme le premier d’entre eux et comme le maître de la peinture contemporaine” (fig. 3).³⁸ Nevertheless, in numerous interviews, Picasso was forced to explain why he, the foremost modern artist, had joined a party whose aesthetic ideas did not really correspond with his identity as an artist. He elucidated his engagement for the US Marxist magazine *The New Masses*: “I have become a Communist because our party strives more than any other to know and to build the world, to make men clearer thinkers, more free and more happy.”³⁹ To illustrate Picasso’s avowal adequately, the editorial board of *L’Humanité* devised a sophisticated framing.⁴⁰ The lead article is framed by three group photos showing the artist together with the party leadership: “L’élite des intellectuels français, groupés autour des [...] nouveaux camarades, s’entre-tint des hautes destinées de notre grand parti, dans lequel les maîtres de la pensée et de l’art, aux côtés des travailleurs manuels, affluent toujours plus nombreux le parti de la Renaissance Française.” The drawing *L’homme à l’agneau*, a study of Picasso’s monumental bronze, whose plaster cast can be seen in the background of Miller’s studio photographs, was printed beside the photos. In the context of Picasso’s political declaration, the drawing’s

message shifted: “Toute la tendresse et la bonté profonde de l’artiste

37 Exh. cat., Paris, 2006 (note 32), p. 250; see Utley, 2000 (note 3), chapter 4.

38 Marcel Cachin, “Le plus grand des peintres aujourd’hui vivants Picasso a apporté son adhésion au Parti de la Renaissance française”, in *L’Humanité*, 05.10.1944, p. 1.

39 Pablo Picasso, “Why I became a Communist”, in *The New Masses*, 24.10.1944, p. 11. An expanded version of the interview was printed a week later by *L’Humanité*.

40 See Serge Guillbaut, “Picasso-Picassiette: les tribulations d’un agent double au temps de la guerre froide”, in Laurence Bertrand Dorléac and Androula Michaël (eds.), *Picasso: l’objet du mythe*, Paris, 2005, pp. 35–50; Loel Zwecker, *Picassos Purpur-Periode 1944–1953*, Marburg, 2006.



4 Picasso at the commemoration ceremony of fallen communist soldiers, Cimetière du Père Lachaise, 16 October 1944

éclatent dans ce visage concentré d’homme du peuple!” the caption proclaimed. By means of his art, the PCF now stylized the artist into the “shepherd” of the liberated people. A week later, a commemorative ceremony at Père Lachaise cemetery, at which 250 000 people assembled

under the banner of the Front national “[pour faire] un pieux hommage aux martyrs de Paris”,⁴¹ served as an opportunity to promulgate Picasso’s support of Communism. Among those present were intellectuals and artists, such as Paul Éluard, Elsa Triolet, Raymond Queneau, Maurice Chevalier – and Picasso, who can be seen in several photos in the foremost rank of the Front National Universitaire. Undoubtedly the PCF, but also Picasso himself, had invited Lee Miller, Dora Maar (for *Ce Soir*), David E. Scherman (for *LIFE*) and others to document the event. Noteworthy is a photo by Hélène Roger-Viollet that shows Picasso passing by the rostrum of the PCF together with Éluard and others (fig. 4). Dora Maar hastens ahead of them, camera in hand, in search of the right moment and place to frame Picasso’s appearance. The photos of several of Picasso’s photographer friends demonstrate just how important the medialization of his person and his political engagement was to Picasso. Moreover, they are

41 “Plus de 250.000!”, in *L’Humanité*, 10.10.1944, p. 1.

strikingly reminiscent of the images of de Gaulle's victory parade on the Champs-Élysées a few weeks before. The association is no coincidence; contemporaries had already begun making the comparison between the general and the artist. Thus a portrait photo of de Gaulle, whom the lead article glorified as the nation's guiding light, adorned the cover *LIFE* on 13 November 1944: "Paris is free again!"⁴² The article "New French Art: Picasso fostered it under Nazis", illustrated with photos by Capa, in which Picasso appears as de Gaulle's cultural alter ego, follows only a few pages later. In 1947, *LIFE* explicitly equated the two heroes of the Libération: "The only person in France who can compare with Picasso as a subject of conversation is Charles de Gaulle."⁴³ Picasso's specific affinity with de Gaulle is well known. He thus drew the frontispiece for an album that artists and intellectuals of the Résistance designed "en hommage au chef du gouvernement"; on the occasion of de Gaulle's victory parade, a delegation presented the general with this compilation entitled *Florilège des poètes et peintres de la Résistance*.⁴⁴

