

**The relation between cultural policy and artists' recognition:
A case study of Karel Appel**



Master thesis

Leiden University

-

Art History

Specialisation: Art of the Contemporary World

Author : Juliette Morschl

Supervisor : Prof.dr.ing. Robert Zwijnenberg

Second Reader: Dr. Juliette Roding

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Introduction

Background information on Karel Appel and the CoBrA movement

The CoBrA years

Karel Appel after CoBrA

Chapter 1 - Cultural policy under André Malraux and his successors (1959-1981)

1.1 The foundation of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs: The Malraux decree

1.2 The goals of the Ministry: democratization, artistic production and distribution

1.3 Late recognition of Parisian museums

1.4 Malraux's successors (1969 -1981)

Chapter 2 - Cultural policy under Jack Lang (1981-1993 and 1988-1993)

2.1 The Ministry new budget

2.2 The establishment of a Contemporary collection

2.3 Towards the end of the elitist culture

2.4 Critics of Jack Lang's policy

Chapter 3 - The sudden surge of interest for Karel Appel (2015-2018)

3.1 The exhibition review of *Karel Appel: works on paper* at the Centre Pompidou

3.2 The importance of donations

3.3 The art market regarding Karel Appel

Chapter 4 - Conclusion

Literature and Appendix

Literature

Appendix: Collection

Appendix: Solo exhibitions in France

Appendix: Figures

Acknowledgements

After months of intense research and writing, I am happy to be at the stage of writing my acknowledgements.

First, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. dr. Robert Zwijnenberg. His guidance helped me to find and explore new perspectives.

Secondly, I would like to express my deep and sincere appreciation to the people who have generously shared their knowledge on the topic with me: Mr Philippe Bettinelli from the Centre national des arts plastiques (Cnap), and many other employees from museums and art institutions who guided me to the right information.

I am particularly grateful to my friends for suggesting many language edits and to my boyfriend for his insights and for motivating me through the entire process.

Finally, I owe much to my family for always believing in me and encouraging me to achieve my goals.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CNAC	Centre National d'Art Contemporain
CNAP	Centre national des arts plastiques
FMAC	Fonds Municipal d'Art Contemporain
FNAC	Fonds National d'Art Contemporain
FRAC	Fonds Régional d'Art Contemporain
FRAM	Fonds Régional d'Acquisitions des Musées
MAMVP	Musée d'Art Moderne de la ville de Paris
MAMAC	Musée d'Art Moderne et d'Art Contemporain de Nice
MNAM	Musée National d'Art Moderne

Introduction

As a point of departure for my thesis, I would like to quote Jonas Storsve, curator of the *Karel Appel: works on paper* exhibition at the Centre Pompidou: “Appel is now little-known and somewhat forgotten outside the Netherlands”.¹ The goal of this paper is trying to find explanations for this statement.

Karel Appel (1921-2006) was born in Amsterdam (The Netherlands). Just like his fellow countrymen Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) and Piet Mondrian (1872-1944), Karel Appel found his home in the bohemian art world of Paris; a place that allowed him to express himself as an artist and break free from the conservatism and conformism of its own country.

Relevance and research question

The initial research leading to this thesis was done for a methodology class during my first year of Bachelor in art history at La Sorbonne in 2015, in which our seminar supervisor Mr Sébastien Bontemps asked us to review a current exhibition. I decided to pick an artist that I did not know well, and *Karel Appel: works on paper* at the Centre Pompidou was on the list. I had heard of Karel Appel as a famous Dutch artist but did not know his oeuvre well. From this research came my exhibition review. At the time, I had the exhibition for myself and saw only a couple of people wandering around the exhibition. I did not understand the reasons why so little people were coming to the exhibition. I started asking my fellow students if they knew Karel Appel’s works, but most of them did not know him and even the seminar leader had no idea of who Karel Appel was. I was really intrigued by this unfamiliarity even amongst the art historian circle. I started reading many articles about Appel and the CoBrA movement and got more interested in his work within the years. I read that Appel lived twenty years in France, spoke French fluently, received the *Légion d’Honneur*, was even buried in Paris at the Père Lachaise cemetery, and that it was France — thanks to vital French encounters — that made him into the artist that he was.

In 2019, Karel Appel is relatively well-represented by French museums collection. In fact, France owns around eighty of his artworks (all media combined), which are distributed among the National collections, the Museum collections, Contemporary regional art funds and contemporary art centres. Moreover, Karel Appel participated in 27 solo exhibitions in France. On the art market, he has been and he is still represented by prestigious Parisian art galleries such as the Galerie Lelong, and his artworks are very often auctioned on the French market. Also, in 2017, Appel appeared in the top 500 artists by action turnover. However today, Appel is little-known by the French general public,² and his name only rings a bell, at best, amongst the intellectual elite. This has led me to formulate the following research question:

How do we explain that Karel Appel is little-known in France today?

There is not much academic research focusing on Karel Appel, and even less on the factors that influence an artist’s recognition. Hence, the academic relevance of my research can be found in its efforts to fill in this gap in the academic literature. In a more

¹ Centre Pompidou. (2015, October 12). *Press Pack Karel Appel: works on paper 21 October 2015-11 January 2016*, p. 3.

² *Ibidem*.

broader sense, this paper intends to raise a debate on the current status of the French national museum's collections, and more specifically, the underrepresentation of contemporary artists in national museums collection.

In order to answer why Karel Appel is not famous in France today, several questions need to be considered. What could explain that the French public collection did not own Appel's works? Why have French museum institutions hardly presented Karel Appel's oeuvre in the past? What could explain the sudden surge of interest for Appel in the last years in France?

This thesis is structured as follows. I start off by sharing some background information on Karel Appel and his role in the CoBrA movement. Then, I examine the cultural policy under André Malraux and the foundation of the Ministry of Culture (1959-1980), a period in which the focus was put on 'high art' due to Malraux's traditional and elitist view on culture. Chapter two discusses the policy under the Ministry of Jack Lang (1981-1986) and (1988-1993), a period that has been of importance to French cultural institutions concerning the acquisitions of Appels' artworks. Chapter three delves into the sudden surge on interest regarding the Dutch artist (2015-2018). At last, the conclusions are drawn in the final chapter of this research.

Background information on Karel Appel and the CoBrA movement

The CoBrA years

Karel Appel is one of the founders of the CoBrA group, a short-lived Post-War avant-garde movement. These five letters do not only stand for the famous reptile, but the word itself is the acronym of three capitals of the countries of its founders (Co for Copenhagen, Br for Brussels and A for Amsterdam). Considered “the most important international avant-garde movement in the art world of Europe”³, CoBrA was founded after the Second World War in Paris on 8 November 1948 by North-European artists: the mentor of the group, the Danish Asger Jorn (1914-1973), the Dutch Karel Appel, Corneille (1922-2010), Constant Nieuwenhuijs (1920-2005) and the Belgian Christian Dotremont (1922-1979), and Joseph Noiret (1927-2012). This counterculture movement was the “first Post-War collaboration of European artists”.⁴ During the course of its existence, CoBrA attracted both artists and writers such as Pierre Alechinsky (1927-), Pol Bury (1922-2005), Henry Heerup (1907-1993) and Ejler Bille (1910-2004). Born in response to the feud between abstraction and figuration, the CoBrA movement advocated a return to creative spontaneity and impulsive gesture. The members shared the desire for a new form of art that could break free from the confinement and the aesthetic conventions established both by the Academy and the cultural institutions, such as abstract art, as it was considered too rigid and too rational. CoBrA artists are borrowing artistic forms that are the least contaminated by norms and conventions, such as primitivism, folk art, non-Western, tribal art, naïve art, children’s drawings and the art of the mentally ill. In other words, ‘low art’.

The first CoBrA group’s exhibition took place in the Colette Allendy Gallery (Paris), from May 3rd till June 2nd 1949, but has left no trace today. Meanwhile, in Amsterdam, Willem Sandberg, director of the Stedelijk Museum, recognized the work of the CoBrA artists and gave them room to put together their first group exhibition in 1949, at the Stedelijk Museum. The exhibition was controversial, even the Dutch press described the art of CoBrA as ‘scribble, claptrap and splotches’.⁵ In France, Michel Ragon organized a CoBrA group’s exhibition in Paris at the Librairie 73 in February 1951⁶, followed by the exhibition *Cinq peintres CoBrA* (Appel, Corneille, Egill Jacobsen, Mogens Balle et Asger Jorn)⁷ at the Galerie Pierre (Paris) in April 1951. After CoBrA’s participation in Liege’s International Exhibition of Experimental Art (1951) the above mentioned artists began pursuing their own directions. Three years after its foundation, and after having participated in three exhibitions and producing eight issues of the collective’s magazine, CoBrA had now officially dissolved. Despite CoBrA’s brief existence, the international collaboration can be regarded as an exceptional phenomenon in the world of art and definitely left a noteworthy mark in art history.

Karel Appel after CoBrA

After the disbandment of CoBrA in 1951, Karel Appel moved to Paris and became the first CoBrA artist to develop a personal style of his own by “experimenting with forms and

³ Cobra Museum of Modern Art - The CoBrA movement. Retrieved from <https://www.cobra-museum.nl/en/cobra-beweging/> (Accessed January 22, 2019)

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Berger, Vrijman, Vinkenoog 1983, p. 126.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

materials throughout his career”.⁸ In France, his artistic work was supported by French art critics such as Michel Tapié or Michel Ragon, who devoted to Appel two books titled *Karel Appel: The Early Years, 1937-1957* and *Karel Appel: de Cobra à un art autre, 1948-1957*. Even more, his encounter with Michel Tapié —who introduced him to an *art autre* or *art informel*— had a strong impact on his artistic work. From there, Appel was introduced to the art dealer Martha Jackson, who was established in New York and helped him get his international career off the ground.⁹

⁸ Storsve 2015, p. 8.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

Chapter 1 - Cultural policy under André Malraux and his successors (1959-1981)

In this chapter, I want to demonstrate that Malraux's policy had exclusionary effects on Karel Appel's art. Section 1.1 gives a brief overview of the foundation of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. The next section examines the goals of the Ministry. The late recognition of Parisian museums is outlined in section 1.3. The last section focuses on the cultural policy under Malraux's successors.

1.1 The foundation of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs: The Malraux decree

The debate regarding the creation of a Ministry of Culture dates back from the beginning of the twentieth century, when progressive leaders considered that culture, along with education, is part of the pillars of citizen emancipation.¹⁰ However, most of the political parties of the time rejected the establishment of a Ministry of Culture, on the grounds that a cultural policy would only result in all citizens paying for the leisure of the elite of society. It is the Popular Front in 1936, that initiated the change of perspective.¹¹ For the first time, the belief in a cultural intervention by a new ministry is developing within the left-wing parties. The stigmatization of bourgeois and aristocratic pleasures was swept by the right of the people to have access to culture.¹² Despite some attempts during the Fourth Republic (1946-1958), the political project of creating a Ministry for Culture failed.

It is 1958 when General De Gaulle seeks to reinvigorate France's cultural hegemony, as it had suffered many blows during the course and aftermath of the Second World War.¹³ To achieve this, the project of founding a Ministry of Culture received renewed attention. De Gaulle finds in André Malraux, the ideal minister. Malraux —already in the government— shared with the President a very close relationship based on mutual admiration.¹⁴ Malraux had the ambition to be part of the Ministry of Information, a strategic position at a time when most media are under the control of the government majority. However, the right-wing parties distrusted Malraux —as a committed writer— to be part of the Ministry of Information. Faced with this impasse and the need to find a spot for Malraux, President de Gaulle recommended to his Prime Minister Michel Debré to start a ministry of Cultural Affairs for Malraux.

"It will be useful to keep Malraux. Tailor him a minister, for example, a group of services that you can call "Cultural Affairs". Malraux will give emphasis to your government." said De Gaulle to Debré.¹⁵

On July 24, 1959, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs is founded by André Malraux, appointed the First Minister of Cultural Affairs. With the foundation of the new Ministry, De Gaulle sends a strong message to all French citizens, namely that France's world influence goes through the influence of its culture. In 1959, André Malraux wrote himself the founding decree regarding the organisation of the Ministry of Culture and its tasks. The Ministry is

¹⁰ Négrier E. (2017). "Le ministère de la culture et la politique culturelle en France: exception culturelle ou exception institutionnelle?", *Archive ouverte HAL*, p. 3.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ Saint-Gilles, L. (2009). "La culture comme levier de la puissance : le cas de la politique culturelle de la France aux États-Unis pendant la guerre froide", *Histoire, économie & société*, p. 109.

¹⁴ Négrier E. (2017). "Le ministère de la culture et la politique culturelle en France: exception culturelle ou exception institutionnelle?", *Archive ouverte HAL*, p. 6.

¹⁵ Rigaud 1995, p. 48.

in charge of making “the major works of humanity, starting with those of France, accessible to the greatest number of French people, to provide the widest possible audience for the French cultural heritage and to encourage the production of works of art and the mind which will enrich this heritage.”¹⁶ With this decree, Malraux highlights the duty of the State, which is to make art reach out to as many French people as possible.¹⁷

1.2 The goals of the Ministry: democratization, artistic production and distribution

The Malraux decree clearly puts the emphasis on the democratization of culture also called *action culturelle*. The policy promoted by Malraux undeniably followed the steps initiated by the Popular Front.¹⁸ The concept of democratization of culture dates back to the Popular Front in the 1930s. They wanted the working class to have access to art and culture that they could identify with. However, Malraux interpreted the concept of democratization differently. In fact, he did not intend to make the working class culture accessible to all citizens, but focused on making ‘high culture’ accessible to the widest audience, in other words, to all social groups.¹⁹ To achieve his ambition, Malraux refused to rely on the classical cultural institutions and imagined new ones. For that, he built *théâtres populaires* (national theatres located outside of Paris) as well as twelve cultural centres in every large town in France known as *Maisons de la culture*. These “cultural cathedrals” as Malraux called them, were public spaces in which all social classes could all share the same cultural values. Thanks to a diverse cultural offer, these *maisons de la culture* were multifunctional: a library as well as an exhibition space, and a theatre. Initially created to primarily focus on the visual arts, in practice, the theatrical vocation prevailed over the other functions, giving up more or less to its interdisciplinary purpose. They became very costly to run and did not attract a new audience as intended.²⁰ Also, the *maisons de la culture* were highly elitist, since they were intended to host cultural excellence with the highest cultural level and the best quality.²¹ This is what Malraux means by wanting to make accessible ‘the major works of humanity’ to the greatest number of Frenchmen. Therefore, Malraux’s vision of culture was elitist regarding his artistic references and cultural practices. Also, as Kim Eling²² argues, Malraux and his successors disregarded traditional popular art forms. His concept of democratization tends to favour the cultural practices of the elites by imposing the culture of the ruling classes upon the culture of socially dominated classes.²³

Malraux had affinities with modern artists, such as Marc Chagall, André Derain, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, Georges Rouault, Joan Miró, Jean Fautrier, Alberto Giacometti, Constantin Brancusi²⁴, in other words, artists who belong to ‘high art’. Before continuing

¹⁶ Wangermée, Gournay 1991, p. 27.

