

**REFASHIONING DUCHAMP:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE WAISTCOAT READYMADE SERIES AND
OTHER INTERSECTIONS OF ART AND FASHION**

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Abstract

French-American artist Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) is best known as the iconoclastic author of the readymade. In spite of the vast corpus of scholarship dedicated to his oeuvre, the artist's preoccupation with clothing has remained virtually unexamined and yet, as this dissertation argues, is of central importance to our understanding of the readymade. Using art historical considerations of the readymade, along with theories of fashion, identity construction, and curation, this dissertation presents a case for reconsidering Duchamp's oeuvre with a focus on clothing to answer a central research question: What ultimately is the difference between a Duchamp readymade and an object of fashion exhibited in a museum? The answer, I argue, emerges by bringing the concepts of fashion studies and curatorial studies into a dialogue with Duchamp's readymade. Specifically, this dissertation explores (1) Duchamp's underexplored series of early drawings that reveal the artist's profound interest in the clothed body; (2) Duchamp's fashioning of his public self through clothing and photography that circulated widely in the mass media and more privately in avant-garde circles; (3) Duchamp's waistcoat readymades *Made to Measure* (1957-1961) that expand the boundaries of the readymade into clothing; and (4) Duchamp's use of fashion in his exhibition designs for the Surrealists in 1938 and 1942. By focusing on the material traces of Duchamp's fashioning of his body and identity in his work, this dissertation argues that Duchamp's use of clothing profoundly disrupts the notion that art cannot be worn. By exploring Duchamp's use of clothing as art, this study advances scholarly knowledge at the intersections of art history and fashion studies, considering also the dynamic engagement of gender and the body in the vanguard of Modernism.

Dedication

I dedicate this project to my husband, Daniel, in light of his unwavering love, patience, support, and belief in me.

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Introduction: Refashioning Duchamp at the Intersection of Art and Fashion

In July 1945, Marcel Duchamp's 1915-23 *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (*La mariée mise à nu par ses célibataires, même*), otherwise known as *The Large Glass* (*Le Grand Verre*), appeared on the cover of the American fashion magazine *Vogue* (Figure 0.1).

In the photograph by Erwin Blumenfeld, a beautiful (but unnamed) model appears through the shattered glass of Duchamp's *Le Grand Verre*. Her slender body is aligned with the mullions of the glass creating parallel structures between her body and the artwork. Her eyes are cast downward and her gloved left hand, bent at the elbow, seems almost to reach through the broken glass to beckon us within. In this image, art and fashion share the same space. The caption reads:

Vogue's eye-view of the Museum of Modern Art is through Marcel Duchamp's famed "Window"... regarded as the ideal marriage of painting and sculpture. The shattered glass – "the Accidental" arrested for permanent beauty. "First Night" museum guest wears putty silk jersey short dinner-dress, with side-bound bodice, Hattie Carnegie original. The lipstick, fire for putty-grey, is Hattie Carnegie "Indus." Jewels and woven steel surfaces, streaming natural light, the monochromatic walls, and the art ... which is the Museum of Modern Art.¹

Although the *Vogue* article does not otherwise offer any additional information about Duchamp's career or contribution to the modernist art canon, *The Large Glass*, which looks much like a shattered shop window in the photograph, is described as "the ideal marriage of painting and sculpture." This description helps *Vogue* readers understand Duchamp's masterwork as an avant-garde aesthetic strategy that was being institutionalized in the

¹ Anonymous, "July Contents," *Vogue*, July 1, 1945, 55. Ellipses in original.

Museum of Modern Art² in New York City. More than bring his work to the attention of general audiences across North America, the placement of Duchamp's work on the cover alerts viewers to the complexity of the process by which Duchamp's work came to be known outside of avant-garde circles and institutionalized, revealing the intersection of Duchamp's work with both the museum and with fashion. *Vogue* magazine was launched in the United States in 1892, and like its older rivals *Harper's Bazaar* (launched in 1867) and *Vanity Fair* (1913-1936; relaunched in 1983), served as a cultural arbiter of style and taste for its audience of middle to upper class Americans.³ The magazine focused on fashion, but routinely included articles on art and all aspects of contemporary culture.⁴ The placement of Duchamp's work on the cover is notable, since most photographs of artists' works were generally placed within the body of the magazine.

Surprisingly, this cover has not attracted critical engagement from Duchamp scholars. In contrast, considerable attention has been given to a 1951 *Vogue* fashion spread photographed by Cecil Beaton in which Jackson's Pollock's abstract paintings from his

² The Museum of Modern Art was founded in New York City in 1929. The July 1945 issue of *Vogue* includes several features on the museum. Just prior to Duchamp's work being photographed for the cover of *Vogue*, the Museum of Modern Art had an exhibition about the relationship between fashion, the body and clothing called *Are Clothes Modern?* (November 29, 1944 to March 4, 1945) curated and designed by architect Bernard Rudofsky.

³ Alison Matthews David. "Vogue's New World: American Fashionability and the Politics of Style," *Fashion Theory* 10, no.1 (2006): 13-38.

⁴ Listings of art exhibitions appear in the earliest issues of *Vogue* magazine. As well, feature articles on artists routinely appear within the pages of the publication and include Duchamp's contemporaries and friends, such as: Wassily Kandinsky (May 1, 1924), Constantin Brâncuși (June 1, 1926), Henri Matisse (December 15, 1937), Marc Chagall (March 2, 1929), Alberto Giacometti (February 15, 1951), as well as Jacques Villon, Marcel Duchamp's older brother (February 15, 1955). William Seitz interviewed Duchamp in an article called "What's Happened to Art? An Interview with Marcel Duchamp" for the February 15, 1963 issue of *Vogue*.

Lavender Mist series at the Betty Parsons Gallery in New York were used as backdrops.⁵ Art historian T.J. Clark published a polemical critique that describes the use of Pollock's paintings in this way as a denigration of the work that served to "blacken the whole of abstract painting."⁶ Unlike this impassioned response, the Duchamp cover has gone unnoticed by scholars. Not even Duchamp biographer Calvin Tomkins, who otherwise documents Duchamp's interactions with *Vogue* art director Alexander Liberman (1912-1999) in respect of the submission (and rejection) of Duchamp's collage portrait of the George Washington for the Americana issue of *Vogue* in February 1943, makes mention of this evocative *Vogue* cover.⁷ And yet the 1945 cover attracted the attention of a fellow artist.

Taking notice of Duchamp's 1945 *Vogue* cover was American assemblage artist Joseph Cornell (1903-1972) who had assisted Duchamp with the making of *Boîte-en-valise* (*Box in a Suitcase*) (1935-41), the miniature reproductions of Duchamp's works in a suitcase format.⁸ Cornell included two copies of the *Vogue* cover in his own separate

⁵ In this fashion spread, models wore the latest spring ball gowns and stood in front of Pollock's paintings *Number 27* (1950) and *Number 28* (1950). See Anonymous, "Fashion: Spring Ball Gowns," *Vogue*, March 1, 1951, 156-159. For scholarly engagement of this article, see for example: Richard Martin, "The New Soft Look: Jackson Pollock, Cecil Beaton, and American Fashion in 1951," *Dress* 7 (1981): 1-8; Timothy J. Clark, "Jackson Pollock's Abstraction," in *Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris and Montreal 1954-1964*, ed. Serge Guilbaut (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 172 – 243; and Anne Söll, "Pollock in Vogue: American Fashion and Avant-garde Art in Cecil Beaton's 1951 Photographs," *Fashion Theory* 13, no.1 (2009): 29-50.

⁶ Timothy J. Clark, "Jackson Pollock's Abstraction," in *Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris and Montreal 1954-1964*, ed. Serge Guilbaut (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 219.

⁷ Calvin Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 336-337.

⁸ Francis M. Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp: The Making of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1999), 148.

assemblage work, which he titled *Duchamp Dossier* (circa 1942-53),⁹ a work that consists of a lidded cardboard box marked “Duchamp” that contains a variety of ephemera made by or that once belonged to Duchamp and that also documents the friendship of the two artists in the form of letters, postcards, bits of paper, newspaper and magazine clippings, exhibition announcements and invitations, and drawings. Many of the items included in Cornell’s box are marked, crumpled, or torn up, and would be otherwise unremarkable – except that they once belonged to Duchamp. Of particular relevance to this dissertation is the primary evidence of Duchamp’s sartorial gestures included therein that take the form of laundry receipts, laundry claim tags, and a portion of Duchamp’s necktie. Cornell transformed these bits of ephemera into readymades with a declarative statement that rendered them so and these appropriated objects, that will be analyzed in detail in this dissertation, are now subject to copyright restriction as artworks authored by Cornell. The transformation of two copies of the *Vogue* cover into a readymade work of art in Cornell’s *Duchamp Dossier* is also noteworthy. This unexplored cover, which reveals the documentation of Duchamp’s masterwork *The Large Glass* in a mass media context, is emblematic of the many material traces of Duchamp’s engagement with clothing in his oeuvre that also include his readymades, his drawings, his curatorial practices, parts of his wardrobe and other ephemera, as well as the sartorial gestures revealed in the many photographs circulating in the mass media.

⁹ Joseph Cornell, *Duchamp Dossier* (circa 1942-53), Lidded cardboard box containing typed and handwritten notes, letters, and postcards, Photostats, paper, newspaper and magazine clippings, exhibition announcements, printed papers, printed reproductions, and drawings, objects, and readymades by Duchamp and Cornell. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Object #1990-33-1(1a,b-118).

Underpinning this dissertation is a desire to illuminate the parameters of the readymade in both its materiality and its circulation. In the process of researching the readymade, two facts emerged as key to the argument: first, that the etymology of the word readymade can be linked to the production of clothing; and second, that towards the later part of his career Duchamp created a series of readymade waistcoats, raising a number of pertinent research questions. How is Duchamp's readymade linked to the actual production of clothing? And what is the deeper relationship between clothing and Duchamp's art practice? How does this art practice engage the spectator? What ultimately is the difference between a Duchamp readymade and an object of fashion exhibited in a museum? The answer, I argue, emerges by bringing the concepts of fashion studies and curatorial studies into a dialogue with Duchamp's art practice of the readymade. In other words, by revealing how the readymade is imbricated in the very production of clothing and by also revealing the purposeful engagement of the spectator through curation, Duchamp's oeuvre emerges in a new light, namely: as a sartorial art that remains to be investigated at the intersection of fashion studies, curatorial studies, and Duchamp studies.

Such an investigation is all the more relevant since a significant number of Duchamp's works explicitly reference clothing, including the coat rack *Trébuchet* (1917), the hat rack *Porte-Chapeau* (1917), the modified perfume bottle *Belle Haleine* (1921), the drawing of a tailcoat *Jacquette* (1956), the readymades *Couple of Laundress' Aprons* (1959), and the waistcoat readymade series (1957-1961). As well, the acts of dressing and undressing are recurring themes, as seen in the undressing of the bride in *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*, and in Duchamp's dressing up to become his alter ego Rose

Sélavy and other characters.¹⁰ While the latter persona, Rose Sélavy, has been extensively discussed by scholars, notably within gender and queering approaches (discussed later in this dissertation), the actual act of dressing, and the use of clothing as art, has remained largely unexplored, requiring investigation.

That said, this dissertation acknowledges at the outset that it is not the first to point out the importance of clothing in the study of Duchamp's art practice. At a 1987 colloquium at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, art historians Eric Cameron and Carol P. James both noted separately that clothing is a significant theme within Duchamp's work but neither of these two scholars engaged with this idea in depth.¹¹ Eric Cameron expressed his surprise that this thread of analysis in relation to clothing "is not taken up in the studies of Duchamp."¹² In his essay, Cameron included a photograph of Duchamp's waistcoat readymades as well as Duchamp's drawing of a tailcoat as illustrations and remarked that these works are "images of [Duchamp's] private self, already made, off the rack," but besides this brief reference, Cameron did not develop his analysis further.¹³ Carole P. James likewise references the waistcoat series, noting that it is one of several items of clothing that are conceptually missing from the *Boîte-en-valise* (*Box-in-a-Valise*), but her essay largely

¹⁰ Duchamp also appeared in various guises, including the role of Adam in Francis Picabia's ballet *Relâche* (1924); the devil in *Monte Carlo Bond* (1924), cut-and-pasted gelatin silver prints on lithograph with letterpress, MoMA; and a much older version of himself called *Marcel Duchamp at the Age of 85* (1945). See Robert Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, trans. George Heard Hamilton (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), 50; also see Herbert Molderings, *Marcel Duchamp at the Age of 85: An Incunabulum of Conceptual Photography* (Köln: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walter König, 2013), 38-46.

¹¹ The scholarly products of this colloquium were compiled into the book *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry de Duve (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

¹² Eric Cameron, "Given," in *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, 19.

¹³ Cameron, "Given," 19.

focusses on the linguistic games of Duchamp in relation to the readymade.¹⁴ Consequently, although both Cameron and James mention Duchamp's waistcoats in their essays, the index to the volume in which their essays appear – Thierry de Duve's volume of essays *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp* – does not even include an entry for “waistcoat” or “gilet.”¹⁵ In fact, although the waistcoat series is identified in many catalogues from 1959 to 2000 (including catalogues by Robert Lebel, Anne d'Harnoncourt and Krynaston McShine, Francis M. Naumann, and Arturo Schwarz), it is otherwise rarely discussed as part of Duchamp's artistic output and requires scholarly analysis. As this dissertation later argues, the waistcoat readymades are provocative gestures that challenge the notion that art cannot be worn.

Duchamp was an interdisciplinary artist and thus this dissertation's multi-methodological approach bridging art history and fashion studies reflects his wide-ranging interests and artistic practices. This study uses fashion as the organizing principle to focus on those aspects of his oeuvre that are linked in some way to the fashioning of the body even though fashion is generally understood to be “antithetical to the concerns of great artists,”¹⁶ as Nancy J. Troy observes. Like Troy, many other scholars preface their work

¹⁴ Carol P. James, “An Original Revolutionary Messagerie Rose,” in *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, 277-296.

¹⁵ See index of *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry de Duve, 485-488. The index notably includes Duchamp's *Pair of Aprons* (1959), which is discussed only once in the text by James who includes it in her list of items missing from Duchamp's valise, and *Traveller's Folding Item* (1916 remade 1964) which is discussed by numerous authors in the book, including William Camfield who suggests that this readymade relates to the clothing for the bride in Duchamp's *The Large Glass*. See William Camfield, “Duchamp's Fountain: Aesthetic Object, Icon or Anti-Art? *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, 166-167.

¹⁶ Nancy J. Troy, “Art,” in *Fashion and Art*, ed. Adam Geczy and Vicki Karaminas, (London: Berg, 2012), 29.

with arguments that address this longstanding prejudice against fashion as a lens of analysis. For example, in Gilles Lipovetsky's 1987 book *The Empire of Fashion*, he observes that fashion is typically "seen as an ontologically and socially inferior domain,"¹⁷ but counters this to argue that: "Fashion is no longer an aesthetic embellishment, a decorative accessory to collective life," or merely a "peripheral phenomenon" but rather should be understood as "the key to the entire edifice."¹⁸ Although Lipovetsky does not interrogate the relationship of fashion and art, he observes a blurring of boundaries between disciplines and links that to the "dissolution of the hierarchy of genres and trades" such that fashion has become an aesthetic manifestation of democracy.¹⁹ Similarly, Ulrich Lehman, in his philosophical treatise on fashion and modernity, observes that: "Fashion as a topic remains embroiled and disputed because of its alleged lack of substance – in artistic as well as metaphysical terms" and for that reason, this subject "will nearly always be equated consciously or unconsciously with the facile and futile."²⁰ Both Lipovetsky and Lehman identify a longstanding prejudice against fashion (as have many other scholars), and it is significant to the argument of this dissertation that Duchamp did not share this prejudice against fashion, but made fashion a part of his art as evidenced in references to dressing and undressing in central works, and in the waistcoat readymade series.

The theoretical understanding of the word fashion has undergone considerable shift in recent years, even though the concepts of fashion, clothing, dress and costume may have

¹⁷ Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion, Dressing Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 72.

¹⁸ Lipovetsky. *The Empire of Fashion*, 72.

¹⁹ Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*, 72.

²⁰ Ulrich Lehmann, *Tigersprung: Fashion in Modernity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 4.

discrete meanings in certain contexts.²¹ Cultural scholar Elizabeth Wilson’s seminal work *Adorned in Dreams* (first published in 1985) has been pivotal in this shift in articulating fashion as a cultural phenomenon in which the intersection of capitalism, identity and art become visible.²² This dissertation uses the term fashion in the broader sense theorized by Wilson and other scholars to refer to the manner in which a person dresses and presents his or her body, rather than describing only the selection of the latest and most stylish clothing. This more all-encompassing definition facilitates a more inclusive and nuanced look at the relevance of fashion. As Christopher Breward notes fashion is: “an important conduit for the expression of social identity, political ideas, and aesthetic taste, and this model of interpretation has arguably influenced a re-evaluation of all creative practices, including art.”²³ It is for this reason that this project uses fashion in its broader sense, consonant with fashion studies, to describe not only items of clothing or dress, but to signal the cultural construction of embodied identity through clothing. In doing so it is recognized that fashion fulfills a variety of functions, not only in providing adornment and protection for the body but more importantly in the articulation of identity.

²¹ The term fashion can describe different things and be employed in a variety of contexts. Used as a verb, “to fashion” means to make or alter, and can be used to describe the fashioning of clothing or the body. Used as a noun, the term “fashion” can be used to describe clothing, accessories, ideas, and imagery, as well as the underlying systems and institutions that produce and disseminate such products. Fashion in relation to clothing generally describes the prevailing or preferred manner in which the body is dressed, accessorized and presented at any given time. Recognizing that a garment may or may not be “in fashion” at a particular moment, the term dress includes clothing that may not be fashionable. The term costume is generally used to describe clothing worn in the theatre or for masquerade. For a thorough documentation of the distinction between the terms, see Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 8-12.

²² Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 14-15.

²³ Christopher Breward, *Fashion* (London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.

Fashion studies, a relatively new field in comparison to art history, embraces the broad range of intersections between fashion and dress with the fields of art history, museum studies, sociology, anthropology, history, business, the arts and cultural studies.²⁴ In borrowing from these disciplines to consider fashion and dress, fashion studies embraces the notion of intertextuality in order to locate the product of research efforts in relation to dress within accepted theoretical frameworks. In a project that encompasses art and fashion, the concept of intertextuality is particularly relevant in acknowledging the “interconnectedness and interdependence” that exists in all aspects of “modern cultural life.”²⁵ Adopting intertextuality as a way of making meaning is like the making of cloth by the weaving of, as fashion theorist Roland Barthes writes, “the threads of the ‘already written’ and the ‘already read.’”²⁶

Besides these theoretical concerns, this dissertation’s methodology involves archival research including trips to the Kandinsky Library at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, as well as Philadelphia Museum of Art where the Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection is housed with major works by Duchamp, including *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even (The Large Glass)*, as well as Joseph Cornell’s *Duchamp Dossier*. Moreover, I secured photographs of Duchamp’s

²⁴ Although one of the seminal works – Elizabeth Wilson’s *Adorned in Dreams* – was first published in 1985, the field is generally considered to have originated after the founding of the scholarly journal *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* by Valerie Steele in 1997. Although there are now many more journals of this type, for more than a decade *Fashion Theory* stood virtually alone in its efforts to theorize fashion. For a fulsome documentation of the history of the field of fashion studies, see Lou Taylor, “Fashion and Dress History: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches,” in *The Handbook of Fashion Studies*, edited by Sandy Black et al. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 23-43.

²⁵ Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000), 5.

²⁶ Roland Barthes qtd. in Allen, *Intertextuality*, 6.

waistcoat readymades from the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and the Association Marcel Duchamp in Paris. The dissertation greatly benefited from online access to the collections of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Art Gallery, The Getty Museum, the Israel Museum, and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, as well as the Vogue Archive in order to build what is proposed herein as a novel and hitherto unexamined corpus of analysis. Specifically, this dissertation excavates the many references to Duchamp and his relationship to clothing scattered in archives, interviews, biographies, exhibition catalogues, interpretive texts, and collection databases in order to weave them together into an argument of his lifelong engagement with clothing in his works of art and in the fashioning of his body and identity.

Chapter Overview

Following the literature review and theorizing of relevant concepts, this dissertation is divided into four areas, each focused on an underexplored corpus of Duchamp's oeuvre including his drawings, his presentation of self, the waistcoat readymade series, and his curatorial work. As we shall see, Duchamp's entire body of work reveals that his engagement with fashion and clothing was not isolated to a single artistic gesture of the readymade waistcoat series from 1957-1961. The structure of what follows thus begins with his earliest explorations of dress and uniforms in his figurative drawings and each chapter further develops the argument to provide evidence of his lifelong engagement with fashion. While themes of chess, movement, and eros were admittedly important preoccupations for the artist, as argued by other scholars (all cited in the chapters that follow), this dissertation

contends that Duchamp was not only aware of the visual codes of dress but integrated this knowledge in his work and in his presentation of self. Therefore, the chapters are organized as follows:

Chapter 1, “Fashion and Art: Toward a Theory of Avant-garde Sartorial Art,” introduces the intersecting theories of fashion and modern art to work toward building a theoretical framework that allows this discussion to respond to the research questions and unpack the complicated relationship between fashion, art and spectatorship. A number of scholars have begun to explore these interrelationships by engaging questions of art production, consumption, popular culture and the everyday that intersect with Duchamp’s understanding of the readymade as a work chosen not for its aesthetic qualities but on the basis of its very quotidian ordinariness. By challenging the aesthetics of a work of art, Duchamp countered a long tradition of art historical concerns and values. This theoretical framework also engages feminist and queer theories of the body, revealing the sexually specific body as a cultural construction. Moreover, this chapter involves discussions of the material turn in art history which recognizes the dynamic relationship between people and things, notably clothing.

Chapter 2, “Duchamp and Drawing: Fashioning the Figure,” brings attention to a selection of underexplored drawings by Duchamp in which he represented or altered the dressed and undressed body. More generally, drawings have recently come to be appreciated as material evidence of the artist’s hand, temperament, and modes of thinking, and in undertaking a close analysis of Duchamp’s underexplored drawings from 1904 to 1910, most of them revealing fashionable dress, or uniforms, which would also become central in the artist’s oeuvre, I argue that the artist reveals his artistic engagement with the

nuances of fashion, gender norms, and bourgeois codes of behaviour. And while drawing would become an infrequent mode of artistic expression for Duchamp after 1913, this chapter uses drawings that span his lifetime to provide evidence of his ongoing artistic engagement with the role of clothing in the fashioning of the body and identity.

In Chapter 3, “Unmasking the Dandy: Reading Duchamp’s Engagement with Fashion in his Presentation of Self,” I harness the works of John Berger, Susan Sontag, and Roland Barthes, and their theorization of the medium of photography to analyze of Duchamp’s self-representation and identity construction in photographs of the artist that span the period 1915-1965. To what extent are these self-representations a form of sartorial art in which boundaries between life and art are blurred in using the body as a readymade? Although much scholarly attention has been devoted to the images taken in collaboration with Man Ray in which Duchamp dresses as his female alter ego, Rose Sélavy, the chapter also considers underexplored images that circulated in mass media in which he is more formally dressed in a suit. In the ordinary act of dressing, persons fashion their public selves in aesthetic terms, signaling clues to their identity through choices of clothing and the styling of their body. Duchamp’s physical attractiveness and elegant deportment was often commented upon by his friends and colleagues, and this chapter turns to photographs to reveal contrasting aspects of his identity constructions, revealing the multiplicity of selves he cultivated at the borders of life and art. The dissertation documents that in public Duchamp presented himself as an elegant gentleman in contrast to his presentation of self within avant-garde circles where he engaged in parody when refashioning his body into his alter ego, Rose or Rose Sélavy or other guises. Although Duchamp projected an air of indifference that was noted by his friends and biographers, this chapter offers evidence that

Duchamp was engaged with sartorial codes with evident attention to his body, image and selection of clothing in using and documenting his body as a self-representational readymade.

Chapter 4, “The Waistcoat Readymade: Fashion as Art,” explores Duchamp’s waistcoat readymade series *Made to Measure* (1957-1961) as part of his late oeuvre. The significance of these waistcoat readymades has yet to be interrogated in scholarship, even though Duchamp documented the series along with other observations about the sensory qualities of clothing in his last set of notes published posthumously in 1983. The waistcoat readymades are the most personal of Duchamp’s readymades and the only works that require a body to animate them. Not only do these readymades disrupt Martin Heidegger’s argument that art cannot be worn, this series also interrogates the relationship of fashion to art, especially in terms of issues of authenticity and originality. This chapter revisits the etymology and gendered history of the readymade, reconnecting the word to garment production and also addresses the conditions necessary for a readymade garment to be considered a work of art, specifically in terms of how Duchamp’s waistcoat readymade series fits into the enunciative conditions of an artwork as articulated by Duchamp scholar Thierry de Duve in *Kant after Duchamp* (1996). In comparing two of the waistcoats held in art museum collections of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa to two ‘Mondrian’ dresses by Yves Saint Laurent from 1965-66 (from the collection of the Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art), the linguistic twist or verbal pun assigned to the readymades is articulated as the critical distinguishing element between the Duchamp waistcoats and the ‘Mondrian’ dresses. What remained unresolved in this analysis was the ambiguity around the reception of dresses as works of art creating a

natural transition to the analysis of the role of the spectator in the reading of the work in the next chapter.

Chapter 5, “This is (Not) Art: Duchamp and The Curatorial,” considers the roles of both the curator and the spectator in defining what constitutes art, and also seeks to connect Duchamp’s work to fashion curatorial studies. As Elena Filipovic notes in *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp* (2016), Duchamp’s curatorial efforts are a relatively new area of scholarship that have only begun to be studied.²⁷ The chapter begins with an excavation of Duchamp’s links to fashion in his exhibition designs for the Surrealists in 1938 and 1942, in which he upended the conventions of gallery display, confounding the spectator in immersive and multi-sensory experiences. The chapter also interrogates an avant-garde exhibition of fashion – *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* (curated by Judith Clark in London, 2010) – that resonates with Duchamp’s curatorial legacy by articulating a quasi-dream-like encounter that deliberately destabilizes the spectator. This chapter uses this exhibition as a case study to analyze and formulate an argument on the role of the spectator, placing Duchamp’s 1957 speech “The Creative Act” in dialogue with postmodern writers and philosophers such as Umberto Eco and Jacques Rancière.

Ultimately, in this dissertation, I argue that the man considered by many one of the most influential artists of the twentieth century was not only cognizant of the intellectual,

²⁷ Exhibition design is a relatively new area within art history studies as Mary Anne Staniszewski observed in 1998 when she wrote that this “aspect of modern art history has been, generally speaking, officially and collectively forgotten”; Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art*, (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1998), xxi.

affective and sensory qualities of clothing in fashioning the body, but centrally involved the body in articulating identity in and through art, thereby also disrupting long-held mind/body binaries in western art. In tracing the many references to clothing in his art works, including his early drawings and the fashioning of his public self and alter ego, this dissertation maintains that these works are equally deserving of scholarly attention. As well, I identify Duchamp's curatorial gestures as notable contributions to the history of exhibition design that have largely been overlooked in fashion curatorial studies. In the end, I hope to shift our understanding not only of Duchamp within Duchamp studies by drawing attention to the intertwined and complex relationship between art and fashion, but also by revealing Duchamp as an artist at the forefront of avant-garde sartorial art. Ultimately, this dissertation hopes to encourage others to embrace fashion as a meaningful lens of analysis in developing a critical account and understanding of artists and their artistic outputs.

Chapter 1

Fashion and Art: Toward a Theory of Duchampian Sartorial Art

All along, I had that search for what I had not thought of before.
--Marcel Duchamp¹

In using Duchamp's engagement with clothing as art as its focus, this dissertation recognizes Duchamp's pivotal role in shifting understanding of what art can be in asking the question: "Can one make works of art that are not art?"² American artist Jasper Johns noted Duchamp's significant influence on Modernism in moving "his work through the retinal³ boundaries which had been established with Impressionism into a field where language, thought and vision act upon one another" and by influencing "many of the technical, mental and visual details to be found in more recent art."⁴ Not only has Duchamp's modernist influence resonated across disciplines,⁵ but his work continues to inspire new exhibitions and publications, especially following the centenary of *Fountain* in 2017.

In light of the immense body of scholarship on Duchamp, much of it published in the years after his death in 1968, an overview is required, before the separate chapters of this dissertation can engage in detail with these studies. There is no other artist as much

¹ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Calvin Tomkins, *Marcel Duchamp: The Afternoon Interviews* (New York: Artbook, 2013), 64.

² Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Herbert Molderings, *Marcel Duchamp at the Age of 85: An Incunabulum of Conceptual Photography* (Köln: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walter König, 2013), 10.

³ The phrase "retinal art" was often used by Duchamp to describe work that pleases the eye in contrast to objects, like his readymades, whose artfulness was a construct of the mind.

⁴ Jasper Johns qtd. in Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, trans. Ron Padgett (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 109-110.

⁵ See Thierry de Duve, *Résonances du Readymade, Duchamp Entre avant-garde et Tradition* (Nîmes: Éditions Jacqueline Chambon, 1989).

linked to the blurring of the boundaries of life and art than Duchamp. The artist was born in 1887 in Blainville-Crevon, France, and grew up in a family of chess players and professional artists that included two older brothers, Jacques Villon (1875-1963), a Cubist painter, and Raymond Duchamp-Villon (1876-1918), a sculptor who died in the First World War, and a younger sister, Suzanne (1889-1963), who was a Dadaist painter keenly interested in issues of gender, sexuality, and experimental artistic expression. Interviews with Duchamp, like that documented in Katherine Kuh's *The Artist's Voice, Talks with Seventeen Artists* (1962), Calvin Tomkins's *Marcel Duchamp, The Afternoon Interviews* (1964), and Pierre Cabanne's *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp* (1971), reveal an artist with prodigious thinking, creative use of language and sardonic sense of humour. He often referenced his art works as "things" and claimed that he merely wanted to "amuse" himself.⁶ Cabanne also tells us that: "Marcel Duchamp always wore a pink shirt, with fine green stripes; he smoked Havana cigars incessantly (about ten a day); went out very little; saw few friends; and went neither to exhibitions nor to museums."⁷ Calvin Tomkins delves into Duchamp's multiple personae, describing a versatile artist who escaped the First World War by settling in New York in 1915, who embraced an attitude of aesthetic indifference in art, and became a consummate chess player from the 1920s on.⁸

Like these biographies, an important branch of Duchamp scholarship has been concerned with the artist's revolutionary understanding of the readymade and of modern art

⁶ Robert Motherwell, introduction to *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp by Pierre Cabanne*, ed. Pierre Cabanne, trans. Ron Padgett (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), 7.

⁷ Pierre Cabanne quoted in Robert Motherwell, "Introduction," *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp by Pierre Cabanne*, 8.

⁸ Calvin Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014).

itself as argued in key studies, notably in Peter Bürger's *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Bürger sees the historical avant-garde as represented by Duchamp as superseding the neo-avant-garde of the later twentieth century, which Bürger sees mostly as a replication of a more authentic historic avant-garde.⁹ Martha Buskirk and Mignon Nixon's edited volume *The Duchamp Effect* explores the reception of Marcel Duchamp in the second half of the twentieth century and considers Duchamp's long-term impact in shaping the so-called neo-avant-garde.¹⁰ In that volume, Hal Foster identifies Duchamp as one of the "most acute avant-garde artists," but argues that Duchamp did not emerge as *Duchamp* even though he is often described this way, cautioning that historicist readings of the historic avant-garde or neo-avant-garde can be problematic since the temporal narrative of before and after are inadequate to describe the ambiguous, dialectical, and interminable relationships within the notion of the avant-garde itself.¹¹ Benjamin Buchloh reads the neo-avant-garde project in terms of transforming artwork into a commodity and the cultural experience into a spectacle and cautions against reading art history in terms of "mechanistic speculations about priority and influence."¹² He sees this as a problem in tracing the history of the avant-garde, particularly in terms of Bürger's analysis and instead proposes aligning meaning to the products of art practice in terms of their reception from the outside. The outside, according to Buchloh, includes: "the audience's disposition and demands, the cultural legitimation the

⁹ Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

¹⁰ *The Duchamp Effect, Essays, Interviews, Round Table*, ed. Martha Buskirk and Mignon Nixon (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996).

¹¹ Hal Foster, "What's Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?" in *The Duchamp Effect*, 10-18.

¹² Benjamin Buchloh, "The Primary Colors for the Second Time: A Paradigm Repetition of the Neo-Avant-Garde," *October*, vol. 37 (Summer 1986), 45.

works are asked to perform, the institutional mediation between demand and legitimation.”¹³ In dividing audiences into inside and outside, Buchloh suggests that the institution of the museum (or gallery) and the general public share the role of defining what is considered art, a topic that I will return to in Chapter 5.

Aside from the several catalogue raisonné, including three influential catalogues published by Italian art collector and scholar Arturo Schwarz (*Marcel Duchamp and Marcel Duchamp: Sixty-six Creative Years; From the First Painting to the Last Drawing* and *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*),¹⁴ other studies take a thematic approach to studying Duchamp’s legacy. New York Dada scholar Francis M. Naumann’s *Marcel Duchamp: The Art of Making Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* considers Duchamp’s refusal to paint from 1918 on as a deliberate and conscious act of turning against what the artist termed “retinal art,” that is, art that appeals mainly to the eye.¹⁵ By rejecting retinal art, which he associated with painting, Duchamp turned to strategies of appropriation including the readymade but also to Dada’s experimental and provocative methods for making art that blurred the boundaries between art and non-art. In investigating the borders of Duchamp’s art practice, Naumann and Bradley Bailey also consider Duchamp’s chess playing in *Marcel*

¹³ Buchloh, “The Primary Colors for the Second Time,” 48.

