Abstract. Completed in early 1944, Robert Desnos’s militant series of 25 poems in *Contrée* evokes memories of a lost peace and calls for the defeat of the German occupiers. Suggesting the desecration of the human body by the occupiers, Picasso cut his cubist–surrealist frontispiece etching of Dora Marr to produce severed heads and dismembered body parts, feet, arms, hands and heart, and used them as fragmented tailpieces to give a visual dimension to the written poems. Reconstituting the 23 tailpieces in *Contrée*, as in a jigsaw puzzle, it is surprising that not one, but two copies of the frontispiece emerge. By the multiple use of the seven fragments from one image, Picasso created tailpieces for 14 poems. From the other image, he cut tailpieces for 9 poems, discarding two fragments and leaving two poems without tailpieces. This paper provides an analysis of the creation of Picasso’s fragmented tailpieces and argues that the overarching text-image message propagated by Picasso’s visual tailpieces and Desnos’s descriptive poetry is of horror and hope, a message which is also delivered through many individual tailpiece–poem pairings.

On 31 May 1944, during the final phase of the German Occupation of France, Robert J Godet published 25 subversive poems written by fellow resistance activist Robert Desnos, accompanied with a frontispiece of a single cubist-surrealist image of Dora Maar, etched by Pablo Picasso. In an act of protest at the violence around him, Picasso cut two copies of the frontispiece into fragments, highlighting the decapitated body with its dismembered feet, arms, hands and the severed head, and used these as tailpieces for 23 of the poems, (Image 1 in fig.1 and Image 2 in fig.2).1 This article argues that in this manner Picasso not only personalised his image of Dora Marr for Desnos but also actively sought to visually emphasise the wartime messages of horror and hope contained within the poems, and is a key reason that he attempted to withdraw his etching when Desnos was arrested by the Gestapo.

While there is excellent scholarship of Desnos’s *Contrée* and of Picasso’s etching of Dora Marr, the literature review for this article was unable to locate an equivalent analysis of Picasso’s pictorial fragments, and consequently the added visual aesthetic of the dismembered body and decapitated head, as essential components in this illustrated book, has not been sufficiently highlighted. This article builds on the research of eminent scholars such as Mary Ann Caws, Katherine Conley, Mary-Margaret Goggin and Peter Read and adds to the scholarship of this important work by contributing a further analysis of Picasso’s fragmented tailpieces.2

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Figure 1. “Reconstructed Dora Marr Frontispiece Image 1.” In Contrée by Pablo Picasso and Robert Desnos. Paris: Robert J. Godet. 1944.
Figure 2. “Reconstructed Dora Marr Frontispiece Image 2.” In *Contrée* by Pablo Picasso and Robert Desnos. Paris: Robert J. Godet. 1944.
Politically aware and in self-imposed exile from Franco’s fascist Spain, Picasso remained defiantly in France during the Occupation despite Hitler’s denunciation of his art as degenerate. He was particularly careful not to place himself at risk. Under constant observation by the German occupiers, he did not get involved in the Resistance, but his writer friends such as Robert Desnos, Paul Éluard, Robert Godet and Georges Hugnet were Resistance activists, and he enthusiastically helped them as much as possible. He gave them art they could sell, secured them commissions and often supplied them with illustrations for their books.³

Although he refrained from any overt resistance activity, Picasso saw his Occupation-based images as being in the frontline of the cultural battle. He believed that his images were “not done to decorate apartments” but were rather “an instrument of war for attack and defence against the enemy.”⁴ Although Picasso did not create anything of the political importance of Guernica and the Dream and Lie of Franco during the Occupation, his images nevertheless carry the symbolism of Occupation events, particularly his book illustrations.⁵ Perhaps the most graphic of Picasso’s wartime book illustrations is the etching of Dora Maar and the associated fragmented tailpieces he produced for a series of highly militant poems that Desnos wrote in Contrée.

Picasso and Desnos grew closer during the Occupation, and they met regularly with a small group of resistance supporting artists and writers in Paris at cafes such as le Café de Flore, les Deux Magots in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and at le Catalan restaurant.⁶ In December 1943, as a tribute to Picasso, Desnos organised a book entitled Seize Peintures 1939–1943, which included sixteen colour reproductions of Picasso’s wartime paintings. Desnos wrote an effusive preface praising Picasso, and Maurice Girodias published the work through Les Éditions du Chêne in December 1943.⁷ Desnos wrote his text for Seize Peintures 1939–1943 around the same time he began composing Contrée.