Salon de la Libération

While the press were falling over itself with comments about Picasso's entry into the PCF, the Salon d'Automne re-opened in the Palais de Tokyo only one day later. Here Picasso became a patriotic manifestation of the liberated nation. "Préparé pendant l'occupation ennemie, organisé pendant la bataille, il est inauguré en pleine indépendance", proclaimed the catalogue, whose cover was adorned with the Gallic rooster in the colors of the Tricolore, rendered with a combative brush and palette.⁴⁵ French modern art was celebrating its liberation as a moral and a military victory: "La Liberté de la Peinture, la Peinture de la Liberté", read the title of *Ce Soir* on 8 October 1944. In an open letter, Chagall sent greetings to his Parisian friends from his American exile.⁴⁶ Picasso, the undisputed star of the exhibition, was given his own room, in which he exhibited 74 paintings and five sculptures. For his first-ever participation in a Salon, Picasso placed great emphasis on the display, "pour que ses toiles fussent accrochées exactement comme dans un

42 Noel F. Busch, "De Gaulle the Prophet", in *LIFE*, 13.11.1944, pp. 100–115.

43 Charles Wertebaker, "Pablo Picasso: Portrait of the Artist", in *LIFE*, 13.10.1947, p. 97.

44 Parrot, 1944 (note 2). See John Groth, "Picasso at work, August 1944", in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 12/3, January 1945, pp. 10f.

45 *Salon d'Automne 1944*, exh. cat., Paris, 1944, p. 6.

46 "Message de Marc Chagall aux peintres français", in *Spectacle des Arts*, 1.12.1944, p. 3. "Avec Paris libéré, avec l'Art de France ressuscité, le monde se libérera une fois pour toutes des ennemis démoniaques qui voulaient détruire non seulement le corps, mais aussi l'âme."



5 Henri Cartier-Bresson, Salon d'Automne 1944: In the Picasso room, the French painter André Lhote serves as a guide to GI who have come to see French paintings

atelier. Sans cadres trop lourds, sans colifichets.”⁴⁷ It was not to be a retrospective; instead, it was to deal with the works he had created during the years of his exhibition ban and was now showing publically for the first time. In this way, Picasso was rehabilitated for the defamation to which he had been subjected by the Germans and their French collaborators.⁴⁸ Offering him such a stage was a vindication of figurative modernity; while Picasso triumphed with his expressionist-cubist works at the Salon, the Galerie René Drouin was showing a selection of Wassily Kandinsky, whose death had gone almost unnoticed. On the occasion of the Salon’s opening, newspapers reported on the visit of high-ranking members of the French and American militaries: “l’art scelle un nouveau pacte d’amitié franco-américaine.”⁴⁹ Cartier-Bresson took photos for *Ce Soir* that show André Lhote guiding GIs through the Salle Picasso (fig. 5) – the victors inspecting the modern art they had liberated.⁵⁰ Picasso’s appearance created quite a stir; the public crowded around his

47 René Barotte, in *Carrefour*, 07.10.1944; quoted in *Matisse, Picasso*, Anne Baldessari et al. (eds.), exh. cat., London, Tate Modern, Paris, 2002, p. 393.

48 See Cachin, 1944 (note 38): “Picasso vient à nous à cette heure où Paris est libéré de l’ennemi [...]. Ça sera une juste réparation, car pendant l’occupation des hitlériens, la Gestapo fit refuser ses tableaux dans toutes les expositions publiques ou privées.”