Original text: « Le ministère chargé des Affaires culturelles a pour mission de rendre accessibles les œuvres capitales de l’humanité, et d’abord de la France, au plus grand nombre possible de Français ; d’assurer la plus vaste audience à notre patrimoine culturel, et de favoriser la création des oeuvres d’art et de l’esprit qui l’enrichissent ».

¹⁷ Caune, J. (2005). “La politique culturelle initiée par Malraux”, *EspacesTemps.net*, Travaux, p. 5.

¹⁸ Poirrier 2012, p. 2.

¹⁹ Eling 1999, p. 4.

²⁰ Wangermée, Gournay 1991, p. 106.

²¹ Poirrier 2000, p.76.

²² Eling 1999, p. 8.

²³ Moulinier, P. (2014, May 5). La dimension territoriale de la démocratisation culturelle. *Politique de la culture*. Retrieved from <https://chmcc.hypotheses.org/> (Accessed 21 February 2019)

²⁴ Le Diberder A. (2016, October 10). La notion de musée chez André Malraux. *Politique de la culture*. Retrieved from <https://chmcc.hypotheses.org/> (Accessed 21 February 2019)

my analysis, I will introduce the concept of high and low art. 'High art' refers to canonical or traditional works in various art forms. The cultural products most often regarded as 'high art' are classical artworks from a Greco-roman tradition. In the visual arts, the paintings of Cézanne and Pablo Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, fall according to Fisher under the umbrella of high art.²⁵ Moreover, Varnedoe considers the work of Georges Seurat, Giacomo Balla, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, Fernand Léger, Marcel Duchamp, Joan Miró, Max Ernst, René Magritte, Alexandre Rodchenko and Jasper Johns 'high art'.²⁶ These art forms are considered 'serious', high, or fine art and are opposed to 'low art' or popular art, which refers to elements of popular culture such as graffiti, caricature, comics and the domain of advertising including newspaper ads, catalogues, billboards, but also everyday objects.²⁷ Non-western art, carvings of tribal cultures, folk art, crafts, children's drawings, the imagery created by the insane, all of these are considered low art.²⁸ Artists who are making low art, are not be denigrated but their art has traditionally been considered irrelevant or inferior by accepted standards of art.²⁹ However, modern artists have often used low art as a source of inspiration.³⁰ Today, the distinction between high and low art is according to Fisher controversial and often rejected as being undemocratic or elitist. He also argues that the distinction helps us structuring our thinking and acting towards the arts.³¹ High and low art should be seen as a consensus rather than a fixed definition.³² In my opinion, the distinction between high and low art is relevant, since it seems to explain Malraux's attitude towards the arts. Karel Appel makes the opposite of the traditional easel painting. In fact, his artworks are inspired by children's drawings, the art of the insane, folklore, graffiti, and primitive imagery. The Dutch artist refuses to conform to cultural and pictorial traditions, or any aesthetic principles or formal style. All of which are essential conditions in the eyes of bourgeois for something to be in line with good taste. By rejecting intellectualism, by mistrusting artistic rules, but by advocating spontaneity instead, the paintings of Appel come alive in the material, in form rather than in substance. With that in mind, and from a French perspective, his works of art can be considered 'low art'. His 'barbaric' way of painting as he mentioned himself, is anti-bourgeois but reflects his background: Amsterdam Oost, a popular neighbourhood. His artworks most certainly did not fit Malraux's traditional taste for modern art or 'high art'. The Minister would certainly not have considered Appel's œuvres as "major work of humanity" that should be made accessible to the greatest number of French people. Moreover, in the founding decree, Malraux put the emphasis on promoting French culture in the world. As a reminder, the decree clearly states that the Minister of Culture is in charge of making "the major works of humanity, starting with those of France accessible to the greatest possible number of Frenchmen". Malraux's demanding and elitist idea of art does not fit well with the democratization concept, which has an egalitarian purpose. Here again, Karel Appel as a foreign contemporary artist does not belong to the typical French culture that needs to be promoted.

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu heavily criticized the French cultural policy set by Malraux, and more specifically the concept of cultural democracy as the Minister intended. In fact, Malraux considers that there is one - and only one - "legitimate" culture, deemed worthy

²⁵ Fisher 2001, p. 473-474.

²⁶ Varnedoe 1990, p. 15.

²⁷ Varnedoe 1990, p. 16.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ Fisher 2001, p. 474.

³² *Ibidem*.

of investment, and that it should be imposed on all social classes. The well-known problem of this policy - as Pierre Bourdieu has repeatedly observed - is that it ignores "cultural differences" and postulates the universality of reception criteria, while reducing both the social factors of access to culture and "discrete signs of belonging to a privileged sphere". According to Bourdieu, not all social classes are equals in front of a work of art, especially not with the 'the major works of humanity' that Malraux had in mind. As mentioned by Rebecca DeRoo³³ only the viewers with a "cultural privilege upbringing" are able to approach art. In fact, the experience of 'aesthetic grace' is therefore only available to the elite. The accessibility to art is closely linked to the socio-economic background of its viewer. Bourdieu's survey analysis on the French museums' visitors numbers demonstrates that the majority of the audience came from the cultivated classes. In fact, 4% of the visitors belong to the working class, 24% belong to the middle-class, while 75% are upper-class visitors. Also, the surveys showed that one-third of the visitors held a baccalaureate and 24% were highly-educated. The directors of the *maisons de la culture* and of the *théâtres populaires* concluded that the exhibited art was 'high' and their audience largely middle and upper class. In that sense, the *maisons de la culture* — by being too elitist in their audience and by focusing on 'high art' — failed in their goal to enlarge the public for art.

Since its creation, the Ministry is affected by the traditional French values and the will to make France a nation of great (cultural) power again. And indeed, the past weighs in a lot when looking at the cultural policy. The Ministry's meagre budget gives priority to the conservation and protection of French heritage and marginalizes the acquisition of artworks. By focusing on heritage —the Ministry's priority— De Gaulle strongly believes that he can give back to France its cultural influence in the world. Malraux as a Gaullist had a strong awareness of what the national heritage represented: the glory of France. In order to put France back on 'the map of Great Nation' again, the protection of the monumental heritage appears at the forefront of the cultural concerns of the French Republic.³⁴ From 1959 to 1968, heritage mobilizes more than 50% of the ministry's budget. The two program laws (1962 and 1967) focused their efforts on the protection and restoration of the nation's cultural heritage such as Versailles, le Louvre, les Invalides, Vincennes, Fontainebleau, Chambord, Notre-Dame de Paris amongst others. These monuments are the symbols of the glorious past of France and therefore deserve attention.³⁵ All these ministerial responsibilities did not primarily benefit museums acquisition policy, but French cultural heritage in a broader sense.

In 1962, with the intention to modernize the cultural institutions and break with the traditional aesthetic, the Ministry established the Commission for artistic production in charge of advising the Ministry of Culture regarding "the acquisition or commissioning of works of art."³⁶ Commissioned works are a great way for the Ministry to stir and activate contemporary artistic production. However, in practice, commissioned works do not benefit all artists equally, since the sculptors are the main recipients of commissioned works. For the lucky ones, these orders helped them launch their artistic career. In the sixties, famous living artists benefited from prestigious commissions.³⁷ During these years, the Ministry seeks to put an end to the discrimination between consecrated and

³³ DeRoo 2014, p. 28.

³⁴ Monnier 1995, p. 341.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ The Centre National des Arts Plastiques Website - Présentation de la collection. (2016, January 26). Retrieved from <http://www.cnap.fr/1960-1976-l'ère-malraux> (Accessed January 22, 2019)

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

recognized artistic forms and the marginalized avant-garde.³⁸ In fact, some honourable academic living artists have been ignored or excluded from the acquisition policy and commissions. Out of remorse for the long indifference regarding the most original artists of the time, the State finally recognized as 'art' such artists.³⁹ For example, in 1962, Marc Chagall (1887-1985) a modern artist, then 75 years old, was commissioned to decorate the ceiling of the Opéra Garnier.⁴⁰ Chagall's work caused a scandal and was heavily criticized because the original work of Jules-Eugène Lenepveu (1819-1898), was covered by a contemporary one which contrasted too much with the Opera, a Second Empire building.⁴¹ Unfortunately, living artists (renowned before the Second World War) mainly benefited from commissions. If such an artwork already generated a wave of critics, what would have happened if a postwar artist would have been commissioned? Under these circumstances, it makes sense that Karel Appel did not benefit from public commissions during these years. It was not until 1989 that his first artwork, a lithograph *Sur la barricade* was commissioned.⁴² The artwork was commissioned as part of a larger commission to celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution, called "Prints and Revolution".⁴³ This purchase is a national public commission, financed by the State and managed by the National Centre for Plastic Arts (CNAP). Today, the lithograph is displayed at the French embassy in Kabul and therefore viewed by a limited French audience. This commissioned artwork, because of its medium, is a missed opportunity from the Ministry of Culture to get to know the Dutch artist in France.

While Malraux has been a Minister for eight years, the year 1967 stirs the awareness of the Ministry of Culture, which on the one hand, initiates a step towards the recognition of contemporary art hitherto neglected, and disrupts the academic system. In fact, Malraux took the decision to break up with the system of the Academy of Fine Arts and removed the *Prix de Rome*.⁴⁴ According to him, the State cultural policy cannot possibly be conducted by an Academy, even prestigious and open to the most original creators.⁴⁵ Breaking up with the Beaux-Arts system is also embodied in the challenging of academicism and proactive support for avant-garde trends.⁴⁶ One of the measures taken by the Ministry to fill the gap regarding contemporary artists in museums was the establishment of the Centre National d'Art Contemporain (CNAC) in 1967.⁴⁷ The CNAC is outside the museum system and is the prefiguration of the Pompidou Centre.⁴⁸ Unaffiliated with the MNAM, the CNAC's mission is to develop national collections of contemporary art thanks to his own budget. The CNAC also threw a few exhibitions with its own collection. For instance, in 1968, *Karel Appel: Reliefs 1966-68* was exhibited at the CNAC. From 1959 to 1981, the Ministry itself purchased artworks through the CNAC. However, during that period, not a single work of Karel Appel was bought. It was not until

³⁸ Rigaud 1995, p.60

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ Maingon, C. (2018, March 28). Marc Chagall en 2 minutes. Retrieved from: *BeauxArts*. <https://www.beauxarts.com/grand-format/marc-chagall-en-2-minutes/> (February 25, 2019)

⁴² Karel Appel, *Sur la barricade*, 1989, Lithograph, 90 x 60 cm, Centre national des arts plastiques, on deposit at the French Embassy in Kabul, inv. : FNAC 89268 (1).

⁴³ Phillipe Bettinelli, Email to author, January 22, 2019.

⁴⁴ Rigaud 1995, p.56.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ Poirrier 2000, p.77.

⁴⁷ From April 25, 1976, the State's collection changed its name to "Fonds National d'Art Contemporain".

⁴⁸ Rigaud 1995, p. 53.

1985 that the CNAC then attached to the Centre Pompidou finally acquired its first Karel Appel.⁴⁹

With Malraux, the Ministry attempted to open the cultural administration to modernity and tried to initiate the transition towards contemporary production. However, in practice, since France did not seem ready to welcome Post-War art, modern artists or artists already recognized before the Second World War were mainly favoured.

1.3 Late recognition of Parisian museums

In the Netherlands, Karel Appel was recognized relatively early by galleries, prestigious museums and especially by the support of museum curators. In the 1950s, Appel's works were exhibited many times in the Netherlands, which gradually made him an utmost appreciated citizen (1949: Groningen; 1951: Amsterdam; 1953: The Hague; 1954: Schiedam, The Hague, Amsterdam; 1956: Schiedam; 1957: Haarlem). Dutch museums directors believed in his works. For instance, Willem Sandberg (1897-1984), director of the Stedelijk Museum from 1945 to 1963 invested in Appel, as well as his successor Edy de Wilde (1919-2005) director from 1963 to 1985. Also, Mr Baard, Director of the Frans Hals Museum, acquired an Appel painting in 1960 and told the City Council that the work of Appel was as important as Frans Hals' works. This shows how Dutch museums and curators valued Karel Appel as an individual artist worth investing in. Despite the help from Dutch curators, Appel did not get the same support from art critics and some jealous fellow painters, who heavily criticized his works by saying that he would have been a better painter, had he continued to paint landscapes as he had been taught at the Academy.⁵⁰ This partly explains Appel's decision to flee his homeland, where his fellow painters were still attached to a certain tradition or puritanism, and to settle in a country like France where his work was not as heavily criticized.

By leaving the Netherlands with its traditionally minded painters, Karel Appel arrived in a country in which museums have still a very traditional art selection. In 1950, in France, Jean Dubuffet was considered a shirker by the majority of critics, art lovers and museum curators. In Paris, curators only showed interest in traditional French painters such as Alfred Manessier (1911-1993), Jean Bazaine (1904-2001), Charles Lapicque (1898-1988) or geometric abstraction. Speaking of Parisian artistic life, Appel himself said to his friend Aldo van Eyck: "We are overwhelmed here by the abstract, sterile imitators of Kandinsky and Mondrian, all scientifically accurate, but it lacks the principal, the life".⁵¹ In short, Karel Appel is barely noticed in the cultural landscape. The art critic Charles Estienne will not notice the existence of the Dutch artist before 1954, when he devotes him four lines in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, in which he considered Appel's oeuvre to be embarrassing.⁵² Despite the participation of CoBrA in the exhibitions of the Gallery Colette Allendy, despite the event of the Librairie 73, despite the exhibition at Pierre Loeb (Galerie Pierre), CoBrA goes virtually unnoticed.⁵³ Appel will remain unknown in museums until the 1958 exhibition: *L'art néerlandais depuis Van Gogh*, taking place at the musée d'Art moderne de Paris, in which Appel was represented by 12 paintings.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Karel Appel, *Vragende Kinderen*, 1948, Studded wood elements on wood panel, oil painting, 88 x 60 x 17 cm, Musée National d'Art Moderne (Centre Pompidou), Paris, AM 1985-128.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 164.

⁵¹ Berger, Vinkenoog, Vrijman 1983, p. 119.

⁵² Ragon 1988, p. 137.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 136.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 164.