¹⁴ Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp 66 Creative Years: From the First Painting to the Last Drawing* (Gallery Schwarz, Milan, 1972); Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1975); Arturo Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Delano Greenidge Editions, 2000). For other catalogue raisonné, see: Robert Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, trans. George Heard Hamilton (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959); Anne d’Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine (eds.), *Marcel Duchamp* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art and Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1973); Francis M. Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp: The Making of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1999).

¹⁵ Francis M. Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp: The Making of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1999), 19.

Duchamp: The Art of Chess. In exploring chess as both a theme and a preoccupation in Duchamp's life and work, these authors observe that Duchamp used the game as a source for images in his art, especially in the uniformed figures of *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*.¹⁶ Other scholars have noted Duchamp's concern with eros and gender noting Duchamp's gender ambivalence, especially in photographs taken in collaboration with American photographer Man Ray in which he poses as Rrose Sélavy. From a gender perspective, Susan Fillin-Yeh asks: What is the meaning of such "gender doubling"?¹⁷ And how is the nineteenth-century tradition of the dandy implicated in Duchamp's experimentations? These questions, all of which emanate from these studies, are key to my dissertation and will be tackled in the chapters that follow.

Within the annals of twentieth and even twenty-first century art, Duchamp stands out for the vast scholarly attention devoted to his work. Over much of the twentieth century, scholars have credited Duchamp with having shaped not just the avant-garde art movements of his era, such as Dada (despite his reluctance to call himself a Dadaist), but the conceptual art of the twentieth century. In her book *Postmodernism and the En-Gendering Marcel Duchamp*, American feminist art historian Amelia Jones has critiqued Duchamp's status as a quasi-god-like figure in the world of modern art since the 1960s.¹⁸ Focusing on identity politics, and using feminist and gender approaches, she argues that Duchamp is a deeply gendered artist who draws attention to the multiplicity of gender. By critiquing the line of

¹⁶ Francis M. Naumann and Bradley Bailey with game analysis by Jennifer Shahade, *Marcel Duchamp: The Art of Chess* (New York: Readymade Press, 2009).

¹⁷ Susan Fillin-Yeh, "Dandies, Marginality and Modernism: Georgia O'Keeffe, Marcel Duchamp and other Cross-dressers," *Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 2 (January 1995): 33-44.

¹⁸ Amelia Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-Gendering Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

argumentation taken by scholars like Peter Bürger, who sees Duchamp as a revolutionary artist, Jones argues against the pervasive myth of originality associated with Duchamp and other members of the (predominantly male) avant-garde. Indeed, other feminist scholars have revealed Duchamp's imbrication within a larger network of artists, including underacknowledged female artists and collaborators, many of whom created visual or verbal portraits of Duchamp, including Dada artist Beatrice Wood (1893-1998), New York painter Florine Stettheimer (1871-1944), and the German Dada artist the Baroness Elsa Freytag von Loringhoven (1874-1927). Many of these artistic engagements include elements of collaboration in which authorship itself is being playfully queried so much so that Duchamp's notorious urinal presented as *Fountain* in 1917 has been advanced as a more collaborative work than formerly assumed.¹⁹

As well, and more important for this dissertation, Duchamp was not the first to use the term "ready-made" in the context of art, since Oscar Wilde had used this term in his lecture to art students at the Royal Academy Club in London in 1883.²⁰ Nonetheless, it remains a term strongly associated with Duchamp's art practices and the usage and meaning thereof central to this analysis in exploring the question of what the difference is between a readymade and an object of fashion in the museum. As numerous scholars have documented, it took several decades before Duchamp's readymades attained their iconic status as a consequence of dynamic responses and critical engagement, insights that will benefit this dissertation and that will be discussed in the chapters to come. Two recent texts

¹⁹ See Irene Gammel, *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada, and Everyday Modernity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 219-225.

²⁰ Joseph Masheck, *Marcel Duchamp in Perspective* (New Jersey: Da Capo Press, 2002), xvii.

are of particular interest to this dissertation in that they explore aspects of Duchamp's curatorial efforts. In her book *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp*, Elena Filipovic focusses on Duchamp's non-art work including his active involvement in numerous exhibitions, his work as an art dealer, and his efforts to publicize not just his own work but also the work of others, including Constantin Brâncuși. Instead of dismissing this curatorial and administrative work as inconsequential, Filipovic argues that it was a central part of Duchamp's art practice and instrumental to the acceptance of his work within the institutional apparatus that constitutes the museum. Likewise, Adina Kamien-Kazhdan's *Remaking the Readymade* is also concerned with non-art work, namely the replication and sale of Duchamp's readymades many years after the originals had been lost. Kamien-Kazhdan finds that in the meticulous process of reproduction, these limited edition readymades sharpened the aesthetic qualities of the originals but also complicated the notions of authorship and originality since they were no longer singular objects of art. As Filipovic and Kamien-Kazhdan so aptly demonstrate, there are still aspects of Duchamp's legacy that have yet to be fully appreciated.

In considering these scholarly approaches and findings, this dissertation seeks to navigate an unexplored avenue of research in focusing on the corporeal, sartorial and curatorial dimensions of his artistic practice. In drawing on the plethora of studies that have come before, I hope to offer a critical analysis of Duchamp's works related to clothing and the fashioning of his body. Consequently, in order to expand our understanding and knowledge of Duchamp as his work intersects with concerns of the body, gender and Modernism, this study requires now an introduction to the theories of the fashioned body.

Fashion Theory and Modern Art

Unravelling the significance of the recurrent themes of dressing and undressing within Duchamp's oeuvre requires the methods and concepts of fashion studies that specifically address the fashioning of the body. Joanne Entwistle's book *The Fashioned Body* is of central importance to this dissertation in articulating the significance of the dressed body to the construction of identity, since a dressed body is a reflection of culture, societal norms and expectations. Entwistle argues that the act of dressing the body is "both an intimate experience of the body and a public presentation of it" that adheres to or deliberately subverts the historical and social constraints of culture at a particular moment in time.²¹ Integrating the work of sociological scholars like Erving Goffman on the presentation of the self within the bounds of cultural norms, Marcel Mauss on the techniques of the body, Pierre Bourdieu on the body as a bearer of social status and Michel Foucault on the body as an object of culture, Entwistle convincingly argues that dress is a valid "theoretical and methodological framework for understanding the complex dynamic relationship between body, dress and culture."²² Entwistle's work identifies clothing as an embodied daily practice that requires the individual to negotiate cultural norms and expectations in dressing, and in so doing make visible their management of the visual codes that articulate gender and identity on their body. Her insights align with Duchamp's experimentations with clothing in that Entwistle's fashion framework helps to reveal Duchamp's dynamic working at the intersection of fashion and art, especially in terms of equating his dressing in the masquerade of Rose Sélavy as an artistic strategy that uses his body as a readymade.

²¹ Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 7-11.

²² Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body*, 11.

Also relevant to this analysis of the fashioning of the body is the work of Elizabeth Grosz whose 1994 book *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* identifies a gendered corporality to account for the experiences and bodies of women. Rejecting the bifurcation of mind and body, she argues that the dichotomies of male and female and of mind and body have led to hierarchies. She asks: “How can the body inform the mind of its needs and wishes?”²³ To Grosz, by elevating consciousness above corporality, dualism creates binaries that ultimately deny the interaction of body and mind. Although she does not consider the dressing of the body in her analysis, her work is relevant in foregrounding the sometimes intuitive and unconscious decisions that are made when a person selects clothing. Her work enables us to read Duchamp’s choices in dressing his body as products of the mind/body interface.

Art historian Anne Hollander (1930-2014) laid the foundation for the analysis of fashionable dress in art in her many books and publications in arguing that art and clothing are intertwined in the tradition of picture making. In Hollander’s book *Seeing Through Clothes*, she offers a comprehensive analysis of the history of figurative art to argue that: “the clothed figure looks more persuasive and comprehensible in art than it does in reality.”²⁴ She maintains that “dress is a form of visual art, a creation of images with the visible self as the medium,” such that the act of dressing may be understood as “an aesthetic act” that is a form of “picture making.”²⁵ She contends that clothing “should be studied as

²³ Elizabeth A. Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 7.

²⁴ Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), xi.

²⁵ Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 311-315.

paintings are seen and studied – not primarily as cultural by-products or personal expressions but as connected links in a creative tradition of image-making.”²⁶ Over her lifetime, Hollander would continue to argue that dress was central to the understanding of representations of the body in art as our ways of seeing are impacted by the cultural and historical conventions at any given period of time,²⁷ and her work is often cited to different ends, including by Aileen Ribeiro and Elizabeth Wilson.

Art historian Aileen Ribeiro acknowledges Hollander’s significant contribution to the exploration of the links between art and dress in her most recent book *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600-1914* (2017), but points out that Hollander does not fully engage with the relationship of dress in art to dress in real life.²⁸ Ribeiro’s focus is on the identification and interpretation of specific garments in paintings and encourages the study of extant garments as well as related textual sources to aid in interpretation of works of art rather than theorizing the links between fashion and art. Cultural scholar Elizabeth Wilson draws on Hollander’s definition of “dress as a form of visual art” in exploring fashion as a cultural phenomenon in *Adorned in Dreams*.²⁹ In this seminal work, Wilson argues that fashion is an aesthetic medium in which the ambiguities of capitalism, identity and the meaning of art are given expression in modern society, such that fashion and art are seen as overlapping forms of aesthetic expression that articulate aspects of culture in visual form.

²⁶ Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, xvi.

²⁷ See, for example, Anne Hollander’s *Feeding the Eye* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), in which her reviews and published articles are collected together.

²⁸ Aileen Ribeiro, *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600-1914*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 2-3.

²⁹ Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 7.

Other scholars have adopted a variety of approaches to their analysis of the complicated relationship between fashion and art. In a 1998 article based on her dissertation project, Sung Bok Kim published a summary of her discursive analysis of art journals in the United States in order to make a quantitative assessment of whether scholars were writing about fashion as an art form. Using James Carney's style-relative model of art criticism, she systematically deconstructed the content of 32 articles written in US art periodicals, including *Art Forum* and *Art in America*, from 1980-1995. In her analysis, she identified postmodernism as the dominant style model used in locating fashion within the canon of art history and asserts that fashion shares the characteristics of postmodern art as an aesthetic medium, but her conclusion was tentative. She wrote: "it seems that fashion has become a recognizable subject within the postmodern art world as a result of broadened conceptions of fashion and art."³⁰ Sandra Miller revisited Kim's conclusion in her article: "Fashion as Art; is Fashion Art?" but took a radically different approach invoking concepts of classical aesthetics in her analysis. Her arguments deconstructed the philosophy of aesthetics in the writings of Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant, as well as considered the institutional theory of art, and she concluded that it was valid to ignore the functional dimension of clothing and view it as "beautiful objects of aesthetic contemplation."³¹ Charlene Lau argued that the terms of art could be used to investigate fashion in her dissertation project on the Belgian contemporary fashion label Bernhard Willhelm. Lau notes that the two disciplines overlap and are "in tension with each other" and at some points intersect or overlap such that there is "friction and opposition between art, commerce and mass

³⁰ Sung Bok Kim, "Is Fashion Art?" *Fashion Theory* 2 no. 1 (1998): 70.

³¹ Sandra Miller, "Fashion as Art; Is Fashion Art?" *Fashion Theory* 11 no.1 (2007): 39.

culture.”³² Although these art historians acknowledge the collapsing of boundaries in postmodern capitalist structures, all three scholars are careful not to directly engage with the question of whether an object of clothing might be considered art and this is worthy of emphasis here since Duchamp’s waistcoat readymades seem to directly interrogate that question.

In her book, *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion*, Nancy J. Troy identifies the absence of robust explanations that explore the deeper structural relations between the two domains of fashion and art. To remedy that gap, Troy compared the commercial practices of French designer Paul Poiret to that of the marketing strategies used by art dealer Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler in selling the easily reproducible Cubist works of Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque. She argued that in both domains the fundamental issues at stake were “the originality, authenticity, and aesthetic aura of the individual object, which are essential to the establishment of any fashion, whether in dresses or in vanguard art production.”³³ Troy incorporates Duchamp’s readymades (as a category of works) into her analysis, noting that a readymade and an haute couture dress are both imbued with the aura of their creators through “the addition of their creator’s signature – the couturier’s authentic label or the name of the artist – to an object of serial if not mass production.”³⁴ I acknowledge Troy’s work as foundational in my analysis in chapter 4 and will revisit her

³² Charlene Lau, *Total Work of Fashion: Bernhard Wilhelm and the Contemporary Avant-Garde* (PhD Dissertation, 2016), 40.

³³ Nancy Troy, *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), 8.

³⁴ Troy, *Couture Culture*, 9.

arguments later but note here that she does not identify nor discuss Duchamp's readymade waistcoat series in her comprehensive analysis of the readymade.

In their introduction to the anthology *Fashion and Art*, editors Adam Geczy and Vicki Karaminas give emphasis to the history of discourse that has positioned fashion as art's frivolous other, ascribed to "the domain of the feminine and the body, as opposed to art, which was deemed masculine and placed in the sphere of the mind and psyche."³⁵ Geczy and Karaminas judge this polarity as reductive, erroneous and unjust and also observe that there is no overarching discourse or field related to the intersections of fashion and art. Their anthology aims to be "*additive and supplementary*"³⁶ with essays by leading fashion scholars and art historians, including Valerie Steele who uses Bourdieu's notion of the cultural field to argue that fashion has not yet attained sufficient acceptance to be recognized as an art form;³⁷ as well as Nancy J. Troy who uses the example of Yves Saint Laurent's appropriation of Mondrian's little-known paintings in creating his 1965/66 Fall-Winter collection to argue that fashion and its dissemination in mass media was critical in the ultimate popularity of Mondrian's modernist works.³⁸ These and other essays in the book articulate some of the intersection points, overlaps and divergences between fashion and art. Although Geczy and Karaminas note that the definition of art has expanded since "the so-called Duchampian revolution"³⁹ to embrace a broader range of objects and meanings about consumption, popular culture and the everyday, a very significant point of

³⁵ Adam Geczy and Vicki Karaminas, *Fashion and Art* (London: Berg, 2012), 3.

³⁶ Geczy and Karaminas, *Fashion and Art*, 11. Authors' emphasis in original text.

³⁷ Steele, "Fashion" in *Fashion and Art*, 13-27.

³⁸ Troy, "Art" in *Fashion and Art*, 29-41.

³⁹ Geczy and Karaminas, *Fashion and Art*, 5.

intersection that is not covered in their comprehensive survey is Duchamp's waistcoat ready-made series and other works by Duchamp that deal with clothing and the fashioned body.

If Duchamp's readymades reveal that indeed art can be anything, then an analysis of Duchamp's waistcoat readymades is essential also to help unravel fashion's role as an ideological construct that mirrors the paradoxical ambiguities of capitalism. As this dissertation will show in more detail, it is these ambiguities, this blurring of boundaries – between commerce and culture, between fashion and art, between museum and retail shop – that is emblematic of the profound ambiguities that permeate all aspects of contemporary life. As Troy as well as Geczy and Millner have observed, the writing of art history tends to underplay the link of art to commerce, even though both fashion and art are implicated and intertwined in capitalism.⁴⁰ The act of creation by the artist is often seen as originating from a genius that is unmotivated by capitalistic motivations, a myth that mid-twentieth-century Duchamp scholars helped perpetuate, as we shall see.

Duchamp's ready-made waistcoat series is a significant artistic gesture that reveals the frictions and oppositions that exist between art and fashion, especially when such objects enter the museum or gallery. It is within the context of the museum or art gallery that the objects on display shape public perception of “what is valuable and important at

⁴⁰ In both works, the authors provide thorough analyses of how the contemporary art market has coopted the marketing strategies of the fashion system. Troy's work will be discussed at length in chapter 4. I note here that in Geczy and Millner's introduction, the authors observe that the works of Duchamp and other modernists, who largely feigned indifference to commercial sales of their work during their lifetime, have “participated robustly in the art market” because of their value as cultural signs. See Adam Geczy and Jacqueline Millner. *Fashionable Art* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 18.

each period of their existence”⁴¹ and also convey the shifting meanings of art. When Duchamp chose to sign as a readymade a waistcoat purchased at a department store, was he testing the boundaries of the readymade? This question does not seem to have been asked but it is central to this study, which concerns itself with the multifarious relationship between fashion and art.

It is when fashion enters the art museum that the question of whether fashion is art has aroused polemical critique, perhaps because the museum represents a cultural arbiter of taste in collecting what is considered valuable and unique, as Carol Duncan opines in her book *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*.⁴² The museum as an institution strips objects of their original function, as Pierre Bourdieu observes in *The Rules of Art*, and reduces things “to their essentially artistic function.”⁴³ This is what Duchamp did when he ignored the original function of the bottle rack, snow shovel, comb, typewriter cover, and waistcoats in assigning them the status of readymade. Duchamp’s readymades shifted the meaning of art, such that “anything is art, if an artist says it is,” as Lucy Lippard noted in 1970.⁴⁴ Although art might be anything, this expansion of the boundaries of art did not forestall the vitriolic criticism that arose upon The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s first career retrospective of a living fashion designer in an exhibition called *Yves Saint Laurent: 25 Years of Design* in 1983. Such an exhibition had never been offered to a living fashion

⁴¹ Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study* (London: Leicester University Press, 1992), 89.

⁴² Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1-6.

⁴³ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 328.

⁴⁴ Lucy Lippard, *Surrealists on Art* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 111.

designer before,⁴⁵ and this resulted in much debate over whether fashion belonged in the museum in light of its connections to commerce.⁴⁶ Art critic Robert Storr compared the exhibit to “turning gallery space over to General Motors for a display of Cadillacs,” and this type of scathing criticism resulted in The Metropolitan Museum of Art prohibiting other exhibitions of living fashion designer’s work – a ban that remained in force until 2017.⁴⁷ As fashion exhibitions increased in popularity, the hostility of critics was further aroused,⁴⁸ and

⁴⁵ Fashion has had a relatively short history as a collectible object within public museums. For example, the Victoria & Albert Museum in London and The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York have collected textiles since their inception in the mid-nineteenth century but did not undertake the collection of fashionable dress as a separate object category until the early to middle of the twentieth century. See Julia Petrov, *Dressing Ghosts: Museum Exhibitions of Historical Fashion in Britain and North America* (PhD Dissertation, University of Leicester, 2012). In Judith Clark and Amy de la Haye’s *Exhibiting Fashion: Before and After 1971* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), the authors identify 1971 as a pivotal year in the history of fashion in the museum with Cecil Beaton’s exhibition *Fashion: An Anthology* at the Victoria & Albert Museum since it was the first time that contemporary fashion was presented in a museum. Beaton borrowed garments from his large social circle to create this exhibition, notably his friend Diana Vreeland who loaned a Chanel pant suit, which she later donated to the museum. In 1972, Vreeland began work as the Special Consultant to the Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York where she organized 11 exhibitions of fashion, including the Yves Saint Laurent exhibition in 1983, bringing enormous crowds into the museum but also attracting significant controversy as well.

⁴⁶ Robert Storr qtd. in Valerie Steele “Museum Quality: The Rise of the Fashion Exhibition,” *Fashion Theory* 12, no.1 (2008): 12.

⁴⁷ In 2017, The Metropolitan Museum of Art presented *Rei Kawakubo/Comme des Garçons* – a thematic career retrospective that examined Kawakubo’s body of work. See The Metropolitan Museum of Art press release renouncing the ban: “Rei Kawakubo/Comme des Garçons: Art of the In-Between” updated May 1, 2017.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/press/exhibitions/2016/rei-kawakubo>

⁴⁸ See for example Debra Silverman’s book *Selling Culture* in which she expresses vitriolic critique of Diana Vreeland’s exhibitions at The Met: Debra Silverman, *Selling Culture: Bloomingdale’s, Diana Vreeland, and the New Aristocracy of Taste in Reagan’s America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986). For a concise summary of the history and critique of retrospective museum exhibitions of fashion designers, see N.J. Stevenson, “The Fashion Retrospective,” *Fashion Theory* 12, no. 2, 219-235. Valerie Steele also discusses the hostility of critics to exhibitions of fashion in “Museum Quality” *Fashion Theory* 12, no.1 (2008), 7-30.

Michael Boodro voiced his disdain about this incursion of fashion into the museum when he wrote in *Artnews* in 1990: “There is a longstanding, genteel tradition – an ideal, at least – that art is the creation of individuals burning bright with lofty inspiration, that art is above commerce, that art, for its own sake or for any other reason, is the big, important thing ... Fashion is not art. Fashion is frivolous and unimportant.”⁴⁹

Although boundaries between mediums have largely disappeared in the exhibition of art, suspicion about fashion in the museum lingers today. This is evidenced by art critic David Carrier’s critique of The Met’s *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition in the summer of 2018.⁵⁰ Carrier argued that the exhibition highlighted the vast difference between an exhibition of fashion and one of art, since fashion exhibitions do not provide “the scholarly apparatus associated with art history writing.”⁵¹ In Carrier’s reading of fashion as an expression of the wearer’s “desire to be worshiped,” he reads fashion as a frivolous pursuit. He would later offer a more nuanced analysis of the 2018 fashion exhibition *Contemporary Muslim Fashion* at the San Francisco Museum of Fine Art and this time was more careful to address the difficulties for an art critic in writing about fashion in the museum, acknowledging the “lengthy tradition of Duchampian works that raise questions about the very nature of art.”

⁴⁹ Michael Boodro, qtd. by Sung Bok Kim, “Is Fashion Art?” *Fashion Theory* 2, no. 1 (1998): 54. Ellipsis in original.

⁵⁰ This fashion exhibition was the “most visited exhibition” in The Met’s history bringing in 1,659,647 people. The previous show record was the 1978 exhibition *Treasures of Tutankahmun*, which was seen by 1,360,957 people. See The Met’s Press Release dated October 11, 2018, accessed December 17, 2018.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/press/news/2018/heavenly-bodies-most-visited-exhibition>

⁵¹ David Carrier, “The Divergence of Art and Fashion at the Metropolitan Museum,” in *Hyperallergic*, July 14, 2018, accessed August 15, 2018.

<https://hyperallergic.com/450868/heavenly-bodies-fashion-and-the-catholic-imagination-at-the-metropolitan-museum-of-art/>

He observes that visitors to a museum take for granted that something must be art if it is in a museum, but asks “Is fashion itself art? If so, what kind of art is it?” Carrier also observes that most art criticism “has barely touched upon these issues”⁵² and I will return to these questions in my concluding remarks.

This dissertation is also concerned with curatorial practice since it is the curator that articulates the display of the object and invites critical reception of the object as a work of art. In the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Curatorial Studies* editors Jennifer Fisher and Jim Drobnick ask a question that is aligned with this project: “What connections exist between displays of visual art and those found in culture at large?”⁵³ This question addresses an integral concern with the presentation of fashion in the museum since there may be little apparent difference between the museum and retail display. In the book *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating*, Jean-Paul Martinon outlines the contingent and participatory nature of contemporary curatorial practice.⁵⁴ As we shall see, Duchamp’s curatorial gestures in the 1938 and 1942 exhibitions of surrealism were prescient in redefining the nature of the spectator’s role in viewing art. By linking Duchamp’s exhibition design for the 1938 International Exhibition of Surrealism to an exhibition of fashion that resonated with Duchampian influences, namely, *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* curated

⁵² David Carrier, “The Challenges of Fashion in a Museum,” in *Hyperallergic* November 17, 2018, accessed: December 17, 2018. <https://hyperallergic.com/471639/contemporary-muslim-fashions-de-young-museum/>

⁵³ Jim Drobnick and Jennifer Fisher, “Editorial,” *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012), 3.

⁵⁴ Jean-Paul Martinon (ed.), *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

by Judith Clark in 2010, I show that the role of the active engaged spectator was celebrated in both.

Ultimately, since fashion studies and fashion curatorial studies are relatively new fields in comparison to other disciplines,⁵⁵ they are also growing and dynamic fields of studies to which this dissertation hopes to contribute. In this dissertation, I rely on and integrate key texts by and on Duchamp within the chapters themselves to bring them into new theoretical conversation with fashion and curatorial studies. In examining the importance of clothing and fashion in Duchamp's avant-garde aesthetic, this dissertation hopes to expand knowledge of this artist's work as it intersects with concerns of the fashioned body as well as the role of the curator and spectator in reading art.

Material Culture and the Fashioned Body

This doctoral study recognizes the importance of material culture in relation to the body and poses questions about how Duchamp fashioned his body in his life and in his work to align with and also subvert gender and artistic norms. The body with its material needs and affects is foregrounded in the Amelia Jones' *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp* in her deconstruction of the traditional art historical accounts related to

⁵⁵ The field of fashion curatorial studies has emerged in the last decade, following a special issue of *Fashion Theory* in 2008 in which curators including Valerie Steele and Alexandra Palmer articulated some of the key issues that delimit an exhibition of fashion from exhibitions of artwork or other objects. One of the first extended scholarly works to trace the development of fashion curation as a field is by Judith Clark and Amy de la Haye with Jeff Horsley, *Exhibiting Fashion: Before and After 1971* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

the avant-garde from a feminist and queered angle.⁵⁶ She also explores the performative role of clothing in the creation of identity for the male artist-dandy in her essay, “‘Clothes Make the Man’: The Male Artist as a Performative Function.” In her visual analysis of a single photographic image for each artist – Eugène Delacroix, Théophile Gautier, Oscar Wilde, Duchamp as Rose Sélavy, Jackson Pollock, Andy Warhol, and Jeff Koons – she argues that dress was harnessed by these artists as a tool to reinforce or subvert ideas of masculinity.⁵⁷ Her analysis, which will be revisited later in the chapter 2, does not take into account the fact that Duchamp’s multiple personae are fashioned through dress.

Sight has long been privileged in art history, but the so-called material turn recognizes the dynamic relationship that people have with their things.⁵⁸ This approach not only embraces questions about what objects and artworks reveal about culture, but also considers how people use such things in shaping their life. Clothing, in particular, is a constituent element of body practice that frames identity and gender within or against the expectations and boundaries set by culture. Recently this approach has been embraced by scholars in considering how artists, notably modernist artists Georgia O’Keeffe and Frida Kahlo, used their wardrobes in framing their artistic identities, and the adoption of a

⁵⁶ Amelia Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁵⁷ Amelia Jones, “‘Clothes Make the Man’: The Male Artist as a Performative Function,” *The Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 2 (1995): 18-32.

⁵⁸ The material turn originates in the discipline of anthropology and has been adopted by other fields over time. Jules David Prown was an early advocate for art historians and his approach to studying objects is still used today. Aileen Ribeiro has also long advocated for the close study of garments in developing a more nuanced understanding of art works; for a recent essay on that topic, see Aileen Ribeiro, “Painting,” in *Fashion and Art*, 169-177. For an extended analysis of why historians should pay attention to the look of the past in words, images and objects, see Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

material culture approach to the artists' wardrobes and possessions has facilitated significant insights into their life and work.⁵⁹

The material turn encourages contact and sensory engagement with the materials under investigation. In "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," Igor Kopytoff asks: "Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognised 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life,' and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?"⁶⁰ Using this approach to study objects like art, photographs and clothing facilitates the affective and empathetic engagement with the past since researchers are encouraged to literally hold the past in their hands and consider the comprehensive biography of that thing from the moment of origin to the present. The analysis of objects, both artworks and clothing, entails close observation of the object, reflection upon the evidence revealed therein, and interpretation of the significance thereof, both in relation to the biography of the object as well as in relation to wider narratives of culture.⁶¹ Clothing

⁵⁹ See Wanda M. Corn, *Georgia O'Keeffe: Living Modern* (New York: Prestel Books, 2017). Also see Claire Wilcox and Circe Henestrosa, *Frida Kahlo: Making Her Self Up*, (London: V&A Publishing, 2018).

⁶⁰ Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 66-67.

⁶¹ Jules David Prown is widely acknowledged as one of the first to articulate a specific process by which to study artifacts. See Jules Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (1982): 1-19. In my work as a fashion curator, I adapted Prown to develop a methodology that was specifically created for dress artifacts; Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim, *The Dress Detective: A Practical Guide to Object-based Research in Fashion* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

engages the senses, particularly through its tactile qualities, and ideally, the researcher examines the garment in person.

During the course of this project, I studied several waistcoats at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London and in the Ryerson Fashion Research Collection to ensure that I was familiar with the material qualities of such garments. As for the four waistcoats by Duchamp, I was able to examine high resolution photographs but not the actual objects, although in 2012 I saw *Gilet pour Benjamin Péret* on display in the exhibition *Reflecting Fashion* at the Museum Moderner Kunst in Vienna. Two of the waistcoats remain within the Duchamp family who wish to retain their privacy and do not allow researchers access to the garments.⁶² The other two of the waistcoats are in museums on the other side of the world for me – the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington and the Israel Museum of Art in Jerusalem – and both museums freely shared information and photos. I examined the entire contents of the *Duchamp Dossier* at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which included a portion of Duchamp's necktie as well as ephemera related to his clothing practices, which is discussed in Chapter 3. I also examined the two Mondrian dresses by Yves Saint Laurent in the Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for the readymade discussion in chapter 4. As well, the visual interpretation of images, including paintings and photographs, is greatly enhanced when it is also possible to study the garment shown in the image or by examining similar garments.⁶³ For the analysis of

⁶² Email to author from a representative of the Association Marcel Duchamp in Paris dated March 30, 2018.

⁶³ Art historian Aileen Ribeiro is an advocate for this methodology and has documented the connections between works of art and extant garments from museum collections in several of her books including: Aileen Ribeiro with Cally Blackman, *A Portrait of Fashion: Six Centuries of Dress at the National Portrait Gallery* (London: St. Martin's Press, 2015).

photographs of Duchamp, I sought comparable garments from museum collections and thus connected the clothing in the images to extant garments.⁶⁴

As an interdisciplinary study encompassing art history, curatorial practice, and fashion studies, this dissertation is uniquely situated. The objective of this dissertation is to both fill a notable gap in Duchamp scholarship by focusing on Duchamp's use of clothing as sartorial art, and to reveal the waistcoat readymade series as a provocative gesture that complicates the status of fashion in the art museum. Chapter 2 now turns to explore the drawings of the Duchamp that first reveal his interest in clothing and fashion.

⁶⁴ This approach is the focus of a forthcoming book; Ingrid Mida, *Reading Fashion in Art* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020).

Chapter 2

Duchamp and Drawing: Fashioning the Figure

At that time [1907-1909] I was especially interested in drawing.
--Marcel Duchamp¹

In light of Duchamp's professed disdain for what he called "retinal art,"² it is not surprising that his drawings are rarely discussed in the analysis of his artistic production. If mentioned at all, the early drawings are usually examined in the context of Duchamp's efforts to become a practicing artist – a period that he later described as "swimming lessons" in his interview with Cabanne.³ Although some of the later drawings, particularly the preparatory drawings and notes (1913-1915) for his seminal work *The Bride Stripped Bare* (1915-1923), have been subjected to close scrutiny, drawing does not seem to have become the locus of any in-depth scholarly analysis or exhibition of Duchamp's works. Drawing has long been viewed as an "intermediate or secondary" artistic medium and for that reason has remained largely absent from the critical discourse of art history.⁴ However, recent scholarly attention has recast drawing from its marginalized position in the hierarchy of art, such that drawing is now perceived as "performance, as a tool, as a place of production, as a discursive exploration, a site of conception and as a cognitive process."⁵ This has resulted

¹ Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 22.

² As noted earlier, this phrase was often used by Duchamp to describe work that pleases the eye.

³ Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 22.

⁴ Adrianna Ionascu and Doris Rohr, "Drawing Now," *Drawing Research, Theory, Practice* 1 (2016): 3.

⁵ Ionascu and Rohr, "Drawing Now," 5.

in a broader consideration of what drawing encompasses and what it represents. Deanna Petherbridge argues that drawings are “as much the contained sites of meaning as any other cultural production.”⁶ Drawings facilitate the reading of the artist’s intention in providing material evidence of the artist’s hand, temperament, and modes of thinking.

Drawing – a term that is difficult to define but generally understood to mean the making of marks on a two-dimensional support like paper in a linear manner that is distinguished from painting – can encompass both mimetic and abstracted work. With this definition, an analysis of Duchamp’s drawings might embrace everything from his earliest pencil sketches (1902-1906), his published and unpublished illustrations (1907-1909), his preparatory sketches and notes for *The Bride Stripped Bare* (1913-1915), his moustache on the Mona Lisa called *L.H.O.O.Q.* (1919), his signature on a the *Tzanck Check* (1919), his notes for *Box in a Valise* (1938-1942), as well his late-in-life pen-and-ink drawings of a man’s tailcoat (*Jacquette* 1955) and a series of etchings of nude men and women in erotic encounters (1967-1968). In the context of Duchamp’s overall achievements, his unexplored drawings reveal aspects of the artist and his craft, since it is in drawing that the artist “leaves his mark, signing himself” and in doing so, reaches out as “an extension of the self.”⁷

Drawings capture the physical gestures of the artist in inscribing marks on a planar surface to create mimetic representations or abstractions born in the imagination.

Petherbridge distinguishes between mimetic drawing and interpretative drawing noting that

⁶ Deanna Petherbridge, *The Primacy of Drawing: Histories and Theories of Practice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 10.