49 Y.B., “L’inauguration officielle du Salon d’Automne”, in *Ce Soir*, 07.10.1944.

50 See <https://pro.magnumphotos.com/image/PAR30092.html> [accessed: 20.07.2016].



6 Robert Doisneau, *Le Picasso gardé* (Policemen and women at the Salon d'Automne), October 1944

works and countless reviews appeared in the *feuilletons*. Nevertheless, the reactions were divided. While for the one Picasso was clearly the “*maître incontesté de la peinture contemporaine*”,⁵¹ others found Picasso’s cubistic deformations disturbing: “*Privés d’éléments essentiels de jugement, beaucoup y découvriront une culture délibérée de l’anormal et de l’hétéroclite, un goût pervers pour le monstre et, surtout, une délectation démoniaque à dégrader la beauté.*”⁵² Waldemar George positioned himself as the spokesman of this reactionary criticism: “*Pour tout dire, cet étrange inventeur qui se nomme Picasso est un mauvais prophète. Son art est la vivante image et l’analyse spectrale d’un univers en voie de désagrégation.*”⁵³ In addition, Picasso received mail from visitors to the exhibition. While some made real efforts to understand

51 “*Le Salon d’Automne atteste la magnifique vitalité de l’art français*”, in *L’Humanité*, 07.10.1944, pp. 1–2, here p. 2.

52 A.H. Martinie, “*Le Salon d’automne 1944*”, in *Parisien libéré*, 06.10.1944.

53 Waldemar George, in *Résistance*, 05.10.1944; quoted in exh. cat., Paris, 2006 (note 32), p. 248.

his art,⁵⁴ others let themselves get carried away with vituperation. One example of this is an anonymous letter he received that was smeared with faeces: “Cher Picasso Merde pour vos immondes croûtes. Voici de la merde pris au cul d’une prostituée de 60 ans = vos tableaux.”⁵⁵ Both the public and private criticism attest to Picasso’s popularity, but at the same time reveal the bewilderment and discomfiture elicited by his art. This culminated on 8 October, when students of the École des Beaux-Arts stormed the Salon to tear his pictures from the walls. “À bas Picasso! Décrochez! Expliquez! Remboursez!” The gendarmerie was called, things escalated into a tumult, the Salon had its scandal that was reported around the world, and that shook up French society after years “en pleine léthargie réactionnaire.”⁵⁶ The students’ act of vandalism was considered to be on the same level as the cultural policy of the National Socialists: “Les Allemands, qui organisèrent depuis 1937 toute une campagne contre l’art dit ‘dégénéré’ ont fait des émules chez les fascistes français. De tout jeunes gens, incapables de jugement et hostiles à l’idée d’un art vivant, ont oublié les barricades d’il y a deux mois”, was to be read in *Ce Soir*.⁵⁷ The comparison was made abroad as well: “Four years of poison have had their effect. The Germans and the Pétainists agreed fundamentally about art”, stated Barr in New York.⁵⁸ Even Waldemar George condemned the action as “une atteinte à la liberté d’expression inadmissible.”⁵⁹ Solidarity with Picasso culminated with the publication of an open letter by the Comité national des écrivains. The signatories, who included Jean-Paul Sartre, Louis Aragon, Michel Leiris, Paul Valéry, and Paul Éluard, condemned the action as an assault on the “force de la liberté d’expression.”⁶⁰ Yet again, a photographer – this time, Robert Doisneau – was promptly on the spot to document an event in which Picasso was the focus. Doisneau, who had recorded the Occupation and Libération of Paris as part of his coverage, now shot a dozen heavily symbolic photos of gendarmes standing guard by Picasso’s works: Modern art, once again under threat, was now under the protection of the French uniform (fig. 6).

54 “Je m’excuse de mon audace, mais je voudrais savoir si la compréhension d’une telle peinture implique de grandes connaissances en matière d’Art et si elle est le résultat d’une conception philosophique”, letter from Renée Richard (Villejuif) to Picasso, 28.10.1944 (Musée national Picasso-Paris).

55 Anonymous letter to Picasso, undated, (1944) (Musée national Picasso-Paris).

56 Exh. cat., Paris, 2006 (note 32), p. 250.

57 J. B., “Au Salon d’automne. On a volé trois tableaux de Picasso”, in *Ce Soir*, 10.10.1944.

58 Barr, 1945 (note 28), p. 6.

59 W.G., “Une manifestation au Salon d’Automne”, in *Libération*, 10.10.1944.

60 “Picasso et le C.N.E.”, in *Les Lettres françaises*, 21.10.1944.