Not only was Desnos’s preface for Seize Peintures 1939–1943 provocative, but so were the sixteen paintings, which Picasso helped select, paintings which were in the cubist–surrealist style that the Germans considered degenerate, and most carried symbols of protest at the Occupation. The Nature Morte paintings provide a good example, Image number 3, Nature

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4 Alfred Hamilton Barr, Picasso, Fifty Years of His Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946), 247..
5 Mary-Margaret Goggin, "Picasso and His Art During the German Occupation: 1940–1944" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1985), 2.
6 Michèle C. Cone, French Modernisms: Perspectives on Art before, During, and after Vichy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 126; John Golding, Visions of the Modern (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 204-05..
Morte, painted in July 1941, is a bouquet of flowers in a jug painted in the French national colours, red, white and blue, which depict national loyalty and commitment. Nature Morte number 10 and number 14, both painted in April 1942, depict a skull trapped behind bars, a signal of death and captivity. The final image, Nature Morte number 16, shows a rooster painted in the patriotic red, white and blue lying dead on a table, a reference to a national symbol of France, the Gallic rooster. Contrée fitted in this mould.

Completed in early 1944, Contrée, meaning “Land”, has oblique references to the everyday life of the French during the Occupation and, evoking memories of lost peace, called for armed resistance and the defeat of the occupiers.8 The land evoked by Desnos is a fertile land laid barren by war, and, as a covert statement of opposition to Vichy, contrasts with the regime’s concept of a rich agrarian land with its “back to the soil” rhetoric.9 Desnos dedicated Contrée to his wife, Youki, and asked Picasso to provide images for the work. Picasso donated the image of Dora Maar with the date “23.D.43” inscribed on the top right-hand corner of the plate; a work that he had etched in December 1943, at the time Girodias published Seize Peintures 1939–1943.

Picasso sketched his image of his lover Dora Maar in a confrontational cubist–surrealist style, consistent with the images in Seize Peintures 1939–1943, an etching he created separately from and with no relationship to the poems of Contrée, a not unusual occurrence as Picasso often gifted his friends previously sketched images when asked to illustrate a literary work. Typical of the cubist–surrealist style, there are many interpretations of this image. Art scholar Mary-Margaret Goggin sees a naked female figure seated in a wicker chair whose body parts have been rearranged and where chair and the female “have almost become interchangeable” in a manner similar to Picasso’s painting Woman in Green (1943).10 Art historian Peter Read considers the image to be of a naked woman, relaxed, sitting cross-legged with one hand on a knee on a wicker chair which resembles a row of books. The etching he says is possibly an analogy between the strength of the female body and the power of the books on which it is based.11 Publisher Patrick Cramer has advanced the proposition that the image could be an embracing couple, which shares a congruency to the drawings that Picasso sketched in his December 1943 notebook.12 Youki gave the picture a more lofty interpretation, describing it as a knight leaning on a stack of books. Author Katherine Conley, a scholar of Desnos’s poetry, suggests that Youki’s interpretation is a reference to the struggle between aggression, which the knight represents, and peace, which the books represent.13

Picasso took his illustration of Dora Marr for Contrée further. Suggesting the desecration of the human body by the German occupiers, Picasso cut 23 fragments of his Dora Maar etching to use as tailpieces for Desnos’s poems. Desnos’s published book Contrée now comprised a

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9 Conley, 124, 26-27.
10 Goggin, 320-21.
11 Read, 290.
12 Goeppert, Goeppert-Frank, and Cramer, 110..
13 Conley, 132.
complete etching of Dora Maar as a frontispiece and 23 fragments of the image as tailpieces for the poems. Only two poems appear without tailpiece fragments. Cramer explains that each fragment provides a pictorial connectivity between the poems and the whole frontispiece.14

When viewed on their own, some of the fragmented tailpieces are not recognisable, requiring reference back to the frontispiece image for identification. Of those fragments that are recognisable, various body parts are clear: the severed head and dismembered body parts including the feet, arms, hands and heart.