⁷ David Rosand, *Drawing Acts: Studies in Graphic Expression and Representation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 330.

both strategies have the potential to create something new. The marks made by an artist in drawing serve as primary evidence of the body and mind at work and this evidence is, as Peter Crowther writes: “physically discontinuous from the existence of the artist” such that we as the viewers can “determine what is distinctive to the artist, and what has been based simply on generally available rules and techniques.”⁸ In interpreting a drawing, Crowther cautions readers that the work exists “in the form of an invitation to the viewer” to “share in the vision” as a way of seeing, allowing us to “inhabit the artist’s style on their own terms.”⁹ To supplement my analysis, I also replicated several drawings by Duchamp to more closely understand the nuances, speed and weight of Duchamp’s gestures and also practice what I have theorized elsewhere as *The Slow Approach to Seeing*.¹⁰ In this chapter I also harness my curatorial knowledge of historic dress and fashion to reveal the subtle details of the fashioned body that demarcate notions of gender, identity, and class in Duchamp’s drawings. In undertaking this analysis, I note here that my selection of drawings by Duchamp relies on the catalogues published by Robert Lebel, Arturo Schwarz, and Anne d’Harnoncourt as well as the online museum collections of Centre Pompidou, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The J. Paul Getty Museum, The Israel Art Museum, the Yale Art Centre, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Art Gallery of Ontario.

⁸ Peter Crowther, *What Drawing and Painting Really Mean: The Phenomenology of Image and Gesture* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 27.

⁹ Crowther, *What Drawing and Painting Really Mean*, 28.

¹⁰ Ingrid Mida, “The Curator’s Sketchbook: Reflections on Learning to See,” *Drawing: Research, Theory, Practice* 2, no. 2 (2017): 275-285. In carefully replicating Duchamp’s drawings, I also strategically navigate copyright restrictions over publication, since these drawings are my own.

This chapter brings attention to select drawings by Duchamp in which he has represented or altered the dressed and undressed body in some way as evidence that the artist reveals himself as being aware of and sensitive to the nuances of fashion, gender norms, and bourgeois codes of behaviour. In making this claim, this chapter does not propose to align fashion with ideals of beauty, but rather to understand it as Wilson describes it: as “an aesthetic medium for the expression of ideas, desires and beliefs circulating in society.”¹¹ The following analysis argues that it is in Duchamp’s early sketchbook studies that he first takes notice of the importance of clothing in signaling gender and identity. It is his illustrations for French satirical journals that offer evidence of his skill in mimetic representation, his burgeoning interest in language and text, his sense of irony, and most importantly his knowledge of fashionable dress and shifting gender roles and expectations as well as his early explorations of androgyny. In his later drawings, there is further evidence of his imagination at work and an ongoing lifelong interest in the dressed and undressed body. By establishing that Duchamp’s drawings reveal a profound awareness of the fashioned body, this chapter will be helpful in later unmasking him as a Baudelairian dandy in chapter 3 and also in contextualizing his waistcoat readymade series in chapter 4.

¹¹ Elisabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 9.

Sketchbook Studies

Duchamp's early sketchbook drawings from 1904-1905 record his efforts to capture the essence of a moving figure in pencil and watercolour.¹² These drawings made in Paris document his quick impressions of people and animals on the street. There are several studies of women in hats, such *Woman's Head with Large Hat* (Figure 2.1).¹³ Many of the drawings are of working class men, including a policeman from the back (Figure 2.2), a knife-grinder with his grinding machine (Figure 2.3), a gasman (Figure 2.4), a vegetable peddler (Figure 2.5), and two types of coachmen (Figures 2.6 and 2.7). It is in a sketchbook where artists develop their skills and work out ideas, and in these rapid drawings Duchamp captures the general silhouette and distinguishing elements of men's and women's dress. Although Duchamp was "not precocious in his artistic abilities," as Tomkins noted in his biography of the artist,¹⁴ the artist signalled his self-confidence in taking the time to sign "Marcel Duchamp" or write his initials "M.D." on most of the sketches.

What we can read from these early studies is evidence of Duchamp's cognizance of the distinguishing nature of the man's dress or uniform in relation to his class and profession, a topic to which he returns in his later works. As Barbara Vinken observes:

¹² Duchamp also created many finished drawings and paintings during this period, including a drawing called *Grandmother* (1904). In this part, I focus on a subset of these early works that are not intended as portraits but rather reflect his interest in uniforms.

¹³ See Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp: 66 Creative Years. From the First Painting to the Last Drawing* (Milan: Gallery Schwarz, 1972), 11-13. This catalogue includes five studies of women's hats dated to 1904-1905, including: *Study of Woman's Hat*; *Woman's Head with Hat*; *Woman's Silhouette with Hat*, *Woman with Hat over the Eye*; *Woman's Head with Large Hat*. Like the drawings of men in uniform, these sketches are rendered quickly in conté pencil with relatively few lines. All are signed with the initials M.D. Aside from Schwarz, I have not seen these drawings of women in hats reproduced elsewhere.

¹⁴ Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography*, 24.

“uniforms, owing to their massive presence in bourgeois society, assume a unique status by representing the only place where masculinity is literally on display.”¹⁵ In each case, Duchamp has taken care to include something that is distinctive about the figure, by articulating the idiosyncratic clothing and/or equipment that is appropriate to their work. The *gendarme*/policeman wears the kepi, a hat with a flat circular top (Figure 2.2). The knife-grinder wears a homburg, a heavy coat and high boots while standing leaning into the rotating machine of his profession (Figure 2.3). The gasman is dressed in a humble cap and coat (Figure 2.4). The vegetable peddler wears a bowler hat and long bulky coat (Figure 2.5). The funeral coachman wears a distinctive tall peaked hat like a bishop’s mitre as well as an expansive cloak with shoulder cape (Figure 2.6). The driver coachman wears a top hat, warm scarf and thick cloak (Figure 2.7). That Duchamp was able to articulate these subtle details in dress when making sketches of moving figures is evidence of his discerning eye.

As the hand and eye work in tandem in creating a drawing, there is an innate or embodied form of knowledge that is learned from drawing. In the process of translating a three-dimensional object onto a two-dimensional support through mark making, an artist must slow down to look carefully to discern and make marks that record relative proportions of parts of the thing, subtle differences in patterns of light and dark, as well shape and texture. This requires an extended process of being in proximity to the person or the thing, making drawing distinctly different from painting, where a brush facilitates quick translation of form onto canvas, or photography, where light is transformed into images

¹⁵ Barbara Vinken, “Tranvesty – Travesty: Fashion and Gender,” *Fashion Theory* 3, no.1, (1999): 36.

through digital or chemical processes. As the artist looks at the object, they are learning about the object and their looking can be equated to a form of touching.¹⁶ This process of extended looking may also involve thinking about what the object is used for, as well as considering what the object means or represents in order to translate it into a work of art. In the process of looking deeply for an extended period of time, the artist learns about the qualities of that object, such that there is a course of discovery that is enacted through drawing.¹⁷

Others before me have noticed that drawing creates a form of embodied knowledge. In 1857, John Ruskin described the process of learning to draw as “a refinement of perception” in the preface to *The Elements of Drawing*.¹⁸ He articulated his hope that in teaching drawing, he would teach his students to love nature. Ruskin ascribed more importance to having his pupils engaged with nature through drawing, than in learning to draw, and wrote: “I believe that the sight is a more important thing than the drawing; and I would rather teach drawing that my pupils learn to love Nature, than teach the looking at nature that they may learn to draw.”¹⁹ In a similar vein, John Berger argued in the essay “Drawing is Discovery” that the artist embarks on a journey of discovery in drawing and is forced to look at the object to mediate the discrepancies between the representation on paper and the object itself. He wrote: “It is a platitude in the teaching of drawing that the

¹⁶ For a philosophical analysis of the process of touching-not touching when drawing, see Sarah Casey, “A Delicate Presence: The Queer Intimacy of Drawing.” *Tracey | Journal Drawing in-Situ* (July 2016): 1-8.

¹⁷ Mida, “The Curator’s Sketchbook: Reflections on Learning to See,” 283.

¹⁸ John Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing* with a new Introduction by Lawrence Campbell, (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 12.

¹⁹ Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing*, 13.

heart of the matter lies in the specific process of looking. A line, an area of tone, is not really important because it records what you have seen, but because of what it will lead you on to see.”²⁰ Likewise, in replicating several of Duchamp’s drawings, I put myself in his place, and reconfirm my belief that there is a connection between the hand of the artist and brain in the work of drawing that leads to a form of embodied knowledge.

In his philosophical treatise *Being and Time* (1927), Martin Heidegger used the term *handling* to describe a form of knowledge that is gained through the handling of materials and objects. He argued that theoretical knowledge and understanding comes after the active use and engagement with things, citing a hammer as an example. Heidegger suggested that it is in the active use of a hammer that we come to know how it works. I concur but I also assert that we might also understand the qualities of a thing by drawing it, since drawing is a process in which the eye, the hand, and the thinking brain work in concert. In a later work by Heidegger called *The Task of Thinking* (1964), he returns to the special relationship between the work of the hand and the brain, noting that “altogether something peculiar” about the hand.²¹ In this passage he notes that the hand and brain work together such that: “Every motion of the hand in every one of its works carries itself through the element of thinking, every bearing of the hand bears itself in that element. All the work of the hand is rooted in thinking.”²² Although Heidegger does not mention drawing, it is in drawing that the hand is in motion, making marks on a surface that originate in the thinking brain, such that the mind and body become one.

²⁰ John Berger, “Drawing is Discovery,” *Statesman and Nation* 46 (August 29, 1953): 232.

²¹ Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings from Being and Time (1927) and The Task of Thinking (1964)*, ed. David Farrell Krell (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2008), 380.

²² Heidegger, *Basic Writings*, 381.

My position that the drawing hand is *rooted in thinking* is also underpinned by the work of others who have interpreted Heidegger before me. Barbara Bolt takes a parallel stance in linking Heidegger's notion of handling to that of creative arts practice and argues that Heidegger's notion of handling can be understood to encompass the work of the hands, eyes and mind of the artist, since it takes careful engagement with the object in order to translate that thing into a work of art. She further argues that: "The privileged place of art arises from its capacity to create an opening, a space in which we are forced to reconsider the relations that occur in the process or tissue of making life."²³ Deanna Petherbridge also used Heidegger's notion of handling to describe the thinking hand of the artist in her magnum opus *The Primacy of Drawing* (2010). She maintains that drawing, whether it is with traditional mediums or with a computer drawing program, requires a "focused acuity of looking" that is reinforced by the "bodily responses of touch and handling and memories of bodily experiences."²⁴ Petherbridge argues against theoretical positions that have de-centered the artist or author and undermined their creative responsibility for the artwork, instead maintaining that "artists know what they are doing."²⁵ She opines that the reading of a drawing "requires an empathetic response" as well as consideration of "other possibilities of meaning construction."²⁶

As a curator who uses drawing as part of my practice, I can give an empathetic response to Duchamp's sketchbook drawings. Making a drawing requires a choice of

²³ Barbara Bolt, "Materializing Pedagogies," *Working Papers in Art and Design 4* (2006): 5.

²⁴ Petherbridge, *The Primacy of Drawing*, 12.

²⁵ Petherbridge, *The Primacy of Drawing*, 12.

²⁶ Petherbridge, *The Primacy of Drawing*, 12.

subject and in his drawings made outside of the home, Duchamp chose to draw numerous men in uniform as well as women in hats for his studies. In copying selected drawings from this series, I emulate his gestures and appreciate that his gestures mark a searching of line and form, giving emphasis to the distinctive silhouettes of each gender. Thus, in considering these sketchbook drawings of women in hats and men in uniform by Duchamp, I argue that Duchamp was cognizant and purposeful in his choices of subject matter. As Duchamp made these drawings, he was practising the focused looking required to make mimetic drawings, and his hand and brain were working in concert in the manner of Heidegger's *handling*. In the process of creating these drawings, especially those of men in uniforms, Duchamp learned to discern the subtle differences in the dress of each profession and was in effect teaching himself about the significance of dress and identity which would manifest in his later work.

Illustrations

Between 1907 and 1909, Marcel Duchamp followed his brothers in creating comical illustrations for the Parisian satirical journals *Le Rire* and *Le Courrier Français*. Unlike his early sketchbook drawings, most of these finished works are rendered with exacting precision and a careful modulation of tones. Rendered in conté, graphite, and ink, these drawings capture imagined encounters taking place in public places like an atelier, a bar, and an ice cream parlour. In these comical illustrations, Duchamp created focal points in each image with measured placement of the figures and delineation of areas of high contrast with the rendering of deep blacks in ink. Handwritten titles and captions towards

the bottom of the images illuminate the irony depicted in the scenes and reveal Duchamp's sense of wit and attentiveness to language.

Although this series is sometimes mentioned in tracing the history of Duchamp's career, the illustrations are little explored. Francis M. Naumann reads the theme of sexual opposition into these works noting that they are "guises that are meant to emphasize their opposing sexual and sociological identities," but he does not read further into the significance of this.²⁷ While I do not deny the erotic subtext of this work, these works also serve as evidence of Duchamp's awareness of the dressed body, especially in relation to the shifting codes of behaviour for women in society during the early part of the twentieth century. There are also several images from this time period that suggest an early exploration of androgyny which I will return to later. What is also distinct about this series of works is that Duchamp created many of these images with the intent to share them through publication, suggesting that he knew he needed to be observant of the tastes (and dress) of the bourgeois audience for these journals.

A close reading of selected illustrations created in 1907-1909 reveals that Duchamp explored the articulation of gender roles through dress. These works provide evidence of Duchamp's knowledge of the subtle nuances of fashionable dress for the period called *la belle époque*, a time of lavish excess defined as "the last good time of the upper classes" prior to the upheaval of World War I.²⁸ For men, the principle of discretion in dress was

²⁷ Francis M. Naumann, "Marcel Duchamp: A Reconciliation of Opposites," in *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry de Duve (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 46.

²⁸ James Laver, *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 220.

paramount and demonstrated in sober dress of dark colour, typically a finely tailored three-piece suit of jacket, trousers, and waistcoat, accessorized with a tie and hat.²⁹ The tailor-made or readymade suit for women also grew in importance as daywear, reflecting the emergence of women in public spaces like department stores, bars, and cafés, as well as the increasing number of middle-class women entering the workforce as typists, shop assistants and governesses.³⁰ The adoption of readymades by women several decades after men had embraced this trend reflects the gendered aspect to the history of readymade clothing and will be discussed at length in in chapter 4. In the March 1908 issue of *Vogue*, several versions of the “pretty walking suit” are illustrated along with variations on shirtwaists or blouses (see Figure 2.8). The skirt to the featured walking costume is described in the text as being made of eleven gores giving it an expansive flare towards the bottom, while the semi-fitted two-button coat hugs the body in the bust-heavy silhouette fashionable in 1908.³¹ This walking suit represents a style that is replicated by Duchamp in several drawings. The accessories of choice to finish the look of the fashionable walking suit were large hats adorned with plumes and are seen in several of the drawings in this series. In the next part, each illustration is analyzed in turn, with close attention to the manner in which

²⁹ François Baudot, *Fashion, The Twentieth Century*, trans. Jane Brenton (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 56.

³⁰ Laver, *Costume and Fashion*, 220.

³¹ As James Laver notes in his analysis of this period, this silhouette began to be less pronounced in the latter part of 1908 and while the bust was still prominent, it was no longer “thrust quite so far forward, not the hips so far back.” Although some designers like Poiret experimented with high waisted gowns for evening wear, it would take about two years before the pronounced shift in women’s fashions to a much narrower silhouette would be widely adopted. See Laver, *Costume and Fashion*, 220-253.

Duchamp fashioned the figures yielding further evidence of his careful observation of the articulation of gender by the dressed body.

In *Flirt/ Flirtation*, one of the earliest works in the series dated to 1907 and rendered in ink, wash and blue pencil, Duchamp depicts a woman seated at a piano speaking to a gentleman seated nearby on a Bergère chair (Figure 2.9). The dialogue between the two is inscribed on the lower right of the image and reads: “*Elle – Voulez vous que je joue ‘Sur les Flots Bleus’; Vous verrez comme ce piano rend bien l’impression qui se dégage du titre?/ Lui (spirituel) – Ca n’a rien d’étonnant Mademoiselle, c’est un piano...aqueux.*” This translates into English as: “She – Would you like me to play ‘On the Blue Waters’; You’ll see how well this piano renders the impression suggested by the title? ... He (wittily) – There’s nothing strange about that, it’s a watery piano.” Duchamp’s pun on the French term for grand piano (*piano à queue*) is of secondary importance to this study. This illustration is looser in style than his later works in this series, and the woman’s dress and silhouette are rendered with relatively few strokes of a confident hand. She wears a stylish blouse with gigot sleeves and a long skirt with an expansive bow that spills over her seat back. She is shown from behind, a view that gives emphasis to her luxurious dark hair that has been pulled to the back of the head and drawn up onto the crown of the head in the fashionable pompadour style. Her gentleman friend takes form with a few measured strokes by Duchamp in dark black ink that defines his costume of a dark tailored suit worn with a waistcoat and a shirt with the high, stiff collar that was fashionable for men at that time. Although other scholars, including D’Harnoncourt and McShine, have focused on the text

in this series as evidence of Duchamp's taste for visual and verbal puns,³² what is also notable is Duchamp's depiction of a stylish bourgeois couple.

In the 1909 sketch *Mi-Carême / Mid-Lent* (Figure 2.10), Duchamp's drawing has evolved into an even more measured and precise rendering of form. Although evidence of his hand remains, this work is less gestural and more considered. Two dressmakers are working on an evening gown mounted on a dress form. The text reads "*Mi-Carême / Naturalmente qu'on va sans chapeau au bal*" which translates to "It is mid-Lent. Naturally, one can go to the ball without a hat." Duchamp conveys a sense of irony in this discussion about the appropriate accessories for a social event set to take place during Lent, a 40-day religious period that precedes Easter in which observers typically abstain from luxuries. In this image, Duchamp has paid close attention to the attire of the dressmakers, who are wearing shirtwaists and long skirts, as a type of uniform befitting their profession. The dressmaker standing on the left wears a shirtwaist that bulges at the front in the fashionable bust-heavy silhouette and her helpmate is dressed in a similar manner. Dressmakers would have to know what was in and out of fashion so that they could guide their clients accordingly, and thus the silhouette of a heavy bust signifies their knowledge of current trends. The black sleeveless evening gown on the stand is unfinished but is clearly being made for a full-figured mature woman, adding another degree of visual irony to the scene in that the wearer has not abstained from her love of food during Lent.

³² Anne d'Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine (eds.), *Marcel Duchamp* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art and Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1973), 239.

Other sketches by Duchamp from this series suggest his cognisance of women's burgeoning efforts to make a place for themselves in public spaces. Viewed as a group, it seems that Duchamp acted as flâneur, visiting the cafés and bars of Paris to observe, possibly with sketchbook in hand, rather than participate or engage in the action. In *Au Bar/ At the Bar* (Figure 2.11), a young woman dressed in a tailored skirt suit is engaged in a conversation with a man seated at the bar. The man, a slender androgynous figure dressed in an evening suit and top hat, sits passively while the woman appears to be the aggressor. Her posture is assertive; one hand rests on her hip, the other elbow leans on the bar and her hand covers his. Her tailored jacket is long, extending to mid-thigh like the frock coat of a man, and her expansive plumed hat shields her face, making her head larger than that of the man. The text reads: "*T'as pas reçu mon peau... alors? ___.*" This roughly translates to: "You did not get my skin ___ so?" This alludes to an erotic encounter, but also conveys a situation in which traditional gender roles have been reversed.

Similarly, in the drawing *Au Palais de Glace / At the Ice Cream Palace* (Figure 2.12), a man and a woman are seated at a table. Seen from the back, the man is dressed in a suit with a bowler hat and the woman's attire echoes his, in that she too is wearing a tailored suit and hat with an upturned brim. They have finished their ice cream treats and have turned away to rest their elbows on the balustrade and gaze at the crowd below. There is a sense of balance and equality in this composition, in that both figures are given equal weight as astute observers of fashion and society. The caption reads: "*tu sais, on porte beaucoup le tricorne cette année. Lui – Oh! Tu sais, à une corne près, c'est toujours la mode.*" The woman says: "You know a lot of people are wearing the tricorne hat this year" and he dryly responds: "Oh you know, a horn or two is always in fashion." In this text,

Duchamp transmits the observation that fashion can be cruel – mocking the endless cycle of change with the allusion to the horns of a devil.

In the drawing *Le Lapin/ Stood Up* (Figure 2.13), a pretty woman in a café or bar has been disappointed. The reference to *le lapin* in the title translates into ‘the rabbit’, an animal known for prodigious breeding ability, signalling an erotic subtext to this encounter. The woman is seated, but her body is pitched forward and sideways to partially lean on the café table; one elbow is resting on the table and the other arm held straight back to hold the chair frame. She is wearing an attractive dress with a fitted waist, gored skirt and full sleeves. Her hair is fashionably piled on her head and topped with a black hat trimmed with ribbon. The caption, written in Duchamp’s hand, reads: “*Si j’avais su qu’il ne vienne pas..., je n’aurais pris qu’un bock*” which translates to “*If I had known he was not coming... I would have taken only one beer.*” It is not entirely clear whether she is relieved that she is alone or disappointed that she has been stood up, but Duchamp has made it plain that she has imbibed of too much beer in anticipation of this encounter.

In the drawing, *La Mère / The Mother* (Figure 2.14), a young woman energetically steps into a carriage without assistance as her mother hovers just behind nervously and asks: “*Est-ce que je vienne avec toi aujourd’hui?*” which translates to ‘Do you want me to come with you today?’ This scene marks the shifting notions of bourgeois propriety in allowing an unmarried woman to appear in public without a chaperone.³³ The daughter wears a tailored day dress with an expansive skirt and cinched waist. A lush dark fur wrap

³³ For a detailed accounting of the changes in rituals of chaperonage as they relate to class during this period, see Cas Wouters, *Sex and Manners: Female Emancipation in the West 1890-2000* (London: Sage Publications, 2004).

hangs from her shoulders, and a large hat trimmed with ostrich feathers tops her head. The details of her dress, including the accessories, mark her as a member of fashionable society. Her full-figured mother wears a tailored day suit with long jacket over a full skirt accessorized with a small feather-trimmed hat in an outfit befitting of a mature married woman. Her anxiety about the propriety of allowing her pretty daughter to go out alone is reflected in her question about whether or not she should accompany her as chaperone. With this caption Duchamp again signals his knowledge of the gendered codes of behaviour for the bourgeoisie and uses it as part of his toolkit in creating these illustrations for satirical journals.

In each of the six comical illustrations considered so far (Figures 2.9-2.14), Duchamp gives emphasis to the shifting roles of women in society. He is an astute observer, acting as flâneur in visiting public spaces of Paris to find inspiration for this work. He takes care in reflecting the nuances of fashionable dress during *la belle époque*, moulding the women's bodies into the bust-heavy silhouette of the period that emphasizes their gender. Many of the women are shown wearing stylish tailored readymade suits accessorized with large hats and furs as appropriate. He dressed the men in elegant and fashionable formal evening dress or in the more casual lounge suits with bowler hats. This attention to the details of dress communicates Duchamp's awareness of the significance of dress as a marker of gender and class.

These works also mark his burgeoning interest in incorporating text into his artworks and this acute sensitivity to language will be significant in the naming of the readymade as we shall see in chapter 4. Michel Sanouillet places Duchamp within the French oral tradition of the average Parisian, noting that in the early years of his career, he

spent “more time with the journalists, cartoonists and artisans [in the cafés] of Paris” than he did with “fashionable painters and men of letters.”³⁴ Sanouillet argues that the puns and linguistic games found in Duchamp’s works are “the most directly communicable and understandable kind of humour” that goes “over the heads of the mandarins and litterateurs to meet the common people on their own ground.”³⁵ Humour aside, these drawings are notable in that they provide clear evidence that Duchamp was cognizant of codes of dress for bourgeois society in the first decade of the twentieth century, since in each case, he has carefully rendered the dress in sufficient detail to mark it as appropriate for the situation. And while many of the works contain an erotic subtext, this is not connoted by undressed figures; instead, satire is created through word play.

There are at least four other drawings from this time period in which the androgyny of the central figure is worthy of further exploration. In the drawing *Young Man* dated 1909 from the autograph book of Duchamp’s friend Suzanne Blocman, Duchamp presents an androgynous figure with fair hair formally dressed in a man’s tailcoat and trousers (Figure 2.15). The handwritten text to this illustration reads: *Mademoiselle / Voulez vous doubler? / Nouvelles paroles / d’une vieille chanson or Mademoiselle, do you want to do it a second time? New words for an old song*. This young man is slender, but there are feminine curves and facial features that suggest androgyny here. Similarly, in the drawing *Young Man Standing* dated 1909-10, the young man is depicted with soft hairless cheeks, wide eyes, full lips, curled hair, and tilted head (Figure 2.16). Dressed in a suit and tie that seems to

³⁴ Michel Sanouillet, “Marcel Duchamp and The French Intellectual Tradition,” in *Marcel Duchamp*, ed. d’Harnoncourt and McShine, 53.

³⁵ Sanouillet, “Marcel Duchamp and the French Intellectual Tradition,” 54.

emphasize a soft body; he has relatively wide hips and his chest is soft and rounded. This drawing is inscribed on the lower right with: “*Sur commande/ de ce vieux Léo/ Bien cordialement Duchamp*” which translates to “*On order/ from this old Léo/ Sincerely Duchamp.*” According to D’Harnoncourt and McShine, Léo Tribout was the wife of Duchamp’s oldest friend in Rouen.³⁶ In this work, Léo, a woman, is dressed as a man, adopting the signifier of masculinity – the suit, a transgressive act with erotic overtones at a time when laws in France prohibited women from wearing trousers unless riding a horse or a bicycle.³⁷ At this time, if a woman wore trousers at home, others would assume that she was “expecting a lover” by wearing “the most shocking clothing imaginable.”³⁸ In writing “on order” on this drawing, there is a suggestion that Duchamp is inviting the couple to partake in such pleasures.

There are two versions of the 1908 drawing *Informations / News* in which Duchamp depicts another androgynous figure dressed in suit and tie absorbed in reading a newspaper while lounging on a settee with legs crossed at the knee, one elbow leaning against the armrest. In one version (Figure 2.17), the background wallpaper is rendered as a pattern of heart shapes with tails. In another version of this drawing (Figure 2.18), the background includes a paned window with gingham curtains and valence as well as full-length side curtains. In the 1959 *catalogue raisonné* by Lebel, he describes two drawings with this title in which “a young man is seated on a sofa, reading the newspaper” identifying the only

³⁶ D’Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 243.

³⁷ This law, which had been in place since the French Revolution, was modified in 1909 to allow women to wear trousers if riding a bicycle or a horse but was not repealed until January 31, 2013. See Devorah Lauter, “Women in Paris finally allowed to wear trousers,” *The Telegraph*, February 3, 2013.

³⁸ Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion* (New York: Berg, 2006), 165.

difference between the two images being the colour of the hair of the young man.³⁹

D'Harnoncourt and McShine notice that Duchamp created this work in “the style of Boutet de Monvel, an artist Duchamp found extremely boring.”⁴⁰ In neither case do these scholars remark on the dress of this ‘young man.’ At first glance, this figure might be read as a man since he/she is dressed in a gray wool suit with a waistcoat, striped shirt and bow tie (somewhat like what Duchamp wears in 1915 for his *Vanity Fair* portrait announcing his arrival in New York which will be discussed in the next chapter). What goes unnoticed is the androgynous appearance of this young man who is wearing shoes that appear to be distinctly feminine at a time when men would have worn lace up dress boots or ankle high lace up Oxfords during the day and patent leather slippers for formal occasions in the evening.⁴¹ The type of footwear rendered by Duchamp is very much like a woman’s Oxford shoe with its distinctly feminine bow illustrated in an ad printed in *Vogue* dated June 4, 1908 for women’s summer Oxfords made by the Regal Shoe Company (Figure 2.19). This feminine iconography contained within the footwear is subtle and easily missed. While the alteration of the hair colour and the observation that this image is in the style of another artist is interesting in that it gestures towards a thematic crossing, what is more relevant to this analysis is the ambiguous representation of the bodies in these drawings.

If we also reconsider *Au Bar /At the Bar* (Figure 2.11) alongside *Young Man* (Figure 2.15), *Young Man Standing* (Figure 2.16) and *Informations / News* (Figures 2.17 and 2.18), Duchamp presents us with five drawings of androgynous bodies. In each case, the figure is

³⁹ Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 156.

⁴⁰ D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 240.

⁴¹ This type of shoe was worn by aristocratic men in the eighteenth century but fell out of favour in the early part of the nineteenth century.

dressed as a man – in a traditional suit and tie – but the body is slight and the facial features are soft with no visible facial hair. Subtle suggestions of femininity are present, but not readily apparent unless the drawing is considered closely. While Duchamp’s rendering of the androgynous bodies in these drawings seems prescient in terms of his explorations in gender play that came later, these images also reveal something about the artist’s beliefs. In *Bodies of Modernity* (1998), Tamar Garb suggests that in confronting the male body the male artist confronts himself: “For in this context, the encounter with the other is always simultaneously (and explicitly) an encounter with the self, in the recognizable arena of the present.”⁴² In other words, Duchamp would be forced to confront his beliefs on masculinity in order to translate his ideas onto the page during the process of making these comic illustrations. The bodies of the men in this series look different than the muscular vigorous masculine ideal of the time who embraced the “gymnasium, as much as the museum” that was promoted as a man’s patriotic duty in French journals like *La Culture Physique*.⁴³ Garb describes the honourable bourgeois male ideal of this time period as being “assertively masculine both in his secondary sexual characteristics and in his capacity to reproduce” that was manifested in “deep voices, a developed musculature, a ruddy complexion and a beard” like the man in Gustave Caillebotte’s painting *Young Man at his Window* (1875) with his wide-legged stance and “strutting, spread-legged solid foundations.”⁴⁴ In contrast, Duchamp’s illustrations of men were the antithesis of the fin-de siècle ideal and more closely resembled his own slender body, somewhat pale, placid, and lacking in facial hair.

⁴² Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1998), 29.

⁴³ Garb, *Bodies of Modernity*, 56-57.

⁴⁴ Garb, *Bodies of Modernity*, 33.

While the intent and meaning of Duchamp's depiction of androgynous figures is unclear, they can be viewed as prescient works given his later photographic experiments in depicting his alter ego Rose/Rose Sélavy (the subject of chapter 3). I also note here that Arturo Schwarz recalled that Duchamp "liked to assume an androgynous appearance"⁴⁵ and I suggest that evidence of that inclination might first have found expression in this series.

Abstracted Figures and Malic Forms

In 1910, Duchamp also continued recording his sketches of men and women in public and in the studio, probably using them as practice for his paintings. These sketches are similarly rendered with relatively few lines that seek out the form and that mark the areas of dark and light. While the men are dressed in suits, the women are in various states of dress and undress, ranging from a study of a woman in a large hat, coat and muff (Figure 2.20) to a semi-nude woman fastening her garter.⁴⁶ These drawings foretell his lifelong preoccupation with dressing and undressing. However, in 1911 Duchamp largely abandoned mimetic drawing and began to create abstracted works that translated the figure into machine-like forms, such as *The King and Queen Traversed by Swift Nudes* (Figure 2.21). In this drawing, it is challenging to discern which form represents male or female, king or queen. The forms are heavily abstracted and block-like with shading that creates depth and a sense

⁴⁵ Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1975), [13].

⁴⁶ See Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp, Marcel Duchamp 66 Creative Years: From the First Painting to the Last Drawing* (Milan: Gallery Schwarz, 1972), 16-18. The 1910 sketches include: *Man Standing*; *Woman Bending Forward*; *Woman Fastening her Garter*; *Study of a Woman*; *Man Sitting and Smoking*; *Seated Woman, in Profile*; *Woman in Profile*; *Seated Man*; *Germaine, Posing*; *Standing Nude*.

of movement but does not serve to articulate specific forms or facilitate interpretation. In a 1962 interview, Duchamp explained:

Personally, I find *The King and Queen Surrounded by Swift Nudes* just as interesting as the *Nude Descending a Staircase*, even though the public evidently doesn't. You know this was a chess King and Queen – and the picture became a combination of many ironic implications connected with the words “king and queen.” Here “the Swift Nudes,” instead of descending were included to suggest a different kind of speed, of movement – a kind of flowing around and between the two central figures. The use of nudes completely removed any chance of suggesting an actual scene or an actual king and queen.⁴⁷

In creating such a work, we see Duchamp's capacity to harness his imagination in his art practice. This drawing is not a sketchbook study from life, but a scenario constructed entirely in his mind. Imagination, according to Nigel J.T. Thomas, is a mental act that produces: “mental imagery, visual and otherwise, which is what makes it possible for us to think outside the confines of our present perceptual reality, to consider memories of the past and possibilities for the future, and to weight alternatives against one another.”⁴⁸ Thomas concludes that imagination “makes possible all our thinking, about what is, what has been, and perhaps most important, what might be.”⁴⁹ This description is similar to that articulated by the nineteenth century poet and art critic Charles Baudelaire in describing imagination as “an almost divine faculty which perceives ... the intimate and secret relations of things, the correspondences and the analogies.”⁵⁰ Invoking one's imagination to produce a drawing or illustration is a deliberate activity that draws on experience and

⁴⁷ Duchamp qtd. in Katherine Kuh, “Marcel Duchamp,” in *The Artist's Voice, Talks with Seventeen Artists*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 83.

⁴⁸ Nigel Thomas qtd. in Crowther, *What Drawing and Painting Really Mean*, 17.