In France, it seems that Karel Appel's recognition was first made by the art market before that of the museum. Galleries quickly became interested in Karel Appel as an individual artist, by devoting him solo exhibitions in the 1950s (1954: *Appel*, Studio Paul Facchetti, Paris ; 1955: *Karel Appel*, Galerie Rive Droite, Paris ; 1956: *Karel Appel: Portraits*, Galerie Rive Droite, Paris ; 1957: *Appel*, Galerie Stadler, Paris ; 1958: *Appel: Gouaches et céramiques*, Galerie Claude Bernard, Paris) and in the 1960s (1960: *Karel Appel*, Galerie Rive Droite, Paris; 1962: *Karel Appel: Sculptures*, Galerie Rive Droite, Paris ; 1963: *Appel Nudes*, Galerie Europe, Paris ; 1963: *Karel Appel: Dix Ans de Lithographie 1953 - 1963*, Galerie Anderson - Mayer, Paris ; 1966: *Appel*, Galerie Ariel, Paris ; 1968: *Karel Appel: Reliefs 1966-68*, Centre National d'Art Contemporain, Paris). In addition, the first acquisitions of Appel's works for State collections were made in 1969 by the Cnap, which does not have its own exhibition venue to present artist's works. Karel Appel was later noticed by the curators of the provincial museums (Musée de Grenoble et Musée d'Art Moderne de Saint Etienne) who acquired some Appels. It was not until 1985 that the prestigious National Museum of Modern Art (Centre Pompidou) acquired its first Appel. The institutional recognition was first made in a provincial museum and not by the Centre Pompidou. This certainly had an impact on the popularity of Karel Appel amongst the French public, since the influence of the provincial museums is less compared to the influence of prestigious museums such as the Centre Pompidou.

In the 1960s, André Malraux tried to modernize cultural institutions by breaking up little by little with the traditional aesthetic, in practice the museums remained highly elitist and focused on the art of the past. As a result, national art institutions neglected contemporary art.⁵⁵ In fact, works of art created after the Second World War were not exhibited nor collected by museum institutions, except for a few French museums such as the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, which exhibited contemporary art. Even the major museum of modern art in France known as the Musée National d'Art Moderne (MNAM) showed very little Post-War art and collected and displayed *École de Paris* paintings that were produced before the Second World War. Jean Cassou (1897-1986) director of the MNAM from 1940 to 1965 sought to pursue in the MNAM what the Luxembourg Museum had set up by focusing mainly on academic works. In other words, the MNAM collected artworks from artists who were already renowned before the Second World War, and refused to acquire young postwar artists. Therefore, the collection and exhibitions of the MNAM remained mainly traditional by hosting academic painters who followed the rules of the aesthetic canon of beauty. Put differently, the collection of the MNAM was focused on 'high art'. Also, since the MNAM did not have its own acquisition budget to purchase works of art, the Museum relied on external sources such as the Conseil Artistique des Musées Nationaux and the Direction des Arts Plastiques to receive acquisitions. The first one was against acquiring living artist's works and the second one, which was not against acquiring living artist's works, preferred the acquisition of academic living artists. Also, since the MNAM was administratively and financially dependent on external sources when it came down to purchasing works of art, the MNAM relied a lot on donations from artists and their families. For instance, artworks from *École de Paris* were obtained by Cassou largely thanks to donations of the artists themselves and their family. By the 1960s, the MNAM was still displaying works of art produced before the Second World War and was still ignoring contemporary art. The Museum's orientation and the refusal to acquire young Post-War artists did not help Karel Appel's recognition. Disappointed by the orientation of the acquisition policy, Cassou resigned in 1965 and was replaced by Bernard Dorival (1914-2003), who directed and

⁵⁵ DeRoo 2014, p. 39.

curated from 1965 to 1968. During this time, the MNAM – which was still relying on the Conseil Artistique des Musées Nationaux to acquire works of art on its behalf— faced an ‘acquisition desert’ since not a single artwork was bought by Conseil Artistique des Musées Nationaux for the MNAM.

The Parisian Biennial

In 1959, October, 2nd the first Paris Biennial was unveiled in the Musée d’Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris. While the Venice Biennale (founded in 1895) and the São Paulo Biennial (founded in 1951) paid tribute to renowned artists, the Parisian Biennial intended to attract and reward young talents. In the Paris Biennial archives, I found out that the Biennial aimed to welcome to Paris international artists from 40 different countries under the age of thirty-five.⁵⁶ Joan Mitchell (USA, 1926), Yves Klein (France, 1928), David Hamilton (UK, 1933), Jean Tinguely (Switzerland, 1925), Friedrich Hundertwasser (Austria, 1928) participated in the show.⁵⁷ Despite its low budget, the first Parisian biennial was a success. By hosting the Biennial in the museum of modern art, the museum participates in the recognition of contemporary artists. In 1959, Karel Appel was 38 years old, too old for the requirements and therefore never engaged in the Paris Biennial. However, his former co-member of the CoBrA group Pierre Alechinsky participated in the 1961 Paris Biennial. Today, in France, Alechinsky is the best-known member of the CoBrA group. France owns 607 works⁵⁸ of the Belgian artist in its collection. For instance, the etching *Avec plaisir* was bought in 1963, only two years after his appearance at the Paris Biennial. The biennales have therefore a large impact on the careers of artists invited to exhibit their works. Also, participating in a biennale ensure the exhibited artists an increase of interest from collectors, art dealers and museums. By not competing in the Paris Biennale, Karel Appel could not benefit from an increase in attention.

1.4 Malraux’s successors (1969 -1981)

From 1969 to 1981, two presidents and eight ministers succeeded each other. Two of these ministers had an impact on the cultural policy: Jacques Duhamel (1971-1973) and Michel Guy (1974-1976).⁵⁹

President Pompidou (1969-1974) agreed with the cultural policy set by his predecessors. He too had the ambition to make the most important works of humanity accessible to as many people as he could. However, he thought that the *maisons de la culture* randomly scattered through France were not the best option to achieve this. Pompidou imagined for Paris a place where contemporary artistic production would be offered to a wider audience. In his mind, The Centre Pompidou was probably the ultimate *maison de la culture*: a centre devoted to contemporary art, a public reading library, as well as a centre devoted to design and music. Pompidou intended to finally give the somewhat vague multifunctionality initiated by Malraux a concrete meaning. The Centre Pompidou was therefore not only a decision of cultural policy, but an act of government designed to

⁵⁶ ARCHIVES DE LA BIENNALE DE PARIS / 1959 Retrieved from <http://archives.biennaledeparis.org/fr/1959/index.htm> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ Videomuseum - Réseau des collections publiques d’art moderne et contemporain (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.videomuseum.fr/fr/search/ALECHINSKY%20Pierre%20Pierre> (February 25, 2019)

⁵⁹ Rigaud 1995, p. 69.

legitimize the place of culture in France. From 1969 onwards⁶⁰, a large part of the acquisition budget is allocated to the constitution of a collection for the future Centre Pompidou. Despite the small acquisition budget, the State still managed to buy between 350 and 600 works each year, but mostly relied on donations or on grants to compensate for insufficient funds. During the Pompidou mandate, five artworks Karel Appel's artworks were bought by museums, the Centre national des arts plastiques (Cnap)⁶¹ and the Fonds Municipal d'Art Contemporain (FMAC).⁶² One of the artworks was bought in 1969 on the advice of the curator Germain Viatte, a year after the CNAC exhibition "Karel Appel: Reliefs 1966–68". So far in my research, I have not figured out the reasons behind the other acquisitions. The development of the Pompidou Centre project marks a turning point in cultural policy and provides a more consistent plan than Malraux's.⁶³ Pompidou entrusted Duhamel with the assignment to make Paris function as a crossroads of living art, and not only in the field of fine arts. Jacques Duhamel, Minister of Cultural Affairs from 1971 to 1973 was a cultivated man, a friend of many artists, a great reader, an opera-lover, yet had no experience with culture as a government official. Duhamel wishes to go beyond the elitist culture set by Malraux and reserved to a privileged minority. He aims to widen culture to all citizens, and first to those who are victims of inequalities resulting from the level of education and their living standard. Duhamel took the opposite view of what was set by Malraux at the beginnings of the Fifth Republic.⁶⁴ During the Duhamel years, questions regarding museums or heritage were not the subject of discussions.⁶⁵

Of all the presidents of the Fifth Republic, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (1974-1981) is the one who has had the smallest impact on cultural policy.⁶⁶ For him, there is more than just classical culture. Yet, his open mind toward living art and new forms of culture did not result into major changes policy wise. For him, culture does not appear as a priority in his political career and has not generated any innovative proposals.⁶⁷ During the Giscard years (and as a result of the the policy of the *action culturelle*), the Ministry budget diminished to 0,47% by 1981, while it had reached 0,61% in the last year of Duhamel's Ministry.⁶⁸ Michel Guy, Minister of Culture from 1974 to 1976, had a background in classical culture. Yet, he is known to have highly encouraged contemporary production (in the visual arts, photography, theatre or dance). However, neither time nor the financial means have been given to him to fully execute his objectives. The lack of new budgetary means drove Guy to put the emphasis on heritage protection policy, by multiplying the measures of classification or registration to the inventory of historic monuments.⁶⁹ Guy managed to give a boost to the cultural landscape by attracting large donations of

⁶⁰ The Centre National des Arts Plastiques Website - Présentation de la collection. (2011, August 31). Retrieved from <http://www.cnap.fr/depuis-1976-une-politique-culturelle-en-faveur-de-la-creation-contemporaine-0> (Accessed January 22, 2019)

⁶¹ Public collector of living artists since 1791, the CNAP as we know it today was created by decree in 1982.

⁶² The FMAC, created in 1987, is the heir of the Parisian collections of works of art by living artists since 1816.

⁶³ Rigaud 1995, p. 81.

⁶⁴ Girard, A. (1996). "Les politiques culturelles d'André Malraux à Jack Lang : Ruptures et continuités, histoire d'une modernisation", *Hermès*, n° 20, p. 31.

⁶⁵ Goetschel P, Loyer E. (1994). "Les affaires culturelles au temps de Jacques Duhamel", *Vingtième Siècle revue d'histoire*, n°43, p.124.

⁶⁶ Rigaud 1995, p. 82.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 83.

⁶⁸ Eling 1999, p. 6.

⁶⁹ Rigaud 1995, p. 87.

modern art to provincial museums, art centres and to the Centre Pompidou.⁷⁰ Overall, as Eling mentioned, the years during which Giscard d'Estaing was president, were considered “a period of stagnation in French national cultural policy”.⁷¹ Apart from the few improvements made during the Duhamel and Guy's ministries, the priorities of the Ministry remained unclear.

Chapter 2 - Cultural policy under Jack Lang (1981-1986 and 1988-1993)

The first section of chapter two begins by examining the Ministry new budget. The next section presents the establishment of contemporary collections. Section 2.3 analyses the end of the elitist culture set by Malraux. In the last section of this chapter, criticism of Jack Lang's policy is touched upon.

2.1 The Ministry new budget

As President of the French Republic, François Mitterand played an important role in the advancement of cultural policy.⁷² Highly cultivated, he actively participated in the management of cultural policy. The *Grands Travaux*, the Ministry's budget, public commissions and the establishment of prestigious museums institutions all belonged to the President's main concerns. Indeed, the cultural policy —heavily weakened under the government of Valérie Giscard d'Estaing— becomes the priority of Mitterand's government.⁷³ The arrival of Jack Lang at the Ministry of Culture in 1981, breaks the elitist image of culture set up by Malraux. Culture is once again a government priority, which translates into a doubling of the Department's budget. In 1982, the ministry's budget significantly increased from 0,47% to 0,76%, and even reached 0,93% in 1986.⁷⁴ Jack Lang, who benefits from Mitterand's presidential support, knows how to put this money to use.⁷⁵ The increase of the cultural and State budget was used to invest in major cultural construction projects, cultural facilities, the enhancement of artistic production, and the professionalization of the cultural workforce, all of which resulted in a considerable increase in what French culture has to offer. The number of acquisitions increased considerably. Between 1960 and 1981, 414 artworks were annually bought⁷⁶ while from 1982 onwards, 1266 new works were bought every year. More than half of the acquisitions mainly went to city halls, the rest was divided between museums, embassies, courthouses and religious structures. Regarding the museums' acquisitions, the increase of the budget allowed museums to purchase new artworks. In fact, from 1982 to 1984, museums received money from the Regional Museum Art Acquisition Funds (FRAM - Fonds régionaux d'acquisition des musées) created in 1982.⁷⁷ As a result, the provincial museums' resources increased considerably. This allowed the Centre Pompidou or Les Abbatoirs Museum to purchase Karel Appel's artworks. In total 14 Appels (paintings, sculptures, lithographs and graphic works) were bought in the eighties by Museums,

⁷⁰ Rigaud 1995, p. 87.

⁷¹ Eling 1999, p. 6.

⁷² Poirrier 2002, p. 377.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 378.

⁷⁴ Négrier E. (2017). “Le ministère de la culture et la politique culturelle en France: exception culturelle ou exception institutionnelle?”, *Archive ouverte HAL*, p. 9.

⁷⁵ Poirrier, P. (2006), “Démocratie et culture. L'évolution du référentiel des politiques culturelles en France, 1959-2004”, *Archive ouverte HAL*, p. 5.

⁷⁶ Uher, C. (2013), p. 10. “Art contemporain Des collections publiques à des fonds perdus”, *Société Civile*, n°134, p. 10.

⁷⁷ Wangermée, Gournay 1991, p. 105.

Frac, and contemporary art centres. Some of the artworks bought by museum institutions were made by Appel during his Cobra years (1948-1951). The Centre Pompidou for instance, bought the sculpture *Vragende Kinderen* (1948), in 1985. This shows that the Centre Pompidou acknowledged the importance of the CoBrA group as an art movement, by investing in one of the pioneering work of art. However, this is the only Appel that the Centre Pompidou ever bought, nevertheless a very important one. This shows that the Centre Pompidou was exclusively interested in Appel as a CoBrA member and not as an individual artist. This statement can be confirmed knowing that the Centre Pompidou tries —when possible— to create an accurate representation by purchasing works of an artist throughout his entire career. By only purchasing one artwork of Appel, the Centre Pompidou reaffirms its interest in the avant-garde movement and not in the Dutch artist.