The severed head and the dismembered body are powerful images that became a part of the iconography of France from the time of the French Revolution.15 However, the history of the severed head as a symbol goes back through numerous civilisations, and consequently there are thousands of depictions of the severed head in texts and graphic works.16 Art historian Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer argues that the image of the severed head became a symbol of destruction and terror.17 French scholar Susan Hiner’s asserts that the severed head came to symbolise the fragmented body, which represents “a headless world gone out of control, indeed a world got out of hand.”18 According to philosopher Julia Kristeva, the severed head can also serve as a symbol of freedom from oppression: “Writing out a decapitation – like painting it... may be a meditation on depression and therefore a rebirth.”19 In support of her views, Kristeva references the myth of Medusa’s severed head to assert that the only way to protect oneself from death and, by implication, to remain free is to cut off the monster’s head.20 In other words, the depiction of the severed head can represent terror, but it can also symbolise rebirth and, by implication, fleeing from oppression. Through the imagery of the fragmented body parts in Contrée, Picasso was not only protesting the carnage around him but also expressing hope for a restoration and renewal of life.

Picasso had used images of the decapitated head as a symbol in another wartime illustrated book in his re-imaging of his livre d’artiste Picasso: Eaux-Fortes Originales Pour des Textes de Buffon.21 Eight months after its publication, still during the Occupation, Picasso took a copy as a gift to Dora Maar. While waiting for Maar on Sunday 24 January 1943 in her apartment in rue de Savoie, he drew a second set of images in the book.22 He personalised his

14 Goeppert, Goeppert-Frank, and Cramer, 110..
19 Kristeva, 120.
20 Ibid., 30. Kristeva draws on Medusa’s story to illustrate her assertion, claiming that Perseus cut off the monster Medusa’s head to free Andromeda.
22 Georges Brassai, Picasso and Company (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 249. Brassi reveals that Picasso had a habit of purchasing rare books and then making them unique by introducing his own images into the book. Fautrier had been arrested a few days before by the Gestapo and held for four days for interrogation.
gift with drawings and inscriptions and wrote a dedication to her, “per Dora Maar / tan rébufona!” (for Dora Maar / so pretty!)—a pun on the name Buffon and the Catalan word bufo (pretty). He created a new frontispiece, a cartoon-like image of Dora Maar as a bird-woman with breasts, placing it opposite the dedication. This half-bird, half-human caricature evoked the ancient Greek myth of the Sirens, who lured sailors to their deaths with their seductive songs. In addition, Picasso embellished the flyleaf of the book with images of severed heads and bird skeletons, a human skull and a Medusa skull. In the margins and other spaces, he created another thirty-nine images, mainly of heads, a human skull, bird skeletons, Minotaurs, animals and bearded men.

Joan Landes emphasises that these images of skeletons and skulls and the reference to Medusa’s severed head probably reflect Picasso’s fears at the time. Irene Small states that this graffiti reworking and re-signing of a previously completed book propelled it into the present tense, giving it a second life, and that the graffiti has various roles, “from commentary and amplification to correction.” Goggin declares that Picasso used the innocent, light-hearted images of Textes de Buffon that he created before the Occupation to conceal his later, more aggressive images. In her view, the original images were a “foil for the expression of his feelings about life under the Occupation.” Picasso’s use of the decapitated head as a symbol of protest in Textes de Buffon to depict fear and rebirth, and to protest the horrors around him, has parallels with his actions in cutting up the image of Dora Maar in Contrée.

Reconstituting the twenty-three fragments in Contrée, as in a jigsaw puzzle, it is surprising that not one but two copies of the frontispiece image emerge. These two images, Image 1 (fig. 1) and Image 2 (fig. 2), negate the assumption that a single etching plate was the source of the fragments. Rather, the fragments came from cutting two already-printed images, most certainly two proof copies pulled earlier, a standard practice among printmaker to test the etching plate and level of inking. Because of Picasso’s pre-eminence, the risk of offending him, and the impropriety of destroying someone else’s image, it is highly unlikely that either the publisher, Godet, or the poet, Desnos, cut these etchings. It is more likely that Picasso did so. It is also likely that Picasso was instrumental in pairing fragments and poems, perhaps in discussions with poet and publisher, which would have happened in the days prior to Desnos’s arrest by the Nazi’s on 22 February 1944. By using these fragments, symbolising the severed head and decapitated body, Picasso not only personalised his image of Dora Maar for Desnos but

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24 Goggin, 250.
27 Small, 135.
28 Goggin, 251.
29 Goep Pert, Goep Pert-Frank, and Cramer, 110. Although not explicitly stated, this catalogue raisonné of Picasso’s illustrated books implies that the fragments came from a single source.
also actively sought to visually emphasise the wartime messages contained within the text of *Contrée*. Picasso had never before cut one of his images for an illustrated book, an action he never repeated.