Kulturkampf

In the course of this iconoclasm, suspicion swiftly arose that it had been initiated by collaborators. In fact, the Salon de la Libération had presented itself as a platform explicitly directed against collaborators and from which artists such as Charles Despiau, André Derain, André Segonzac, and Maurice de Vlaminck were excluded. For this reason, not a few believed “que l’on pourrait aussi rechercher l’origine de cette campagne contre Picasso chez certains professeurs exclus pour leur conduite collaboratrice.”⁶¹ The assumption was more than plausible and, for the most part, formulated by the “Picassophile press”: In the course of the so-called “épuration”, for example, on the very same day as the opening of the Salon, the Front National des Arts – of which Picasso was President – called for the arrest and condemnation of those artists and critics who had collaborated with the Germans during the Occupation and “qui s’étaient crus autorisés à porter leurs hommages à Berchtesgaden.”⁶² Though responsibility for the vandalism at the Salon can no longer be attributed with certainty, a conservative opposition to Picasso – comprised of, among others, influential artists and critics who had collaborated with the Vichy regime – had indeed formed.

Picasso’s triumphant appearance triggered a factional struggle over leadership in the École de Paris. While the Communist press, in particular, positioned him as the spokesman of modernism and a legitimate renewer of French art, conservative forces met this stance with chauvinistic rhetoric, with which they sought to exclude Picasso from the history of French art. The attacks were mainly launched by Waldemar George after works by Picasso in the *Exhibition of Paintings by Picasso and Matisse* in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London had triggered massive protests in the British press. George constructed a genealogy of French painting that extended from Fouquet to Poussin, from David to Cézanne, but to which Picasso did not belong: “L’art de Picasso n’est pas français”. According to George, he violated the French ideals of beauty and the classical, of humanism and Christianity, with his “réalisme brutal”: “L’artiste de France, alors même qu’il agit en révolutionnaire, obéit à une loi du cadre et continue l’histoire.”⁶³ To illustrate his thesis, he placed Picasso’s Cubist *Femme en vert* (1944, Fondation Beyeler, Riehen/Basel) next to Ingres’ classical self-portrait of 1804 (Musée Condé, Chantilly) – an instrument of defamation by comparison that had been

⁶¹ J. B., 1944 (note 57).

⁶² Sherry Mangan, “L’Affaire Picasso”, in *Time*, 30.10.1944, p. 80; “Les pèlerins de Berchtesgaden”, in *Ce Soir*, 06.10.1944.

⁶³ Waldemar George, “L’art de Picasso n’est pas français”, in *Opéra*, 13.03.1946; see Herbert Read, “The Problem of Picasso”, in *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 94/4709, 18.01.1946, pp. 127–128.

utilized by National Socialist propaganda. In George’s view of history, anti-modernist resentments and right-wing animosities resurfaced with which Picasso had already been confronted during the Vichy regime, such as those expressed by Camille Mauclair. Now, however, fierce opposition arose against George’s reactionary view of art history. “Mais si, Picasso est un peintre français!”, titled Georges Huisman, who maintained that it was a fallacy to seek to order the history of French painting in a strict sequence of images, like a choreography in a musical, since French art history was “une suite de bouleversements perpétuels des conceptions, des tendances, des moyens d’expression.”⁶⁴ While Parrot published an “Hommage à Pablo Picasso qui vécut toujours de la vie de la France”,⁶⁵ Lhote wrote indignantly that it was not the task of modern art to aspire to a “Renaissance française”, as George demanded, but to reflect the uncertainty of the times and people’s needs “vers plus d’ordre et de douceur.”⁶⁶

The polarization in the feuilletons concerning Picasso’s part in the Résistance, his entry into the PCF, and, not least, his inclusion in French art history reflects the struggle for power – one might also say *Kulturkampf* – being fought in post-war France between various forces: Résistance and collaboration, Communism and Gaullism, tradition and modernity. An additional position would insert itself between them that permitted only aesthetic standards to apply in the evaluation of art. Thus Leon Degand criticized the exhibition *Art et Résistance* – from which abstract artists had been excluded – for equating the aesthetic quality of art with the political goals of the Résistance. He spoke out explicitly against an obligatory esteem for works of art whose creators had been active in the Résistance: “L’art est une activité esthétique. La résistance, une action morale.”⁶⁷