On the contrary, in the eighties, regional museums and FRACs have invested —maybe due to a restricted budget— in later works of Karel Appel made in the 70s or the 80s. These artworks were less expensive on the art market than the works made by Appel during the CoBrA years. Regional museums and the FRACs have a smaller acquisition budget than prestigious museums. In 1985, Les Abbatoirs, a regional museum located in Toulouse bought two lithographs from the Galerie A.B.C.D. The date in which these lithographs were made is unknown, however, lithographs are not as expensive as paintings. Furthermore, in 1987, the FRAC Occitanie Toulouse bought from the Galerie Michel Delorme, two works on paper, one dating from 1952 and another one dating from 1984. Overall, these acquisitions show the incentive from these cultural institutions to collect Appel's artworks as an individual artist (by purchasing later works) and as a member of the CoBrA movement by acquiring works from the early fifties.

Surprisingly, it is more the regional museums and the FRACs that contributed to acquiring Appel's works, more than the prestigious museums of the French capital.

2.2 The establishment of a Contemporary collection

On May 10 1982, the founding decree of 1959 is for the first time officially altered. The new decree considerably affects the missions of the Ministry of Culture. It follows Malraux's decree, but leads to new directions. One of the aspects of the decentralization policy was to make sure that culture is not only to be found in Paris but also in regions. The main purpose of this policy was to help artists who did not live in Paris to exhibit their art in regions. Between 1981 and 1983, the decentralization policy led to the creation of Regional Modern Art Funds (*Fonds régional d'art contemporain or FRAC*). The twenty-three FRACs —one fund per region— were driven by three missions: form a contemporary collection (of French and foreign artists) with their own means, exhibit it to the most diverse audience and raise awareness for contemporary forms of art. The idea behind the regional funds was to contribute in recognizing contemporary art of every medium (painting, sculpture, photography, design and crafts) to the widest audience.⁷⁸ This original initiative of the FRAC was created in 1982 and seems to be unique in the world.⁷⁹ From 1982 to the end of April 1986, the FRACs acquired 5438 artworks from 1377 different artists. A statistical study requested by Senate Cultural Affairs Committee in 1986 showed that 29,6% of the works were purchased from galleries and 57,8% of the works were purchased directly from the artists. This study reveals that the FRACs were

⁷⁸ Wangermée, Gournay 1991, p. 106.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

interested in studio work and in the work of young plastic artists.⁸⁰ The delegate of the plastic arts criticized the art purchase decisions of the FRACs, which were according to him depending too much on regional officials who had a rather confused idea of twentieth-century art, instead of relying on the advice of art specialists. Lang's Ministry aimed to welcome all the cultures of the world, in Paris and in the provinces. As a result, at the beginning, the FRACs bought in majority international and Parisian artists, putting aside French and regional artists.⁸¹ This was heavily criticized in 1998. However, today, the tendency is reversed, since the FRACs collections are mainly French-oriented. At their debut, the FRACs bought several Appels. For example, the FRAC Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azur bought *Fenêtre* in 1983 from Karel Appel himself and the FRAC Poitou-Charentes bought two works on paper called *Dessin* in 1985. However, since the eighties, not a single artwork of Karel Appel was bought by the FRACs. This might be explained by the criticism that the FRACs' collections were too foreign-focused. Since the nineties, the FRACs have focused their acquisitions towards French artists.

The FRACs are the number one contemporary public collector in France, but they are not the only ones. In fact, with the Ministry's goal of encouraging contemporary production, two new institutions were created: the Centre National d'art plastique (Cnap) and the Fonds Municipal d'Art Contemporain (FMAC). The Centre National d'art plastique (Cnap) created in 1982 is the economic actor of the artistic life: it is an operational relay for the Ministry of Culture. The Cnap has an extensive budget (11,4 million euros in 2011) that allows it to fulfill its three distinct missions: enrich, preserve and disseminate the State's works of art.⁸² The Cnap distributes financial aids to art professionals, sets exhibitions and directly commissions artworks to artists. In the eighties, the Cnap bought two Karel Appels —a painting and a lithograph. The current curator at the Cnap, Mr Bettinelli shared with me relevant information regarding the Cnap acquisitions.⁸³ In 1981, the Cnap decided to buy a recent work *Grass n°2* (1979) by Karel Appel from the Galerie Daniel Templon (Paris). At the same time, the same gallery donated the artwork *Femme et Oiseau* (1953) to the Centre Pompidou. It is understood by a letter written by Germain Viatte —then curator of the Centre Pompidou— addressed to the Ministry of Culture, that the artwork *Femme et Oiseau* will join the Centre Pompidou's collection, under the condition that the donation made by the gallery will occur at the same time as the purchase made by the Cnap. This shows the incentive of the Centre Pompidou to own the artwork *Femme et Oiseau*, an early work of Karel Appel, therefore more valuable than the oil on canvas *Grass n°2*. The Parisian gallery also had an incentive to donate the artwork to the Centre Pompidou. In fact, by entering a prestigious Museum collection, Karel Appel's value rises, which benefits the gallery owner.

The second institution created in the eighties was the FMAC, a municipal fund from Paris and its region created in 1987 to commission and purchase works of art from living artists. In that sense, the fund plays an important role in the cultural policy of the city of Paris by supporting artists and contemporary artistic production. The collection of the FMAC is additional to the collection of Parisian museums. The selected works are made by either French artists or foreign artists who live or work in Paris. The FMAC with its independent acquisition commission and its own budget acquired two lithographs from

⁸⁰ Wangermée, Gournay 1991, p. 106.

⁸¹ Uher, C. (2013). "Art contemporain Des collections publiques à des fonds perdus", *Société Civile*, n°134, p. 12.

⁸² The Centre National des Arts Plastiques Website - Présentation de la collection. (2011, August 31). Retrieved from <http://www.cnap.fr/depuis-1976-une-politique-culturelle-en-faveur-de-la-creation-contemporaine-0> (Accessed 22 January 2019)

⁸³ Phillipe Bettinelli, Email to author, January 22, 2019.

Karel Appel in 1970. However, since their last purchase, neither the Cnap or the FMAC bought any Karel Appel. Unfortunately, at this point in my research, I was not able to find out the reasons behind these choices.

2.3 Towards the end of the elitist culture

According to Eling,⁸⁴ artistic excellence and widening access to culture should be put on an equal footing. For Jack Lang, the Ministry should not have to choose between these two goals. While Malraux, distinguished between high and low culture, sought to bring the elitist culture to the largest audience and failed, Lang refused this distinction and sought to expand the definition of culture. For Lang, artistic excellence did not only mean high or elitist culture. In fact, he believed that high and low culture are equal and that there should be no rigid distinction between 'low' and 'high' culture. These two notions should fall under the umbrella of culture in general. Indeed, Malraux rejected popular culture and imposed the culture of the elite on the lowest social categories. Lang's desire was to broaden the State's cultural field, as well as widening the cultural audience beyond the traditionally cultivated elite.⁸⁵ For instance, he financially supported all forms of expression, including Anglo-Saxon popular culture, such as rock music and comics, as much as he showed his support for hip-pop or circus arts.⁸⁶

Also, Lang aimed to equally encourage every creative trend: "every school of thought and every creative trend has an equal chance, with no favouritism"⁸⁷ said Jack Lang. He equally encouraged high and low art. According to him, all forms of art should be represented: fine arts but also popular art such as graffiti, in other words, 'low art'. In fact, Jack Lang wanted the "rehabilitation of all forms of beauty in everyday life".⁸⁸ With Lang, the statement of cultural democracy allows the controversial recognition of cultural practices that were once considered minor by Malraux.⁸⁹ The Malrassian elitism had finally come to an end with Lang's Ministry.

During Jack Lang's years, five solo exhibitions of Karel Appel were held. Amongst them, two were set up in prestigious museums institutions: *Karel Appel : œuvres sur papier* in the Musée des Augustins, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Toulouse and *Karel Appel: Peinture-Sculpture-Dessin*, at the Galerie d'Art Contemporain des Musées de Nice and Galerie des Ponchettes, both in 1987. Following these exhibitions, Karel Appel donated to the Musée d'Art Moderne et d'Art Contemporain de Nice an oil on canvas: *Le cycliste* (1969). A later work called *Le chagrin*, was purchased by the same museum from the Galerie Michel Delorme in 1988. With the Ministry's goal to reduce cultural inequalities between Paris and the province, exhibiting Karel Appel's artworks in large provincial cities makes sense. However, setting up an exhibition in Paris in a renowned museum such as the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris or the Pompidou Centre would have certainly been costly to organize, but would have attracted a larger audience. With this in mind, it is unfortunate that both exhibitions were held in the south of the country.

⁸⁴ Eling 1999, p. 7.

⁸⁵ Girard, A. (1996). "Les politiques culturelles d'André Malraux à Jack Lang : Ruptures et continuités, histoire d'une modernisation", *Hermès*, n° 20, p. 35.

⁸⁶ Moulinier 2005, p. 17.

⁸⁷ Wangermée, Gournay 1991, p. 252.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 252.

⁸⁹ Poirrier 2002, p. 378.

2.4 Critics of Jack Lang's policy

Jack Lang turned decentralization and artistic production into the priorities of his Ministry. However, the preservation, upkeep and enhancement of the cultural heritage remained a concern of the Ministry.⁹⁰ The budget increase led to major construction works such as the Orsay Museum, the Institute of the Arab World, and the Bastille Opera, but deeply affected the cultural budget.⁹¹

Moreover, one of the objectives of Lang was to promote artistic production. However, instead of enriching museums's collections, official aids and subsidies were distributed to living artists.⁹² For example, the public authorities provided expensive material and technical tools to artists and provided them with an income and housing. With these actions, the government made it very attractive for artists to settle in France. The major construction works and by meeting the needs of its artists, the Ministry of Culture has overdone it and should have limited his claims and financial guidelines.

The commitment of Jack Lang and the desire to widen the cultural field, as well as the budget increase have certainly given a new breath to the cultural state policy. The establishment of the FRACs and the Cnap and their investments in contemporary artists allowed a better qualitative cultural offer. Finally, even if Paris remains the cultural capital, the national territory has experienced a real cultural homogenization.⁹³

Chapter 3 - The sudden surge of interest for Karel Appel (2015-2018)

This chapter begins with the exhibition review of *Karel Appel: works on paper* at the Centre Pompidou. The second section of this chapter touches upon the importance of donations, which resulted from the Centre Pompidou exhibition. Finally, the art market regarding Karel Appel is discussed in the last section of chapter three.

3.1 The exhibition review of *Karel Appel: works on paper* at the Centre Pompidou

After almost thirty years of silence from museums in terms of exhibitions, the year 2010 have revived Karel Appel. It is the widow of Karel Appel, Harriet Appel who - through the Karel Appel Foundation - has largely contributed to the enrichment of French national collections. The Dutch foundation gave 34 artworks to two prestigious Parisian museums, which helped to fill the gap of the French museums' collections. The Foundation first gave 21 works including 17 paintings and 4 sculptures to the Musée d'art Moderne de la Ville de Paris in 2015, which until then did not own any work of the Dutch artist. The year after, the Foundation gave to the Centre Pompidou 14 graphic works. Undoubtedly, these donations have put Karel Appel on the map again, since both of the museums paid tribute to him.

Although the donation to the Musée d'art Moderne de la Ville de Paris preceded the one made at the Centre Pompidou, it is the latter who paid tribute to the artist first.

This sudden surge of interest for Appel was questioned by the artist's widow, Harriet Appel who said during a telephone interview: "I'm a little bit surprised by all this, because for a while nothing happened to Appel, I see that many people are getting interested in

⁹⁰ Wangermée, Gournay 1991, p. 37.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

⁹² Heinich N. (2006). "Politique culturelle : les limites de l'Etat", *Le Débat*, n°142, p. 137.

⁹³ Poirrier 2002, p. 380.

Appel again, and there's new research about Appel, there are younger artists now looking at Appel, and all these things shed a new light on that œuvre."⁹⁴ The surge of interest regarding Appel can be explained by "the new generation of collectors, gallerists and art historians who are reassessing Second World War's art".⁹⁵ More specifically, curators by setting up exhibitions on Appel's entire oeuvre are trying to tackle the cliché that Karel Appel is always identified with CoBrA.

Did the Centre Pompidou exhibition succeed to increase the popularity of Karel Appel amongst the French public? Was the exhibition successful and persuasive enough to have a positive effect on the artist's recognition? Throughout this chapter, I will review the Centre Pompidou's exhibition, in order to evaluate whether the exhibition was successful. I decided to review the Centre Pompidou exhibition, since, on the one hand, it is the first time since 1987, that Appel's works are presented in a French museum and on the other hand, it is the first time ever that Appel's artworks are presented in a Parisian museum.

From 21 October 2015 to 11 January 2016, the Galerie d'art Graphique of the Centre Pompidou in Paris paid tribute to Karel Appel — on the occasion of the artist's ten years death anniversary — by presenting for the first time a retrospective of the Dutch artist's works on paper. This show follows a run of retrospectives on CoBrA artists and their works on paper, such as Pierre Alechinsky (2004), Asger Jorn (2009) and Christian Dotremont (2011). The show was created in the context of research on art in Europe after the Second World War and around the CoBrA movement. The exhibition at the Centre Pompidou covered Appel's entire career and gathered about eighty-five drawings — made between 1947 and 2006 — which were exhibited to the public for the first time.⁹⁶ This part of Appel's work is massive, but yet very little presented compared to his paintings. Curated by Jonas Storsve, the aim of the exhibition was to show that the works on paper represent a full-fledged work in the artist's oeuvre. In some cases, Appel's works on paper represent the basis of his work and are often used by him as the preliminary works for his paintings or sculptures. It is thanks to these works on paper, that Appel produced a repertoire of forms that he will reuse throughout his career.

The works are scattered around the five rooms of the exhibition in chronological order. The works in the first room date back from 1947 (one year before the creation of CoBrA) and the last room is dedicated to the latest works of his career. The audience evolves within the exhibition as in the life of the artist. The visit is diversified: the childish pencil-coloured drawings are harmoniously cohabiting with the collages, the gouaches and the China inks.⁹⁷ The audience is quickly sucked into the universe of the artist: childlike works that resemble doodles, African art, the imagery of animals. The works were selected for their vivid colours and spontaneous lines, common in Appel's work. The highlight of the exhibition is the 60s collages, a part of Appel's œuvres that is little-known by the

⁹⁴ Siegal, Nina. (2016, February 5). "Shedding New Light on the Late Dutch Artist Karel Appel." *New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.blumandpoe.com/sites/default/files/press/KA-NewYorkTimes02052016.pdf> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

⁹⁵ Centre Pompidou. (2015, October 12). *Press Pack Karel Appel: works on paper 21 October 2015-11 January 2016*, p. 3.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁹⁷ Tiano, L. (2015, December 19). "Karel Appel, un artiste "grand, massif, véhément et doux"". *L'Obs*. Retrieved from <https://www.nouvelobs.com/culture/20151216.OBS1513/karel-appel-un-artiste-grand-massif-vehement-et-doux.html> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

audience. In fact, this part of his plastic work is a perfect synthesis of the CoBrA years and the American contribution.⁹⁸

In addition to the drawings, a few black and white photographs were exhibited. Taken by Anton Corbijn (1955-) and Yann Charbonnier (1964-), they depict Appel in his atelier and his surrounding. With these photographs, the beholder is immersed in the intimacy of the artist and gets to know, not only Karel Appel the artist, but Karel as a person. In fact, a non-trivial detail pays tribute to the artist and his oeuvre. At the end of the exhibition, a black and white photograph of Karel Appel in his studio in Paris is displayed, in which keen eyes can observe tiny small sketches pinned on the wall. These exact same sketches are hung in the exhibition.