⁴⁹ Nigel Thomas qtd. in Crowther, *What Drawing and Painting Really Mean*, 17.

⁵⁰ Charles Baudelaire qtd. in Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 285.

memory, but there is an interpretative element that reconstitutes the object as a projection of “who we are now.”⁵¹ The imagined picture thus becomes “an autograph of the imaginer’s personal style.”⁵² In making these images, Duchamp documented the processes of his imagination and made it accessible to us, revealing something of himself – including the continuation of his explorations of gender identity and its expression through clothing (a topic that will be discussed at length in the next chapter).

In his 1913 drawing *Cimetière des uniformes et livrées, No. 1/ Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries No.1* (Figure 2.22), we see evidence of his continuing interest in uniforms, albeit in abstracted forms. In this preparatory drawing, for his seminal work *The Bride Stripped Bare*, Duchamp articulates silhouettes of uniforms using ruled lines and connected dots in a manner that resembles a technical pattern for a dress. He included annotations (numbered 1-8) written in French in the left corner that read and translate into:

1. *Prêtre*/Priest
2. *Livreur des grandes magasins*/Delivery boy for a grand department store
3. *Gendarme*/Policeman
4. *Cuirassier*/Cavalryman
5. *Agent de la jeux*/Agent of the game
6. *Croque mort*/Undertaker
7. *Larbin*/Stooge or flunky (liveried servant)
8. *Chaffeur du café*/Busboy

Bradley Bailey notes that these men are mostly sketched from behind or the side, making their facial features indistinguishable, and that Duchamp paid close attention to “the principal details of the various costumes rather than the individuals themselves.”⁵³ In

⁵¹ Crowther, *What Drawing and Painting Really Mean*, 22-23.

⁵² Crowther, *What Drawing and Painting Really Mean*, 27.

⁵³ Bradley Bailey, “The Bachelors: Pawns in Duchamp’s Great Game,” *Tout-Fait: The Marcel Duchamp Studies Online Journal* 1, no. 3 (2000): unpaginated.

examining this drawing in person and in drawing each of the eight uniforms from the work during my visit to the Prints and Drawings Centre of Philadelphia Museum of Art (see for example Figure 2.23 and Figure 2.24 for two of these drawings), the fine distinctions of this drawing become more apparent. There was a linear progression of forms from left to right, with the uniforms overlapping each other in some cases. The abstracted shapes of the uniforms often resembled that of dress forms or hangers, especially that seen in the figures of *gendarme*, *cuirassier*, and *larbin*. The work in many ways resembled the overlapping forms of the tissue papers included in dressmaking journals with the dots, numbering system, and layout of connecting lines. There was also evidence that Duchamp erased one part of this work in the upper right-hand corner so vigorously that it made a hole in the paper, suggesting that he laboured for some time over this work. These marks are not visible in reproductions of this work in books or on the museum's online catalogue and reflect the material traces of his hand that are only visible when studying this drawing in person.

In the 1914 version of this work *Cimetière des uniformes et livrées, No. 2/ of Uniforms and Liveries, No. 2* (Figure 2.25), the uniforms are blocked in as shapes with the addition of watercolour that brings to mind the colour of pattern paper. White lines run horizontally and vertically through the malic moulds like the markings for seam lines. In this version, Duchamp has added the uniform for a stationmaster to the grouping. Uniforms mark group identity with visual codes that signal membership within that group through subtle differences in cut, colour, and embellishment that demarcate differences in role, authority and status. Duchamp's uniforms convey the professions of the average man rather than that of doctor, lawyer, or gentleman. However, the choice of professions is not as

significant as the fact that in this work, the artist continues his exploration of uniforms as a signifier of male identity.

In Jennifer Craik's survey and analysis of the history and cultural politics of the uniform, she traces the origin of the uniform to the battlefields of the seventeenth century and notes this symbol of collective military presence evolved to define norms of masculinity, in that there is "a close fit between the attributes of masculinity as inscribed by uniform conduct and normative masculine roles and attributes."⁵⁴ Craik asserts that men's uniforms serve not only to convey "authority, status, and power" through a unified visual aesthetic, but also present a "heady alignment of heroism, muscularity, sexual prowess, and titillation."⁵⁵ An example of this type of erotic titillation is the tight white doeskin trousers worn as part the French naval and military uniforms of the early 1800s, which served to draw attention to the crotch creating a "sexually explicit display of men's bodies."⁵⁶ Quentin Bell reiterates the undeniable eroticism of a man in uniform in his comment that: "There is a good deal of evidence to show that a handsome uniform exerts a devastating effect upon the opposite sex;"⁵⁷ and by extension also sometimes upon the same sex.

With the man in uniform a recognizable symbol of sexual allure, Duchamp does not need to include details that would distinguish one uniform from another in his erotic machine for his masterwork *The Bride Stripped Bare*. The uniforms are rendered as abstracted shapes like lifeless empty skins or moulds (Figures 2.22 and 2.25). Many years

⁵⁴ Jennifer Craik, "The Cultural Politics of the Uniform," *Fashion Theory* 7, no. 2 (2003): 130.

⁵⁵ Craik, "The Cultural Politics of the Uniform," 134.

⁵⁶ Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 228.

⁵⁷ Quinton Bell, *On Human Finery* (New York: Shocken Books, 1976), 43.

later Duchamp indicated that these shapes “represent nine moulds or nine external containers of the mouldings of nine different uniforms or liveries. In other words, you can’t see the actual form of the policeman or the bellboy or the undertaker because each of these precise forms of uniforms is inside its particular mould.”⁵⁸ With this statement, Duchamp acknowledges the subtle markers of difference in uniform for the professions but admits that he made a deliberate artistic choice in not including such details.

Duchamp scholars have previously taken notice of the links to clothing in this drawing, but these statements are made as passing references in arguments on other aspects of the artist’s work. Lebel notes the visual resemblance of these forms to clothes on a laundry line and interprets them as representations of bridegrooms “whom you see stuffed into their wedding garments” before being “inflated with illuminating gas.”⁵⁹ Sanouillet comments on the “eerie appearance” of the empty uniforms and notes their visual resemblance a retail display of sportswear mounted on dress forms.⁶⁰ Joseph Masheck interprets Duchamp’s figures in uniform in this work as a form of readymade since a man wearing a uniform is an abstracted figure and thus “an interchangeable representative of a type, a man with a ready-made identity.”⁶¹ While these comments indicate that there is some degree of recognition to the fact that Duchamp had an awareness of the dressed body within the visual culture of the period, I offer a further observation. By harnessing the

⁵⁸ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in d’Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 277.

⁵⁹ Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 31.

⁶⁰ Sanouillet, “Marcel Duchamp and the French Intellectual Tradition,” 53.

⁶¹ In his essay, Maschek also notes but does not analyze the link between the origin of the word readymade and off-the-rack clothing. Joseph Masheck, “Introduction: Chance is Zee Fool’s Name for Fait,” in *Marcel Duchamp in Perspective*, ed. Joseph Masheck (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975), 16.

power of his imagination to reinterpret the ways that clothing was presented in the real world into abstracted forms within his artwork as well as co-opting the meaning of readymade clothing into the lexicon of art, Duchamp was beginning the process by which he would come to redefine the notion of art itself.

Jacquette and Other Mimetic Works

Although Duchamp made preparatory sketches for works throughout his lifetime, it is not until 1955 that he returned to representational drawing in proposing the book jacket for a survey of American modern art written by music and art critic Rudi Blesh (1899-1985) and published as *Modern Art USA* by Alfred A. Knopf in 1956.⁶² Duchamp's proposed cover *Jacquette / Jacket* (1955) is comprised of three pen and ink drawings on translucent paper, illustrating the front, back and lining of a man's tailcoat (Figure 2.26).⁶³ In the drawing, the tailcoat is shown with one side open as if the coat were being put on, making visible the checked lining and the tailor's label "Marcel Duchamp" in the neckline. Unlike the shapeless, abstracted uniforms in *Nine Malic Moulds* and *The Bride Stripped Bare*, this tailcoat is rendered with a high degree of precision and includes the details of the seams that shape the coat. The drawing illustrates close knowledge of how this type of garment would have been constructed and the work might even be read like a technical drawing for

⁶² This book on modern art was described in a review as "a book that not only lucidly surveys the contemporary painting scene in America but makes its progress fascinating and entertaining to layman and connoisseur alike"; the book discussed "the Armory show in 1913 and the artistic riot it caused" as a result of Duchamp's infamous 1912 painting *Nude Descending a Staircase (No. 2)*. See Kirkus review of this book, accessed: February 24, 2019 www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/rudi-blesh/modern-art-usa/

⁶³ This image is typically printed as if it were a single image, but it actually is made up of three separate sheets of transparent paper.

construction in its conception as three separate sheets of transparent paper. Intended by Duchamp as a pun on the similarity between English “Jacket” (dust-wrapper) and the French “Jacquette” (tail-coat), the submission was turned down by publisher Alfred A. Knopf who called it a “bad joke.”⁶⁴ In this drawing, Duchamp signalled his intimate knowledge of the codes of man’s formal dress. A tailcoat such as this would have been worn with a wing-collared shirt, white bow tie and corresponding white waistcoat.⁶⁵ In 1955, this white-tie ensemble was reserved for the most formal of occasions like society weddings, balls or state funerals.⁶⁶ However, this tailcoat is also markedly tapered at the waist in a manner that would draw attention to the waist, perhaps suggesting that Duchamp wanted to signal that this tailcoat could be worn by either man or woman, as Marlene Dietrich did for the film *Morocco* in 1930.

In the last two years of his life, Duchamp made a series of etchings called *The Lovers* (1967-1968) consisting of nine drawings of nude women and men that were published by Arturo Schwarz in 1968. The images in this series are erotic in content illustrating two nude females plus seven heterosexual nude couples before, during and after coitus. With titles and imagery that reference works by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780-1867), and Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), Duchamp placed himself amongst these canonical figures of art history by including in this series of nine, at least two explicit references to his own

⁶⁴ Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 176.

⁶⁵ See a similar ensemble from 1927 by Jeanne Lanvin in the Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Object #2009.300.906 A-F.

⁶⁶ Unless an occasion demanded white-tie, by 1955 most men were wearing black tie or the tuxedo to formal occasions. See Robin Dutt, “Formal Wear, Men’s” *The Berg Companion to Fashion*, ed. Valerie Steele (Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 349-351.

works *The Bride Stripped Bare* and *King and Queen*. The drawings are rendered in relatively few lines, showing the artist's self-assurance in his artistic skill, even though he had not practiced drawing for at least a decade (since *Jacquette*). In replicating *Morceaux choisis d'après Cranach et "Relâche"* (Figure 2.27), the consummate skill with which Duchamp executed this work became apparent since there are no breaks in the lines, and it took me many attempts to replicate what appears to be a simple line drawing.

The bodies in this series are undressed and reveal Duchamp's lifelong interest in representing the body and in articulating gender. The women in this series have soft curves and the men are lean and angular, like Duchamp himself. In her study of the relationship between nudity and pictorial representations in Western art, Anne Hollander argues that artists have throughout history depicted the nude body in a manner that conforms to the beauty ideals of the time, such that: "Clothes, even when omitted cannot be escaped."⁶⁷ She provides numerous examples of artworks to show that the "erotic awareness of the body always contains an awareness of clothing."⁶⁸ In the works in which Duchamp has inserted himself, such as *Morceaux choisis d'après Cranach et "Relâche"* (Figure 2.27) or *Après l'amour*, he draws his own body as lean and angular with a large phallus. In these works, the rendering of the male body seems to be an encounter with Duchamp's idealized (and younger) self and perhaps a desire to capture what has been lost. When he created these drawings, he was an old man. As Sarah Casey notes, drawing is not only "enmeshed with desire" but also an attempt to mitigate loss, a material effort to capture "something that

⁶⁷ Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 87.

⁶⁸ Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 87.

feels beyond, in an attempt to preserve the ephemeral.”⁶⁹ In these final works in the last years of his life, Duchamp returns to figurative imagery to articulate ideas of love and loss.

In this chapter, as I have shown, it is in his drawings that Duchamp reveals a strong and lifelong focus on clothing. In Duchamp’s early mimetic works, he exposes himself as a keen observer of society and the fashioned body. In his early abstracted works, the processes of his imagination are revealed in his ongoing exploration of identity, including gender crossing. In his later life drawings, his mimetic representation of the dressed and undressed body exposes his desire to be included amongst the leading figures of art history. Although Duchamp dismissed what he called “retinal art” in his artistic career, his drawings reveal his hand and imagination at work and provide significant evidence of his fascination with the body as well as a profound cognizance of the role of dress in signifying or disguising gender. These topics will be revisited in the next chapter when I reveal Duchamp’s engagement with fashion in using his body as a readymade.

⁶⁹ Casey, “A Delicate Presence,” 3-4.

Chapter 3

Unmasking the Dandy: Reading Duchamp's Engagement with Fashion in his Presentation of Self

You're on stage, you show off your goods; right then you become an actor.
--Marcel Duchamp¹

Long after a portrait photograph is created, it holds an indexical trace of a person from the past such that the viewer can revisit and reflect on the sitter's self-representation. Although Duchamp passed away in 1968, the many photographs of Duchamp taken over the course of his lifetime return him to viewers in documenting moments of his life – some as formal portraits for inclusion in magazines and newspapers like *Vanity Fair*, *Time*, or the *New York Times*, and others as creative explorations made in collaboration with Man Ray or other photographers that circulated primarily within avant-garde circles at the time but have become easily available to 21st century viewers via online circulation. In this chapter, I will explore the artist's engagement with fashion in his presentation of self through the medium of photography.

Most of the scholarship to date has focused on the fascinating series of photographs of Duchamp as his alter ego Rose/Rose Sélavy made in collaboration with Man Ray in 1920-1921. However, there are many other underexplored images of Marcel Duchamp that reveal his complex self-constructions and his use of self-representation in his creative practice. As argued in this chapter, it is by giving equal (and comparative) analytical

¹ Duchamp, qtd. in Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, trans. Ron Padgett (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 91.

attention to photographs that circulated in the mass media and those that circulated in avant-garde artistic circles that it becomes evident that Marcel Duchamp fashioned his body for the public realm in the masculine uniform of the suit as a tool of identity construction. In this way, this chapter paints a picture of a man that was fully aware of the transformative power of clothing, suggesting further that he used his body as a rectified readymade² – altering it through the use of clothing and makeup – to present multiple sides of himself.

Although Marcel Duchamp expressed indifference to matters of taste and did not claim to be inside or outside of fashion, Elizabeth Wilson points out that no one is outside of fashion, even if they claim to be so since: “To be unfashionable is not to escape the whole discourse, or to get outside the parameters.”³ In the ordinary act of dressing, persons fashion their public selves in aesthetic terms, signaling clues to their identity through choices of clothing, accessories, make up, scent and the styling of hair and the body. Although dress, clothing and forms of adornment do not have fixed meanings, the codes and signals of class, gender and cultural identity are articulated by social agreement as well as the workings of power and ideology such that dressing becomes, as Joanne Finkelstein writes, “a way of producing ourselves; it is a symbolic replay of the birth of subjectivity.”⁴ These clues are often subtle and sometimes ambiguous since garments can both reveal and conceal aspects of the self at the same time. Where chapter 2 focussed on Duchamp’s early

² Naumann defines the rectified readymade as: “a readymade produced by ‘correcting’ or in other ways introducing slight adjustments and/or alterations to a given object in order to complete it.” Francis M. Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp: The Art of Making Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1999), 299.

³ Elisabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 5.

⁴ Joanne Finkelstein, *The Art of Self Invention: Image and Identity in Popular Visual Culture* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 213.

drawings to show his deep engagement in articulating the role of clothing in the construction of gender and class identity, chapter 3 focusses on portrait photography to show his his construction of multiple selves through clothing.

In *Camera Lucida* (1981), Roland Barthes takes a highly personal approach to understanding the medium of photography and reflects on the making of a photograph as the “object of three practices (or of three emotions, or of three intentions): to do, to undergo, to look.”⁵ He observes that the photograph comes into being through a collaborative process between the photographer in concert with the person being photographed, since the knowledge that the camera lens is directed their way changes the experience and makes them an active participant in the construction of the image. Barthes writes: “once I feel myself observed by the lens, everything changes: I constitute myself in the process of ‘posing,’ I instantaneously make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance into an image.”⁶ In performing for the camera, Barthes observes that this process serves to make the photograph a type of mirror that can reveal multiple selves; he writes: “For the Photograph is the advent of myself as other: a cunning dissociation of consciousness from identity. [...] In front of the lens, I am the same time: the one I think I am, the one I want others to think I am, the one the photographer thinks I am, and the one he makes use of to exhibit his art.”⁷ Barthes describes the practices of “doing” and “undergoing” as a form of negotiation – between sitter and self, between sitter and photographer. In analyzing the photographs, it becomes evident that Duchamp was clearly

⁵ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 9.

⁶ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 11.

⁷ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 12-13. Ellipsis added.

aware of performing for the camera and fashioned his body to convey a persona that he wished to present to the intended audience for that work. Although Man Ray did not reveal much about their portrait collaborations,⁸ a short typewritten manuscript by Frederick Kiesler from 1945 indicates that Duchamp was assertive in such situations and remained in control.⁹ And although Duchamp may have had less control over the setting, lighting, printing, and circulation of portraits taken by Irving Penn, David Gahr and others for publication in newspapers or periodicals, he certainly would have had agency over the fashioning of his body. For that reason, I argue that what the artist offered to the camera was what he wanted the viewer to see at that moment in time.

Although Duchamp was active in the construction of the images, John Berger, Susan Sontag, and Roland Barthes maintain that it is the viewer who looks at the image and must work to make meaning. Sometimes feelings may be invoked, especially when an image “pricks” and causes one to mourn the passing of time, the loss of a loved one or anticipate “an anterior future of which death is the stake.”¹⁰ As Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu note in *Feeling Photography*, the appreciation of the affective qualities of photography espoused by Barthes is a relatively recent turn in art history that facilitates new insights into

⁸ In his autobiography, Man Ray does not make any mention of the creation of the portraits of Duchamp in 1920-21. Instead he discusses his transition from being a painter to working as a photographer and mentions that he asked friends, “mostly writers and painters” to sit for him and gave his prints away. See Man Ray, *Self Portrait* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1988), 80.

⁹ This manuscript was made by Kiesler after participating as a technician in one of Duchamp’s portrait projects with the photographer Percy Rainford on January 13, 1945. The manuscript only came to light in the last decade. The full manuscript by Kiesler is included in Herbert Molderings, *Marcel Duchamp at the Age of 85*, 98-106.

¹⁰ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 96.

the construction of meaning in images.¹¹ I take up this line of inquiry to reflect on my affective responses to the images of Duchamp in order to fully engage with the possibilities of this line of inquiry in making meaning. One of the feelings that initially struck me in viewing the images of Duchamp masquerading as a woman was ambiguity, an affect which Sontag suggests is a result of the passage of time in which the “particular qualities and intentions of the photographs tend to be swallowed up.”¹² Similarly, Berger attributes the inherent ambiguity of photography as arising out of “the abyss between the moment recorded and the moment of looking” such that meaning must be discovered by reading the traces of meaning and making connections.¹³ The word abyss seems fitting to describe the long interval of time that passed between the moment in which the camera captured the traces of Duchamp on film dressed in this way in 1920-21 and a viewer looking at the images almost a hundred years later. The digital age has altered how viewers look such that they can now easily call up many such images on a screen, magnifying details that might not have been evident when the images were presented in the pages of a periodical, a poster, or the label of a perfume bottle.¹⁴ What becomes more readily apparent when seeing many images together on a screen is that Marcel Duchamp adopted many guises – as a woman, as a monk, as the devil, and as an old man – but also as an elegant gentleman in the uniform of power – the suit. And while much scholarly attention has been devoted to the

¹¹ Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu (eds.). *Feeling Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 7.

¹² Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux 1978), 21.

¹³ John Berger, *Understanding a Photograph*, ed. Geoff Dyer (London: Penguin Books, 2013), 64-69.

¹⁴ For a compelling argument on the significance of the materiality of photographs as objects, see Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, “Introduction” in *Photographs Objects Histories* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-15.

photographs of Duchamp, especially those in which he transforms into his female alter ego, what has yet to be written is an analysis of his engagement with clothing in creating these transformations as well as in his public presentation of self in the media and therefore I take up this line of inquiry in reading the traces of Duchamp's engagement with clothing in the medium of photography.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part considers four photographic portraits of Duchamp made for public circulation that span the period 1915-1965 in which the artist dressed in a suit. These photographs were chosen from books, newspapers, and online sources.¹⁵ The selections are intended to represent the public persona of the artist circulating in magazines and newspapers over the course of a lifetime, including his first trip to New York in 1915 that was celebrated in the journal *Vanity Fair*; a newspaper photograph taken dockside in 1927 before Duchamp embarked on a trans-Atlantic crossing; a formal portrait photograph taken by celebrated *Vogue* fashion photographer Irving Penn in 1948; and lastly a portrait photograph taken by David Gahr in 1965 and published in *Time* magazine when Duchamp was nearing the end of his life. The second part considers a series of photographs of Duchamp dressed as a woman made in 1920-21 in collaboration with Man Ray and analyzes the clothing worn by Duchamp in these masquerades, linking his choices to the style of *la garçonne*. This chapter contrasts the choices of clothing donned by Duchamp for photographs that circulated in the mass media with those made for circulation in avant-garde circles to argue that Duchamp was a Baudelairian dandy who used his body as a readymade in his conflation of his art and life.

¹⁵ See, for example, a selection of more than 70 images of the artist on Getty Images. <https://www.gettyimages.ca>

Duchamp as a Baudelairian Dandy

The word dandy, as Christopher Breward notes, is often used to describe a man that is obsessively devoted to sartorial matters, including the careful management of his wardrobe, attention to his body, and presentation of self.¹⁶ This acute attention to dress and management of the body by a male has often been linked to themes of gender play and a queering of identity, especially in the case of Oscar Wilde and Andy Warhol.¹⁷ As Karli June Cerankowski writes: “In its various shades of instantiation, dandyism may even be perceived as a queer style, one that resists definition, blurs boundaries, and specifically plays with gender and its association with sexuality.”¹⁸ Such gender play and fluid expressions of gender do not necessarily equate homosexual identity or homosexual desire, although as Cerankowski cautions: “today, the sexuality of genderqueer dandies is often speculated on and interpreted as gay.”¹⁹ Gender play is key to Duchamp’s work as established by previous scholarship,²⁰ as noted in the chapter on his drawings, and as elaborated below in my discussion of Duchamp’s construction of his alter ego Rose/Rose Sélavy. Consequently, this chapter’s argument pivots on Duchamp’s use of his body as a

¹⁶ Christopher Breward, *Fashion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 162.

¹⁷ See Elisa Glick, *Materializing Queer Desire, Oscar Wilde to Andy Warhol* (New York: SUNY Press, 2010).

¹⁸ Karli June Cerankowski, “Queer Dandy Style: The Cultural Politics of Tim Gunn’s Asexuality,” *Women’s Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 and 2 (Spring/Summer 2013): 226.

¹⁹ Cerankowski, “Queer Dandy Style,” 226.

²⁰ Deborah Johnson, “R(r)ose Selavy as Man Ray: Reconsidering the Alter Ego of Marcel Duchamp,” *artjournal* 72 (Spring 2013): 80-94, focuses on Duchamp’s recognition of the socially constructed nature of gender and his engagement in gender play in his collaborations with photographer Man Ray. See also Alice Goldfarb Marquis, *The Bachelor Stripped Bare: Marcel Duchamp* (MFA Publications, 2002), who presents an extended analysis of Duchamp’s fascination with Da Vinci, raising questions about Duchamp’s sexuality.

readymade, that is, as an artistic strategy that aligns with his explorations of the parameters of the readymade as well as his delight in humour and parody in his role as a dandy. In recognizing the social construction of gender, Duchamp's gender play asks viewers to revisit the figure of the dandy.

Although the British socialite Beau Brummel (1778-1840) is credited as the originator of the philosophy of dandyism,²¹ it was the nineteenth century poet and art critic Charles Baudelaire, sometimes referred to as "Monseigneur Brummell" by his friends,²² who fully articulated the characteristics of the dandy in his 1863 manifesto on modernity *The Painter of Modern Life*. In this essay Baudelaire defined the dandy as an aristocratic man for whom elegance is a passion, a profession, and a religion. The ideal dandy was rich and seemed to have no other profession than the pursuit of elegance. Baudelaire's dandy was a man of fashion, acknowledging the communicative power of clothing in conveying elite elegance, while presenting an attitude of being blasé about his perceptive attention to such details.²³ In this way, the dandy would perform this act of elegant indifference to fashion, while actually paying supreme attention to it. Although the poet was known to spend hours creating the perfectly tied cravat, and his sartorial preferences included tight buff breeches, highly polished boots, pale pink gloves, and black clothing for evening,²⁴

²¹ Breward, *Fashion*, 162.

²² Walter Benjamin included this observation in his notes to *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 259.

²³ Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 2010), 26-29.

²⁴ See Breward, *Fashion*, 162-163 as well as Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 82-83.

Baudelaire recommended that other dandies seek perfection in appearance through “absolute simplicity” as a means of achieving distinction.²⁵

In 1863, when Baudelaire penned his treatise for publication in *Le Figaro*, simplicity in men’s dress was the result of what has come to be described as the “Great Male Renunciation,” a shift in attitude at the end of the eighteenth century when men cast off the wearing of highly ornamented and colourful garments, makeup, and high heels, and instead adopted a sober look characterized by the tailored two-piece or three-piece suit rendered in dark coloured wool.²⁶ As Barbara Vinken explains, this renunciation aligned with the rise of the bourgeois in that “the boundary that constitutes society no longer divides the noble from the non-noble, but rather the feminine from the masculine” such that masculinity became associated with authenticity and femininity became associated with frivolity and artifice.²⁷ Vinken further argues that this association is paradoxical in that the aesthetic representation of ideal femininity actually signifies man in its binary opposition and it is in this way that the dandy disrupts this binary and offers a “protest against the authenticity of the bourgeois collective of men.”²⁸ Her analysis suggests a subversive element to the dandy’s guise that is independent of his gender identity.

²⁵ Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” 27.

²⁶ This phrase was first used by John Flügel in 1930. See John Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (New York: International Universities Press, 1969). This look for men has largely remained in place since the end of the eighteenth century with a notable exception in the 1970s when men and women adopted androgynous looks. Although there has also been a more recent trend towards more colourful fashions for men, in certain professions such as finance and for formal occasions like weddings and funerals, men in the western world are still generally expected to wear a tailored suit in dark wool.

²⁷ Barbara Vinken, “Tranvesty – Travesty: Fashion and Gender,” *Fashion Theory* 3, no.1, (1999): 35-36.

²⁸ Vinken, “Tranvesty – Travesty,” 41-42.

In her study, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp* (1994), feminist art historian Amelia Jones analyzes the artist as Baudelairian dandy/flâneur in reference to the series of images of Duchamp as Rose/Rose created in collaboration with Man Ray in 1920-1921.²⁹ As part of her larger project to expose the contradictions inherent in postmodernism, Jones eloquently articulates the nuances of Duchamp's construction of gender in these images and its impact on his artistic identity, arguing that Duchamp's masquerade as a woman forces viewers to confront their feelings of desire or repulsion. In this theoretical analysis, she does not discuss the way in which Duchamp engages with fashion in creating these images of Rose/Rose, nor does she address the material qualities or circulation of these images. In a related essay "'Clothes Make the Man': The Male Artist as a Performative Function," that looks at the clothing choices of male artists from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,³⁰ Jones identifies two primary strategies of dressing in the performance of the male artist/dandy: the "aristocrat of culture" donned the dark suit, while the "messy creative" artist embraced the painter's smock or scruffy jacket.³¹ Jones opines that Duchamp as Rose signals a subversive position that rejects these strategies to counter the authoritative and masculine stance of Modernism by adopting the guise of a woman.

²⁹ Amelia Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 146-155.

³⁰ Jones discusses: Théophile Gautier, Eugène Delacroix, Oscar Wilde, Marcel Duchamp as Rose Sélavy, Jackson Pollack, Andy Warhol, Yves Klein, Chris Burden, Jeff Koons.

³¹ Amelia Jones, "'Clothes Make the Man': The Male Artist as a Performative Function," *The Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 2 (1995): 18-19.

Other scholars have identified Marcel Duchamp as a dandy in passing remarking upon his “unusual physical attractiveness”³² and even his epilation of his entire body “because he seemed to not like the unkemptness of body hair.”³³ Kynaston McShine argues that Duchamp projected the elegant indifference of the Baudelairian dandy that served his “striving for a higher freedom, questioning the very purpose of art – the ultimate in artistic ambition.”³⁴ In her analysis of the history of the dandy for the exhibition *Artist, Rebel, Dandy* at Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Kate Irwin notes that Duchamp presents an elegant demeanor, a level of deep reserve as well as a degree of ambiguity in a 1917 photograph by Edward Steichen.³⁵ However, none of these authors considers Duchamp’s engagement with fashion at length, nor do they analyze specific items of dress in his wardrobe.

Much of the scholarly analysis of photographs of Duchamp centers on a single image or series of images, namely, his surprising (incomplete) transformation from man into woman made in collaboration with Man Ray in 1920-21. However, Herbert Molderings reminds readers that this series is only one of many other images taken in collaboration with Man Ray or other photographers that serve as evidence of Duchamp’s “aesthetic strategy aimed at a multiplication of identities.”³⁶ Although Molderings’ analysis

³² Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 5-6.

³³ Elena Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge: MIT Press: 2016), 77.

³⁴ D’Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 127.

³⁵ Kate Irwin, “Fabricating a Dream: Two Centuries of Sketching and Defining the Dandy,” in *Artist, Rebel, Dandy: Men of Fashion*, ed. Kate Irwin and Laurie Anne Brewer (New Haven: Yale University Press in Association with Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 2013), 38.

³⁶ Molderings, *Marcel Duchamp at the Age of 85*, 40.

focuses primarily on a highly unusual photograph from 1945 in which Duchamp presents himself as a grizzled old man called *Marcel Duchamp at the Age of 85*, he also briefly considers the content, format and circulation of this and other costumed or masquerade portrait images such as *Tonsure* (1921) and *Monte Carlo Bond* (1924). In doing so, he is able to argue that Duchamp “shows how and to what extent the photographic image can indeed be used for ‘invention.’”³⁷

In identifying Duchamp as a dandy, I use the term to describe a man who conveyed an attitude of elegant indifference while harnessing clothing as a tool in his construction of his multiple identities. My approach differs from other scholars that have considered the photographs of Duchamp in that I centrally address clothing in the construction of identity and also analyze photographs that circulated in the mass media that show a very different Duchamp from Rose/Rose Sélavy. What is required is an identification and study of the specific items of clothing worn by Duchamp in the selection of photographic portraits to show that Duchamp paid careful attention to the fashioning of his body with his choice of clothing to create a work of art – using his body as a readymade. In the many images that appeared in print during his lifetime, Duchamp wore a finely tailored suit. This elegant uniform of the elite made a sharp contrast from the clothing chosen for his alter ego Rose/Rose Sélavy and these images remain to be analyzed, as there is little scholarly analysis dedicated to them even though they have been used to illustrate some of the recent covers of books dedicated to Duchamp.

³⁷ Molderings, *Marcel Duchamp at the Age of 85*, 71.

The analysis that follows focuses on four images of Duchamp wearing a suit that were circulated within the mainstream print media, as formal portraits for publication in newspapers and periodicals. The images of Duchamp in *Vanity Fair* and *Time* may be surprising as they contradict, in part, his claim that he was not interested in fame or celebrity. It was clear that he had posed for the camera, constructing his image and perhaps hoping that he would, to apply the words of Barthes, “metaphorically derive his existence from the making of the image with the photographer.”³⁸ In doing so, Duchamp would have also had to negotiate which persona he wanted to present to the camera in that manner that Barthes suggests: “the one I think I am, the one I want others to think I am, the one the photographer thinks I am, and the one he makes use of to exhibit his art.”³⁹ In these four images, each taken of Duchamp by a different photographer over the span of fifty years, from 1915 to 1965, he wears a dark wool suit and although his face ages over the years, his slender body, erect posture, and elegant countenance remain the same.

The first of these photographs was taken not long after Duchamp’s arrival in New York in 1915, when the Pach Brothers photographed the artist in a formal studio portrait (Figure 3.1). He is dressed in a crisp white shirt, and dark three-piece suit with a natty polka dot bow tie. Duchamp’s choice of shirt and bow tie are very similar to other photographs that are shown elsewhere in the magazine earlier and throughout that year,⁴⁰ and this marks

³⁸ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 11.

³⁹ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 13.