From a detailed analysis of the fragments, it appears that Picasso sliced Image 1 horizontally into four strips and then bisected the bottom three strips to create seven fragments, and by the multiple use of each fragment, applied them as tailpieces for 14 poems. He used two fragments as tailpieces for three poems each, three other fragments appear twice and two fragments, of which the severed head is one, appear once; reference back to Image 1 shows the fragment - poems pairings.

He cut Image 2 into eight slices, much narrower than those of Image 1, and divided the middle slice, the stomach of the seated figure, into three fragments, using the two left most sections as tailpieces for poems “La Sieste” and “La Ville”, while discarding the other piece, the arm of the seated figure. He also discarded a slice, the second from the bottom. Unlike the severed head which comprised a single fragment, in Image 1, Picasso cut the head from Image 2 into two pieces, slicing it just below the nose. With this additional cutting of the head, Picasso took the symbolism of the decapitated head further, to depict torture and dismemberment.

He used the bottom-most fragment for “Le Sort”, then further cut the fragment into two, using the left-hand component, the bottom half of the books, as a tailpiece for “Le Souvenir” and discarded the right-hand component, the foot. In all he created 11 fragments from Image 2, using eight only once, half of an already used fragment once, and unlike Image 1, he discarded two fragments. As he did not give two poems a fragmented tailpiece, it is possible that he also intended to illustrate these two poems, “La Route” and “La Moisson”, with the two discarded narrow-cut fragments from Image 2, but a lack of space at the bottom of the page prevented him from doing so.

The nature of the multiple uses of fragments from Image 1 leads to the view that Picasso tried to use only a single image, Image 1, for the tailpieces. It is presumed that, having run out of fragments from Image 1, and having exhausted what he felt were the appropriate multiple uses of single fragments, he proceeded with a second image, Image 2 as a source for additional and different fragments.

There is an over arching relationship of horror and tragedy between Picasso’s visual tailpieces and Desnos’s descriptive poetry, thus as a collection tailpiece and poetry deliver the same message. The link between individual tailpieces and each poem in the most part varies between despair on the one hand and hope and optimism on the other. The difficulty or ease in which to discern a relationship between Desnos’s poetry and Picasso’s tailpieces should not surprise. There are many interpretations to both, and there is room to postulate many or no links. Other scholars may well articulate a text-image dynamic different to that expressed in this article.

Dora Maar’s disembodied head from the Image 1 becomes the opening tailpiece. The uppermost fragments from Image 1 are dramatic. Picasso sliced the head at the neck—the severed head recalling the detached Medusa heads of his *Textes de Buffon* and Jean Fautrier’s
final image in *Orénoque*.³⁰ Picasso placed this severed head as the tailpiece of the opening poem, “La Cascade”, which speak to the armed resistance fighters. In the poem, one of the fighters is wounded while the other watches in silence, the fragment of the severed head presents a clever visual coupling with Desnos’s words:

- How blood surges from the gaping wound,
- Lips already silencing the murmur and the cry.³¹

In the last poem, the prophetic “L’Épitaphe”, with a remarkable sense of foreboding and foreseeing his death, Desnos wrote:

- Don’t fear me, you who live: I’m dead and gone
- Not soul nor body, nothing lingers on.³²

However, Picasso expresses optimism for the future with his tailpiece for the final poem, the collection of books on which the seated figure is resting, taken from the bottom left-hand quadrant of Image 1. By connecting this final fragment, the books—a symbol of hope and culture—with the first fragment, the guillotined head—a symbol of death—Picasso seems to assert that the written word shall triumph, that it will survive the execution and defilement of the innocents, and that through Desnos’s words, France will live through its ordeal. As if to emphasise the power of the written word over the executions, Picasso replicated this fragmented image of the book three times, the other two poems are “La Clairière” and “La Maison”, the equal highest use of a single fragment in *Contrée*.³³