Unfortunately, the refined and neutral display did not contribute to the dynamism of the exhibition. In fact, the white walls, the lack of colours in the wall texts are not creating any exhibition atmosphere. On the contrary, it renders the visit quite boring and predictable. In the same way, the unoriginal display, the same wooden frames and the raw lighting (spotlights and neon lighting) are not flattering to the artworks.

The exhibition is not really educational and rather silent. The rooms are not titled, the museum path is not marked with arrows and the wall texts are minimal. Throughout the museum visit, no explanation is given regarding the artworks, neither on the CoBrA movement. Only a concise chronology made by Dr Franz W. Kaiser, at the beginning of the visit tries to fill in the instructive gap. The audience is therefore pushed to flip through the lightweight exhibition catalogue to learn more about Karel Appel and the CoBrA movement. Even though the chronological arrangement makes sense, it definitely lacks dynamism. As a result, the show is way too linear. Thematically presented, the visit would have been more vibrant. Also, adding his academic drawings with his typical expressionist works would have helped to galvanize the exhibition. The show also includes exhibitions' invitation cards in showcases, which are there to demonstrate Karel Appel's international career, but seem to be there to fill the space without adding to the exhibition itself.

In 2015, a Karel Appel exhibition is a rare event. Even if Karel Appel has been supported by the Galerie Lelong (Paris) during the period when museums remained silent, the impact of gallery exhibitions is less than that of the museums. It is very unfortunate that Karel Appel has never been exhibited at the Centre Pompidou before, while this cultural institution is a symbol in France for modern and contemporary art, but also the second largest museum of modern and contemporary art in the world. Also, even if the Centre Pompidou's donation came after the one made to the Musée d'art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (MAMVP), it is the Centre Pompidou that first paid tribute to the Dutch artist by presenting his works on paper. This was a missed opportunity for the MAMVP which should have set up an exhibition first. Instead, this museum waited for 2017 to exhibit Appel's entire production (all media included).

To conclude, the exhibition *Karel Appels: works on paper* recognized as works of art, a side of Appel's work often ignored by the audience. However, because of the artworks' choices and its display, the exhibition failed to convince its audience. An educational oriented exhibition with a more attractive display focused on the entire artistic production

⁹⁸ Crochet, A. (2015, October 27). "Karel Appel s'effeuille au Centre Pompidou". *Le Quotidien de l'Art*. Retrieved from <https://www.lequotidiendelart.com/articles/8131-karel-appel-s-effeuille-au-centre-pompidou.html> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

of Appel would have been more relevant and would have allowed a better understanding of the artist's œuvre. In fact, restricting the exhibition only to his drawings was not the smartest idea in order to make the artist known amongst the French general public. In my opinion, the exhibition was not successful and certainly did not have a positive effect on the artist's recognition, since the show only attracted 64 997 visitors⁹⁹ making it the least visited exhibition ever by The Centre Pompidou.

3.2 The importance of donations

French museums increase their own collection in different ways: acquisitions, donations or legacy. However, museums —due to their restricted acquisition budget— rely on donations or legacy from the artist himself, his family (when the artist has deceased) or by a foundation or private collectors.

Artists often donate their works to museums to avoid having their works scattered by the art market¹⁰⁰, or to get recognition. Donations to museums, therefore, guarantee a safety net for the artists' works. Karel Appel himself only donated one artwork to the Musée d'art Moderne et d'art Contemporain de Nice (MAMAC): *The Cyclist* in 1988.¹⁰¹ This is peculiar knowing that Appel had a prolific artistic production and produced more than ten thousands of paintings and drawings.¹⁰² At this point in my research, I have not figured out why Karel decided to donate only one artwork to French museums. He, however, donated seven artworks¹⁰³ to *l'Association l'Art Contemporain* in 1979, 1981 and 1982. From these artworks, some were donated to cities. In 2003, Appel donated a large part of his drawing collection to the Gemeentemuseum Den Haag in recognition of the museum's care for his works on paper that he deposited in 1983.¹⁰⁴

Most of the time, the donation is accepted by museums. In return, the museum sets an exhibition up with the received donation. For instance, the Karel Appel Foundation donation in 2015 and 2016 led up to two exhibitions: *Karel Appel: works on paper* at the Centre Pompidou and *Karel Appel: L'art est une fête* at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris. A gallery or museum exhibition is essential for an artist to gain exposure and to be known amongst the general public, preferably a renowned institution. In fact, the last two Parisian exhibitions put Karel Appel in the spotlight and provoked a surge of interest for the Dutch artist. In fact, the last major museum presentation of Karel Appel's works in France dates back to 1987, when different aspects of his work were shown in Toulouse and Nice. In the past, some donations have failed due to lack of responsiveness or involvement of the State. Discouraged by local reluctances, some artists gave up on donating to French cultural institutions. For example, the photographer Helmut Newton (1920-2004) chose to open a foundation in Berlin, while he initially wanted to donate

⁹⁹ Centre Pompidou, *Bilan d'activité 2016*, April 2017. Retrieved from <http://mediation.centrepompidou.fr/documentation/bilandactivite2016/bilan-activite-2016.pdf> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

¹⁰⁰ Uher, C. (2013). "Art contemporain Des collections publiques à des fonds perdus", *Société Civile*, n°134, p. 12.

¹⁰¹ Navigart. Retrieved from <https://www.navigart.fr/mamac/#/artworks?layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL%20Karel!%20APPEL%20Karel> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

¹⁰² Appel, Lambert & White, p. 90.

¹⁰³ See appendix.

¹⁰⁴ Karel Appel Foundation - Chronology. Retrieved from <https://karelappelfoundation.com/> (Accessed January 22, 2019)

some of his artworks to France¹⁰⁵, where he had lived for a long time. Did Karel Appel try to donate his works in the past? To answer this question I have contacted the Karel Appel Foundation, unfortunately to no avail.

Private collectors also have an incentive to donate artworks, since it ensures them a certain recognition. Regarding the private collectors' donations, the data collected shows that Karel Appel only benefited from donations from the eighties onwards and that Appel's works were donated by three different collectors. In 1987, Bernard Gheerbrant (1918-2010) librarian, donated 9 artworks¹⁰⁶ to the Centre Pompidou. In 1993, Vogue photographer, interior designer and art collector Anthony Denney (1913-1990), donated three artworks¹⁰⁷ to the Musée d'art moderne de Toulouse. At last, in 2008, Charlotte et Nicolaas van der Vorm donated *La promenade* to the Centre Pompidou.

3.3 The art market regarding Karel Appel

In the mid-twentieth century, many European and American artists came to Paris to live and create, art galleries and the *Salons* gave them some recognition. For example, in the 1950s, in Paris, one gallery played a unique and major role for contemporary art: the Galerie Ariel run by Jean Pollak. Grandson of an Austrian antique dealer, Jean Pollak showed many non-French artists, especially those from the CoBrA group.¹⁰⁸ Jean Pollak stated that “French museums have missed everything over the last 150 years. In 60 years of my career, I have sold only one painting to a French museum, a *Jorn* purchased by Beaubourg about 25 years ago – a great *Jorn*, *A Modification*”.¹⁰⁹ The collection of the Musée de Grenoble shows that two artworks originate from the Galerie Ariel, *Deux personnages* and *Oiseau palmier*. At this point in my research, I was not able to find out whether the works have been donated or sold by the gallery.

Pollak founded a network of correspondent galleries in Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Genova, Oslo, Turino amongst others. In Paris, galleries such as Galerie Colette Allendy, Galerie Pierre run by Jeanne Bucher or the Galerie René Drouin all represented new artists. Thanks to galleries, Paris in the 1950s became the most attractive city of Europe regarding contemporary art. The *Salon d'Automne* and especially the *Salon de Mai*, played an active role in the artistic scene, since they helped set up art trends and artistic movements. For instance, in 1949, Appel donated three paintings to the *Salon de Mai* in Paris¹¹⁰ and participated himself in the Salon in 1952 and 1953, then every year from 1957 to 1965.¹¹¹

Even if Appel had difficult relationships with galleries, the art dealer Jean Pollak showed a great interest in Appel by acquiring and selling his works.¹¹² Michel Ragon said that Jean

¹⁰⁵ Anonymous. (2016, October 28). Art : les collections publiques toujours plus dépendantes du privé. *Les Échos*. Retrieved from https://www.lesechos.fr/28/10/2016/LesEchos/22308-024-ECH_art---les-collections-publiques-toujours-plus-dependantes-du-privé.htm (Accessed January 22, 2019)

¹⁰⁶ See appendix.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁸ Lemoine, S. (2011). “Collection Jean Pollak”, *Artcurial Auction Catalogue*, 25 October 2011, Paris, p.110.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

¹¹⁰ Karel Appel Foundation - Chronology. Retrieved from <https://karelappelfoundation.com/> (Accessed January 22, 2019)

¹¹¹ Applicat-Prazan - Karel Appel. Retrieved from <https://www.applicat-prazan.com/fr/artistes/karel-appel> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

¹¹² Lemoine, S. (2011). “Collection Jean Pollak”, *Artcurial Auction Catalogue*, 25 October 2011, Paris, p. 110.

Pollak was the merchant of CoBrA.¹¹³ At that time, the Northern Group did not interest many people in Paris. In fact, even if some of the gallery's buyers were French collectors who remained loyal to him, Pollak sold 80% of the gallery's works abroad, more specifically in Northern Europe, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany and Italy.¹¹⁴ This partly explains why most CoBrA artists are unknown to the French general public, and why they are quite underestimated, compared to young contemporary artists.

The Belgium art dealer Samuel Vanhoegaerden pointed out that the CoBrA market is relatively calm: "There are few high-quality paintings on the market today. Collectors keep their works because the prices are stable but also because they like these works they did not acquire for speculative purposes".¹¹⁵ The members Jorn, Appel and Alechinsky have the most international network of collectors and are therefore the most expensive artists within the CoBrA group. Appel is ranked third behind Jorn and Alechinsky. According to Michel Ragon, "CoBrA is Jorn. He is the great painter of CoBrA. Without Jorn there would not have been CoBrA".¹¹⁶ This explains the rank of Jorn within the CoBrA group.

Regarding the future of the members of the CoBrA group, Jean Pollak predicted a few years ago that "They will follow the paths traveled by the 'fauves'. Their canvases will be worth millions of euros".¹¹⁷ According to Artprice, in 2017, Karel Appel was ranked 260 out of the 500 artists by auction turnover in 2017.¹¹⁸ According to the same source, 322 lots of Karel Appel were sold in 2017 for a total of \$ 6,816,646 and the most expensive lot was sold for \$ 487,617. Appel's record in public sales peaks at 746,000 euros (in 2002 at Christie's New York). Most recently, on October 20, 2018, *Tigerbird* (1952) was sold 500,000 euros at Sotheby's France.¹¹⁹ Appel's most expensive works in public auctions are those from the very beginning of the CoBrA years (1948-1951), the 1950s to the early 1960s.

It seems that being part of CoBrA was both a blessing and a curse for Appel. Indeed, the influential and popular collective got a lot of attention from the very beginning from art dealers and later from museums, which definitely helped Appel get his career off the ground. While Karel Appel as a member of CoBrA received a lot of attention, his works outside CoBrA did not spur the same recognition. Today, this is still translated within the auction market. The artworks made by Appel during his CoBrA years are more valuable than the ones made later in his career.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

¹¹⁵ Tariant, E. (2018, December 11). La force tranquille des CoBrA. *Le Temps*. Retrieved from: <https://www.letemps.ch/culture/force-tranquille-cobra> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

¹¹⁶ Lemoine 2011, p. 32.

¹¹⁷ Tariant, E. (2018, December 11). La force tranquille des CoBrA. *Le Temps*. Retrieved from: <https://www.letemps.ch/culture/force-tranquille-cobra> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

¹¹⁸ Artprice - Top 500 artists: #251 to #300. Retrieved from: <https://www.artprice.com/artprice-reports/the-art-market-in-2017/ranking-of-the-top-500-artists-by-auction-turnover-in-2017/top-500-artists-251-to-300> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

¹¹⁹ Artprice - Tigerbird, 1952, by Karel APPEL (1921-2006). Retrieved from: <https://www.artprice.com/artist/711/karel-appel/painting/16988817/tigerbird> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

Chapter 4 - Conclusion

In this final chapter, I draw the conclusions of my study by answering my research question. I then express the implications of my research's results. Finally, I acknowledge the limitations of my study.

As stated in the introduction, this thesis was carried out in order to highlight the reasons why the Dutch artist Karel Appel is little-known amongst the French general public. Both French cultural policy and circumstances outside cultural policy have affected Appel's recognition. On a French cultural policy level, Malraux's elitist view on art and culture, his strong taste for modern renowned artists, his negligence towards Post-War and contemporary artists, as well as making heritage a Ministry's priority did not benefit Karel Appel. However, external circumstances to cultural policy such as the overlook of the CoBrA group in the 1950s, Appel's non-participation to the biggest Parisian fair had an impact on Appel's popularity.

During the Jack Lang years, cultural policy —no longer elitist— sought to integrate all social classes, whilst broadening the cultural field. In addition, the increase in the Ministry's budget allowed the establishment of a State collection of contemporary art in the regions (FRACs and Museums). However, these efforts were insufficient to spur Appel's recognition. Also, the interest that prestigious museums have shown in Karel Appel as a member of the CoBrA group, have only reinforced the cliché that Appel is always identified with CoBrA. Between the end of the 1980s and the mid-2010s, the museum's curators seem to have lost interest in the artist, which had a profound impact on the artist's popularity.

Finally, in 2010 Appel's presence on the cultural landscape has been revived. Museums have tried to tackle the cliché that Appel is always identified with CoBrA by throwing him solo exhibitions. Unfortunately, the unsuccessful and almost unnoticed Centre Pompidou's retrospective did not have a significant effect on the artist's recognition.