⁴⁰ See, for example, the photo of the English author Compton Mackenzie in the March 1915 issue of *Vanity Fair*. Mackenzie is dressed in an identical manner to Duchamp and also wears his hair in the same way. See photo by Press Picture Agency of Compton Mackenzie in Henry Brinsley, “Getting Back at Compton MacKenzie: With Compliments to Less Ambitious Writers,” *Vanity Fair*, March 1915, 45. Also see the monthly *Vanity Fair* column on men’s fashions called “Shopping for the Well-Dressed Man.”

his dress as notably on trend and fashionable. He did not dress in clothing that would mark him as an “artist” or as “foreign,”⁴¹ choosing instead to wear a man’s tailored dark suit that signals his elegant masculine refinement. The image was published in the September 1915 issue of *Vanity Fair*, an American magazine aimed at the fashionable elite that was described as several magazines in one in that it covered the theater, sport, books, contemporary art as well as fashion.⁴² The tone is “cheerful” in watching “the procession” and “tendencies of American life good-naturedly, tolerantly and amusingly.”⁴³ That sense of amusement is evident in the Duchamp announcement that begins with the statement: “MARCEL DUCHAMP has arrived in New York! You don’t know him? Impossible! Why, he painted the ‘Nude Descending a Staircase,’ a painting which made such a turmoil here a couple of years ago.”⁴⁴

In the photo, Duchamp’s gaze is direct and he is unsmiling. Juxtaposed against the ironic text, his countenance suggests an air of elegant detachment. The text reads:

He [Duchamp] speaks English like an Englishman; has an insatiable curiosity about everything in New York, from Coney Island to the Metropolitan Museum; is completely without affectation and is much more interested in hearing the opinions of other people than in expressing his own [...]. When you ask him if he is a Cubist, or a This, or a That, he says simply that he is a painter, trying to express his ideas in his own way. The tags and definitions, and names of schools, have, he says, all been invented and applied by outsiders, and the poor artists are not to be blamed if they are card indexed and thrust into pigeonholes by those who talk about them.⁴⁵

⁴¹ For example, he could have worn an artist’s smock like Gustav Klimt to signify ‘painter’ or worn a beret to signify ‘French’.

⁴² Anonymous, *Vanity Fair*, September 1915, 98.

⁴³ Anonymous, *Vanity Fair*, September 1915, 98.

⁴⁴ Anonymous, “Marcel Duchamp Visits New York,” *Vanity Fair*, September 1915, 57.

⁴⁵ Anonymous, “Marcel Duchamp Visits New York,” 57. Ellipsis added.

This passage clearly conveys Duchamp's lack of interest in the opinions of others, a notable characteristic of Baudelaire's dandy who used his indifference as evidence of "his aristocratic superiority of mind."⁴⁶ Duchamp does not care to be labeled as a follower of Cubism or any other stylistic path; he forges his own path by expressing his ideas "in his own way."⁴⁷ And yet his dress conforms to fashionable norms, thus allowing him to aesthetically blend in with the readers of the magazine, the elite of New York society, something that was also noted by a reporter for the *New York Tribune*, who remarked that he "dresses most correctly in the mode, and is quite handsome," noting that "One would take him for a well-groomed Englishman rather than a Frenchman."⁴⁸ Naumann also notes that he has the look of a "hard-working professional, more the serious scientist than the disheveled painter."⁴⁹

In sitting for this photographic portrait, Duchamp has presented himself as an elegant and fashionable gentleman – "an aristocrat of culture," to apply Jones's earlier term – using his choice of dress as a signal of conformity to the era's ideals of elite masculinity. By coincidence, the September 1915 issue of *Vanity Fair* also included an article on Charles Baudelaire and portrait likeness. The author, Arthur Symons, writes: "When we talk, currently, of a 'good likeness,' we mean, for the most part, that a single, habitual expression, with which we are familiar, as we are familiar with a frequently worn suit of clothes has been rendered; that we see a man as we imagine ourselves ordinarily to see

⁴⁶ Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," 27.

⁴⁷ Anonymous, "Marcel Duchamp Visits New York," 57.

⁴⁸ Anonymous qtd. by Francis M. Naumann, *New York Dada: 1915-1923* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 35.

⁴⁹ Naumann, *New York Dada*, 35.

him.”⁵⁰ Although Symons does not comment on Duchamp’s portrait in the article, the artist’s elegant dress and air of indifference will become his “single, habitual expression” to borrow the phrase used by Symons to describe a good likeness.

In a newspaper photo dated to February 1927 by an unknown photographer, Duchamp is photographed dockside (Figure 3.2). He is on his way back to Paris to return the work of sculptor Constantin Brâncuși,⁵¹ which had been on display at the Brummer Gallery in New York.⁵² One of the works, a bronze sculpture called *Bird in Space*, had attracted some controversy when brought into the country by Duchamp for the exhibition. Federal customs officials had judged this work not to be art and the work was levied with a 40% duty as a utilitarian object. At the behest of Duchamp, Brâncuși filed a legal challenge in the courts and the judge ruled that the sculpture was a work of art based on the evidence of Brâncuși’s professional reputation and the expert witnesses like *Vanity Fair* editor Frank Crowninshield and photographer Alfred Stieglitz.⁵³ In sending a photographer to document Duchamp’s leaving, the newspaper signaled the importance of that trial and Duchamp’s role in it. As Sontag observes: “picture-taking is an event in itself” that marks an event as being worthy of record that confers a “kind of immortality (and importance) that it would

⁵⁰ Arthur Symons, “Charles Baudelaire,” *Vanity Fair*, September 1915, 43-44.

⁵¹ It is also worth noting that Duchamp later acted as a dealer of Brâncuși’s sculptures, selling them over time to avoid flooding the market and lowering their value. For details, see Duchamp’s interview with Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Duchamp*, 73-74. The interview provides evidence that Duchamp was acutely aware of and engaged with the commercial apparatus that underpins the art market.

⁵² Anonymous, “In New York Galleries: Constantin Brancusi’s Sculpture – Work by George Luks, Vonnoh, Kronberg, Others,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1926.

⁵³ For a full account of this legal trial, see Daniel McClean and Armen Avenessian, “Trials of the Title: The Trials of Brancusi and Veronese,” in *The Trials of Art*, ed. Daniel McClean (London: Ridinghouse: 2007), 37-53.

never otherwise have enjoyed.”⁵⁴ This photo was Joseph Masheck’s choice for the cover of the updated edition of *Marcel Duchamp in Perspective* (2002), a collection of essays by the likes of Jasper Johns, Clement Greenberg, and John Cage on the topic of Duchamp.

Although art historian Masheck, who served as editor, does not specifically comment on the photo, this usage underlines its historical significance of this particular construction of Duchamp (see Figure 3.3).

In this photograph, Duchamp is wearing a raccoon fur coat with a deep shawl collar over his formal suit and carries a homburg or fedora in his left hand while the other is thrust deep into the coat pocket. He leans slightly to rest his body against the rail, with the weight of his body shifted onto one leg in a casual pose that conveys a confidently relaxed posture. His suit is made of fine wool woven in a twill design overlaid with a windowpane accent colour, often sky blue, called glen plaid or glen check. This subtle and muted pattern was a favourite of the Duke of Windsor and also came to be known as the Prince of Wales check. Raccoon fur coats were wildly popular in the 1920s and into the mid-1930s, worn by affluent businessmen and college students alike.⁵⁵ This ensemble, the suit in Prince of

⁵⁴ Sontag, *On Photography*, 111.

⁵⁵ See Daniel Delis Hill, “Fashions and Fancies of the 1920s,” *Berg Encyclopaedia of World Dress and Fashion: United States and Canada*, ed. Phyllis G. Tortora (Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010). As Hill notes, raccoon coats were expensive, which at \$325-\$450 cost about as much as “a factory new Ford roadster of 1927,” such that only businessmen and affluent college students could afford them. In the exhibition *Ivy Style* at the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) Museum, the popularity of the raccoon coats on college campuses was traced to Princeton University where in the fall of 1923 the college newspaper described the popularity of raccoon fur coats on campus such that they were about “as thick as flies.” See “Ivy Style,” accessed August 15, 2018 http://sites.fitnyc.edu/depts/museum/Ivy_Style/exhibition/raccoon-coat.html This connection to Princeton in particular is notable in that it aligns with Duchamp’s intellectual charisma and focus.

Wales check topped with a lustrous fur coat, marks Duchamp as a highly fashionable man of the time, whose dress aligns with the affluent and intellectual elite. It is also notable that these were expensive garments to purchase, contradicting his claim of relative poverty during his career.⁵⁶ In this image, Duchamp poses for the photographer like a celebrity and conveys swagger in his artful pose of nonchalance. He stands in a relaxed body posture and has a direct and confident gaze, with his brow slightly furrowed and his jaw set as if he is bored at the thought of embarking on yet another trans-Atlantic crossing.⁵⁷

Twenty years later after the dockside photograph was published, Irving Penn (1917-2009), a renowned American fashion photographer who worked for *Vogue*, photographed Duchamp on April 30, 1948 (Figure 3.4). This was one of many black and white portraits photographed by Penn in 1947-1948 at the behest of Alexander Liberman, the art director of *Vogue*, as a body of work to “be drawn on for current and future publications.”⁵⁸ Penn built a stark studio set that created a sharply angled corner that helped him keep “the picture’s space from running off at the edges” of the magazine, but this confined corner also made some subjects, including Georgia O’Keeffe, somewhat uncomfortable.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, Penn encouraged his sitters to improvise, allowing them to use props and pose as they wished, anticipating that this forced encounter would reveal something of the sitter

⁵⁶ See Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 58.

⁵⁷ In the 1920s Duchamp was known to have travelled frequently between Paris and New York since his US Visa required renewal every six months and also to visit his family.

⁵⁸ Maria Morris Hambourg, “Existential Portraits, 1947-48,” in *Irving Penn: Centennial*, ed. Maria Morris Hambourg and Jeff L. Rosenheim (New York: Yale University Press, 2018), 71.

⁵⁹ Hambourg notes that Penn equated this set to a type of game similar to that of a pitcher on a baseball diamond or a fencer engaged in a jousting match. Some sitters did not like the results including Georgia O’Keeffe, who asked that her photograph be destroyed. See Hambourg, “Existential Portraits,” 72-75.

“as they tried to accommodate their bodies, egos, and expectations to the structure.”⁶⁰ Penn photographed notable figures from the arts for this series, including Salvador Dalí, Georgia O’Keeffe, Elsa Schiaparelli, Charles James, Jerome Robbins, Oscar Hammerstein and Richard Rodgers, Igor Stravinsky, Truman Capote, Spencer Tracy, and Marcel Duchamp. An invitation to Penn’s studio to partake in “these somber, soul-searching portraits” was a “badge of success for the sitter, like going to the most fashionable analyst.”⁶¹ Each sitter negotiated the set their own way, with some bringing props like a chair, bench or carpet into the corner. For example, in posing for his portrait, Salvador Dalí sits on a bench covered in a carpet, leaning forward slightly with his elbows in the air and hands on his knees in a wide legged seated posture, while fashion designer Charles James lay down on the floor beside a dress form draped in fabric with scraps of fabric on the floor.⁶²

In his formal portrait, Duchamp casually leans against the two walls that create the corner. He does not appear uncomfortable in this awkward space, but instead seems to emote wry amusement. He is dressed much like film star Spencer Tracy who was also photographed by Penn in 1948; they both wear a tailored dark gray wool double-breasted suit with a white shirt and dark tie.⁶³ Duchamp adds a waistcoat and a wool scarf with gray horizontal stripes that is casually and unevenly draped around his shoulders as if he had just thrown on the scarf in the moments prior to the photo being taken. His black leather shoes are highly polished and the toe cap gleams. He holds a pipe in his hand, and he smiles ever

⁶⁰ Hambourg, “Existential Portraits,” 72.

⁶¹ Hambourg, “Existential Portraits,” 73.

⁶² Images from this series are included in the exhibition catalogue. Hambourg, “Existential Portraits,” 70-93.

⁶³ These photographs are juxtaposed in the exhibition catalogue. Hambourg, “Existential Portraits,” 90-91.

so slightly with a direct gaze that expresses poise and self-assurance. He is one of the “chosen” and, in dressing much like Spencer Tracy, aligns himself with the glamour of a celebrity.⁶⁴ By this point in his life, it was at least several decades since he had claimed that he had given up art for chess,⁶⁵ and in dressing this way, he perpetuates that myth that he is rich and idle – like Baudelaire’s perfect dandy. This photo (Figure 3.5) also appeared on the cover of *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp* by Pierre Cabanne (1971); given that Cabanne was someone who spent a great deal of time with the artist and observed his preference for pink shirts (as mentioned earlier), this placement suggests that the author recognized it as a portrait that represented the man in a manner that Sontag describes as “the disclosure of the subject’s essence.”⁶⁶

As both Berger and Sontag argue, meaning in photographs is discovered over time and through the making of connections and here other traces provide evidence of Duchamp’s careful attention to his dress that enhance the reading of this image by Penn. Key pieces of material evidence from the 1940s has survived in Joseph Cornell’s collection of objects and ephemera related to Duchamp known as *Duchamp Dossier* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.⁶⁷ Duchamp and Cornell were close friends having met in 1933 at an exhibit of Brâncuși’s work organized by Duchamp, and as noted earlier, Cornell assisted Duchamp with the serial preparation of *Box in a Valise*. Walter Hopps, who knew

⁶⁴ By contrast, dancer/choreographer Jerome Robbins wears the dress of a male dancer/choreographer – tights and a close-fitting shirt.

⁶⁵ Joseph Masheck specifically identifies 1923 as the year that the idea that Duchamp “had given up art altogether, not just painting, came into currency.” Joseph Masheck, “Introduction: Chance is Zee Fool’s Name for Fait,” 19.

⁶⁶ Sontag, *On Photography*, 37-38.

⁶⁷ See Joseph Cornell, *Duchamp Dossier, Untitled*. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Object #1990-33-1(1-118).

both artists, argues that: “no other artists in the first half of the twentieth century were as involved with employing or assembling everyday objects for the purposes of art.”⁶⁸ After Cornell’s death in 1972, Hopps found a lavender-blue cardboard box with *Duchamp* written on the lid in pencil in Cornell’s studio and remarks that it is one of many boxed collections of ephemera and other objects sorted by name or subject that Cornell made in his lifetime. Hopps suspects that Duchamp knew about the box since it contains things that Duchamp would have given to Cornell, but he also indicates that some items were likely rescued from the wastebasket. As Hopps observes, Cornell had an acute attention to detail, and that sensibility has provided several pieces of material evidence for this project.

Aside from two copies of the *Vogue* cover discussed previously, *Duchamp Dossier* includes four pieces of paper and a portion of a necktie that once belonged to Duchamp. These items provide clues as to Duchamp’s management of his wardrobe. One is a claim tag dated September 9, 1942 from Bloomingdales (Figure 3.6), a department store in New York at 59th Street and Lexington in Manhattan. Although there is no information about what garment Duchamp purchased that day, the fact that he shopped there and left something for alteration is telling; perhaps it was one of the suits that Katherine Drier purchased for him on occasion.⁶⁹ This reveals that Duchamp had bought clothing at an upscale retailer and evidently took care in selecting his items of dress by ensuring that they

⁶⁸ Walter Hopps, “Gimme Strength: Joseph Cornell and Marcel Duchamp Remembered” in *Joseph Cornell / Marcel Duchamp ... In Resonance*, ed. Polly Koch (Germany: Cantz Verlag, 1998), 70.

⁶⁹ Tomkins notes in his biography of Duchamp that Katherine Dreier acted with a maternal sensibility towards the artist and observes that Dreier bought Duchamp a new suit in the 1930s. See Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 283. In light of Drier’s maternal relationship with Duchamp, it seems probable that she bought more than one suit for him.

fit him well. Similarly, several receipts related to laundry indicate that he was ensuring that his clothing was laundered and pressed. A laundry receipt for Duchamp dated 13 February 1943 from Mrs. Freeman's Private Hand Laundry at 73 Seventh Avenue indicates that he left eight shirts, one wool undershirt, four drawers, three Union Suits and four handkerchiefs to be laundered (Figure 3.7). Another hand laundry receipt dated August 22, 1942 from Delmonico Hand Laundry at 835 Second Avenue shows that Duchamp used a laundry service more than once (Figure 3.8). Related to these laundry receipts is a blue strip of paper that reads "*Your Shirt, Sir! Finely Finished*" that would be used by the laundry service to wrap a package of laundered shirts (Figure 3.9). Another object that Cornell saved was the bottom half of Duchamp's red and blue silk necktie stuffed into a cardboard box for Bond Street Pipe Tobacco, a brand of tobacco smoked by Duchamp (Figure 3.10). The silk tie is a red and blue diagonal stripe – a classic tie in an elegant gentleman's wardrobe (and notably similar to the tie he wore in the photo taken by Penn); and while it is unclear as to why the tie was cut and folded into a box, this small piece of Duchamp's wardrobe is a clue to his conformity to the standards for the dress of a refined gentleman. While there are only a handful of items that are related to clothing of the 118 items included in *Duchamp Dossier*, these small bits of paper and the necktie provide material evidence that Duchamp was taking care of his wardrobe and giving attention to his appearance, even though some have suggested otherwise.⁷⁰ If he did not care for his

⁷⁰ Some have suggested that Duchamp was blasé about his wardrobe. There is a story in which Duchamp is described as wearing three shirts, worn on top of each other in lieu of carrying a suitcase. See Julia Dür, "Glasswanderers," *Tout-fait* 2 no. 5, April 2003, accessed September 17, 2018.

http://www.toutfait.com/issues/volume2/issue_5/articles/dur/dur2.html

appearance, he would not have made the effort to have his clothing altered or pressed, nor would he have worn a silk twill tie.

In January 1965, Duchamp posed for a portrait in New York City by American photographer David Gahr (1922-2008). Well known for his studio portraits of musicians, rock stars and artists for album covers, books and magazines like *Time*, *Life* and *People*, Gahr was “popular among his subjects for what they saw as a desire to elevate rather than merely capture them.”⁷¹ In the mid-1960s, Duchamp was one of many artists that were photographed by Gahr for *Time* magazine.⁷² One of the images in the series is a half-length portrait in which the artist leans slightly against the window, gazing directly at the camera (Figure 3.11). When this photo was taken, Duchamp was 78 years old and although his hair and eyebrows had grayed and his skin was deeply wrinkled, his body was still slender and his posture erect. In another image from this sitting that focuses on the face of the artist, the marks of age are even more apparent.⁷³ In both images, there is a twinkle in his eye and his lips are slightly upturned with the hint of a smile, as if he is letting us in on a joke. For this sitting, Duchamp was formally dressed in a very finely tailored dark wool suit worn with a striped shirt and patterned silk tie. Even though the portrait was taken in a studio setting, he also wears a dark wool double-breasted coat with deep cuffs of lavish fur and he has a soft gray wool scarf around his neck. The finely made coat, especially with its lustrous fur cuffs,

⁷¹ Bruce Weber, “David Gahr, Photographer of Musicians, Dies at 85,” *New York Times*, May 29, 2008, C11.

⁷² Other artists photographed by Gahr included: Salvador Dalí, Jasper Johns, Willem de Kooning, Claes Oldenburg, Georgia O’Keeffe, and Robert Rauschenberg.

⁷³ See David Gahr’s website for this image and other portraits of artists, including Georgia O’Keeffe, accessed January 5, 2019. <http://www.davidgahr.com/photographs/art-fair/nggallery/page/2>

adds a layer of luxurious elegance. Even as an old man, Duchamp conveys poise and refinement and presents himself in the public realm as an elegant gentleman.

As sociologist Herbert Blumer noted in 1969, the process of creating a public persona is a very deliberate gesture: “On the *individual side*, the adoption of what is fashionable is by and large a very calculated act. The fashion-conscious person is usually quite careful and discerning in his effort to identify the fashion in order to make sure that he is ‘in style’; the fashion does not appear to him as frivolous.”⁷⁴ Sontag extends that idea of creating a public persona in the realm of photography by observing that in submitting to a portrait, sitters seek to create the idealized image in which they look their best. In all four images considered here, Duchamp is wearing a tailored dark suit, the emblem of masculinity and power as observed by both Hollander and Berger. Hollander traces the genesis of the man’s suit as a product of modernity in which the once colourful clothing of the male peacock of the eighteenth century was replaced with a dark sober uniform of power that in its “carefully simplified dynamic abstraction” expresses the ideals of masculinity.⁷⁵ And while the man’s suit seems to articulate the idea of non-fashion, Hollander argues that this is a myth, since over time new ideas are constantly changing “of what looks right and what doesn’t.”⁷⁶ This makes the subtle details – the cut, the fabric, the width of the trousers – of Duchamp’s choices of suit relevant. In each case, Duchamp chose to wear a suit and accessories that reflect the fashions in menswear for a specific moment in time, as is seen in the cut of his lapel, the choice of fabric, and the width of his tie.

⁷⁴ Herbert Blumer, “Fashion: From Class Differentiation to Collective Selection,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 10.3 (1969): 277.

⁷⁵ Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 113.

⁷⁶ Hollander, *Sex and Suits*, 23.

These details, “the width of the trousers and lapels, the length of the jacket” are something also noted by Berger as relevant to his analysis of the suit in photographs.⁷⁷ Berger further observes that the suit does not conceal class but instead underlines it, since the body, the bearing, and the posture of the man wearing the suit cannot be entirely disguised by this costume of masculinity.⁷⁸ If we reconsider the photographs of Duchamp in the manner that Berger suggests, Duchamp’s slender figure is that of a gentleman unused to physical effort rather than the thick muscular bodies of those who are “*fully at home in [physical] effort.*”⁷⁹ In the four photographs considered here, Duchamp has conformed to masculine ideals, using his body as a readymade, altering it with a readymade suit to create a work of art – namely himself. As the next chapter will show, Duchamp left the definition of the readymade open, such that his body might be considered the medium for expression and experimentation in creating works of art that were not art in the traditional sense. These images were in public circulation in newspapers and periodicals during Duchamp’s lifetime, suggesting that this persona is what Duchamp wanted the public to see since he had agency over his choice of clothing.

These images evoke his embodiment of Baudelaire’s dandy in “his lightness of step, his social aplomb, the simplicity in his air of authority, his way of wearing a coat [...] his bodily attitudes which are always relaxed but betray an inner energy.”⁸⁰ For this man, this dandy, the “graceful and the formidable are so mysteriously blended” that one cannot help

⁷⁷ Berger, *Understanding a Photograph*, 37.

⁷⁸ Berger, *Understanding a Photograph*, 39.

⁷⁹ Berger, *Understanding a Photograph*, 39-41; emphasis in original.

⁸⁰ Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” 29; ellipsis added.

but “think: ‘A rich man perhaps, but more likely an out-of-work Hercules!’”⁸¹ In Robert Lebel’s 1959 catalogue *Marcel Duchamp*, the author elaborates on Duchamp’s unusual physical beauty as well as his demeanor of detachment. Lebel notes that this air of indifference was often commented upon by Duchamp’s friends and colleagues: “One of his contemporaries, still under his spell, applied to him these lines from *La Princess de Clèves*: ‘such an air about him that he alone was looked at wherever he appeared.’”⁸² In analyzing Duchamp’s professed ambivalence, Lebel reads his attitude as a performance: “Duchamp has always been keenly sensitive to what underlies his attitude and he even seems to have had access to a superior form of consciousness.”⁸³ Others have also remarked on Duchamp’s attitude of detachment, including Pierre de Massot who described Duchamp as possessing “that admirable profile of a purity without equal, that sovereign elegance in clothing, gestures, and speaking, that kind of haughty dandyism that tempered the most exquisite politeness.”⁸⁴

This air of detachment in concert with physical beauty is the hallmark of Baudelaire’s dandy, in that: “The distinguishing characteristic of the dandy’s beauty consists above all in an air of coldness which comes from an unshakeable determination not to be moved.”⁸⁵ And while Duchamp repeatedly professed an indifference to the opinions of others, he took evident care in how he dressed in public. In the myriad of images of Duchamp that can be found in museum collections, in books, and the Internet, his

⁸¹ Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” 29.

⁸² Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 5.

⁸³ Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 70.

⁸⁴ Pierre de Massot, qtd. in Calvin Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 234.

⁸⁵ Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” 29.

appearance is immaculate, even when he is dressed casually or seemingly caught unawares. His gaze is always direct and confident. If he smiles, it is with the smallest upturn of his lips. In every case, there is the feeling that he is holding back with no desire to share his real self. Finkelstein equates the construction of identity to a performance and writes:

Identity then is a fiction insofar as it does not exist as a stable category but is better thought of as a manner of thinking. We are actors, good actors, and we learn how to convince others of specific interpretations. Identity is a performance, a mask and role that can be executed with self-conscious purpose. It is not the case that the mask conceals a true identity within. Rather all social activities involve us in the production of an identity that fits the occasion.⁸⁶

In his public persona, Duchamp performed the role of the elegant gentleman, donning the uniform of masculine power, while embodying the indifference of Baudelaire's dandy. Although this aspect of his persona markedly differs from the gender crossing and other masquerades he adopted within avant-garde circles (the focus of the next section), it also reveals a simultaneous engagement of sartorial self-performance.

Masquerading as Rose/Rrose

It might seem incongruous that Duchamp, who presented himself as a gentleman in the portraits that circulated in the print media, would allow himself to be photographed dressed as a woman, and yet he did so on a number of occasions with the help of photographer Man Ray in 1920 and 1921. Marjorie Garber observes that men have used cross-dressing to assert and confirm their maleness in all-male contexts like Harvard's Hasty Pudding Club, and there is "energy to be obtained from reversing – rather than disseminating – gender

⁸⁶ Joanne Finkelstein, *The Art of Self Invention: Image and Identity in Popular Visual Culture* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 223.

signs.”⁸⁷ However, the meaning of these images created by Duchamp with Man Ray is clouded in ambiguity since neither artist fully articulated what their intent was in creating these works. In 1920, Man Ray was a novice photographer and had only recently begun to explore the medium of photography. In his autobiography, Man Ray indicates that in 1920, he was practicing photography and used Berenice Abbott, Edgar Varèse, and Duchamp as his first models.⁸⁸ To fully appreciate the diverse meaning behind these images, it is also necessary to consider the size, format and circulation of these images. When Duchamp and Man Ray created these works in 1920-1921, these photographs were not considered art, nor were they widely circulated in the print media, but instead were seen by friends, artists and collectors within the close circle of the avant-garde. This is a central point in this inquiry and one that is little discussed in the scholarly analysis of these costumed photographs of Duchamp, but as Herbert Molderings observes, most of Duchamp’s “masquerade portraits, mostly playful and no bigger than a postcard” (including those made later) were not considered works of art, since their places of display were not art galleries or art museums.⁸⁹ In looking at these images today, it is critical to note that viewing practices have changed, enabling alternative readings of these images as a continuation of Duchamp’s creative experiments in using his body as a readymade.

Queer theory suggests that the gender doubling seen in images of Duchamp dressed as his female alter ego is a performance that highlights “the electivity of gender” which

⁸⁷ Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests, Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 159.

⁸⁸ Man Ray, *Self Portrait* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1988), 80.

⁸⁹ Herbert Molderings, *Marcel Duchamp at the Age of 85*, 38.

serves to “destabilize gender binaries” as Deborah Johnson writes.⁹⁰ Amelia Jones also interprets this series as a manifestation of Duchamp’s gender ambivalence that complicates authorship and desire, and she identifies desire and repulsion as the two possible responses to Duchamp’s presentation of self as Rose/Rose.⁹¹ However, another possible affective response is amusement since Duchamp, like his favourite cinema star Charlie Chaplin,⁹² does not try to disguise that he is a man wearing a woman’s clothing. Duchamp’s explorations of androgyny might also be read as an aesthetic extension of his affinity for subversive word play, puns and humour. After all, in 1919 he playfully scribbled a moustache and goatee on a cheap postcard reproduction of the face of Da Vinci’s Mona Lisa and wrote the initials *L.H.O.O.Q.* below (Figure 3.12). In 1961, Duchamp explained: “the curious thing about that moustache and goatee is that when you look at it, the Mona Lisa becomes a man. It is not a woman disguised as a man, it is a real man.”⁹³ Indeed, when the head of Mona Lisa is isolated within *L.H.O.O.Q.* such that the clothing is not visible, she does become a man, and as such serves to underline the role of clothing in communicating gender. Like many of Duchamp’s works, the word play here is significant; when the letters are spoken quickly in French, the phrase becomes: “*Elle a chaud au cul*” or “Her ass is hot.” Duchamp liked to amuse himself, and as Tomkins observes about this

⁹⁰ Deborah Johnson, “R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray: Reconsidering the Alter Ego of Marcel Duchamp,” *artjournal* 72 (Spring 2013), 93.

⁹¹ Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp*, 188-189.

⁹² In 1915, Charlie Chaplin dressed as a woman in the film *The Woman*. Duchamp was a great fan of Chaplin films as was noted by several Duchamp biographers and scholars, including Francis M. Naumann, “Marcel Duchamp: A Reconciliation of Opposites,” in *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, 43.

⁹³ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Alice Goldfarb Marquis, *Marcel Duchamp*, 176.

work: “What could better signal a generation’s revolt against tradition, Western civilization, and the cult of the old masterpiece?”⁹⁴

In considering the images of Duchamp dressed as a woman, it is also significant to note as Johnson does that by the 1920s, cross-dressing was “not especially rare” and could be easily found in “clubs, vaudeville, street theater, and the circus.”⁹⁵ The photographs in which Duchamp presents himself as his alter ego Rose/Rose Sélavy were made at a time when male sexual identity was “newly fluid.”⁹⁶ With his presentation of self as Rose/Rose I suggest that Duchamp, in engaging in gender play for this series of photographs, remade his body as a readymade, using clothing as a transformative tool in order to continue his experiments in the meaning of the original and the copy in art.

In the photograph *Portrait of Marcel Duchamp as Rose Sélavy*, Duchamp is dressed as a woman, donning a woman’s hat, wig, necklace, and cloth coat (Figure 3.13). The black and white image is tightly cropped in an oval frame and Duchamp is oriented in a ¾ view with a direct gaze. The image is in soft focus, but this does not obscure the fact that Duchamp is a man dressed as a woman. This series of images marks the first “public” appearance of Rose Sélavy, his female alter ego. This name and its subsequent modification into Rose Sélavy in 1921 were inscribed over the course of Duchamp’s lifetime onto twenty artworks as well as numerous documents, essays and two businesses linked to the fashion industry, namely a fabric-dyeing operation and a fashion boutique.⁹⁷ This image is one of at least three poses of Duchamp dressed in this way for Man Ray’s camera (see

⁹⁴ Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 218.

⁹⁵ Johnson, “R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray,” 87.

⁹⁶ Johnson, “R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray,” 87.

⁹⁷ Johnson, “R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray,” 81.

Figure 3.14). In a second series of photographs dated to the summer of 1921, Duchamp wore another outfit as well as makeup to present himself as a woman (Figure 3.15).

The first works to include Duchamp's pseudonym Rose Sélavy were created sometime in 1920 and took the form of a copyright notice printed on the doorsill of his work *Fresh Widow* and an inscription visible only when reflected in a mirror on the bottom of the work *Why Not Sneeze?*⁹⁸ Although Duchamp's elder brother Gaston had adopted the pseudonym Jacques Villon when he abandoned law to become a painter and his sister had "twice abandoned the name Duchamp through marriage," Marcel's motivations for assuming a pseudonym are vague.⁹⁹ In his interview with Cabanne, Duchamp said: "I wanted to change my identity and the first idea that came to me was to take a Jewish name that I especially liked, or that tempted me, and suddenly, I had an idea: why not change sex? It was much simpler [...]. Rose was an awful name in 1920."¹⁰⁰ The name Rose was actually a very popular name for girls in the early part of the nineteenth century, consistently ranking in the top twenty girl's names in America from 1900-1921.¹⁰¹ Notably, rosewater was one of the most fashionable scents at the time and one of the most popular brands of perfume during that period was called *Rosine*, a perfume by the couturier Paul

⁹⁸ Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 47.

⁹⁹ Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 3.

¹⁰⁰ Duchamp qtd. in Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 64. Ellipsis added.

¹⁰¹ See Behind the Names <https://www.behindthename.com/name/rose/top/united-states> accessed July 22, 2018. As well, the popularity of the name was captured in song in 1921 when Fanny Brice sang *Second-Hand Rose* at the Ziegfeld Follies. This popular song is about the wearing of second-hand clothes, including "second-hand pearls", "second-hand curls", and another woman's "last year's coat." Although the lyrics seem to closely echo Duchamp's clothing selections for his photographs with Man Ray, the song would have been released after Duchamp made the first series of images with Man Ray in 1920. For the lyrics to the song, see <https://genius.com/Fanny-brice-second-hand-rose-lyrics> accessed January 6, 2019.

Poiret available in France and in America – a topic that will be revisited later in this chapter.

The name Rose Sélavy, to which Duchamp added an extra ‘r’ in 1921 to become Rrose Sélavy, has been generally interpreted as a pun on the French phrase, “Eros, c’est la vie,” meaning Eros (sex), that’s life. In his later interview with Cabanne, Duchamp links the addition of the “r” to Rose as a joke. He says: “The double R comes from Picabia’s painting, you know, the ‘*Oeil Cacodylate*,’ [...]. I don’t remember how I signed it [...]. I think I put ‘*Pi Qu’habilla Rrose Sélavy*’ – the word ‘arrose’ (to toast or piss on) “demands two R’s so I was attracted to the second R. All of this was word play.”¹⁰² Deborah Johnson reads this statement with suspicion, noting that Duchamp routinely contradicted himself and she unpacks a multiplicity of translations and interpretations linked to this phrase. She concludes that Duchamp intended to mark his alter ego as “other” with this name such that her artistic identities encompassed “female, Jewish, androgynous, transgressive and apostate.”¹⁰³ Several scholars have suggested that Gertrude Stein, as a Jewish lesbian with an androgynous appearance, may have served as a model for Rose, given the infamous line from her 1913 poem “Emily”: “Rose is a rose is a rose, is a rose.”¹⁰⁴

It is in the series of photographs taken by Man Ray in the fall of 1920 that Marcel Duchamp is photographed as Rose. In *Portrait of Marcel Duchamp as Rose Sélavy* by Man Ray (Figure 3.13), Duchamp wears a black velvet hat, a brown wig, a double strand

¹⁰² Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 64. Ellipsis added.

¹⁰³ Johnson, “R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray,” 82.