“La Clairière” is an expressive reference to the land, but here the tall trees have been cleared, a stone tossed into a pond sends ripples. The poet hears the echo of Don Giovani’s fanfare, sounds of hope, as his feet feels the emotions of the ground below.³⁴ The collection of books is an apt matching tailpiece of hope for the poem. “La Maison” portrays a prisoner on the run, from a safehouse as he steps down a staircase going across the hall and flees through the door into the night. The reader, once again, is left with a feeling of hope that the escaping prisoner remains free.³⁵ The identical tailpiece of books of “La Clairière” and “La Maison”, like that of “L’Épitaphe” is a positive contrast to the decapitated body of the other tailpieces and generates optimism, a clever device that Picasso used to link the three poems with each other in a show of hope for the future.

Picasso also used the decapitated head for tailpieces in two more poems, “La Nymphé” and “La Cimetière”, both from Image 2. He placed the top half of the severed head, comprising the eyes and forehead, as the tailpiece for the poem “La Nymphé Alceste”, which asks the nymph how the writer could tell its sister, who was born in the noonday light, of the coming

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³¹ For a detailed analysis of this poem see Conley, 131-133.
³² Goeppert, Goeppert-Frank, and Cramer, 110.
³³ In addition to the final poem “L’Épitaphe”, the other two poems are “La Clairière” and “La Moisson”.
³⁴ Adès.
³⁵ Ibid.; Conley, 129.
gloom, the return of darkness; while the remaining part of the head became the tailpiece for “Le Cimetière” in which the poet address his burial place, and therefore his death, and asks how his memory can be protected. Once again image and text, referencing death, seem to strike a relationship. Another example is “La Vendange”, a poem which evokes the land that “is fertilised by rotting corpses of soldiers” and is drunk with their blood has a tailpiece from Image 2, the bottom piece of the figures head, clearly the image of a decapitated head reflecting the horrors of war described by the text.

As stated earlier, not all tailpieces have a readily discernible visual relationship with the text. Picasso connected La Riviére” and “La Voix” with the same almost unrecognisable, at least on its own, fragment from Image 1, the left fragment of the second strip, the shoulder of the sitting figure. “La Riviére” references the land, the river that Desnos swan across. While “La Voix”, Desnos captures the voice of France, “A voice, a voice from so far away/It no longer makes the ears tingle”. What seems to be a message of hope for the liberation as the voice calls out, “It floods the body with joy”. The interpretive link between the poems with each other and with the tailpiece is more complex and difficult to decipher.

“La Peste” references the footsteps of a walker; “Where is he going, the walker coming slowly and briefly stopping” seems to be figuratively illustrated by the fragment of the foot from Image 1. The same fragment appears as the tailpiece for “L’Équinoxe”, which speaks of a train that travels from the North Sea to the Seine, a reference to the coming liberation, and evokes blood and death. In this case an unlikely connection between “L’Équinoxe” and its fragmented tailpiece of a foot.

“Le Coteau” depicts the horrors of war, a child being murdered cries out with yells “That fill our hearts and burns inside our skulls.” The poem shatters any hope and the accompanying tailpiece generates an anonymity, taken from the bottom of the seated figure from Image 1. The connection between text and image is open to interpretation.

At the time Picasso completed his contribution to Contrée, both occupier and occupied expected an Allied invasion to liberate France. Yet the danger to the French was at its highest. Nazi forces began taking hostages and increasing their indiscriminate killings, and on 22 February 1944, shortly after the completion of Contrée, just two months after Girodias published Seize Peintures 1939–1943 and four months before D-Day, the Gestapo arrested Desnos.39

Peter Read establishes that when he heard of the arrest, Picasso tried to withdraw his image from Contrée.40 Aware of the risk of angering the occupying Nazi regime should they discover Contrée, Picasso informed the publisher Godet of his decision to revoke his agreement.