Picasso libre

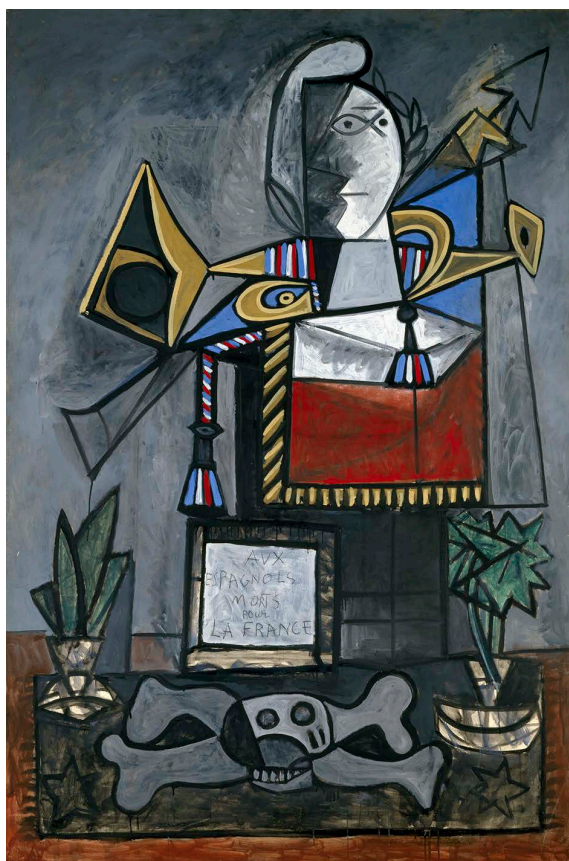
The reproof that he was no French artist must have stung Picasso. In April 1940 he had tried in vain to acquire French citizenship, but his application for *naturalisation* was rejected on account of his radical views. Because of this, with only his *carte d’étranger*, he was forced to reckon with deportation or arrest at any time. In addition, over 500 000 Spanish

64 Georges Huisman, “Mais si, Picasso est un peintre français!”, in *Opéra*, 27.03.1944.

65 Parrot, 1944 (note 10).

66 André Lhote, “Quand les ‘collaborateurs’ se font critiques d’art”, in *Les Lettres françaises*, 14.10.1944.

67 See Leon Degand, “Art et solidarité”, in *Les Lettres françaises* 96, 22.02.1946.



7 Pablo Picasso, *Monument aux Espagnols morts pour la France*, 1946–1947, oil on canvas, 195 × 130 cm, Madrid, Museo nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia

refugees had been detained in internment camps by the Vichy regime after numerous Spaniards had joined the Résistance or the Forces françaises libres to fight in France against the Germans. It is, therefore, no surprise that Picasso took the initiative when, in February 1946, he organized an exhibition in commemoration of the fallen of the Spanish resistance in the Galerie Visconti, the proceeds of which were to be earmarked to benefit resistance fighters. There, Picasso presented a further example of his *art engagé*: a still life that depicted a cenotaph wrapped in a Tricolore with the caption “Aux espagnols morts pour la France” (fig. 7). While Jean Cassou underscored the image of the “génie espagnol à pris à la merveilleuse histoire de la peinture française” in his preface, the press acknowledged the exhibition for its anti-Franco stance as a tribute to Spain, “qui veut retrouver sa liberté.”⁶⁸

68 Jean Cassou, “Préface”, in *Exposition d’arts plastiques, organisée par le Comité de Coordination Artistique Franco-Espagnol, présidé par Pablo Picasso et au bénéfice de la Résistance en Espagne*, exh. cat., Paris, Galerie Visconti, Paris, 1946; José María Quiroga Plá, “Une exposition franco-espagnole”, in *Arts de France* 4, 15.03.1946, pp. 73–75, here p. 75.