¹⁰⁴ Qtd. in Johnson, “R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray,” 83. See also David Hopkins, Men before the Mirror: Duchamp, Man Ray and Masculinity,” *Art History* 21, no. 3 (September 1998), 307.

necklace and a cloth coat with a large portrait collar. Each of these components signifies femininity. It is a deliberate masquerade or performance of “other,” since his choice of clothing – a coat and a hat – is somewhat utilitarian, in that they cloak the body rather than reveal it. His body is transformed with dress into a rectified readymade in presenting himself as a work of art. Duchamp did not choose to wear a dress or otherwise reveal his body, even though he might have done so given that his slender frame would have suited the angular fashions of the early 1920s.¹⁰⁵ Although Johnson describes Duchamp’s choices of attire for Rose Sélavy as ill-fitting, matronly, and unfashionable,¹⁰⁶ a fashion studies focus reveals that, to the contrary, his selections signify his knowledge of clothing worn at the time as evidenced by examples from fashion journals as well as extant examples from museum dress collections. The nuances of what is fashionable at any given moment manifest in subtle ways through all social strata – in the length of the hair, the size of the hat, and the cut of the coat, and Duchamp took notice of such details in transforming himself from Marcel into Rose. Although Duchamp selected less expensive versions of clothing and accessories that were the markers of high fashion to create himself as a rectified readymade, his determination to “cut short any counterattack of taste” similar to his selection of readymades is evidenced.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ In the photograph *Adam and Eve* from 1924-1925, also created in collaboration with Man Ray, (Getty Museum Object #86.XM.626.12), Duchamp appears nude as Adam alongside Brogna Perlmutter as Eve. In this image, Duchamp’s hairless body is revealed, and he is as slender as a pubescent girl or boy. Duchamp also drew this image in his late series of etchings as discussed in chapter 1; see Figure 2.27.

¹⁰⁶ Johnson, “R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray,” 92.

¹⁰⁷ Marcel Duchamp, qtd. in Robert Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 35.

In the first series of images (Figure 3.13 and 3.14), the transformation of Duchamp from man into woman included a wig. This shorter style of hair, known as bobbed hair, was a recent and notable change in hair fashions for women that gained in popularity in the years following the First World War. In an article called “The Beneficent Rule of Bobbed Hair” in the March 15, 1921 issue of *Vogue*, readers were informed of the freedoms afforded by this shorter hairstyle. Readers were also instructed to curl their hair and to wear smaller hats that would frame the face:

The small head size we must have, because the bobbed hair demands it. But becomingness requires that, first and foremost, the hat should make the face and features look small, and sometimes this can only be accomplished by filling out the line of it [...] [with] curled hair. Bobbed hair has brought in the close-fitting hat, and bobbed hair makes the close-fitting hat becoming.¹⁰⁸

Duchamp’s use of a wig echoes the fashion craze for bobbed hair as seen in the photos that accompany this *Vogue* article (Figure 3.16). It is also notable that Duchamp was a close acquaintance of the artist and illustrator Clara Tice,¹⁰⁹ who, according to Naumann, established “a considerable reputation in underground bohemian circles for having been the *first* to bob her hair.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, “The Beneficent Rule of Bobbed Hair,” *Vogue* (New York), March 15, 1921, 42-43. Ellipsis added.

¹⁰⁹ A portrait of Tice with her distinctive bobbed hair appeared in the same issue of *Vanity Fair* that announced Duchamp’s arrival in New York in September 1915. A year later, in September 1916, Tice and Duchamp both attended the Rogue Ball, where Tice won first prize for her costume while Duchamp won the booby prize. Tice also participated in the Independents Exhibition of 1917 and contributed an illustration to *The Blind Man*, May 1917. See Francis M. Naumann, *New York Dada: 1915-1923* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 118-119.

¹¹⁰ Francis M. Naumann, *New York Dada*, 119. The American dancer Irene Castle is generally credited for being the first to cut her hair in this style in May 1914 although Peggy Baird claimed she had done so prior to Castle; see Marlis Schweitzer, “Accessible Feelings, Modern Looks: Irene Castle, Ira L. Hill, and Broadway’s Affective Economy,” in

Dressed as Rose, Duchamp wears a cloth coat with a face framing collar and a black velvet hat worn low on his head that gives emphasis to his eyes (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). Contrary to Johnson, who suggests that the coat was unfashionable and the hat ill-fitting,¹¹¹ the clothing chosen by Duchamp reveals his awareness of the era's gendered fashion. Ornamented with glycerized ostrich feathers or possibly monkey fur, this hat is highly fashionable and Duchamp wears it in the manner that hats were worn at this time – low on the head to frame the eyes. The pages of *Vogue* in 1920 and 1921 include numerous illustrations of comparable coats as well as similar hats with vertical feather ornamentation. For example, in an article in *Vogue* from November 15, 1920 that describes Paul Poiret as one of the “great couturiers of Paris,” a model wears a similar hat as well as a coat with a high portrait collar (Figure 3.17). Although many of the most fashionable coats were made of silk brocade or velvet and ornamented with fur, the pages of *Vogue* also illustrate many fashionable coats made of cloth. Duchamp wears such a coat to signify his transformation into a woman, and the softly ruched collar of this coat distinguishes it from the notched lapel of a man's coat or suit jacket. Similar examples of this style of hat with vertical plumage can be found in museum collections (see for example Figure 3.18) as can women's cloth coats with this type of collar, including a Paul Poiret coat dated to 1920-1921 from the Kyoto Costume Institute (Figure 3.19) and a silk coat by Maria Gallenga

Feeling Photography, ed. Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 204-238. Naumann's use of the word “first” in this case seems intended to mean the first within New York's avant-garde circles; it is often difficult to definitively identify the origins of a particular fashion.

¹¹¹ Johnson describes Duchamp as wearing “fake jewelry, a cloth coat, and an unfashionable, badly fitting, brimmed and feathered hat.” See Johnson, “R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray,” 92.

dated 1926 from the collection of the Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 3.20). These extant garments are remarkably similar to that worn by Duchamp and signal the artist's sensitivity to the nuances of fashion and its transformative power.¹¹²

Also meaningful in the construction of this image is the double stranded freshwater pearl collar necklace and a shell-shaped broach, since jewelry is a notable signifier of femininity. The symbolic connotations of femininity and fecundity of pearls were described in a passage by Pliny in *Natural History, Book IX* in which he writes: "Oyster shells [...] when stimulated by the generative season of the year gape open as it were and are filled with dewy pregnancy, and subsequently when heavy are delivered, and the offspring of the shells are pearls that correspond to the quality of the dew received."¹¹³ As Marcia Pointon observes in her analysis of the symbolism of jewellery, pearls are simultaneously symbolic of female fertility as well as symbols of unnatural and destructive female consumption.¹¹⁴ Thus, in donning a double strand pearl necklace, Duchamp marks Rose as his fecund other and it is she who subsequently signs many of his subsequent artworks. However, in light of Cleopatra's consumption of the pearl, Duchamp retains his power over her claim to status

¹¹² Numerous examples of coats by Poiret with this soft collar that date between 1919 and 1925 can be found in the collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and other museums illustrating that this type of collar was popular for a number of years.

¹¹³ Pliny quoted by Marcia Pointon, "Intriguing Jewellery: Royal Bodies and Luxurious Consumption," *Textual Practice* 11, no. 3 (1997), 506.

¹¹⁴ Pointon, "Intriguing Jewellery," 508. Pointon quotes extensively from Pliny who wrote an account of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, taking one of her pearl earrings, said to have been one of the largest and most remarkable pearls in existence, dropping it into a glass of vinegar and then drinking it in the presence of Mark Anthony as a bet on who could give the most lavish banquet. The other earring was said to have been cut into two pieces. This infamous tale of the pearl's destruction has thus become associated with feminine caprice. The infamous scene is captured in the painting *Cleopatra's Banquet* by Gerard de Lairese (1680) in the collection of the Rijksmuseum.

as artist by asserting the right to control when Rose appears. Jones makes a similar observation in reading Duchamp's performance as Rose as an extension of the patriarchal structures of Western culture, in that Rose is authored by Duchamp and in this way subservient to him, appearing only when he allows her to perform.¹¹⁵

In spite of the fashionable markers of femininity, the transformation from man into woman is not complete however, and deliberately so. The high contrast lighting creates a strong shadow on Duchamp's neck that emphasizes his Adam's apple as well as the whiskers on the right side of his chin (i.e., the left side of the image). This choice of lighting may have been the consequence of Man Ray's relative inexperience as a photographer as well as his lack of equipment,¹¹⁶ but the harsh light gives emphasis to his masculine profile. Duchamp gazes directly at the viewer and is unsmiling, confronting the viewer with his partial transformation.

Marjorie Garber interprets the cross-dressing acts of the transvestite as a "vestimentary code, in Barthes's sense, a rhetorical system of signification" that is distinct from sexual orientation.¹¹⁷ The transvestite deploys "the rhetoric of clothing, naming, and performance or acting out" to present themselves as the other gender.¹¹⁸ Transformations that are left incomplete or imperfect are seen as both interesting and engaging. Garber

¹¹⁵ Amelia Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp*, 155-160.

¹¹⁶ In Man Ray's autobiography, he indicates his decision to try his hand at photography in 1920. Some time that year, he decided to photograph the dust on Duchamp's work-in-progress *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors Even*. In his detailed account of that photograph, he notes that he opened the shutter and came back an hour later, a technique that indicates that he did not have any lighting equipment at the time. See Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, 78-79.

¹¹⁷ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 157.

¹¹⁸ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 134.

suggests that transvestism opens up a space of possibility in restructuring and confounding culture such that the “disruptive element that intervenes, not just a category crisis of male and female, but the crisis of category itself.”¹¹⁹ In his incomplete transformation, Duchamp disrupts the binary of man-woman in that he is dressed as Rose or Rrose but he is still recognizable as Marcel and thus playfully confounds the viewer. In her analysis of contemporary artists who have cross-dressed, Garber makes a brief mention of Duchamp and his influence, reading his enactment as Rose Sélavy as serving to open “up a way of thinking, of possibilities” to others like Andy Warhol and Robert Mapplethorpe.¹²⁰ In taking the name Rose or Rrose and donning the vestimentary signifiers of femininity to perform his alter ego, I argue that Duchamp has not denied his masculinity but instead used his body as a rectified readymade to disrupt and confound expectations of what he might do next. His transformation was deliberately imperfect, and in this way, he reminds the viewer that he is a man, sufficiently confident in his own identity to present his body as a readymade and himself as a woman.

In the print *Marcel Duchamp as Belle Haleine* (Figure 3.21), Duchamp’s face is turned in a different direction, and the collar is pulled higher to frame and flatter the face.

¹¹⁹ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 17.

¹²⁰ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 161. In Anne Hollander’s critique of Garber’s book, she observes that Garber’s analysis of transvestites and cross dressers omits visual analysis of their dress. Hollander argues that such context would enhance the understanding of how dress is integral to the visual presentation of self, especially for the transvestite. See Anne Hollander *Feeding the Eye* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 161-176. In linking my analysis of Duchamp’s dressing as Rose/Rrose to specific articles of clothing and to the modern woman of the period, I am acknowledging the significance of clothing in the visual representation of self.

Later in 1921, Duchamp sat for Man Ray in Paris for another series of photographs of Rose and with these images changes the spelling to Rrose (see Figure 3.14). In this second series of images, Duchamp wore makeup including smoky eye shadow and lipstick. Instead of a wig, his head is topped with a dark felt hat with a wide brim that is encircled with a geometric-patterned scarf.¹²¹ Duchamp here again uses his body as a readymade and dons another woman's cloth coat; this one is expansively trimmed with fur at the neckline and cuffs, marking it as a more expensive and fashionable selection. The hat and coat were borrowed from Francis Picabia's girlfriend Germaine Everling, who inserted her hands into the image.¹²² Although the lighting is softer and more diffuse, imparting a more flattering texture to his skin, the transformation from man into woman even here remains incomplete. In all three versions of this image, we are aware that this is a man dressed as a woman, and there is a discomfiting sense of ambiguity.

In creating the readymade perfume bottle "*Belle Haleine, Eau de Voilette* (Beautiful Breath, Veil Water)," Duchamp chose one of the images, *Marcel Duchamp as Rrose Sélavy*, where the lighting is more even and his gaze is directed away from the viewer (see Figure 3.21). Duchamp removed the original label that read "UN AIR EMBAUMÉ / RIGAUD / PARIS and replaced it with another reading "Belle Haleine Eau de Voilette, New York, Paris." A photograph of the modified perfume bottle appeared on the cover of *New York Dada*, a pamphlet style single-issue publication of four pages, published by Man

¹²¹ Johnson identifies this headscarf as the work of Sonia Delaunay. See Johnson, "R(r)ose Sélavy as Man Ray," 92. While it is possible that she is the designer (since Delaunay was creating textile works in 1920), her work was not available widely before March 1925. See Juliet Bellow, *Sonia Delaunay*. (London: Tate Publishing, 2014), 111.

¹²² Arturo Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Delano Greenidge Editions, 2000), 693.

Ray and Duchamp in the winter of 1921¹²³ (Figure 3.22). On both the cover of *New York Dada* and the bottle *Belle Haleine*, the image of Duchamp is very small, about the size of a couple of postage stamps, making it very difficult to see the details of Duchamp's face and dress. According to Man Ray's account, Duchamp designed the cover, indicating that the miniature size of the image was a calculated decision.¹²⁴ If viewers did not know this was Duchamp, they might not interpret the image with desire or revulsion – the two possible responses suggested by Jones for this image.¹²⁵ Instead other feelings or affects might arise: including amusement, confusion, or ambivalence, as suggested by James McManus and Adrian Sudhalter.

In arguing that *Belle Haleine* presents a parody of the advertising and marketing campaigns at the time, McManus articulates a response of amusement. By inserting the figure of Rose as “corporate figurehead (whose gender identity is questionable),” the artwork serves to mock “celebrity figures (e.g. Coco Chanel) who were transforming their identities into product brand name.”¹²⁶ With this gesture, as McManus argues, Duchamp was anticipating the role of celebrity in determining his ultimate legacy within the art

¹²³ Naomi Sawelson-Gorse reads this publication to be “the male’s retort to female dadaists and feministic discourse” at a time when women’s issues, including suffrage and birth control, were changing the dynamic of Euro-American society. Naomi Sawelson-Gorse, “Preface” to *Women in Dada, Essays on Sex, Gender, and Identity*, ed. Naomi Sawelson-Gorse (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), xvii.

¹²⁴ Man Ray writes: “Aside from the cover which he designed, he left the rest of the make-up to me, as well as the choice of contents.” See Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, 87.

¹²⁵ See Amelia Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp*, 159. Jones and many other authors do not consider the size of this image in their analysis; however, the small size of the image on the perfume bottle readymade or the cover of *New York Dada* actually makes it very difficult to discern the details.

¹²⁶ James McManus, *Inventing Marcel Duchamp: The Dynamics of Portraiture*, ed. Anne Collins Goodyear and James W. McManus (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009) 75.

history canon. However, Coco Chanel (1883-1971) was not the leading couturier of the time (her fame would come a few years later), and it was actually Paul Poiret (1879-1944) who was widely known in France and America for his clothing and perfumes. In 1920, *Women's Wear Daily* reported that Poiret's perfume factory was manufacturing 200,000 bottles of perfume a month "destined for Paris and New York," and identifies the "Fabrique de Rosine" as the perfume of choice for the "elegant woman of fashion."¹²⁷ Poiret had starting manufacturing perfume in 1911, when Duchamp still lived in France and was the first fashion designer to create his own perfume under the corporate entity *Les Parfume de Rosine* – named after his first-born daughter Rosine – and his innovations not only influenced but profoundly changed the perfume industry.¹²⁸ Poiret had made public declarations that he was "an artist, not a dressmaker"¹²⁹ and this would have been a provocative statement to artists of the time, and a good reason for Duchamp to mock Poiret's celebrity status in this series of images.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ "Poiret Perfumer Vies with Poiret Couturier", *Women's Wear Daily*, April 7, 1920.

¹²⁸ Mayer Lefkowitz writes a detailed account of Poiret's production and marketing of his many brands of perfumes. See Christie Mayer Lefkowitz, *Paul Poiret and his Rosine Perfumes* (New York: Editions Sylissimo, 2007).

¹²⁹ See for example, Anonymous, "Paul Poiret Here to Tell of his Art, Parisian Creator of Gowns Arrives on the Provence for a Lecture Tour Here," *New York Times*, September 21, 1913.

¹³⁰ It is highly probable that Duchamp knew of Paul Poiret, since his close friend Francis Picabia was a childhood friend of Poiret. See Nancy Troy, *Couture Culture*, 38. Poiret was also instrumental in helping Man Ray find work when he first moved to Paris in July 1921, something that Duchamp acknowledged in his interview with Cabanne; see Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 66. Man Ray discusses Poiret at length in his autobiography, including his first meeting with the designer. Man Ray indicates that at that time he had neither lights nor access to a darkroom and Poiret supplied lights and also allowed Man Ray to use the attic of the atelier as a darkroom. See Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, 100-110.

Nancy J. Troy also notes the interesting coincidence that Duchamp took the name of “Rose/Rose” when Poiret’s first perfume was named “La Rose de Rosine” noting that Duchamp was obviously aware of the tropes of femininity as a result of Poiret’s prominence.¹³¹ And Adrian Sudhalter interprets the images of Duchamp dressed as Rose/Rose in relation to the popularity of French perfume in America; with French perfume linked to sophistication and feminine identity, *Belle Haleine Eau de Violette* becomes a representation of the suspended identity in that Duchamp is neither male nor female, and lives between Paris and America. Sudhalter equates the “slippage between poles of gender” to the “slippage between poles of national identity.”¹³² However, for Sudhalter the “failure of the carefully deployed mechanisms for the production of female identity to deceive the viewer” produce images that are “restless and disturbing”¹³³ – the affect that Jones anticipates.

In her feminist critique, Jones argues that these Rose Sélavy photographs disrupt notions of the genius of the male artist. She writes: “Duchamp specialists are surprised by the femininity of this authorial mark, its difference from the expected signature: ‘Marcel Duchamp’.”¹³⁴ Jones reads gender play as ambivalence since Duchamp’s transformation to woman is ultimately unconvincing. Jones argues that his gesture opens up the possibility to disrupt the hegemonic construction of gender by conferring authority on “woman” as

¹³¹ Troy, *Couture Culture*, 298.

¹³² Adrian Sudhalter, “R/rose Recontextualized: French and American Identity and the Photographic Portraits for Dadaglobe and New York Dada” in *aka Marcel Duchamp, Meditations on the Identities of an Artist*, ed. Anne Collins Goodyear and James W. McManus (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2014), 38.

¹³³ Sudhalter, “R/rose Recontextualized,” 40.

¹³⁴ Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp*, 155.

author but his gesture is incomplete.¹³⁵ In signing the work, Rose “becomes an author,” but it remains obvious that “she herself has been ‘authored’ by her other” and thus the myth of the male genius as father of the work remains intact.¹³⁶ Her arguments are both thorough and convincing, but Jones does not account for Duchamp’s delight in parody and subversive irony. Many scholars, including Robert Lebel,¹³⁷ have remarked on Duchamp’s affinity for humour in naming and conceiving of his works, and notably “the prankster” Rose Sélavy had her own calling card that included the line “Complete line of whiskers and kicks.”¹³⁸ Nor does Jones consider what Lipovetsky describes as the “narcissistic pleasure of transforming oneself in one’s own eyes and those of others, of ‘changing one’s skin,’ feeling like – and becoming someone else, by changing the way one dresses.”¹³⁹ Duchamp once said: “My irony is that of indifference: meta-irony”¹⁴⁰ suggesting that Jones somewhat underplays the implication of Duchamp’s evident delight in irony and contradiction in his works.

In sum, it is through fashion that gender is manifested in a visual form. Notably absent from scholarly analyses of the Rose Sélavy series of images is due consideration to the fact that Duchamp expertly manipulated the codes of fashion, using clothing to adopt various guises and in this way articulate his own body as a rectified readymade as well as make strategic interventions into the patriarchal gender hierarchies. In the creation of these

¹³⁵ Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp*, 156.

¹³⁶ Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp*, 160.

¹³⁷ For one of many observations of the artist’s predilection for humour, see Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 96.

¹³⁸ Goldfarb Marquis, *Marcel Duchamp*, 194.

¹³⁹ Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*, 79.

¹⁴⁰ Duchamp qtd. in Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 85.

images Duchamp acknowledges his familiarity with the signifiers of fashionable dress in the early 1920s. As the next section shows, each element of dress is meaningful as a marker of modern femininity that can be read within the context of a time in history of emerging female emancipation.

La Garçonne

As Elizabeth Wilson reminds us: “Fashion is obsessed with gender, defines and redefines the gender boundary.”¹⁴¹ Each period in history has expressed this gender boundary through the articulation of acceptable choices of clothing, accessories, hairstyles, and other forms of body adornment, which either emphasizes or minimizes the differences between men and women. By the end of the nineteenth century, when Duchamp was in his early teens, fashionable women’s dress emphasized femininity with an S-shaped corseted silhouette that was ornamented with lace, feathers, frills and bows. A woman’s dress was central to her identity and status within society, and codes of femininity dictated strict rules of what was considered appropriate attire. As argued in chapter 2, Duchamp’s early drawings for Parisian journals reveal his knowledge of fashionable dress codes and an awareness of shifting gender roles and women’s burgeoning efforts to make a place for themselves in public spaces. In the decade that followed, Duchamp was witness to the social upheaval of the First World War and the growing emancipation of women, and therefore his attitudes to gender reflected in these earlier works are relevant in considering his presentation of himself as a woman. In *Gender Trouble* (2007), Judith Butler argues

¹⁴¹ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 116.

that gender is a cultural construction that is learned over time. This “stylization of the body” is learned through a “set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame” and is influenced by political and social ideology to produce a “natural sort of being.”¹⁴² Butler demonstrates that notions of masculinity and femininity are social constructs that are visually manifested through the fashioning of the body as an articulation of identity.

In engaging in cross-dressing, Duchamp cloaks his male body with clothing, makeup and accessories to become his female alter ego, while his masculinity remains intact. This transformation becomes a parody, and Duchamp lets us in on his joke. Just as his drawings of 1908-1909 were created with subversively ironic subtext, I argue that Duchamp, in his transformation into Rrose Sélavy, was constructing a parody of the flapper or *la garçonne*. This new modern woman, the flapper or *la garçonne*, embraced an androgynous style of dress and ignored the staid bourgeoisie codes of manners, dress and morality that had governed a woman’s dress and behaviour in the first decade of the twentieth century. She cut her hair, applied makeup in public, went without stockings, and also danced, drank and smoked with abandon.

The word flapper was initially associated with young English girls in that awkward stage between girlhood and womanhood.¹⁴³ However, by 1917 the term flapper was used to

¹⁴² Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 45.

¹⁴³A print ad for Bonwit Teller in 1913 is the first to use this term in the pages of *Vogue* (New York); see Advertisement: Bonwit Teller, *Vogue*, June 1, 1913, 5. In a print ad for the store in 1914, the term is explained as follows: “London has an apt term – “the flapper” – for the girl who has reached the ‘awkward period,’ whose figure between the ages of 12 and 16, still undeveloped, is difficult to attire with the proper chic.” See Advertisement: Bonwit Teller, *Vogue*, April 1, 1914, 4.

describe the ‘new’ modern woman who embraced new styles of behaviour and dress. She was portrayed in the editorial pages of *Vogue* (New York) in February 1917 as follows:

She is a fantastic grotesque, pretty in the modern manner, which is a wild mixture of Paris, futurism, the primitives, and a little rouge. She is quite small, inconceivably fragile; she has a delicate chin, audacious eyes, and a candid forehead. She is feverishly interested in two things, herself and her clothes. Everything else in the world quite frankly bores her to tears....¹⁴⁴

The author identifies the slender, youthful and un-corseted flapper as a jumble of contradictions in describing her as a pretty *grotesque* – and notably links her to Paris and futurism. In France, this type of woman was called *la garçonne*. Not only could the modern woman dress as she wished, she was free to embrace her sexuality, and she became immortalized in 1922 by Victor Margueritte’s scandalous novel *La Garçonne*.¹⁴⁵ And it is within this context that Duchamp chose to dress as a woman for his collaboration with Man Ray.

Although she does not use the term flapper or *la garçonne*, Elizabeth Hutton Turner notes the influence of the young American woman also known as *la jeune fille américaine* on artists of the Dadaist movement, including poet Jean Cocteau and artist Francis Picabia. Cocteau described this type of energetic young American woman thus: “The United States [...] evokes a girl more interested in her health than in her beauty. She swims, boxes, dances, leaps onto moving trains – all without knowing she is beautiful. It is we who

¹⁴⁴ Milred R. Cram, “The Extreme Adolescence of America,” *Vogue*, February 1, 1917, 66.

¹⁴⁵ This novel presents the story of an emancipated young French woman who after finding out her fiancé was cheating on her, decides to live her life on her own terms and has multiple sexual partners including a lesbian love affair. The book was seen as an affront to social norms and resulted in considerable scandal in France such that Magueritte was stripped of his *Légion d'honneur*. An edited version of the book which omitted passages describing sexual acts was published for an American audience as *The Bachelor Girl* in 1923.

admire her face, on the screen – enormous, like the face of a goddess.”¹⁴⁶ Picabia illustrates her as a spark plug in his work *Portrait d'une jeune fille américaine dans l'état de nudité* for the July-August 1915 cover of *291*, no.5-6 (Figure 3.23). In this rendering of the *jeune fille américaine* as a mass-produced spark plug with the word “For-ever” imprinted on her side, Picabia presents her, without curves, stripped of softness and feminine emotion, not only as an engine part, but also as a phallic symbol. Hutton Turner notes that the madcap *jeune fille américaine*, as “a youthful sexual alter-ego for the Old World weighed down by tradition,” served to break the social taboos, styles, techniques, and spatial frames of the work of Jean Cocteau, Alfred Jarry, and Francis Picabia.¹⁴⁷ Although Duchamp is not mentioned in this context, the spirit of *jeune fille américaine* would undoubtedly have entered into the realm of his consciousness, given his close friendship with Picabia as well as female Dada artists like Beatrice Wood and the Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhagen.

Whether described as *la jeune fille américaine*, *la garçonne*, or the flapper, the spirit of the liberated androgynous gamine profoundly influenced fashion in the late 1910s and 1920s. The fashionable silhouette of the early twenties emphasized straight lines rather than curves, and clothes were shown to best effect on a lean, angular, and boyish figure that was hipless, bust-less and waist-less. Some women embraced their new-found freedoms by dressing, as Jane Mulvagh writes: “as much like a man as possible – in a smoking jacket, waistcoat, necktie, tailored suit, stout shoes or pyjamas. Some chose the masculine manner

¹⁴⁶ Jean Cocteau qtd. in Elizabeth Hutton Turner, “La Jeune Fille Américaine and the Dadaist Impulse,” in *Women in Dada, Essays on Sex, Gender, and Identity*, ed. Naomi Sawelson-Gorse, (Cambridge: MIT, 2001), 5. Ellipsis added.

¹⁴⁷ Hutton Turner, “La Jeune Fille Américaine and the Dadaist Impulse,” 17.

to underline their political views or to hide their sexuality.”¹⁴⁸ In 1922, an anonymous writer for *Vogue* wrote: “Men and Women are becoming every year more indistinguishable. The distinction between the sexes has been discovered to be grossly exaggerated.”¹⁴⁹ Dress historians have identified Denise Poiret, muse and wife of French fashion designer Paul Poiret, as “the prototype of *la garçonne* with her slim, youthful and uncorseted figure.”¹⁵⁰

A photograph of Denise Poiret from 1919 conveys the sensual appeal of *la garçonne* (Figure 3.24). The open neckline and low back of the dress reveals her slender and boyish figure. Although she was married, her posture is open and erotically suggestive. What is perhaps most interesting (and otherwise unnoticed by art historians) is that her headdress is very similar to that worn by Duchamp in his cross-dressing transformation into Rose. Made of monkey fur, the strands stand stiffly away from the head, and create a bird-like visage. A similar hat, also by Poiret but made of silk, metallic thread and feathers, is held in the collection of the Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 3.25) and the curatorial notes for that object read: “In concept, it is similar to a more widely known example of a gold lamé and black monkey fur, worn by Denise Poiret with her ‘Paris’ evening coat. Both recall eighteenth-century depictions of the headdresses of the allegories of the Continents, notably of Africa and the Americas.”¹⁵¹ This type of headdress was highly fashionable and remained so into 1921, appearing in an illustration of the

¹⁴⁸ Jane Mulvagh, *Vogue History of 20th Century Fashion* (London: Viking, 1988), 50.

¹⁴⁹ Anonymous qtd. in Mulvagh, *Vogue History of 20th Century Fashion*, 50.

¹⁵⁰ See Harold Koda and Andrew Bolton, *Poiret* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2007). Also see Poiret “Exhibition Overview” Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed: June 11, 2018, <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2007/poiret>

¹⁵¹ See *Flonflon*, Paul Poiret, ca. 1920, Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Object #2005.191).

fashionable Duchess Sjorsa and shown as an illustration in *Vogue* September 1, 1921 (Figure 3.26). Here also is a visual link to Poiret that has not previously been mentioned by other scholars. Denise Poiret embodied the glamour of *la garçonne*, but Duchamp also had a number of acquaintances and close female friends who had adopted androgynous styles of dressing – most notably sculptor and photographer Berenice Abbott, German Dada artist Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven, and painters Georgia O’Keeffe and Florine Stettheimer. Each of these women embraced the less restrictive dress codes of the period and interpreted this in a highly distinctive manner. In the next part, I shall consider the manner of dress of each woman in relation to the style of *la garçonne*.

Least extreme in her manner of dress was Florine Stettheimer (1871-1944) whose self-portraits often included elements of dress from both genders, such as in *Family Portrait* where she wears black trousers and top with high-heeled red shoes (Figure 3.27). She may be wearing either black lounging or a suit;¹⁵² in either case, the two-piece ensemble is sleek, like a man’s suit, giving her body the lean and elegant lines of *la garçonne*. She does not deny her femininity in that she walks in high-heeled red shoes. Her androgynous look contrasts with the other members of her family that are dressed in more traditionally feminine attire, with her sisters dressed in slim-fitting long evening gowns and her mother in old-fashioned wide-skirted dress. Fillin-Yeh notes that Stettheimer’s depiction of herself in androgynous attire is a self-conscious construction of “a consummate

¹⁵² Stettheimer shows herself in profile, so the details as to what she is wearing exactly are unclear. At this time, lounging pajamas consisting of trousers with a matching top, often made of silk or silk satin, were in fashion. See for example, lounging pajamas in the collection of the Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Object #1985.273a-c as well as Object #2009.300.2569ab. See also black silk satin lounging pajamas in the collection of Ryerson Fashion Research Collection Object #2013.03.006ab.

[female] dandy's personifications" and thus "offer evidence of the very acceptability of role and rule changes in the New York art world of the 1910s and 1920s, among a crowd that prized personal and artistic leeway and room to maneuver."¹⁵³ Duchamp and Stettheimer were close friends, and he appeared in several of her artworks including *La Fête à Duchamp* (1917), *Sunday Afternoon in the Country* (1917), *Portrait of Marcel Duchamp and Rose Sélavy* (1923), and *Portrait of Marcel Duchamp* (1923-1926). Duchamp also acted as curator of a posthumous exhibition of Stettheimer's work at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in 1946,¹⁵⁴ and this signifies that the relationship with Stettheimer was both close and important to him.

Another prominent member of the New York art circle whose life intersected with Duchamp was Georgia O'Keeffe. In her comprehensive analysis of O'Keeffe's surviving wardrobe, Wanda Corn argues that throughout her life, O'Keeffe chose to wear relatively spare and unornamented dress that echoed the modernist style of her artworks.¹⁵⁵ Susan Fillin-Yeh also takes note of O'Keeffe's distinctive style of dress, describing O'Keeffe as a female dandy and comparing Man Ray's 1921 portrait of Duchamp as Rose Sélavy to a portrait of O'Keeffe by Alfred Stieglitz also taken in 1921. Fillin-Yeh notes that their posture and dress echo each other and thus represent versions of "a specialized expression of artifice, a modernist icon/pose/mode" of the dandy.¹⁵⁶ In contextualizing these portraits,

¹⁵³ Susan Fillin-Yeh, "Dandies, Marginality, and Modernism: Georgia O'Keeffe, Marcel Duchamp, and Other Cross-Dressers." In *Dandies: Fashion and Finesse in Art and Culture*, ed. Susan Fillin-Yeh (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 137.

¹⁵⁴ In the acknowledgments of the Museum of Modern Art exhibition catalogue, Duchamp is described as "Guest Director." Henry McBride, *Florine Stettheimer* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1946), unpaginated.

¹⁵⁵ Wanda M. Corn, *Georgia O'Keeffe: Living Modern* (New York: Prestel Books, 2017).

¹⁵⁶ Fillin-Yeh, "Dandies, Marginality, and Modernism," 130.