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36 Conley, 124-125.
37 Conley, 124-125.
38 Adès.
39 Conley, 189-201. Conley gives a detailed and moving account of Desnos’s arrest and his last days.
40 Read, 291. I am grateful to Peter Read who provided me with this information by email 13 December 2013 prior to the publication of his paper in Cahiers de l’Herne and which I used for my PhD thesis, see Peter Read, email to Rodney Swan, 13 December 2013. In the correspondence, Read also draws attention to previously unpublished cards and letters from Robert and Youki Desnos to Picasso. The essence of Read’s contention is also quoted in Boztas, “Letters Show Picasso Was No Collaborator Says Prof Read”.
and remove his etching from the book, and presumably his provocative fragmented tailpieces. On hearing this, Youki wrote to Picasso on 21 May 1944 to persuade him to keep his promise to Desnos to use the etching. She told him that she and Desnos thought alike, and that they would not differentiate between a commitment made to him and a commitment made to her. She revealed that they had borrowed the money for the book and that difficult financial consequences would arise should the book not proceed as planned. It may be that Picasso felt in danger not only because of Desnos’s arrest, but also because of the arrest of his close friend Max Jacob only six days later, on 28 February 1944, which had tragic consequences with Jacob’s death at the Drancy internment camp. Having giving this careful consideration Picasso finally relented and kept his promise to Desnos and agreed that Youki could use the image.

Robert J. Godet, himself a Resistance member, published 213 copies of Contrée on 31 May 1944. A young publisher in his twenties, Godet had previously published Etat de veille, a book of poems by Desnos in April 1943, and two other livres d’artistes, both written by fellow Resistance member Georges Hugnet. The first was Jean Arp’s illustration of La Sphère de Sable, published in 1943, and the second was another set of Picasso illustrations for La Chèvre-Feuille, also published in 1943, both books had texts by Georges Hugnet.

Godet commissioned printmaker Roger Lacourière to produce the Dora Maar etching as a separate graphic, which Godet inserted loosely as a frontispiece into Contrée. Now completely reconciling himself to his collaboration with Desnos, after Contrée was printed, Picasso signed ten copies. Using his usual ploy to avoid the censors, Godet disguised his publications as being for private use only, producing small print runs and dedicating them “Pour mes amis” (For my friends). He delivered small quantities of the book to his network of booksellers, who in turn surreptitiously sold them to known collectors.

Desnos never saw Contrée published. After his arrest, the Nazis first sent Desnos to Fresnes Prison for a month for interrogation. He was then deported through a series of prison camps and finally ended up in the Terezin Ghetto in Czechoslovakia. He became very sick and his condition deteriorated until, barely alive, he was sent to a crowded cell, which he shared with a hundred other prisoners. On 6 June 1944, the Allies landed in Normandy, beginning the Liberation of France. Desnos died two days later, on 8 June 1944, just one month from his 45th birthday.

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41 Ibid.
42 It may be that Picasso was influenced to agree to Youki’s plea by the publication of Matisse’s illustrated book of de Montherlant’s, Pasiphaé: Chant de Minos, by Martin Fabiani the previous day.
44 Les Presses Durand, which previously printed the text for Fautrier’s livre d’artiste of Robert Ganzo’s Orénoque, also a work of cultural resistance, now printed Contrée with the image fragments.
45 Goeppert, Goeppert-Frank, and Cramer, 110.
47 For an extended account of Desnos arrest and incarceration see Ibid., 174 - 203/178.
48 Ibid., 189–201. The Nazis cremated Desnos in Czechoslovakia; unlike others, he was not subjected to a mass cremation. After the Liberation, the French Government repatriated his remains in a cocktail shaker, refusing to pay for a burial urn. The resistance poet Éluard gave the homily at Desnos’s funeral service on Wednesday 24
Desnos paid the ultimate price in the cultural battle during the Occupation. His death is even more poignant as it occurred just as the Allied forces began the final battle for the Liberation of France. As Peter Read emphasises, “Contrée is indeed a masterpiece of unbowed and courageous resistance poetry.” By his active participation in the visualisation of these wartime poems Picasso joined in with Desnos to generate messages of both the horror of the Occupation and the hope of a liberation. This article adds to the existing scholarship of the Contrée.

Bibliography.


October 1945 at the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, across from les Deux Magots café, and the authorities buried Desnos in the Montparnasse Cemetery. Desnos is the only poet to have two citations inscribed on the walls of the Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation, just behind Notre-Dame de Paris.

49 Peter Read, email to Rodney Swan, 13 December 2013.