In a broader sense, this study intends on opening a debate amongst curators, as well as the museum's board of acquisition, to rethink the status of French national museum collection. This research emphasizes the impact of museums on artist recognition within the audience. In fact, the role of museums is to present and promote artists. This is what Raymonde Moulin¹²⁰ defends by claiming that the role of curators is to spur an artist's recognition. This can be done either through exhibitions in the museum's permanent collections, or through temporary exhibitions. Today, however, French national museums with their limited acquisition budget are struggling with the prices set by the art market and, as a result, can not always afford contemporary artists. This has led national museums to acquire artworks via donations, via sponsorship or thanks to their own acquisition budget. However, when purchasing new works, the museums tend to direct their choice of acquisitions towards inexpensive works by leaving aside renowned living artists. Solutions can be found in encouraging museum's self-financing, sponsorships or by facilitating donations. For example, the donation made by the Karel Appel Foundation has made it possible to enrich museums permanent collections on a long-term basis, but also to encourage museums to present the artist through temporary exhibitions. By not doing so, national museums run the risk to become only temporary 'windows' by presenting contemporary artists through temporary exhibitions, but without a sound

¹²⁰ Moulin, R. (1986). "Le marché et le musée. La constitution des valeurs artistiques contemporaines", *Revue française de sociologie*, 27-3, p. 383.

permanent contemporary collection. This vicious cycle leaves many contemporary artists to remain unknown amongst the general public.

This study had a focus on Karel Appel, but can also be expanded to other contemporary artists who do not have any particular history with France, but who are internationally famous but little-known in France. For example, the Japanese artist Takashi Murakami (b. 1962) was very little-known by the French audience until his works were presented at the Château de Versailles in 2010.¹²¹ Murakami was belatedly invited by French museums, long after being revealed by collectors. The role of 'mega-collectors' in the art world is obvious since they contribute to a large extent —like museums— to artist's recognition. However, and unlike public institutions, these wealthy collectors have the means to acquire works at exorbitant prices, contributing strongly to raise the ratings of artists.¹²² Asserting their power, they do not hesitate to take financial risks during these acquisitions, that can not be carried by museums curators. This hegemony of the market weakens the role of national museums in their mission of discovering talents. The museums share their authority with a variety of actors, including collectors, who not only buy works at (very) high prices, but also open their own museums. In the long term, this can lead to a situation in which private museums —held by collectors— are at the forefront of contemporary art, while national museums remain far behind with an outdated permanent collection. Like Karel Appel, Murakami's recognition was built outside the museums institutions. Indeed, his recognition by museums came after that of the art market.¹²³ This late recognition can be explained either by financial difficulties that museums are facing or by Murakami's style, too inspired by popular culture (low art) not worth being presented by national museums. Also, Murakami, as a 'star artist', evolves in a particular media hype aesthetic and financial "bubble" that makes the conditions of his presence in museums discussed.¹²⁴ By being exhibited in private spaces and by being neglected by national museums, Murakami did not benefit from the French audience recognition. Through this research on Karel Appel, I believe that being presented by national museums in their permanent collection is essential to be recognized as an artist.

Unavoidably, this study has some limitations. I came across some difficulties collecting data regarding the cultural policy's history from 1993 to 2015. It must be noted that having more data on that period would have helped me get more clues into the reasons why Karel Appel is little-known in France today. Therefore, I leave this for further research.

Moreover, at this point in my research, and despite my efforts, national museums, FRACs, as well as contemporary art centres have not always been able to directly answer my questions regarding the circumstances of acquisitions of Karel Appel's works. More specifically, these institutions have often been silent on the reasons why they acquired Appel's works at specific times. This can be researched more thoroughly in the future, perhaps via interviewing curators.

¹²¹ Ancel, P. (2016, March 11). Murakami, the market, the museum. *Culture & Musées*. Retrieved from: <https://journals.openedition.org/culturemusees/1005> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

¹²² *Ibidem*.

¹²³ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

Literature:

- ANCEL Pascale, "Murakami, le marché, le musée". *Culture & Musées*, 27 (2016), p. 83-98. Retrieved from: <http://journals.openedition.org/culturemusees/1005> (Accessed January 22, 2019)
- ANONYMOUS, "Art : les collections publiques toujours plus dépendantes du privé". *Les Échos*, 28 October 2016. Retrieved from: https://www.lesechos.fr/28/10/2016/LesEchos/22308-024-ECH_art---les-collections-publiques-toujours-plus-dependantes-du-prive.htm (Accessed January 22, 2019)
- APPEL Karel, LAMBERT Jean-Clarence & WHITE Kenneth, *Karel Appel : works on paper*, New York: Abbeville Press, 1980.
- BERGER Peter, VRIJMAN Jan, VINKENOOG Simon, *Écrits sur Karel Appel*, Paris, Éditions Galilée, 1983.
- CAUNE Jean, "La politique culturelle initiée par Malraux", *EspacesTemps.net*, Travaux, (2005), p. 1-9.
- CENTRE POMPIDOU, *Press Pack Karel Appel: works on paper 21 October 2015-11 January 2016*, 12 October 2015, Paris, Centre Pompidou.
- CENTRE POMPIDOU, *Bilan d'activité 2016*, April 2017. Retrieved from: <http://mediation.centrepompidou.fr/> (Accessed February 27, 2019)
- CROCHET Alexandre, "Karel Appel s'effeuille au Centre Pompidou", *Le Quotidien de l'Art*, n°930, 27 October 2015. Retrieved from: <https://www.lequotidiendelart.com/articles/8131-karel-appel-s-effeuille-au-centre-pompidou.html> (Accessed February 27, 2019)
- DEROO Rebecca J., *The museum establishment and contemporary art: the politics of artistic display in France after 1968*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- ELING Kim, *The Politics of Cultural Policy in France*, London, MacMillan, 1999.
- FISHER John A, 'High art versus low art', in: GAUT Berys, MCIVER LOPES Dominic, *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*. London and New York, Routledge, 2001, p. 473-484.
- GIRARD Augustin, "Les politiques culturelles d'André Malraux à Jack Lang : Ruptures et continuités, histoire d'une modernisation", *Hermès*, n° 20 (1996), p. 27-41.
- GOETSCHER Pascale, LOYER Emmanuelle, "Les affaires culturelles au temps de Jacques Duhamel", *Vingtième Siècle revue d'histoire*, n°43 (1994), p. 121-124.
- HEINICH Nathalie, "Politique culturelle : les limites de l'Etat", *Le Débat*, n°142 (2006), p. 134-143.
- LE DIBERDER Anne, "La notion de musée chez André Malraux", in: *Carnet de recherches du Comité d'histoire du ministère de la Culture sur les politiques, les*

institutions et les pratiques culturelles (online), 2016. Retrieved from: <https://chmcc.hypotheses.org/2360> (Accessed February 21, 2019)

- LEMOINE Serge 2011, "Collection Jean Pollak", *Artcurial Auction Catalogue*, 25 October 2011, Paris.
- MONNIER Gérard, *L'art et ses institutions en France : de la Révolution à nos jours*, Paris, Gallimard, 1995.
- MOULIN Raymonde, "Le marché et le musée. La constitution des valeurs artistiques contemporaines", *Revue française de sociologie*, 27-3 (1986), p. 369-395.
- MOULINIER Pierre, *Les politiques publiques de la culture en France*, Paris, Puf, 2005.
- MOULINIER Pierre, "La dimension territoriale de la démocratisation culturelle", in: *Comité d'histoire du ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Centre d'histoire de Sciences-Po Paris, La démocratisation culturelle au fil de l'histoire contemporaine* (online), 2012-2014. Retrieved from: <https://chmcc.hypotheses.org/389> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- NÉGRIER Emmanuel, "Le ministère de la culture et la politique culturelle en France: exception culturelle ou exception institutionnelle?", *Archive ouverte HAL* (2017), p. 1-20.
- POIRRIER Philippe, "La politique culturelle en débat. Introduction", *Archive ouverte HAL* (2012), p.19-40.
- POIRRIER Philippe, *L'État et la culture en France au XXe siècle*, Paris, Librairie Générale Française, 2000.
- POIRRIER Philippe, *Les politiques culturelles en France*, La documentation Française, Paris, 2002.
- POIRRIER Philippe, "Démocratie et culture. L'évolution du référentiel des politiques culturelles en France, 1959-2004", *Archive ouverte HAL* (2006), p. 105-129.
- RAGON Michel, *Karel Appel: de Cobra à un art autre*, Paris, Éditions Galilée, 1988.
- RIGAUD Jacques, *L'Exception culturelle : culture et pouvoirs sous la Ve République*, Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1995.
- SAINT-GILLES Laurence, "La culture comme levier de la puissance : le cas de la politique culturelle de la France aux États-Unis pendant la guerre froide", *Histoire, économie & société*, 2009/4 (28e année), p. 97-109. Retrieved from: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-histoire-economie-et-societe-2009-4-page-97.htm> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- SIEGAL Nina, "Shedding New Light on the Late Dutch Artist Karel Appel." *New York Times*, 5 February 2016. Retrieved from: <https://www.blumandpoe.com/sites/default/files/press/KA-NewYorkTimes02052016.pdf> (Accessed February 25, 2019)

- STORSVE Jonas 2015, *Karel Appel. Works on paper*, exhibition catalogue, 21 October 2015 -11 January 2016, Paris.
- TARIANT Eric, “La force tranquille des CoBrA”, *Le Temps*, 11 December 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.letemps.ch/culture/force-tranquille-cobra> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- TIANO Lise, “Karel Appel, un artiste “grand, massif, véhément et doux””, *L’Obs*, 19 December 2015. Retrieved from: <https://www.nouvelobs.com/culture/20151216.OBS1513/karel-appel-un-artiste-grand-massif-vehement-et-doux.html> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- UHER Charlotte, “Art contemporain Des collections publiques à des fonds perdus”, *Société Civile*, n°134 (2013), p. 9-24. Retrieved from: <http://www.ifrap.org/education-et-culture/art-contemporain-des-collections-publiques-fonds-perdus> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- WANGERMÉE Robert, GOURNAY Bernard, *La Politique culturelle de la France, programme européen d'évaluation*, Paris, La Documentation française, 1988.
- WANGERMÉE Robert, GOURNAY Bernard, *Cultural policy in France*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1991.

Websites:

- ARCHIVES DE LA BIENNALE DE PARIS. Retrieved from: <http://archives.biennaledeparis.org> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- Applicat-Prazan - Karel Appel. Retrieved from: <https://www.applicat-prazan.com/fr/> (Accessed February 25, 2019)
- Cnap | Centre national des arts plastiques. (2018, January 16). Retrieved from: <http://www.cnap.fr> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- Het Cobra Museum voor Moderne Kunst in Amstelveen. Retrieved from: <https://www.cobra-museum.nl> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- Karel Appel Foundation. Retrieved from: <https://karelappelfoundation.com/> (Accessed February 21, 2019)
- Videomuseum - Réseau des collections publiques d'art moderne et contemporain. Retrieved from: <https://www.videomuseum.fr> (Accessed February 21, 2019)

Appendix: Collection

Musée National d'Art Moderne (Centre Pompidou):

1. *Femme et oiseau*, 1953, Huile sur toile, 97 x 130 cm, Inscriptions :S.D.B.DR. : K. Appel 53, Don de l'artiste, 1981. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1981-90.
2. *Les prisonniers*, 1947, Gouache et encre sur papier, 35 x 50 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-653.
3. *Les prisonniers*, 1947, Encre sur papier, 35 x 50 cm. Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016. Inv. : AM 2016-654
4. *Une tête*, 1969, Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 64 x 50 cm, 76,20 x 56,50 (feuille) cm, (Galerie La Hune), Inscriptions : S.D.B.DR. : Appel 69, N.B.G. : 1/75. Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1227.
5. *Au printemps*, 1969, Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 50 x 60 cm, 56,70 x 76,50 (feuille) cm. Inscriptions : S.D.B.DR. : Appel 69. N.B.G. : 1/75. Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1234.
6. *Couple*, 1969, Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 46,5 x 63 cm, 57 x 76,50 (feuille)cm, (Galerie La Hune), Inscriptions: S.D.B.DR. : Appel 69, N.B.G. : 1/75. Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1231.
7. *La Promenade*, 1950, Huile sur toile, 85,5 x 144,5 cm, Inscriptions :S.D.B.DR: K.Appel/50. Don de Charlotte et Nicolaas van der Vorm 2008. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2008-115.
1. *Deux personnages*, 1969, Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 50 x 64,2 cm, 57 x 76,50 (feuille) cm, (Galerie La Hune), Inscriptions : S.D.B.DR. : Appel 69. N.B.G. : 1/75. Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1228.
2. *Enfants quémendant*, 1949, Craie de couleur sur papier, 65 x 50 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-659.
3. *Enfants quémendant*, 1949, Craie de couleur sur papier, 65 x 50 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-660.
4. *Le cheval*, 1969, Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 50 x 64 cm, 56,70 x 76,50 (feuille) cm, (Galerie La Hune), Inscriptions : S.D.B.DR. : Appel 69. N.B.G. : 1/75. Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1233.
5. *Tête*, [1969], Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 50,3 x 65,2 cm, Inscriptions : S.B.DR. : Appel, N.B.G. : 1/60, Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1226.
6. *Deux visages*, 1969, Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 50 x 64 cm, 57 x 76,50 (feuille) cm, (Galerie La Hune), Inscriptions : S.D.B.DR.: Appel 69, N.B.G. : 1/75. Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1230.
7. *Homme*, 1969, Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 63,5 x 47 cm, 76 x 57 (feuille) cm (Galerie La Hune), Inscriptions : S.D.B.DR.: Appel 69, N.B.G. : 1/75. Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1229.
8. *Vragende Kinderen* (Enfants quémandeurs),1948, Éléments en bois cloutés sur panneau de bois, peinture à l'huile, 88 x 60 x 17 cm, Inscriptions :S.D.B.DR. à la peinture verte : CK. Appel / 48, Achat 1985, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1985-128.
9. *Créatures venues de l'espace n° 2*, 1948, Encre sur papier, 45 x 54 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-656.
10. *Sans titre*, 1948, Gouache, aquarelle et encre sur papier, 40 x 31 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-655.
11. *Sans titre*, 1949, Feutre sur papier, 35,5 x 27,2 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-657.
12. *Sans titre*, 1949, Gouache, aquarelle et encre sur papier, 35,5 x 27 cm. Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-658.
13. *Sans titre*, 1950, Craie de couleur sur papier, 35 x 27 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-661.
14. *Sans titre*, 1950, Craie de couleur sur papier, 35 x 27 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-662.
15. (*Sans titre*) (*Pour Jorn*), 1976, Lithographie sur vélin d'Arches, Inscriptions :Appel, Planche du portfolio, Don Fondation Asger Jorn, 1978, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1978-369 (2). Pour Jorn Portfolio de dix-neuf éléments dont quatorze planches dans un emboîtement. Emboîtement entoilé avec un texte sérigraphié. 1976.