In point of fact, research to date has scarcely taken note of Picasso's great social engagement. In the archives, countless inquiries and approvals on the part of the artist for support of social and political fund-raising events, whether through financial donations, or through art works that he made available for lotteries, auctions, etc, are to be found.⁶⁹ It is obvious that his charitable conduct was an expression of his Communist self-conception, not least because he often displayed it in the context of initiatives of and actions organized by the PCF and the Front national. One example of many such initiatives after the end of the war is the *Exposition d'un ensemble d'œuvres contemporaines, qui seront vendues aux enchères au profit des ex-prisonniers de guerre et déportés soviétiques* which was held in the Galerie René Drouin from 9 until 17 February 1945. The exhibits, which had been donated by collectors and artists as an “hommage de la pensée française au peuple soviétique”, came under the hammer on the final day of the exposition, bringing in proceeds of more than 2.5 million francs.⁷⁰ A painting by Marc Chagall sold for 40 000 francs; one by Raoul Dufy, for 162 000; one by Kandinsky, for 40 000; and one by Matisse, for as much as 470 000 francs.⁷¹ However, the highest sum was raised by Picasso's *Coq* from 4 April 1938, which was auctioned off for 500 000 francs. The Russian major-general responsible for the *rapatriement* of Soviet citizens thanked Picasso for the donation that evidenced Russian-French friendship in the struggle “contre l'Allemagne hitlérienne ennemie de la Civilisation de toute culture et de toute expression artistique.”⁷² The organizers had clearly anticipated that Picasso's charcoal drawing would bring in a considerable sum when they placed the work on their invitation card. It was, after all, the very same work before which Cachin and Éluard had posed for the press in the Salon a few months previously (fig. 8).⁷³ Here, too, Picasso and his political friends had placed one of his works in the public limelight that they assumed would draw the attention of the media. After all, with his rooster, the artist had taken up a motif into his repertoire that became a heraldic symbol of the French people after the Libération. In 1944

69 Picasso had considerable financial resources at his disposal, not least because he had been able to sell several works at high prices even during the war.

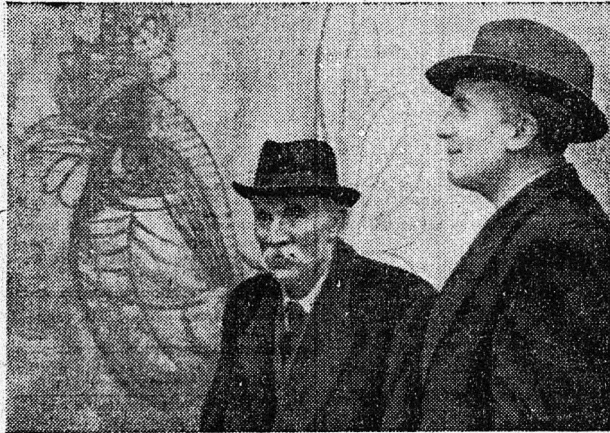
70 Francis Jourdain, [untitled], in *Exposition d'un ensemble d'œuvres contemporaines* [...], exh. cat., Paris, Galerie René Drouin, Paris, 1945, pp. 9–10, here p. 10.

71 “Pour les prisonniers soviétiques”, in *Arts*, 23.02.1945.

72 Major General Dragoun to Picasso, 05.03.1945 (Musée national Picasso-Paris). The Union des Patriotes russe en France acknowledged Picasso's engagement as proof of the “solidarité des intellectuels français envers les vaillants combattants de l'Armée Rouge et les peuples soviétiques”; President of the Union des Patriotes russes en France (signature illegible) to Picasso, 15.03.1945 (Musée national Picasso-Paris).

73 “Le Salon d'Automne atteste la magnifique vitalité de l'art français”, in *L'Humanité*, 07.10.1944, pp. 1 and 2, here p. 1.

LE SALON D'AUTOMNE 1944



Devant le « Coq » de Picasso, Marcel CACHIN et Paul ELUARD échangent leurs impressions
(Photo « Humanité »).

atteste la magnifique
vitalité
de l'art français

C'était hier, au Palais des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris, quai de Tokio, le vernissage du Salon d'Automne 1944.

Une foule très nombreuse était venue applaudir la première manifestation artistique de la France libérée. La délégation de notre journal fut particulièrement remarquée : notre directeur, Marcel Cachin, et notre rédacteur en chef, Georges Cogniot, s'entretenirent longuement avec le triomphateur de la journée, Picasso, avec les jeunes maîtres Fougeron et Pignón, qu'entouraient également le poète Eluard et Marcel Willard.