Fillin-Yeh confirms the “profound ambivalence about sexual difference” that was characteristic of the time, particularly in avant-garde circles.¹⁵⁷

The Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven (1874-1927) was an intimate friend of Duchamp as well as Man Ray. Freytag-Loringhoven made her body her canvas – using it like a readymade – and adopted radical costumes that were admired by her group of “gender-sensitive colleagues, friends, and admirers” that included Duchamp.¹⁵⁸ Freytag-Loringhoven appeared in the same 1921 issue of *New York Dada* as the first ‘public’ appearance of Rose Sélavy. Two photographs of the Baroness are positioned in one corner of page 4 of the publication and appear alongside an ‘ad’ that reads “DON’T MISS Kurt Schwitters and other ANONYMPHS at the SOCIÉTÉ ANONYME, INC., 19 East 47th Street, New York” and a Dada poem (printed upside down) called “YOURS WITH DEVOTION, trumpets and drums” (Figure 3.28). The rectangular black and white images, about the size of *carte des visites*, are stacked vertically in the upper left corner of the page and have no associated photo credits although the images are known to be by Man Ray.¹⁵⁹ In the upper image, the Baroness wears a hat ornamented with feathers and beaded fringe that is pulled low on her head to frame her eyes. Her hair is cut into a bob and she wears a long gold chain necklace. She appears to be naked from the waist up, but her breasts are not visible. In her right hand, she grips a strand of black beads. Her gaze is direct and unsmiling and there is a strong resemblance to Duchamp as Rose Sélavy for *Belle Haleine*. In the

¹⁵⁷ Fillin-Yeh, “Dandies, Marginality, and Modernism,” 129-131.

¹⁵⁸ Irene Gammel, *Baroness Elsa*, 196.

¹⁵⁹ In *New York Dada* (1994), Naumann notes that Freytag-Loringhoven often posed for Man Ray in 1920 and 1921 and mentions these provocative images. He also indicates that the Baroness acted in a film made by Man Ray and Duchamp in 1921 in which the Baroness shaves her pubic hair.

lower image, she is portrayed in profile, and in this photo her hair is much shorter and cut like a man's. Her frame is slender, and she could be a man, except that the nipple of one breast is erect and given emphasis through the manipulation of the photo to "cut off" the other breast. There is no text underneath and the meaning of the image is deliberately left ambiguous. In both images she does not deny her female attributes, but there is a strong sense of androgyny notably conceived within the era of *la garçonne*.

Sculptor Berenice Abbott (1898-1991) also embraced an androgynous look and challenged gender norms. Born in Ohio, Abbott cut her hair in 1917 while still in high school calling it her "first ever act of rebellion" that let her feel "lighter and freer."¹⁶⁰ After moving to New York, she, like many other liberated women of the time living in the Village, "adopted a code of free behaviour and manner, dress, and relationships that set them apart from convention."¹⁶¹ It was in New York that Abbott became friends with Man Ray and through him Duchamp, and it was Duchamp who encouraged Abbott's efforts to become a sculptor. Struggling to find work and support herself, she was photographed by Man Ray several times and later took a job as his assistant. In an image taken by Man Ray from 1920-1921, that was taken while testing a lens, Abbott is photographed with her head in her hands, her eyes gazing directly at the camera (Figure 3.29).¹⁶² A bracelet on her wrist

¹⁶⁰ Julia Van Haften, *Berenice Abbott: A Life in Photography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2018), 11.

¹⁶¹ Van Haften, *Berenice Abbott*, 23.

¹⁶² Van Haften dates this image to August-December 1921. Van Haften, *Berenice Abbott*, 61. In Man Ray's autobiography, he discusses first meeting Abbott in New York in 1920 when he was first beginning his photographic experiments and was looking for models. He said he made several studies of her head which he later showed to Alfred Stieglitz and subsequently won a prize in an unnamed photography show; see Man Ray, *Self-Portrait*, 80. It is not clear what happened to those early images of Abbott.

sparkles in the light, and the high collar on her blouse frames her face; her lips are darkened with lipstick, and her dark eyebrows and eyelashes emphasize her wide eyes. This image echoes the pose of Duchamp as his female alter ego in the second series of images by Man Ray (Figure 3.15).

These four women, Georgia O’Keeffe, Florine Stettheimer, Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven, and Berenice Abbott, were part of Duchamp’s circle and tested the boundaries of what was acceptable dress and behaviour for women in the years following the First World War. Although *Vogue* celebrated and promoted the fashionable look of androgyny within its pages as discussed earlier, Angela J. Latham reminds us that American society expressed ideological concerns and even legal arguments over what were viewed as immodest and grotesque fashions at that time.¹⁶³ One example cited by Latham includes society women “from all over the United States were banding together to condemn such vulgar fashions of women’s apparel that do not tend to cultivate innate modesty, good taste, or good morals.”¹⁶⁴ Latham’s documentation of the efforts to prohibit the wearing of fashions seen as immodest and immoral, serves as a reminder that the youthful and body-baring fashions of the early 1920s were initially met with considerable resistance. In this light, the early adoption of the androgynous attire, behaviours and freedoms of *la garçonne* by O’Keeffe, Stettheimer, Von Freytag-Loringhoven, and Abbott, can be read as subversive acts that challenged the hegemonic norms of society. And thus, Duchamp’s emulation of this look in transforming his body into his female alter ego can be situated within this

¹⁶³ See Angela J. Latham, *Posing a Threat: Flappers, Chorus Girls, and Other Brazen Performers of the American 1920s* (Middletown: Welseyian University Press, 2000), 18-63.

¹⁶⁴ Latham, *Posing a Threat*, 49.

context, such that his incomplete transformation can be read as a form of emulation or parody of his circle of female friends.

In dressing as a woman and authoring his works as Rrose Sélavy, Duchamp engaged in parody, since it is in parody that the *original* is recontextualized through humour. As Butler argues, gender parody is itself a paradox, “a fantasy of a fantasy” that serves to reveal “that the original identity after which gender fashions itself is an imitation without an origin.”¹⁶⁵ The imitation is a circular displacement of identity without resolution, such that this “perpetual displacement constitutes a fluidity of identities that suggests an openness to resignification and recontextualization; parodic proliferation deprives hegemonic culture and its critics of the claim to naturalized or essentialist gender identities.”¹⁶⁶ Foucault echoes this sentiment in asking: “Do we truly need a true sex? With a persistence that borders on stubbornness, modern Western societies have answered in the affirmative. They have obstinately brought into play this question of a 'true sex' in an order of things where one might have imagined that all that counted was the reality of the body and the intensity of its pleasures.”¹⁶⁷ Butler notes that dressing in drag imparts a sense of giddiness or pleasure that is experienced with the subversion of cultural norms and writes: “In the place of the law of heterosexual coherence, we see sex and gender denaturalized by means of a performance which avows their distinctness and dramatizes the cultural mechanism of their fabricated unity.”¹⁶⁸ Clothing is a key element of signaling gender, and

¹⁶⁵ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 188.

¹⁶⁶ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 188.

¹⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, “Introduction” in *Herculine Barbin, Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth -Century Hermaphrodite*, trans. Richard McDougall (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), vii.

¹⁶⁸ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 188.

in cross-dressing, the notion of *natural* gender is subverted through the fashioning of the body to adopt the signifiers of masculinity, femininity, or androgyny.

In the end, Duchamp's portrayal of himself as a woman adopts the intellectual stance of the dandy as part of his strategy of subversive irony in that he is neither man nor woman, but man as woman and a parody of himself that displaces the original. In writing about cross-dressing, Judith Butler observes: "As imitations which effectively displace the meaning of the original, they imitate the myth of originality itself."¹⁶⁹ Although intended for a different context, Butler's words could be read into the notion of the readymade. In dressing as a woman for this series of photographs, as I have suggested, Duchamp remade his body as a rectified readymade. Each time he adopted a different guise in the making of multiple images of himself dressed in costume and in giving prints or objects to friends and collectors, he used his body as a readymade to signal his multiple identities within his avant-garde circle. Like his readymades that challenged and subverted the notion of the original and the copy, both of his personas – Duchamp as the Baudelairian dandy and Duchamp as Rose Sélavy extended his experiments on the parameters of the readymade and mocked the myth of originality through the cloak of fashion. In this way, Duchamp's performance of identity using his body as a rectified readymade that could be altered through dress emerges as a strategy to conflate his art and his life. To further unpack this conflation of art and life, the next chapter will delve into the concept of the readymade itself, and consider one item from Duchamp's wardrobe – the waistcoat – to examine the transformation of this item of dress into a readymade work of art.

¹⁶⁹ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 188.

Chapter 4

The Waistcoat Readymades: Fashion as Art

It [the readymade] seemed perfect for these things that weren't works of art, that weren't sketches, and to which no art terms applied. That's why I was tempted to make them.

--Marcel Duchamp¹

In his essay “The Origin of the Work of Art” (1927), Martin Heidegger argues that articles of clothing cannot be considered works of art. For the philosopher, art has an essential essence or *thingly* quality that distinguishes it from other objects, and it is this “something else” that makes it art. To illustrate this “something else,” Heidegger discusses the difference between a pair of shoes and a painting of a pair of shoes by Vincent Van Gogh.² He categorizes the pair of shoes as equipment in that it serves a function that lacks the autonomy of the artwork. In making this claim, Heidegger writes an evocative description of the shoes, noting the traces of the damp, rich soil on the leather, and reading emotions of loneliness and fatigue in the peasant worker’s pattern of wear. Heidegger asserts that the artist’s work creates truth in revealing the *thingly* nature of the shoes and concludes that: “In the work of art, the truth of the being has set itself to work.”³ For Heidegger, the functional role of the shoe in protecting the foot of the wearer precludes it from being a work of art, and an artwork cannot be something that might be worn. Although other

¹ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, trans. Ron Padgett (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 48.

² Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings from Being and Time (1927) and The Task of Thinking (1964)*, ed. David Farrell Krell (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2008), 158-162.

³ Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings*, 162.

scholars, including Meyer Schapiro and Jacques Derrida,⁴ have eloquently considered the deficiencies in Heidegger's argument, none mention Duchamp's waistcoat readymade series that provocatively challenges the notion that art cannot be worn.

Duchamp, whose goal was "neither an abstract negation of art nor a romantic reconciliation with life but a perpetual testing of the conventions of both"⁵ as Hal Foster writes, assigned the status of readymade to four waistcoats given the series title *Made to Measure*. These readymades, created during the period 1957-1961, were documented in Duchamp's notes, but the significance of this waistcoat series has not been interrogated in depth. The following presents a reprisal of this waistcoat series as a beguiling gesture by Duchamp that further extends the parameters of the readymade and also complicates readings of fashion exhibited in the museum. This chapter surveys the gendered history and etymology of the readymade, the timeline and means by which Duchamp's readymades came to be known, and also explores the parameters by which readymade objects are considered works of art. I will then compare two of the waistcoats authored by Duchamp in the *Made to Measure* series that are in museum collections to two 'Mondrian' dresses designed by Yves Saint Laurent from autumn-winter 1965-66 from the Costume Institute collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The chapter will end with a discussion of the issues around reproduction, authenticity, and originality.

⁴ See Meyer Schapiro, "The Still Life as a Personal Object – A Note on Heidegger and van Gogh" in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 296-300; Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. and ed. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

⁵ Hal Foster, "What's Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?" in *The Duchamp Effect, Essays, Interviews, Round Table*, ed. Martha Buskirk and Mignon Nixon (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 18.

The History and Etymology of the Readymade

In recounting the history of the readymade, Duchamp once suggested that his early studio experiments in 1913 were no more than distractions. He said: “when I put a bicycle wheel on a stool, the fork down, there was no idea of a ‘readymade,’ or anything else. It was just a distraction. I didn’t have any special reason to do it, or any intention of showing it, or describing anything.”⁶ However, as Robert Lebel observes, 1913 was a pivotal year in the artist’s history during which Duchamp took a post at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and became preoccupied with language. Having already demonstrated an inclination to “intellectualize” his works, Lebel notices that in this position Duchamp became focused on the nuances of vocabulary and sought out “the razor-edged maxim.”⁷ Given that the word readymade was closely associated with the production of clothing, for Duchamp it was a tool to provocatively question the judgments of value and taste normally associated with art.

The term readymade, also spelled as ready made and ready-made, was in use for at least three centuries before Duchamp appropriated the term in 1915. The word had previously described a piece of clothing, furniture, or other article made to standard size and specification, rather than made to order.⁸ The earliest usage of the term in reference to clothing appeared in the seventeenth century when the making of garments was a labour-intensive process unaided by machine. In 1633, poet and antiquary John Weever wrote in his book titled *Ancient Funerall [sic] Monuments*: “To each one, a Gown and a hood ready

⁶ Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 47.

⁷ Robert Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, trans. George Heard Hamilton (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), 26.

⁸ “Readymade,” *Oxford English Dictionary* (Third Edition, 2000), n.p.

made.”⁹ As mass production processes were adopted in the manufacture of clothing during the first half of the nineteenth century, initially for men’s uniforms, a two-tiered system developed which differentiated custom-made clothing from mass-produced ready-made clothing.

The history of ready-made clothing is a complex story that reveals the influence of culture on capitalism as well as the articulation of gender norms and expectations through dress. As Rob Schorman observes, the manufacturing of ready-made clothing evolved along distinct gender and class lines, even though the invention of the sewing machine in the mid-nineteenth century might have been harnessed to mass-produce clothing for either gender.¹⁰ The first readymade clothing made for women were cloaks and capes that did not require close fit, while middle class men readily adopted all manner of readymades, including the sack suit. Schorman notices that during the latter half of the nineteenth century, “the contrast between men’s and women’s clothing provided a portable and omnipresent metaphor for attempting to maintain the power relations of separate spheres.”¹¹ The advice columns and advertisements of the period, especially in the last decade of the century, reflected this rhetoric, encouraging women to express their femininity through custom-made clothing, while advertisements aimed at men aligned the adoption of the readymade suit with masculine ideals, democracy, progress and change. Schorman notes that it would not be until the 1910s that cultural forces and capitalism opened the ready-made market to the production of women’s clothing with advertising playing a significant

⁹ John Weever, qtd. in “Readymade,” *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.p.

¹⁰ Rob Schorman, *Selling Style: Clothing and Social Change at the Turn of the Century*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 22.

¹¹ Schorman, *Selling Style*, 30.

role in overcoming the lingering association with inexpensive and shoddy clothing, especially amongst the elite.¹² An article in the October 15, 1912 issue of *Vogue* titled “The Excellence of the Ready-made” discusses the marked improvement in quality of the ready-made garments in the prior decade:

In the early days of ready-made clothes, the makers used poor materials, poorer models, and attempted an elaboration which not only marked their products as wholly of the shop but made them utterly impossible for women of good taste. On the other hand, almost from the first the ready-made models showed fair tailoring, that is, better pressing and stitching than could be given by any except the best tailors. The marked excellence of these clothes to-day is due to a gradual evolution in the manner of production.¹³

In this article from *Vogue*, the author suggests that production processes had evolved such that women with good taste could now purchase a ready-made without concerns about quality.

In 1915, when Duchamp moved to New York, the idea of readymade clothing was well established, especially within menswear. Men’s stores published ads in favour of buying readymades while tailors countered with ads about quality and fit.¹⁴ In October 1915, Lord & Taylor, an upscale department store at Fifth Avenue and 39th Street (where Duchamp would later purchase one of the waistcoats), published an ad in the *New York Times* promoting their Men’s Ready Made Tailor Shop (Figure 4.1). The ad reads in part:

¹² Schorman, *Selling Style*, 47.

¹³ Anonymous, “The Excellence of the Ready-Made”, *Vogue*, October 15, 1912, 27.

¹⁴ For example, in an ad published in the *New York Times* in 1916, Clemons Custom Tailor suggested that made-to-measure was superior to a “ready-made” suit and compares an ill-fitting suit to a car that does not work. The ad reads: “A ‘ready-made,’ that’s acceptable in materials and making, but doesn’t fit, is like an automobile that does everything but go.” Advertisement: Clemons Custom Tailor, *New York Times*, March 31, 1916, 3.

In many clothing stores, fine fabrics and showy styles make a large effect for clothes that are very poorly tailored [...]. In planning Lord & Taylor Clothing, we give completest consideration to each of the THREE VITAL QUALITIES of Right Clothing: FABRICS, TAILORING, STYLE, and this Clothing Business is growing in favor daily among men sufficiently discriminating to demand 100% efficiency in clothes.

In this ad, Lord & Taylor, differentiates their offerings from the clothing in other shops.

There is emphasis to the specific attributes that signal that a garment is the “Right Clothing” – namely, the fabric, tailoring, and style – subtle details that are only visible to the discerning. The ad conflates the terms “tailored” and “ready-made” in the name – “The Men’s Ready Made Tailor Shop” and in this way intimates that these words have been given new meaning in suggesting that the man of means can harness the efficiency of purchasing a ready-made suit rather than the wasting time in the lengthy process involved in creating a custom-made, made-to-measure garment.

It is also significant in the etymology of the readymade that the word increasingly was substituted with “ready-to-wear”, a term that means “readymade for sale, rather than made to order.”¹⁵ In describing clothing as “ready-to-wear”, rather than “ready-made”, mass-produced clothing’s association with mass production or ill-fitting and cheap clothing was masked. The first recorded usage of the word “ready-to-wear” was on November 18, 1890 in an advertisement in the *Chicago Tribune* which read: “Because of the marked economy as compared with Tailor’s prices, and yet without compromising your standard of dress, there is too such a satisfaction in finding reliable, well-made, stylish, ready-to-wear garments.”¹⁶ The first usage of the term ready-to-wear in relation to clothing more

¹⁵ “Ready-to-wear,” *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.p.

¹⁶ “Ready-to-wear,” *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.p.

generally (rather than for just corsets) in *Vogue* (New York) was published in the April 18, 1901 issue. The New York dressmakers and importers, Rock & Torpey, the “makers of the *INAUGURATION BALL GOWN*” included a mention of “Ready-to-Wear Gowns at *attractive prices*” in smaller font towards the bottom of their advertisement making it a secondary offering to their main business of selling imported gowns, as well as their custom work in house.¹⁷ Over time, the use of the word “ready-to-wear” increasingly replaces the word “ready-made” in *Vogue* and other publications; there is a very significant shift in the number of ads and features using the term “ready-to-wear” around 1913, only a few years prior to Duchamp’s arrival in New York.¹⁸ Notably, the word ready-to-wear is still used to this day, in the context of differentiating such clothing from haute couture, a topic that will be revisited later in this chapter.

As this brief etymology of the word ready-made used in relation to clothing production has shown, by 1915, when Duchamp co-opted the term into his art practice, the use of the word ready-made had largely been supplanted by the word ready-to-wear. Nonetheless, it took several more decades before the word readymade came to be used more broadly to describe a work of art, even though Duchamp recalled that he began to use the term readymade when he moved to New York and began to learn English:

It was in 1915, especially, in the United States, that I did other objects with inscriptions, like the snow shovel, on which I wrote something in English. The word ‘readymade’ thrust itself on me then. It seemed perfect for these things

¹⁷ “Advertisement: Rock & Torpey,” *Vogue*, April 18, 1901: 242. The company repeated the ad in the next three issues (April 25; May 2; May 9). Emphasis and use of capitals and italics was in original text.

¹⁸ In 1901, there were 16 occurrences of “ready-to-wear” in *Vogue*, mostly in describing shirtwaists, footwear or hats. By 1913, this had increased exponentially with 100 occurrences of the term in ads and features like “Seen in the Shops.”

that weren't works of art, that weren't sketches, and to which no art terms applied. That's why I was tempted to make them.¹⁹

Tomkins identifies a letter from that year in which Duchamp had used the term readymade in a letter to his sister Suzanne and notes that this letter from 1915 offers "the first recorded use of the term [by Duchamp], which is always in English."²⁰ At this point, Duchamp was perhaps still experimenting somewhat with the precise language to describe his works, since in this letter he uses the phrase "readymade sculpture" to describe the bicycle wheel and bottle rack in his studio, in writing "I bought this as a readymade sculpture."²¹ Two years later, his infamous work *Fountain* in 1917 was described as "a fixture" and as "an ordinary article of life" as well as an "object" in the text of "The Richard Mutt Case."²² It took another two decades before the Surrealists adopted the term in 1935 in Gascoyne's survey of Surrealism: "Such as Marcel Duchamp's disgust for 'art' that he invented a new form of expression, which he called Ready-Made. A Ready-Made was any manufactured object that the artist liked to choose."²³ André Breton defined the "Ready-made" in 1938 in *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme/The Abridged Dictionary of Surrealism* as "an ordinary object promoted to the dignity of art object simply by way of the artist's choice."²⁴

¹⁹ Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 48.

²⁰ Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 154.

²¹ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Francis M. Naumann and Hector Obalk (eds.), *Affectionately Marcel, the Selected Correspondence of Marcel Duchamp* (Ludion Press: Amsterdam, 2000), 43.

²² Anonymous, "The Richard Mutt Case," *The Blind Man* (May 2, 1917): 5.

²³ "Readymade," *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.p.

²⁴ André Breton qtd. by Lucy Lippard, *Surrealists on Art*, 210.

However, beyond these artistic circles, the term readymade continued to be used primarily in reference to clothing production for a few more decades.²⁵

According to Naumann, it took until the late 1950s and early 1960s for the significance of the readymade “within the general history of modern art” to be recognized by “curators, critics, and art historians.”²⁶ In a radio interview in 1959, Duchamp said: “So many people want to know about [the readymades] these days.”²⁷ Dieter Daniels specifically identifies 1964 as a pivotal turning point in the history of the readymade when Galleria Schwarz in Milan presented remakes of fourteen of Duchamp’s readymades in limited editions of eight that were available for sale.²⁸ In 1964, *Vogue* uses the word readymade to describe artistic products in several articles on the arts, including profiles of Max Ernst as well as of Duchamp’s friend John Rauschenberg that describe the use of readymade images by the artists in their paintings.²⁹ This brief etymology of the readymade indicates that it took nearly half a century before the usage of the word shifted from mass-produced clothing into the canon of art history. Towards the end of his life, Duchamp said

²⁵ In 1959, the word readymade is less frequently used in connection to clothing, with only 3 instances identified in *Vogue* that year, including 2 ads in the January 15 and July 1, 1959 issues (for girdles by Hilbrun, Corsetière Co.), plus an article about sewing fashions that describes a ready-made belt. See “Printed Patterns: sewing for non-sewers,” *Vogue*, January 15, 1959: 79.

²⁶ Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp*, 195.

²⁷ Duchamp qtd. in Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp*, 195.

²⁸ Dieter Daniels, “Marcel Duchamp: The Most Influential Artist of the 20th Century” in *Marcel Duchamp* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2002), 7.

²⁹ See for example: Anonymous, “Max Ernst: One of the Great, and his Wife, Dorothea Tanning, an Authoritative Painter, Their Life at their French Country House Where ‘Expectation is Turned Upside Down,’” *Vogue*, September 1, 1964, 171. See also Lawrence Alloway, “The World is a Painting: Rauschenberg,” *Vogue*, October 15, 1965, 154.

that: “I’m not at all sure that the concept of the readymade isn’t the most important single idea to come out of my work.”³⁰

When Duchamp co-opted the term readymade into his art practice, it carried prescient associations to clothing. As Lebel observed, Duchamp had predilection to protest “against what he considers the excessive importance attached to some works of art”³¹ and therefore by linking his artwork to a word associated with mass-manufactured clothing, Duchamp underlined the subversive irony of his gesture.

The Waistcoat Readymades

Duchamp’s series of readymade waistcoats, created during the period 1957-1961, are of interest to this dissertation in discerning what conditions are necessary for a readymade garment to be considered a work of art. Produced during a period in which his work began to gain wider recognition, Duchamp created four waistcoat readymades.³² Each bears the first or last name of the person that was gifted with the waistcoat: *TEENY* (1957); *SALLY* (1958); *PÉRET* (1958); and *BETTY* (1961). The series itself is called *Made to Measure*, which in light of the etymology of the readymade, indicates that Duchamp was adding a textual component to the authoring of this readymade, as he did with his other readymades. In his talk “Apropos of ‘Readymades’” delivered at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York on October 19, 1961, Duchamp said that:

³⁰ Duchamp qtd. in Calvin Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 155.

³¹ Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 35.

³² Duchamp also made another clothing-related work *Couple of Laundress’s Aprons* (1959) around the same time. This readymade consists of a modified potholder that opens to reveal a fabric phallus and a patch of fur. Duchamp made this readymade in an edition of 20. See MOMA Object #51.1977 for an example.

One important characteristic was the short sentence which I occasionally inscribed on the “readymade.”

That sentence instead of describing the object like a title was meant to carry the mind of the spectator towards other regions more verbal.

Sometimes I would add a graphic detail of presentation which in order to satisfy my craving for alliterations, would be called “Readymade Aided.”³³

In directing the spectator to the phrase “made to measure” in the series title, Duchamp adds another element of irony since the vests were purchased at a department store and not actually tailormade for the persons he gifted them to. Duchamp also modified the original buttons on each waistcoat by attaching lead typeface letters spelling the recipients first or last name. These waistcoats are particularly provocative because as garments worn on the body, they emphasize the origins of the readymade in clothing manufacture and also challenge the notions of authenticity, originality and reproduction of both art and fashion – issues that will be addressed towards the end of this chapter.

A waistcoat, more commonly known as a vest, is a sleeveless garment for a man’s upper body that is worn under an outer garment such as a doublet, frock coat or suit jacket. Depending on the cut of the outer garment, the vest may only be partially visible when worn. Nonetheless, waistcoats were considered an essential part of a man’s wardrobe from the 1800s until the late 1960s and were sometimes embellished with embroidery or made in coordinating or contrasting fabrics, thus offering males an opportunity to incorporate an element of colour or pattern into their wardrobe. Many museum collections hold similar examples, including a rose silk jacquard waistcoat that is lined and backed with gray silk

³³ Marcel Duchamp, “Apropos of ‘Readymades’,” in *The Essential Writings of Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Michael Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975), 141-142.

dated to the early 1960s and housed in the Ryerson Fashion Research Collection (Object #2017.06.002); this example is very similar to the Duchamp's waistcoat series with four pockets and six buttons in a hexagonal shape (Figure 4.2). In the latter part of the 1950s when Duchamp produced these waistcoat readymades, men's waistcoats were often sold as part of a three-piece tailored suit, but could also be purchased or made up as a coordinating accessory.³⁴

For example, in July 1956 *Vogue* magazine included an article about wedding attire for bride and bridegroom, categorizing the wedding by time of day and degree of formality and in each case the bridegroom is wearing a waistcoat. For the wedding in which the couple would be "Marrying-quietly" (as Duchamp and Alexina "Teeny" Sattler Matisse did in January 1954), the bride and bridegroom are dressed in attire suitable for an intimate luncheon or at-home event. The bridegroom's wedding costume is described as a "a well-cut, dark-blue suit and waistcoat; in his buttonhole, the traditional single flower from the bride's bouquet."³⁵ Although there are no public photos of Duchamp and Teeny at their wedding, this image of bride and bridegroom bears an uncanny resemblance to Duchamp and Teeny, especially in that the groom is only slightly taller than his bride and wears his hair slicked back off his forehead (Figure 4.3). This chapter will later return to the waistcoat as the fashionable attire of a bridegroom.

³⁴ See for example the ad for a Brooks Brothers suit with coat, vest and trousers for \$90 in a display ad in the *New York Times*, February 8, 1957. See also mention of a coordinating vest by John Jarrell for \$15 in the article "In Vogue for Men," *Vogue*, August 15, 1956, 121.

³⁵ Anonymous, "Vogue Plans for Four Kinds of Weddings," in *Vogue*, July 1, 1956, 75.

Duchamp's first waistcoat in the series, titled *TEENY*, was made for his wife Alexina in the winter or spring of 1957, possibly for her birthday on January 16th.³⁶ The waistcoat is made of green wool with a cream silk backing and lining. It has four slash pockets on the front and six buttonholes (Figure 4.4). Duchamp modified the original buttons by gluing lead typeface that spelled his wife's nickname "Teeny" in reverse.³⁷ The bottom buttonhole is left empty. The label in the waistcoat is visible near the back of the neck facing and reads: "Lord & Taylor, The Man's Shop, The Natural Shoulder Line, Wool Challis, Imported from England." The presence of the label marks the garment as a readymade in that Duchamp would have purchased the garment from Lord & Taylor, an upscale department store in midtown Manhattan at Fifth Avenue between 38th and 39th Streets. An ad for a similar waistcoat can be found in the September 1, 1956 issue of *Vogue* in the "Shop Hound" column priced at \$16.50 signifying it as an item of fashion.³⁸

Naumann describes but does not analyze the *TEENY* vest. He writes: "This vest or waistcoat is the first in a series purchased (or otherwise acquired) by Duchamp over the course of the next few years as gifts for friends. He altered their buttons to spell out the name of the recipient, who in all cases (because of the design of the vest) would have to have a name (first or last) limited (or that could be reduced) to a maximum of five letters."³⁹ This latter statement is incorrect and indicates to me that Naumann did not actually look closely at the vest, because there are six buttonholes in the vest, as many of

³⁶ Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp*, 187.

³⁷ Schwarz observes that the lead typeface letters were glued on. See Arturo Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, New York: Delano Greenidge Editions, 2000, 229.

³⁸ Anonymous, "Shop Hound" *Vogue*, September 1, 1956, 199.

³⁹ Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp*, 187-188.

them did at this time, including the rose jacquard example (Figure 4.2). Duchamp deliberately left one of the buttonholes empty, and thus the artist could have spelled out any name up to six letters in length. At the time Naumann published this in 1999, the waistcoat was located in the Marcel Duchamp Archives in Villers-sous-Grez. A representative from the Association Marcel Duchamp in Paris indicated that Duchamp did not sign this waistcoat and that she did not believe there was “proof it has been worn” even though she also mentioned that there was “a liquid spot inside,”⁴⁰ although in my experience as a fashion curator, this type of mark is highly suggestive of wear.

The second waistcoat in the series was named *SALLY* and made on the occasion of the marriage of Teeny’s son Paul Matisse to Sally in 1958. It has generally been assumed that this waistcoat was made for Sally,⁴¹ but according to the Schwarz catalogue raisonné (2000), this waistcoat is signed in ink near the label “*pour Paul Matisse/Souvenir de 27 Decembre 1958/et ma grande affection Marcel Duchamp.*”⁴² In signing this waistcoat for Paul rather than his wife Sally, Duchamp suggests that either bride or bridegroom might wear this garment, but as we will see later, it was Paul who wore it. In an undated photograph included in Naumann’s 1999 catalogue, the *SALLY* waistcoat appears to be virtually identical to the *TEENY* waistcoat. Schwarz indicates that the last known location

⁴⁰ Email to author from Séverine at the Association Marcel Duchamp dated 27 November 2017.

⁴¹ Naumann indicates that this waistcoat was made “as a wedding gift for Sarah Barrett, who was engaged to marry Teeny’s son, Paul Matisse.” Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp*, 192. See also Adina Kamien-Kazhdan, *Remaking the Readymade: Duchamp, Man Ray, and the Conundrum of the Replica* (London: Routledge, 2018), 83.

⁴² Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, 806.

of the waistcoat was the Collection Paul Matisse, in Groton, Massachusetts.⁴³ Duchamp's gift of the *TEENY* and *SALLY* waistcoat readymades to his family and the retention of these readymades in his family mark these items as objects of deep personal meaning and significance.

The readymade – *Gilet pour Benjamin Péret* – is a waistcoat with a deep-V at the front, two flap pockets, and fastens with five metal typeface buttons spelling “Péret” (Figure 4.5). Made of striped red and black striped cotton flannel front and a gray silk or acrylic back, the vest is signed and dated “Marcel Duchamp 1958” with black pen at the back of the neck.⁴⁴ Duchamp made this readymade in honour of his friend, the French poet and founder of the French Surrealist movement Benjamin Péret in November 1958. Following Péret's death in September 1959, Arturo Schwarz, the Milan art collector, purchased the waistcoat at auction at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris⁴⁵ and donated this waistcoat and other works by Duchamp to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in 1998. The waistcoat *Gilet pour Benjamin Péret* (Object #B98.0454) has been exhibited several times at the Israel Museum, including: *Dreaming with Open Eyes: The Vera, Silvia and Arturo Schwarz Collection of Dada and Surrealist Art* (21 December 2000 – 9 June 2001)⁴⁶ and also *Dada Surrealism and Beyond* (27 February 2007 – 14 August 2007). It also travelled to the *Kunst*

⁴³ Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, 806. The website for the town of Groton indicated that a Paul Matisse is presently the keeper of the town clock in Groton, but my efforts to reach him went unanswered.

⁴⁴ Object Condition Report #B98.0454, The Israel Museum, dated June 3, 2012.

⁴⁵ Schwarz amassed a large collection of Duchamp's and other Dada works in the 1960s and wrote several *catalogue raisonné* on Duchamp's works.

⁴⁶ In an installation photograph for this exhibition, the waistcoat was displayed between Duchamp's bicycle wheel and bottle rack. See Tamar Manor-Friedman, “Dreaming with Open Eyes,” *Toutfait* 1, no. 3. Accessed: October 4, 2017.

http://www.toutfait.com/issues/issue_3/Collections/manor/popup_2.html

und Mode exhibition at the Museum Moderner Kunst in Vienna (14 June – 16 September 2012), and in the Dada and Surrealism travelling exhibition *Duchamp, Magritte, Dalì. I Rivoluzionari del '900* (16 October 2017 to 11 February 2018).⁴⁷ The condition report for the readymade waistcoat *Gilet pour Benjamin Péret* dated June 2012 indicates that there are loose threads as well as stains on the back and at the underarms of the vest. In my experience, these types of marks are indicative of wear. As well, the report notes that the lower button is missing.⁴⁸ Since there are six buttonholes but only five lead-face buttons, it is reasonable to assume the artist created this gap intentionally. The readymade is stored and displayed in a Plexi box, hanging on a plastic coat hanger that reads “*amatisse*” on the back. In the catalogue record for this object in the Israel Museum, the waistcoat is classified and stored as part of the museum’s modern art collection and is not stored as part of the museum’s large textile collection.⁴⁹ The manner of display and the classification of the object by the Israel Museum serve as evidence that the institution recognizes this object as an artwork.