16. *Sans titre*, 2006, Gouache et collage de papier sur papier, 45,2 x 60,7 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-666.
17. *Animal n°6*, 1951, Gouache et craie de couleur sur papier, 49 x 69 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-663.
18. *Animal n°8*, 1951, Gouache et craie de couleur sur papier, 49 x 69 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016. Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-664.
19. *Visage de femme*, 1961, Gouache et collage de papier sur papier, 63,7 x 49,8 cm, Don Karel Appel Foundation, 2016, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 2016-665.
20. *Deux têtes*, 1969, Lithographie couleur sur papier vélin d'Arches, 50,6 x 59,8 cm, 57 x 76,50 (feuille) cm, (Galerie La Hune), Inscriptions : S.D.B.D.R. : Appel 69, N.B.G. : 1/75, Don M. Bernard Gheerbrant, 1987, Numéro d'inventaire : AM 1987-1232.

Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (MAMVP):

1. *Groene figuur (Personnage vert)*, 1947. Huile sur bois, 79 x 34 x 22 cm. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-179.
2. *Schrik in het gras (Effroi dans l'herbe)*, 1947, Huile sur toile, 95 x 70 cm, S.H.G. : ck. Appel. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-184.
3. *Dierenwereld (Monde animal)*, 1948, Huile sur toile, 96 x 126 cm, S.D.H.G. : ck. appel 48. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-191.
4. *Boom (Arbre)*, 1949, Gouache sur bois, 98 x 75 x 62 cm. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-181.
5. *Kleine hiep hiep hoera (Petit Hip Hip Hip Hourra)*, 1949, Huile sur toile, 74 x 100,5 cm, S.D.H.G. : ck. appel 49. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-188.
6. *Nachtvogels (Oiseaux de nuit)*, 1949, Tempera, crayon de cire et graphite sur toile, 75 x 100 cm, S.D.H.G. : ck. appel 49. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-189.
7. *Dieren boven het dorp (Animaux au-dessus du village)*, 1951, Huile sur toile, 130 x 161 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : K. appel 51. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-176. Œuvre exposée Musée niveau 2.
8. *Zwarte maagd (Vierge noire)*, 1952, Huile sur toile, 130 x 89 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : K. appel 52. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-175. Œuvre exposée Musée niveau 2.
9. *Desert Dancers (Danseurs du désert)*, 1954, Huile sur toile, 115,5 x 164 cm, S.D.B.G. : ck. Appel 54. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-185.
10. *Crying Crab (Crabe hurlant)*, 1954, Huile sur toile, 110 x 140 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : ck. appel 54. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-190.
11. *Wounded nude (Nu blessé)*, 1959, Huile sur toile, 183 x 243 cm, S.D.B.G. : Appel. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-183.
12. *L'homme hibou n°1*, 1960, Acrylique sur souche d'olivier, 157 x 90 x 52 cm. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-182. Œuvre exposée Musée niveau 2.
13. *Burning Child with Hoop (Enfant en flammes avec un cerceau)*, 1961, Huile sur toile, 300 x 230 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : appel 61. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-194.
14. *Machteld* de la série *Nude*, 1962, Huile sur toile, 195 x 130 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : appel 1962. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-192.
15. *Woman with Flowers n°4 (Femme aux fleurs n°4)*, 1963, Fleurs en plastique et huile sur toile, 115 x 89 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : C Appel 63. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-174
16. *Waiting Woman (Femme en attente)*, 2000, Huile sur toile, 260 x 200 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : K. appel 2000. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-177.
17. *Before the Catastrophe (Avant la catastrophe)*, 1985, Diptyque, Huile sur toile, 243 x 366 cm. Chaque panneau : 244 x 183 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : appel 1962. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-193.
18. *Tête pomme de terre*, 1974, Huile sur toile, 100 x 100 cm, S.D.B.D.R. : Appel 74. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-187.

19. *The Beheaded (Les décapités)*, 1982, Quadriptyque, Huile sur toile, 193 x 672 cm, S.D.B.G. sur le panneau 2 : K. appel 2000. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-178.
20. *De ongewenste dynamische sprong in de geluidloze ruimte van het paard (La chute du cheval dans l'espace silencieux)*, 2000, Objets trouvés et huile sur bois, 144,8 x 243,8 x 162,6 cm. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-180.
21. *Nude Figure*, 1989, Huile sur toile, 193 x 243 cm. Donation de la Karel Appel Foundation en 2015. Inv. : AMVP-2015-186.

MAMAC (Musée d'art moderne et d'art contemporain de Nice):

1. *Le cycliste*, 1969, Huile sur toile et bois peint en relief, 250 x 200 cm, S.B.DR.: Appel. Don de l'artiste en 1988. Inv. : 988.2.2.
2. *Le chagrin*, 1982, Huile sur toile, 191 x 191 cm, Achat à la Galerie Michel Delorme en 1988. Inv. : 988.2.1.

Musée d'Arts de Nantes:

1. *Eloge de la Folie*, 1975, Lithographie sur papier, 78,6 x 61,2 cm, 65,9 x 50,9 cm (hors marge), Tirage : 78/110, S.B.DR. : Appel, N.B.G. : 78/110, T.R.B.DR. : "Eloge de la Folie ». Acquisition Artothèque/Galerie de prêt de Nantes. Inv. : 2011.3.10.E

Musée d'Art Moderne de Saint-Étienne Métropole:

1. *Composition*, 1957, Lithographie en couleurs, tirée sur papier 56,9 x 76,5 cm. Achat à la Galerie L'Astrée en 1970.

Musée de Grenoble:

1. *Deux personnages*, 1974, Peinture et acrylique sur papier, 59 x 76,5 cm, S.D.B.DR. à la peinture : Appel 74 Inscription à l'inventaire en 2008, MG 2008-0-10, ancien n° dans autre organisme : 7779. Provenance: Galerie Ariel.
2. *Oiseau palmier*, 1974, Gouache et peinture sur papier 59,7 x 79,7 cm, S.D.B.G. à la peinture : Appel 74 Inscription à l'inventaire en 2008 MG 2008-0-9 ancien n° dans autre organisme : 7899. Expositions : Démon et merveilles : Grenoble (France), Bibliothèque Arlequin, 19 mai 2015-13 juin 2015. Provenance: Galerie Ariel.
3. *Homme et oiseau*, 1968, Peinture, Tableau-relief, Plâtre, bois peint, contre-plaqué, polystyrène expansé polychrome 324 x 220 x 60 cm S.D.B.DR.: Appel 68, Achat à l'artiste en 1969. Fonds national d'art contemporain. Dépôt au Musée de Grenoble le 30/10/1972 DG 1972-1 n° inv. déposant ou prêteur : 9683 ancien n° dans l'organisme : MG D 72-1. Expositions : Acquisitions récentes, Musée de Grenoble, avril 1973. • Appel, Bâle, Galerie Beyeler, 26 mars - 4 juin 1988.

Les Abbatoirs (Musée de France):

1. *L'Oiseau rouge et ses amis*, Lithographie, 83,5 x 62,7 cm ; 72,1 x 52,7 cm (hors marge). Tirage : 115/125 ; S.B.DR. dans la marge : appel ; T.H.G.R. : L'oiseau rouge & ses amis. Achat à la Galerie A.B.C.D. - Christian Cheneau en 1985. Mairie de Toulouse. Dépôt aux les Abbatoirs - Frac Midi-Pyrénées en 07/1995. N° de dépôt : D.1995.2.18.
2. *Fond bleu*, Lithographie, 83,8 x 62,9 cm ; 71,7 x 52,8 cm (hors marge), Tirage : 124/125, S.B.DR. dans la marge : appel. Achat à la Galerie A.B.C.D. - Christian Cheneau en 1985. Mairie de Toulouse. Dépôt aux les Abbatoirs - Frac Midi-Pyrénées en 07/1995. N° de dépôt : D. 1995.2.19.
3. *Le chat*, 1951, Gouache sur papier, 75 x 100 cm, S.B.DR. : K.appel. Donation de M. Anthony Denney en 1993. Musée d'art moderne de Toulouse. Dépôt aux les Abbatoirs - Frac Midi-Pyrénées en 07/1995. N° de dépôt : D.1995.3.28.
4. *Boy in street*, 1953, Huile sur toile, 96,6 x 130 cm, S.D.B.DR. : K.appel'53. Donation de M. Anthony Denney en 1993. Musée d'art moderne de Toulouse. Dépôt aux les Abbatoirs - Frac Midi-Pyrénées en 07/1995. N° de dépôt : D.1995.3.29.
5. *Tête imaginaire*, 1955, Huile sur toile, 150,5 x 120,5 cm, S.D.B.DR. : K.appel'55, Donation de M. Anthony Denney en 1993. Musée d'art moderne de Toulouse. Dépôt aux les Abbatoirs - Frac Midi-Pyrénées en 07/1995. N° de dépôt : D.1995.3.30.

LAAC – Lieu d'Art et Action Contemporaine de Dunkerque:

1. *Appel Circus*, 1978, Acrylique sur bois, dimensions variables. Provenance : Données par l'artiste à l'Association L'Art Contemporain le 10 juin 1981 et données ensuite à la ville de Dunkerque le 12 février 1982.
2. 30 estampes. Provenance : Données par l'artiste à l'Association L'Art Contemporain le 10 juin 1981 et données ensuite à la ville de Dunkerque le 12 février 1982.
3. *Portrait/La Chouette*, 1975, gaufrage et acrylique sur papier, ©Hugo Maertens ; Acheté à l'artiste par l'association l'art Contemporain le 24 novembre 1977, ensuite donation à la ville de Dunkerque le 12 juin 1981. A l'origine de la collection du LAAC et de la création du musée, l'association l'Art Contemporain, fondée par Gilbert Delaine, est un partenaire privilégié du LAAC. Elle le soutient activement avec pour objectifs de :
4. *Tête*, 1966, acrylique sur assemblage en contreplaqué, ©Jacques Quecq d'Henriprêt. Donation de l'artiste à l'Association l'Art contemporain, ensuite donation à la ville le 29 septembre 1983.
5. *Sans titre/Assiette*, céramique émaillée, produite en cinq exemplaires par la galerie Nova Spectra à La Haye.
6. *Tête*, acrylique sur assemblage de contreplaqué, 1966, ©JQH. Donation de l'artiste à l'association l'Art Contemporain le 30 octobre 1979, ensuite donation à la ville de Dunkerque le 12 juin 1979.
7. *Animal blessé*, 1962, souche d'olivier peinte. Donation de l'artiste à l'Association l'Art Contemporain du 30 octobre 1979, ensuite don à la ville de Dunkerque du 30 juin 2003.
8. *Fleur et Papillon*, 1969, bois. Donation de l'artiste à l'association l'Art Contemporain le 30 octobre 1979, ensuite donation de l'association l'Art Contemporain à la ville de Dunkerque du 12 juin 1981.
9. *Poisson*, 1982, inox peint, Don de l'artiste à l'association L'Art Contemporain en novembre 1982 ; donation de l'association L'art Contemporain du 30 mars 2004.
10. *Inlassable Pou*, 1978, encre sur papier. Œuvre achetée à la galerie Lelong en novembre 2006.
11. *C'est la Loi*, 1978, encre sur papier. Œuvre achetée à la galerie Lelong en novembre 2006.
12. *Trois Oeufs sur le gazon*, 1978, encre sur papier. Œuvre achetée à la galerie Lelong en novembre 2006.

FRAC – Occitanie Toulouse:

1. *Sans titre*, 1952, Crayons de couleur sur papier, 18 x 18 cm, S.D.B.DR. : K.appel'52. Achat à la Galerie Michel Delorme en 1987. N° de dépôt : D.1995.1.6.
2. *Femme*, 1984, Acrylique sur papier, entouré de carton ondulé, marouflé sur carton, 242 x 165 cm, S.B.DR. : Appel. Achat à la Galerie Michel Delorme en 1987. N° de dépôt : D.1995.1.7.

FRAC – Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azur:

1. *Fenêtre*, 1980, Huile sur toile, 190 x 170 cm, S.B.DR.: Appel, Achat à l'artiste en 1983, Inv. : 83.041.

FRAC – Poitou-Charentes:

1. *Dessin*, 1980, Gouache sur papier, hauteur: 67,5 cm, profondeur: 83,5 cm. Achat en 1985. Inv. : 985.1.1. à la galerie Christian Cheneau.
2. *Dessin*, 1980, Gouache sur papier, hauteur: 67,5 cm, profondeur: 83 cm. Achat en 1985. Inv. : 985.17.1. à la galerie Christian Cheneau.

Centre national des arts plastiques (Cnap):

1. *Sur la barricade*, 1989, Imprimé par Art Litho à Paris, Lithographie sur papier Arches France, 90 x 60 cm, Tirage : 1/100, S.B.DR. dans la marge : Appel. Achat par commande à l'artiste en 1989. Inv. : FNAC 89268 (1). Centre national des arts plastiques. En dépôt depuis le 17/02/2010 : Ambassade de France (Kaboul).
2. Tirage offset, 95 x 63,5 cm, Achat à l'artiste en 1975, Inv. : FNAC 31978. Centre national des arts plastiques.
3. *Grass n°2*, 1979, Huile sur toile, 163 x 131 cm, S.B.G. : Appel. S.D.R. Achat à la Galerie Daniel Templon en 1981. Inv. : FNAC 33571. Centre national des arts plastiques. En dépôt depuis 1983 : Musée de Brou (Bourg-en-Bresse).

4. *Homme et oiseau*, 1968, Sculpture, Relief, Bois peint, contre-plaqué, polystyrène expansé polychrome, 310 x 180 cm, S.D.B.D.R.: Appel 68, Achat à l'artiste en 1969, Inv. : FNAC 9683. Centre national des arts plastiques. En dépôt depuis le 22/11/1978 : Musée de Grenoble.

FMAC (Fonds municipal d'art contemporain de la Ville de Paris):

1. *Jules au village*, Lithographie en couleurs, tirage : 119/120, 65 x 50 cm. Inv. : CMP17799. Achetée en 1970.
2. *Le baron*, Lithographie, 64 x 50 cm. Inv. : CMP17800. Achetée en 1970.