(Suite en 2^e page)

8 «Le Salon d'Automne 1944», in: *L'Humanité*, 7 October 1944

the *coq gaulois* proclaimed the Liberation from the Germans: “Après les têtes de taureaux espagnols, apparait le coq français, toujours signe de vigueur, de force virile, d'actions hardies.”⁷⁴ Likewise, in February 1945, Picasso provided another painting that was auctioned off at a gala for 150 000 francs. The Front national thanked him for the contribution, the proceeds of which went to a military hospital and to “prisonniers et déportés rapatriés.”⁷⁵ But Picasso was generous not only toward his Communist friends; he also demonstrated his French loyalties when, for instance, in 1946, he contributed three graphics to an illustrated luxury volume published by the Ministre de l'Éducation, *Jours de gloire. Histoire de la Libération de Paris*. The work included poems by, among others, Éluard, Valéry, and Colette of which two graphics illustrated Éluard's poem *Dans un miroir noir*; the return on sales proceeds benefited went to prisoners of war in the care of the Croix-Rouge française.⁷⁶

Picasso displayed a similar generosity in connection with his own exhibitions. A high point was *Picasso libre. 21 peintures, 1940–1945*, which ran from 20 June to 13 July 1945 in the Galerie Louis Carré. The proceeds from the sale of the catalogue were “au profit des Œuvres de secours du Comité France-Espagne.” The elegant and richly illustrated catalogue

74 J.-J. Tibère, “Picasso est-il donc un fou?”, in *Fraternité*, 15.12.1944.

75 Erard (Secrétaire du Front National) to Picasso, 07.05.1945 (Musée national Picasso-Paris).

76 *Jours de gloire : Histoire de la Libération de Paris*, Paris, 1946.

contained *éloges* from Apollinaire to Zervos; Éluard’s poem, *À Pablo Picasso* (1938); reminiscences of Picasso’s lifelong friend Jaime Sabartés; a selection of historical art criticism from Diderot to Apollinaire, *Ceux qui ont eu tort et ceux qui ont eu raison*; as well as a *Propos d’artistes*. The title alone indicated to the public that Picasso’s solo exhibition after the end of the war had been a programmatic one. The opening, which, as usual, he did not attend, became a major social event: “Picasso absent a reçu tout Paris.”⁷⁷ However, the first exhibitions were a financial flop; the European art market was still at rock-bottom. In the US, by contrast, Picasso’s presence in the media soon paid off: His first solo exhibition with Samuel Kootz in 1947 (at which Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler was already pulling the strings behind the scenes) was a success.

It was just a few days after the Liberation of Paris when Picasso presented the artworks he had created during the war and Occupation to an astonished public: first in his studio, the site of his uninterrupted creative work, and then in the Salon de la Libération. In the course of the Photo Press Liberation, the international public experienced a medialization of a still-living artist, which, up to that point, had been unknown. The articles and photos documenting Picasso’s studio disseminated by the mass media became part of the collective pictorial memory of the Libération – the Liberation of Paris was the liberation of Picasso, and the liberation of Picasso was the Liberation of Paris. By strategically taking advantage of the (inter)national media and high-profile appearances, especially in connection with his spectacular entry into the PCF, Picasso deliberately enacted his artistic activity as *art engagé*. At the same time, both his friends and opponents instrumentalized the artist and his art for their own divergent cultural and political interests. Picasso himself promoted his personality cult by appearing in various roles and contexts: as an artist, a figurehead of the artistic Résistance, an accuser of those colleagues who had collaborated with the occupiers, a friend to the intellectuals, the PCF’s most prominent member, a declared opponent of the Franco dictatorship, and as an altruist, who donated generously to the victims of the war. His omnipresence in the media made him both a celebrated and controversial symbol of liberated modern art, over which a cultural and political conflict ignited regarding the role of the École de Paris both during the Vichy regime and moving forward. By the time this conflict was settled in favor of abstraction, Picasso had long since returned to his studio to work on new paintings. *Picasso libre*.

⁷⁷ Charles Estienne, “Picasso absent a reçu tout Paris”, in *Combat*, 15.06.1946.