Appendix: Solo exhibitions in France

- 1954: Appel, Studio Paul Facchetti, Paris.
- 1955: Karel Appel, Galerie Rive Droite, Paris (Travelling to: Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam).
- 1956: Karel Appel: Portraits, Galerie Rive Droite, Paris.
- 1957: Appel, Galerie Stadler, Paris.
- 1958: Appel: Gouaches et céramiques, Galerie Claude Bernard, Paris.
- 1960: Karel Appel, Galerie Rive Droite, Paris.
- 1962: Karel Appel: Sculptures, Galerie Rive Droite, Paris.
- 1963: Appel Nudes, Galerie Europe, Paris
- 1963: Karel Appel: Dix Ans de Lithographie 1953 - 1963, Galerie Anderson - Mayer, Paris.
- 1966: Appel, Galerie Ariel, Paris.
- 1968: Karel Appel: Reliefs 1966–68, Centre National d'Art Contemporain, Paris (Travelling to: Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels).
- 1974: Galerie Ariel, Paris.
- 1978: Karel Appel: Peintures et Sculpture, Fondation Château de Jau, Cases-de-Pène, France.
- 1980: Karel Appel, Galerie Daniel Templon, Paris.
- 1983: Karel Appel: Oeuvres récentes, Galerie Daniel Templon, Paris.
- 1987: Karel Appel : œuvre sur papier, Musée des Augustins, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Toulouse.
- 1987: Karel Appel: Peinture-Sculpture-Dessin, Galerie d'Art Contemporain des Musées de Nice & Galerie des Ponchettes, Nice.
- 1988: Karel Appel: Portraits, Galerie de France, Paris.
- 1996: Appel: Figures et Paysages, Galerie Lelong, Paris.
- 1998: Appel: Natural Phenomenon, Galerie Lelong, Paris.
- 1999: Karel Appel... Peintures, dessins et sculptures, Scène National d'Orléans, France.
- 2001: Karel Appel: "Sag zum Abschied leise Servus", Galerie Lelong, Paris.
- 2003: Karel Appel: oeuvres sur papier 1999-2002, Galerie Lelong, Paris.
- 2009: Karel Appel: Peintures 2000–2001, Galerie Lelong, Paris.
- 25 novembre 2010-29 janvier 2011: Gazing Heads, Galerie Lelong, Paris.
- 2015/2016: Karel Appel: Works on paper, Musée national d'art moderne – Centre Pompidou, Paris, (Travelling to: Pinakothek der Moderne - Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München –, Munich).
- 2017: Karel Appel. L'art est une fête !, Musée d'Art moderne de la Ville de Paris.

Appendix: figures

Figure 1: Karel APPEL, *Vragende Kinderen*, 1948, studded wood elements on wood panel, oil painting, 88 x 60 x 17 cm, Musée National d'art Moderne (Centre Pompidou), Paris, inv.: AM 1985-128.

Picture from: [https://collection.centrepompidou.fr/#/artwork/150000000009055?](https://collection.centrepompidou.fr/#/artwork/150000000009055?layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel!<=>APPEL+Karel)

layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel!<=>APPEL+Karel (Accessed February 27, 2019)



Figure 2: Karel APPEL, *Tigerbird*, 1952, oil on canvas, 115 x 146,5 cm, Sotheby's auction 20/10/2018, Paris, France, lot n°14.

Picture from: <https://fr.artprice.com/artiste/711/karel-appel/peinture/16988817/tigerbird>
(Accessed February 27, 2019)

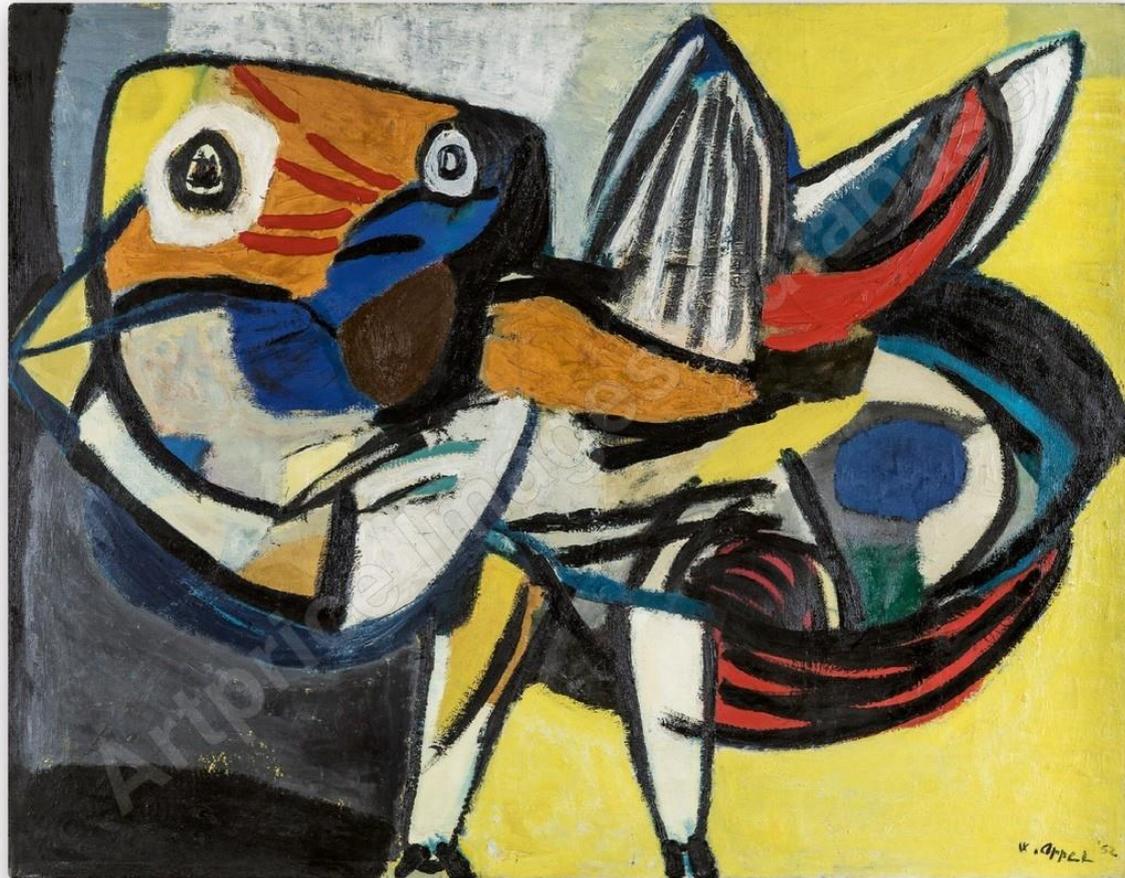


Figure 3: CoBRA members during the exhibition Høst, Copenhagen, November-December 1948.

Picture from: <https://boot-boyz.biz/products/cobra> (Accessed February 27, 2019)



Figure 4: Robert Capa, *Karel Appel painting with his fingers in his studio on Rue Santeuil, 1952, Paris France, International Center of Photography, image reference: NN11494844.*

Picture from: <https://pro.magnumphotos.com/CS.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&VBID=2K1HZO4YYCSWKZ&SMLS=1&RW=1394&RH=734> (Accessed February 27, 2019)



Figure 5: Karel APPEL, *Le chagrin*, 1982, oil on canvas, 191 x 191 cm, Musée d'Art Moderne et d'Art Contemporain, Nice, inv.: 988.2.1.

Picture from: <https://www.navigart.fr/mamac/#/artwork/120000000000048?layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel!%3DAPPEL+Karel> (Accessed February 27, 2019)



Figure 6: Karel APPEL, *Femme et oiseau*, 1953, oil on canvas, 97 x 130 cm, Musée National d'Art Moderne (Centre Pompidou), Paris, inv.: AM 1981-90.

Picture from: [https://collection.centrepompidou.fr/#/artwork/150000000017023?](https://collection.centrepompidou.fr/#/artwork/150000000017023?layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel)

layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel↔APPEL+Karel (Accessed February 27, 2019)

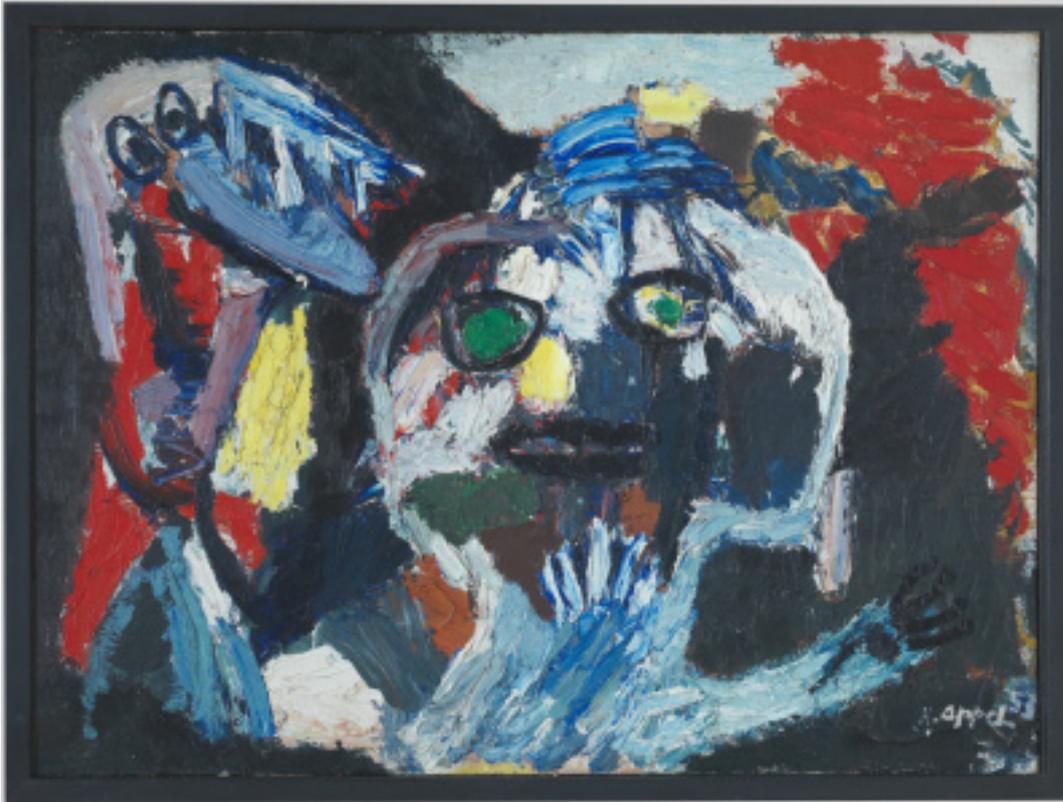


Figure 7: Karel APPEL, *Grass n°2*, 1979, oil on canvas, 163 x 131 cm, Centre national des arts plastiques, on deposit since 1983 in Musée de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse, inv.: FNAC 33571.

Picture from: <http://www.cnap.fr/collection-en-ligne/#/artwork/140000000018172?layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel> (Accessed February 27, 2019)



Figure 8: Karel APPEL, *Sur la barricade*, 1989, lithograph, 90 x 60 cm, edition: 1/100, Centre national des arts plastiques, on deposit since 17/02/2010 at the Embassy of France, Kaboul, inv.: FNAC 89268 (1).

Picture from: <http://www.cnap.fr/collection-en-ligne/#/artwork/140000000098141?layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel> (Accessed February 27, 2019)

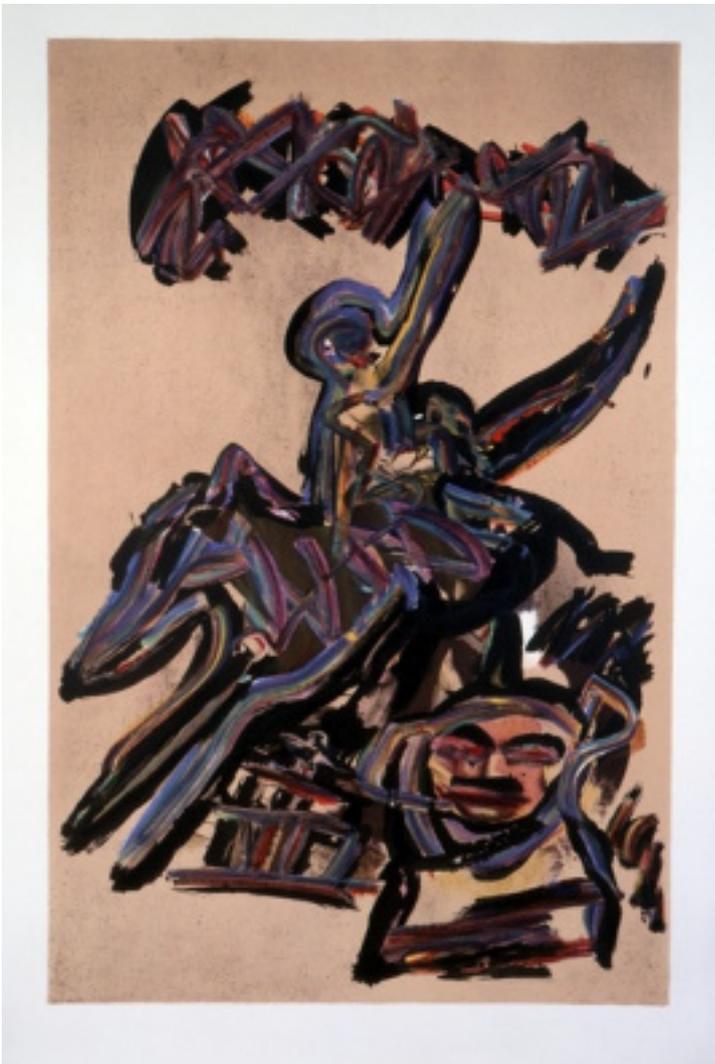


Figure 9: Karel APPEL, *Visage de femme*, 1961, gouache and paper collage on paper, 63,7 x 49,8 cm, Musée National d'Art Moderne (Centre Pompidou), Paris, inv.: AM 2016-665.

Picture from: <https://collection.centrepompidou.fr/#/artwork/150000001299464?>

layout=grid&page=1&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel!<APPEL+Karel (Accessed February 27, 2019)



Figure 10: Karel APPEL, *Le cycliste*, 1969, oil on canvas and painted wood relief, 250 x 200 cm, Musée d'Art Moderne et d'Art Contemporain, Nice, inv.: 988.2.2.

Picture from: <https://www.navigart.fr/mamac/#/artwork/120000000000049?>

layout=grid&page=0&filters=authors:APPEL+Karel!↔APPEL+Karel (Accessed February 27, 2019)



Figure 11: Pictures from the exhibition *Karel Appel: works on paper* at the Centre Pompidou, Galerie d'Art Graphique, Paris.

Pictures from: <http://www.francefineart.com/index.php/14-agenda/agenda-news/1894-1746-centre-pompidou-karel-appel> (Accessed February 27, 2019)