The readymade waistcoat *BETTY* was a gift from the artist to his close friend Judge Julius Isaacs. The waistcoat is made of light brown wool in a checked pattern called Tattersall with a pink silk lining and has five buttonholes (Figure 4.6). The five buttons were modified with lead typeface spelling “Betty.” Presented on the occasion of Julius and Betty Isaacs’ fortieth wedding anniversary on September 11, 1961, the readymade is signed

⁴⁷ Email communication from Neta Perez, Assistant Curator, Department of Modern Art at The Israel Museum to author dated November 8, 2017.

⁴⁸ Object Condition Report #B98.0454, The Israel Museum, dated June 3, 2012.

⁴⁹ Collection Record Object #B98.0454, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Accessed: September 13, 2017 <http://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/219721?itemNum=219721>

“Marcel Duchamp/1961” on the inside lining. The vest was part of a bequest to the museum by Isaacs in 1983 and is now housed in the contemporary art collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.⁵⁰ The vest has been displayed in exhibitions at the museum on four occasions: *Acquisitions 1983-84* in 1984; *Peripheral Relations: Marcel Duchamp and New Zealand Art 1960-2011* in 2011; *Collecting Modern* in 2014; and also in the 2018 exhibition *Détour* by conceptual artist Michael Parekowhai in which the waistcoat was replicated by fashion designer Kate Sylvester with the buttons spelling out “M-I-K-E-P” and a label reading Kate Sylvester/ for Michael Parekowhai/ Aotearoa.⁵¹

According to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa’s condition report dated June 2012, the readymade waistcoat *BETTY* “displays general signs of wear associated with use” which includes “soiling and discolouration from perspiration and wear at the neck, under arms and upper centre back.”⁵² There was also evidence of previous repairs and alterations, suggesting that the vest was actively worn, but it is not clear whether it was Julius Isaacs or his wife Betty who wore it. The museum has a great many waistcoats included in its historic dress collection,⁵³ but the Duchamp waistcoat is identified as a sculpture in the catalogue record. It is also stored in the paintings and small

⁵⁰ Collection Record Object #1983-0032-229, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Accessed: November 1, 2017 <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/38502>

⁵¹ Emails to author dated November 12, 2017 and February 11, 2019 from Dr. Chelsea Nichols, Curator Modern Art, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. For the exhibition by Michael Parekowhai (17 March to 8 November 2018), see “Detour,” accessed February 9, 2019. <https://detour.exhibition.tepapa.govt.nz/#/>

⁵² Object condition report #1983-0032-229, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa dated June 7, 2012.

⁵³ A search of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa’s database using the term “waistcoat” yielded 259 results. Accessed: November 1, 2017.

sculptures storeroom and not amongst the dress collection of the museum.⁵⁴ This indicates that the waistcoat is recognized as an artwork by the institution.

The buttons are the details of the Duchamp waistcoats that have drawn the most commentary by scholars. In each case, Duchamp altered the buttons with lead typeface spelling the names of the intended recipient of the readymade. Naumann reads this detail as being connected to Duchamp's work in designing the catalogue for the exhibition of the *Three Brothers Duchamp* for the Guggenheim Museum in 1956, since the catalogue included a variety of typefaces and fluctuating margins that created a unique but unified identity and working with typefaces for the catalogue may have sparked a similar attention to detail in the creation of the waistcoat readymades.⁵⁵ Carol James interprets the typeface buttons as the gesture that transforms the wearer into a readymade, writing: "The letters used were typeset forms, so that the only person who could read the name was the wearer looking in a mirror. Wearing a name only you can read, you are renamed, changed in the same way a coatrack becomes a *Trap [Trébuchet]*, a readymade."⁵⁶ The typeface buttons render these four waistcoats into Duchamp's most personal works. The buttons would be the most visible part of the waistcoat and act as signifiers of meaning. The text is personal in spelling out the name of the intended recipient, and not generic text like *gilet*. By changing the buttons to typeface, the readymades were personalized as gifts to his wife,

⁵⁴ Email to author dated November 12, 2017 from Dr. Chelsea Nichols, Curator Modern Art, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

⁵⁵ Francis M. Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp: The Making of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1999), 187.

⁵⁶ Carol P. James, "An Original Revolutionary Messagerie Rose," in *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry de Duve (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 285-286.

daughter-in-law and his close friends. In contrast to Duchamp's professed indifference to the selection of object to be a readymade, these items were modified with great care.

The significance of these works to Duchamp can be found in the hand-written notes that were discovered after his death in 1968 and were translated and published by his son-in-law Paul Matisse in 1983. The note about the waistcoat is referenced as Note 252 (recto).⁵⁷ The reference is written underneath a statement he wished to appear as his epitaph, and this placement has not been commented on. In creating a written record of this waistcoat series and by giving them as gifts to friends and family, the artist ensured these works would not be overlooked or forgotten. The epitaph and notations about the waistcoats, parts 2 and 4 of the note, read as follows (with the letters of the names written in reverse):

252 (recto).
*2 Épitaphe... et d'ailleurs/ c'est toujours les autres qui meurent/ **dernier***
4 Sur mesure 4 gilets pour homme, à cinq boutons./ TEENY PERET SALLY
BETTY /

The translated version of this note reads as follows:

252 (recto).
*2 Epitaph ... and besides/ it's always the others that die/ **last***
4 Made to measure 4 vests for men, with five buttons./ TEENY PERET SALLY
BETTY /⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Unlike the notes by Duchamp organized and published in *The Box of 1914*, the *Green Box* (1934), or the *In the Infinitive* (1967), these collected notes were organized, translated, and published posthumously. See Marcel Duchamp, *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, trans. Paul Matisse (Boston: G.K. Hall & Company, 1983).

⁵⁸ Marcel Duchamp, *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, unpaginated. The original notes were handwritten by Duchamp on scraps of paper and were unnumbered; for publication, the editor and translator of the notes, Paul Matisse, ordered and assigned numbers to each but left pages unpaginated. The line breaks and punctuation in the quoted material has been replicated as it was published.

This close positioning in relation to the epitaph offers material evidence of the importance of this waistcoat readymade series to Duchamp himself. Moreover, the notation that the four vests were originally made for men and then three were given women's names signals Duchamp's predilection for gender crossing.

In the preface to the publication of these notes, Anne d'Harnoncourt paints an image of Duchamp "sifting through a mass of apparently casual jottings and scraps of paper and taking as much care in their selection and presentation for publication as Kandinsky or Mondrian expended in the writing and editing of their extended didactic essays on their visions of a new art."⁵⁹ This set of notes includes many references to clothing, and D'Harnoncourt observes but does not unpack Duchamp's fascination with clothing. She recalls his references to "the sound of velvet trousers brushing together."⁶⁰ In describing the sound of trousers brushing together, Duchamp takes notice of something that is almost imperceptible since the soft silky texture of velvet makes virtually no sound when rubbed together. These 1967 notes by Duchamp provide an important part of the corpus of this dissertation, as they reveal the artist's acute sensitivity to the sensory qualities of clothing and the act of dressing. There are also several notable references to trousers in Note 44, and this note is shown in its entirety below:

44 Moules en plis. / dans le cas du coude/ Moule (à coude droit)
ex. type – pantalon porté et très marqué / de plis. (donnant une expression sculpturale/de l'individu qui l'a porté) / le fait de porter le pantalon, le port du/ pantalon est comparable à l'exécution/ manuelle d'une sculpture originale

Avec en plus, un renversement technique : / en portant le pantalon/la jambe travaille comme la main du/ sculpteur et produit un moule (au /lieu d'un

⁵⁹ Anne d'Harnoncourt, "Preface," in *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, trans. Paul Matisse (Boston: G.K. Hall & Company, 1983), x-xi.

⁶⁰ D'Harnoncourt, "Preface," in *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, xii.

*moulage) et un moule en étoffe/ qui/ s'exprime en plis – / y adapter l'infra
mince/gorge de pigeon
question de conservation des étoffes – (mites)/ ne pas les solidifier – peut être
dans certains cas
Chercher autre exemples –*

The translation of this note by his son-in-law Paul Matisse reads as follows:

44 Crease molds. / in the elbow's case/ (right elbow) Mold
type ex. – worn trousers and very creased. / (giving a sculptural expression of
the individual who wore them) / the act of wearing the trousers, the trouser/
wearing is comparable to the hand / making of an original sculpture

*With in addition, a technical inversion : / while wearing the trousers/ the leg
works like the hand of the / sculptor and produces a mold (instead / of a
molding) and a mold in cloth / which / expresses itself in creases – / adapt to
this infrathin / of iridescent fabric.*

*Question of conservation of materials – (moths) / don't solidify
them – maybe in certain cases
Look for other examples – ⁶¹*

In this note, Duchamp also compares the wearing of trousers to the making of a sculpture, and in this way, the simple act of putting on a pair of trousers is given notable aesthetic significance. This line in note 44 – “*the act of wearing the trousers ... is comparable to the hand / making an original sculpture*” – makes it plainly evident that Duchamp believed that art could be worn.⁶²

This series of notes also includes several other extraordinary references to clothing such as: “*the difference between the volumes of air displaced by a /clean shirt (ironed and folded) and the same shirt soiled*” (note 231) as well as references to specific textiles including: moiré, gray-white cloth, watered silk, and corduroy (in notes 9 and 25).⁶³ In note

⁶¹ Duchamp, *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, unpaginated.

⁶² Duchamp, *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, unpaginated.

⁶³ Duchamp, *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, unpaginated.

103, Duchamp considers how clothing may be used as a mask; and writes that his malic gas forms: “will have ‘the appearance’, the masks of / male forms, they will only be malic; the pasted – on, the decorated, the / ‘made in Germany,’ the finery that fools the eye.”⁶⁴ Here Duchamp acknowledges that clothing can be used to deceive the eye, a remarkable statement that serves as evidence that he had duly considered how identity is framed and socially constructed through choices of clothing. These notes are significant to my project since they reveal that Duchamp took notice and left traces of his sensory and intellectual encounters with clothing and left a record of his opinion as to whether or not a work of art could be worn.

In spite of these references in Duchamp’s final set of notes, the waistcoat series has been little studied, even though there is a remarkable letter about the waistcoats written to Arturo Schwarz by Paul Matisse dated November 9, 1964. Schwarz reproduces this letter in the 2000 catalogue raisonné and it bares replication in full here:

You must share with me already the recognition of its unique meaning in Marcel’s Oeuvre. With only one exception, it is the only Wedding Object the artist has ever created, this Gilet is little less, therefore, than Duchamp’s definitive statement on matrimony. This vest is the final expression, perhaps, of concepts originating as far back as *La Mariée*. But now, juxtaposing this work of 1958 with the earlier masterpieces, one recognizes immediately a very significant change! Suddenly, and miraculously, we have traveled all the way from *La Mariée mise à nu par ses célibataires, même* to virtually the exact opposite, to *Le Mariée mise à nu par ses célibataires, même Marie Vêtu par Duchamp Lui-même*, a striking and profound conceptual development of the early theme, and one whose implications will not be lost on the accredited scholar of twentieth-century art forms. Although this would certainly appear to be the major importance of this piece, I am convinced that the real triumph lies at a slightly greater depth. In this work, we have, of course, a return to the tradition of the Readymade. However, there appears for the first time a new and highly significant departure from established forms. You see, properly speaking, the reality of the vest lies in its relationship to marriage, more precisely to

⁶⁴ Duchamp, *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, unpaginated.

my marriage, and thus, even more specifically to me. The vest, in the last analysis, is artistically incomplete without the “Marie.” In the closet, it is but a vest, worth at most perhaps fifteen dollars. Worn, however, by myself, it becomes a work of art which we all recognize and value. It is, therefore, unique in Marcel’s work as a piece which requires a person, indeed a specific individual, to be present; when I put it on I become as it were, a Duchamp Readymade, self-regulating. Imagine! A readymade which walks, talks, and even writes about itself – Yes I am wearing the vest at this instant! It is a triumph of creation that Marcel has never equaled, and one which even Modern Science cannot match.⁶⁵

Matisse was the owner of the *SALLY* waistcoat and in this letter urged Schwarz to consider the importance of the waistcoat series. Matisse suggests that this readymade is incomplete unless it is animated by the body, allowing the person that wears the waistcoat to become a walking, talking Duchamp Readymade. In writing “Worn, however, by myself, it becomes a work of art which we all recognize and value,” Matisse acknowledges this readymade as a work by Duchamp that he has worn on his body.⁶⁶ More importantly, he observes that the waistcoat series completes Duchamp’s masterwork *The Large Glass* and therefore has notable significance within the artist’s oeuvre. His 1964 prediction that this series would not be overlooked by contemporary art scholars did not inspire Schwarz, the recipient of the letter, to consider the implications of this work. Instead Schwarz observes the material qualities of the waistcoats linking the warm and cool colours to their psychological affect and the use of lead on the buttons as a symbol of alchemy. He also links these garments to the wearer’s marital status and interprets Duchamp’s gifts of the waistcoats to three brides (Teeny, Sally, and Betty) as a symbolic gesture of their completion in that “their marriages set them on the way to achieving an integrated personality” and in doing so, he overlooks the comment by Matisse that indicates he was the one wearing the waistcoat, rather than his

⁶⁵ Paul Matisse qtd. in Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, 808.

⁶⁶ Paul Matisse qtd. in Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, 808.

bride Sally.⁶⁷ Schwarz does not fully consider the import of this series nor does he engage with the relevance of the series in the argument as to whether art can be worn.

Like Schwarz, Naumann links the *TEENY* waistcoat readymade to Duchamp's celebrated work *Le Grand Verre/ The Large Glass* and interprets the vest as an erotic gift from a husband to his bride with the assumption that Teeny would have worn the vest without any other clothing. Naumann's argument is consistent with the eroticism of much of Duchamp's work and something that the artist acknowledged explicitly when he said: "Eroticism is a very dear subject in my life. It's an animal thing that has so many facets that it's pleasing to use it as a tube of paint, so to speak, to inject in your productions. It's there stripped bare. It's a form of fantasy."⁶⁸ Whether the waistcoat series was intended for the bride or for the groom is not of significance here, but rather that the waistcoat series anticipates a body to wear these objects, challenging the notion that art cannot be worn. Buried in the text to the 1973 exhibition catalogue by D'Harnoncourt, she signals her knowledge of the letter: "Paul Matisse has pointed out that this is the only Readymade which requires a human presence for completion. Like the 9 Malic Molds waiting to receive the 'illuminating gas,' the Waistcoat depends on its wearer to animate it."⁶⁹ However, she does not make further comment, and I suggest that the marginalization of this

⁶⁷ Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, 229.

⁶⁸ Duchamp qtd. in Naumann, *The Making of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 198.

⁶⁹ D'Harnoncourt, *Marcel Duchamp*, 310.

work in analysis of Duchamp's oeuvre can be attributed to the discomfiture felt by scholars in regard to the association between clothing and the body.⁷⁰

The waistcoats were created late in the artist's career and represent four of the most intimate readymades of Duchamp's oeuvre. In his 1967 interview with Cabanne, Duchamp said: "The choice of readymades is always based on visual indifference and, at the same time, on the total absence of good or bad taste."⁷¹ In spite of this professed indifference, these readymades were personalized for the recipient and thus stand apart from his other work. Duchamp maintained that readymades were defined by their "lack of uniqueness" and that "in fact nearly every one of the 'readymades' existing today is not an original in the conventional sense."⁷² At a material level, there is very little to distinguish Duchamp's waistcoat series from any other waistcoat available for purchase at that time,⁷³ other than the typeface used for buttons and the signature of the artist on the inside linings of the *PÉRET* and *BETTY* waistcoats.

In inscribing a waistcoat or a urinal with a signature, Duchamp transformed the waistcoat, like any other of the mass-produced commodities that he chose, into a work of art and his signature marks his selection of this object as a readymade. De Duve notes the

⁷⁰ For a thorough discussion of the history of philosophers' fear of fashion, see Karen Hanson, "Dressing Down Dressing Up: The Philosophic Fear of Fashion," in *Aesthetics: The Big Questions*, ed. Carolyn Korsmeyer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998): 59-72.

⁷¹ Duchamp qtd. in Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 48.

⁷² Duchamp, *The Essential Writings of Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Michel Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 142.

⁷³ I closely examined a number of waistcoats in museum collections during the course of this project, including: an embroidered silk waistcoat from 1780-1790 (Object #T.231A-1917); a silk brocade waistcoat from 1850 (Object #T.28-1973); and a blue figured silk waistcoat dated to the 1960s (Object #T.192-1978), all in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum. As well, I examined the rose jacquard waistcoat dated to the 1960s in the Ryerson Fashion Research Collection (Object#2017.06.002) illustrated in Figure 4.2.

significance of the placement of the signature on *Fountain*, in that: “the signature had to be truly visible, manifestly drawn by a not-too-expert hand on the lower left of the urinal, as though it were a page of manuscript, or perhaps a painting,” since in absence of this signature it would not be evident that this manufactured object had been altered by the artist’s hand.⁷⁴ De Duve argues that it does not matter that Duchamp’s signature took the form of an alias, a strategy that Duchamp used many times, since “the name of the author, threaded through the string of pseudonyms, will only be validated by an authorization that will rebound upon him through his fame.”⁷⁵ Duchamp’s signature authorizes the work as an object of art. Jacques Derrida defined the signature as evidence of the “actual or empirical non-presence of the signer” that marks the creator having been present.⁷⁶ The signature of the creator inscribes an aura onto the object, and the aura of his creative genius is there even in his or her absence and three of the waistcoats include Duchamp’s signature in ink on the lining. In this way, the signature is a mark that Duchamp authenticated the object and the aura of that act lingers, even long after his passing.

And yet, Duchamp himself acknowledged that the creative act of the artist is insufficient to render it an artwork. Not long after he created his first waistcoat in the spring of 1957, Duchamp articulated the role of the spectator in validating the status of the readymade as a work of art: “All in all, the creative act is not performed by the artist alone; the spectator brings the work in contact with the external world by deciphering and

⁷⁴ Thierry de Duve, “Echoes of the Readymade: Critique of Pure Modernism.” In *The Duchamp Effect*, trans. Rosalind Krauss (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 107.

⁷⁵ De Duve, “Echoes of the Readymade,” 108.

⁷⁶ Jacques Derrida qtd. in Nancy Troy, *Couture Culture*, 26.

interpreting its inner qualifications and thus adds his contributions to the creative act.”⁷⁷

Therefore, the readymade waistcoat is not a work of art if the spectator does not read it as such. This begs the question of how a spectator knows to read the waistcoat as a work of art since Duchamp’s signature is not visible without opening the garment and certainly not if the readymade is being worn. What are the clues or signals that differentiate between a readymade waistcoat by Duchamp and a readymade dress presented for aesthetic contemplation in an art gallery or museum? This question is the subject of the next part.

Reading the Readymade

Jean Clair expresses the existential dialectic posed by the readymade when he writes in *Sur Marcel Duchamp et la fin de l’art* (2000) that: “*Tout homme est un artiste. Toute geste est une oeuvre d’art. Toute oeuvre d’art peut être n’importe quoi*” which translates to anyone can make art, any gesture is a work of art, and a work of art can be anything.⁷⁸ If a work of art can be anything, including a waistcoat, then a logical extension of that argument is that any garment can be rendered a readymade. This section explores the parameters that distinguish a garment as a readymade artwork – like Duchamp’s waistcoats from a dress exhibited in an art museum – specifically Yves Saint Laurent’s 1965/66 Mondrian dress.

In the May 1917 issue of *The Blind Man*, Louise Norton wrote “Buddha of the Bathroom” in which she challenged the rejection of Duchamp’s *Fountain* by the jurors of The Society of Independent Artists. She noted the haste with which the plumbing fixture was rejected and expressed surprise that “a Board of Censors [was] sitting upon the

⁷⁷ Duchamp qtd. in Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 78.

⁷⁸ Jean Clair, *Sur Marcel Duchamp et la fin de l’art* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 1.

ambiguous question, What is ART?”⁷⁹ Norton notes that this question was ignored by the jury in assessing the object and writes: “To those who say that Mr. Mutt’s exhibit may be Art, but is it the art of Mr. Mutt since a plumber made it? I reply simply that the Fountain was not made by a plumber but by the force of an imagination; and of imagination it has been said, ‘All men are shocked by it and some overthrown by it.’”⁸⁰ Norton does not dismiss the work because a plumber made the urinal but argues that the object is a work of the imagination of R. Mutt and can be considered a work of art for this reason alone. In this act, Duchamp made a creative leap, stepping away from craft to present art as a conceptual idea.

In 1960, Duchamp admitted in an interview with curator Katherine Kuh that he was unable to come up with a satisfactory definition of the ready-made, but distinguishes between a found object as art and one that is chosen and designated as such by the artist:

The curious thing about the Ready-made is that I’ve never been able to arrive at a definition or explanation that fully satisfies me. Any made object, isolated from its functional meaning, can become a Ready-Made, either with or without further embellishment [...]. My Ready-Mades have nothing to do with the *objet trouvé* because the so-called ‘found object’ is completely directed by personal taste. Personal taste decides that this is a beautiful object and is unique. That most of my Ready-Mades were mass-produced and could be duplicated is another important difference. In many cases they were duplicated, thus avoiding the cult of uniqueness, of art with a capital “A.”⁸¹

Thierry de Duve argues that when Duchamp removed the element of craft from his artistic practice, he challenged the definition of art itself in that “works of art are shown in

⁷⁹ Louise Norton, “Buddha of the Bathroom,” *The Blind Man* (May 1917): 6.

⁸⁰ Norton, “Buddha of the Bathroom,” 6.

⁸¹ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in “Marcel Duchamp,” in *The Artist’s Voice, Talks with Seventeen Artists* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 91-92. Ellipsis added.

order to be judged as such.”⁸² In his analysis, De Duve initially suggests that the borders between art and non-art are now more explicit: “Behold a urinal. Either you judge that it’s nothing, or that it’s art. But once you judge it to be the latter, it carries, implicitly at least, a label saying ‘this is art’.”⁸³ However, De Duve rejects the structuralist and linguistic analysis of this binary reduction of art and non-art and analyzes the conditions of the readymade through the lens of Michel Foucault’s theorization of the enunciative paradigm in *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1972). De Duve writes:

Thus, the sentence “this is art,” as it affixes itself to a readymade, is not the sign of the passage of artistic practice from a visual regime to a linguistic one, but the enactment and the manifestation of the enunciative function in which objects that show themselves as art and as art alone are caught up. It translates the readymade, as statement.⁸⁴

This argument stipulates that there must be more than the artist’s singular declaration that a thing is a work of art. As history has shown, Duchamp’s initial assertion that the urinal was a work of art was insufficient to render it thus and it took the efforts of peers and critics, as well as institutional acceptance, to bring Duchamp’s readymades into the public eye and over time recognized as works of art.

In *Kant after Duchamp*, Thierry de Duve articulates and explicates the significance of Duchamp’s readymades that shifted the definition of art from the Kantian association of art with the beautiful to the authorial artistic gesture ‘this is art.’ De Duve identifies four conditions of enunciation to interpret a thing as a readymade that include: “(1) an object, (2) an author, (3) a public, and (4) an institutional place ready to record this object, to

⁸² Thierry de Duve, *Kant after Duchamp* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 379.

⁸³ De Duve, *Kant after Duchamp*, 380.

⁸⁴ De Duve, *Kant after Duchamp*, 388.

attribute an author to it, and to communicate it to the public.”⁸⁵ De Duve acknowledges that it is not really possible to prove that these four elements are sufficient conditions but argues that what is true for any of the readymades by Duchamp is also true for the category of art in general. He writes:

And consequently these conditions are – at least for a certain historical framework, for a certain cultural formation – the enunciative conditions of all works of art, of the *Mona Lisa* as well as the *Mona Lisa with a mustache*, or any one object chosen by Duchamp as well as any other candidate for the status of art, and a fortiori of the picture, of the piece of sculpture, of the traditional work, whatever its style. It is in this that the readymade is paradigmatic. What it says for itself in its particularity, it says for the work of art in general.⁸⁶

In this statement De Duve suggests that the four enunciative conditions may be applied to any of Duchamp’s works as well as any other objects that lay claim to the status of art.

In the following analysis, I use the framework and conditions outlined by De Duve but add one more condition to his list: a linguistic twist that Duchamp considered to be an integral step in the naming of the work. In Duchamp’s 1961 speech on the *Apropos of Readymades*, he mentioned that “one important characteristic” of the readymade was “the short sentence” that “was meant to carry the mind of the spectator towards other regions more verbal.”⁸⁷ In this way, the shovel becomes *In Advance of the Broken Arm* (1915/1945) and a hat rack nailed to the floor becomes *Trébuchet* meaning trap (1917/1964). It is this intellectual engagement with the object that translates it from an everyday thing that is also necessary to transform the everyday object into a work of art.

⁸⁵ De Duve, *Kant after Duchamp*, 391.

⁸⁶ De Duve, *Kant after Duchamp*, 388.

⁸⁷ Duchamp, “Apropos of ‘Readymades,’” 47.

De Duve's four enunciative conditions as well as my addition of a fifth condition to define the readymade offer a way to assess the two waistcoats authored by Duchamp and held by museums: the *BETTY* waistcoat and the *PÉRET* waistcoat. Duchamp altered two mass manufactured garments by modifying their buttons with text and signing them as an artist and the author of the work, and in doing so, Duchamp transformed these readymade garments into singular works. These two waistcoats are held by public museums with substantial holdings of Duchamp's works, and they are also stored as sculptures with other art objects, and not stored with other garments and textiles. In accepting these waistcoats into museum collections, the institutions have conferred their authority to designate these objects as works of art. Furthermore, these waistcoats have been displayed not as garments, but as readymades in museum exhibitions alongside Duchamp's other works of art, such that the public would likely recognize them as works of art rather than items from his wardrobe. In this way, the waistcoats have fulfilled De Duve's conditions of the readymade, even though they were gifted to family and friends and have previously been worn as clothing. As well, the series was given a title that connotes a linguistic element to intellectualize the works. In titling the series *Made to Measure*, Duchamp explicitly references the etymology of the readymade in clothing manufacturing and this further underlines his unabashed pleasure in irony and linguistic puns in that these waistcoats were purchased at a department store and were not actually made to measure for the recipients.

In order to test the parameters of the readymade in respect of an object of fashion, I will also test the five enunciative conditions on two of Yves Saint Laurent's 'Mondrian'

dresses from fall/winter 1965-66.⁸⁸ These sleeveless dresses replicate the colour blocks and black lines of Mondrian's paintings using wool jersey and each includes the Yves Saint Laurent label.⁸⁹ I chose these particular dresses because designer Yves Saint Laurent appropriated Mondrian's work in designing the dresses – replicating the modernist patterns of the artist's paintings in cloth, using the pattern pieces to create a grid-like structure that accommodates the body, but hides the shaping in the seams.⁹⁰ There are two such dresses in the Costume Institute Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.9). The 'Mondrian' dress (Figure 4.7) with the red, yellow, and blue colour blocks (object #C.I.69.23) has appeared in numerous exhibitions and books, and this dress is also frequently used to illustrate the intersection of fashion and art.⁹¹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art also has another 'Mondrian' dress in the Costume Institute Collection (object #C.I.68.60), which has a different colour pattern of cream and black blocks (Figure 4.9).

⁸⁸ The dresses by Yves Saint Laurent (1936-2008) were inspired by the work of Piet Mondrian (1872-1944) and came to be known as the 'Mondrian' collection following the publication of articles that appeared in the fashion press after the presentation of the collection.

⁸⁹ Yves Saint Laurent's sketches for this collection show six sleeveless dresses, each designed with a matching coat. However, the designer also made at least two customized versions with sleeves; one of the dresses is in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum (Object #T.74-1982) and another was sold at auction. See "Yves Saint Laurent Mondrian Dress", Leslie Hindman Auctioneers, accessed February 7, 2019, <https://www.lesliehindman.com/yves-saint-laurent-mondrian-dress/>

⁹⁰ In examining these dresses in The Met's collection, I was able to observe that each colour block was carefully stitched together to create the grid-like pattern. Although the blocks appear to be rectangular, there is a very slight widening towards the bottom of the rectangle to create an A-line for the dress as a whole. As custom-made couture garments, the dresses were made for different clients and are not identical.

⁹¹ Alice Mackrell used the dress on the cover of her book *Art and Fashion* (2005). Nancy J. Troy argues this series of dresses by Saint Laurent was instrumental in the process by which Dutch De Stijl artist Piet Mondrian's work came to be more widely known. See Nancy J. Troy, "Art" in *Fashion and Art*, ed. Adam Geczy and Vicki Karaminas (London: Berg, 2012), 29-41.

This second dress is larger in size and has a different numbering sequence (Figure 4.10). Upon examination of the dresses, I observed that aside from the different colours of wool used, they were substantially the same on the outside and both had few signs of wear; however, the type of linings and the placements of the label differed, leading to the supposition that it is possible that one of the dresses had been relined. However, when discussing this observation with curatorial staff, it was not evident which dress had the original lining and such discrepancies highlight a key issue relating to originality and authenticity that I will return to later.

The second enunciative condition stipulates that the work have an author. Both dresses include the Yves Saint Laurent Paris label as well as a unique numbering sequence stamped thereon: “10527” and “10528” (Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.10). This numbering sequence identifies each dress as an haute couture garment, making it a unique piece sized to fit the specific measurements of the purchaser. Even though Saint Laurent had no part in actually sewing the dress, as designer, he is viewed as the author of the work. This act of authorship is similar to Duchamp’s selection and modification of the readymade waistcoats, since he or someone else modified the buttons to spell out the names. Although Saint Laurent did not sign the dresses, they include his label – a mechanical version of his signature. The artist Duchamp signs the waistcoat and it becomes *BETTY*; the designer Saint Laurent attaches his label and a number sequence as a proxy for his signature. In both realms, the creator authenticates the object with a label or signature that becomes its signifier of value. The object fulfills the condition of the author function with the signature of the artist or the label of the designer. As well, Saint Laurent appropriated Mondrian’s work into his own, which is similar to the manner in which Duchamp added a moustache to

a print of the *Mona Lisa* in 1919 to create *L.H.O.O.Q.* (Figure 3.12), and Cornell appropriated the 1945 *Vogue* cover by Erwin Blumenfeld of a model standing behind Duchamp's *Le Grand Verre* as part of his work *Duchamp Dossier* (Figure 0.1).

The third enunciative condition of a readymade requires an institution. De Duve's argument aligns with the institutional theory of art where the artifact becomes art when it is recognized as such by the museum or other social institutions like the art world.⁹² Two of the four Duchamp waistcoats are owned by museums, classified as readymades, and stored amongst other contemporary artworks. Both waistcoats are included in the catalogue raisonné of Duchamp works by Arturo Schwarz.⁹³ The 'Mondrian' dress collection by Yves Saint Laurent is considered one of Saint Laurent's most iconic creations and are coveted items for museums and private collectors. However, there is no *catalogue raisonné* so to speak for Saint Laurent that documents how many dresses there are presently in existence and their locations.⁹⁴ The dresses owned by The Metropolitan Museum of Art have been removed from the fashion system and as museum objects will never be worn again, but their status as artworks within the institution is ambiguous since they are stored with other

⁹² Pierre Bourdieu defined the museum as an institution that gives legitimacy to the artistic field. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 328.

⁹³ When writing *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp* in 2000, Arturo Schwarz indicated that the location of the *Betty* waistcoat was unknown; it would later turn up in the collection of the New Zealand Museum Te Papa as one of the objects accepted as a bequest of Betty Isaacs. For an explanation as to why this waistcoat was believed to be lost for many years, see Marcus Moore, "Attracting Dust in New Zealand Lost and Found: Betty's Waistcoat and Other Duchampian Traces," *toutfait.com The Marcel Duchamp Studies Online Journal* (December 1, 2007).

⁹⁴ The House of Yves Saint Laurent keeps sales records of each dress collection as well as the name of the client the dress was made for, but this is not publicly accessible information. Nor is there any record of what happened to each dress after the client purchased it.

garments and textiles from the Costume Institute Collection, and not kept in the same storage as the museum's contemporary art collection.

The fourth enunciative condition of a readymade requires a public to acknowledge the status of the work as an art object. As noted earlier, the Duchamp waistcoats have been exhibited as readymades in several exhibitions. The multi-coloured 'Mondrian' dress (Figure 4.7) has been exhibited a number of times at The Metropolitan Museum of Art and elsewhere.⁹⁵ Most notably, this dress and several other versions of the 'Mondrian' dress were exhibited at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1983 exhibition *Yves Saint Laurent: 25 Years of Design*. In this presentation, the dresses were hung adjacent to a painting by Burgoyne Diller, which is similar in style to that of artist Piet Mondrian.⁹⁶ Seven Yves Saint Laurent dresses are visible in an installation photograph where the dresses were mounted on flattened body shapes with outstretched arms and hung in a line.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ This includes: *Haute Couture*, 7 December 1995 – 24 March 1996 at The Met; *Yves Saint Laurent: 25 Years of Design*, 6 December 1983 – 2 September 1984 at The Met; *The Ceaseless Century*, 9 September – 29 November 1998 at The Met; *The Model as Muse: Embodying Fashion*, 6 May – 9 August 2009 at The Met; *The Art of Fashion: The Radical Sixties*, 1 December 1990 – 24 February 1991 at the Kimbell Art Museum; and *25 Years: 25 Couturiers*, 9 September – 7 December 1975 at the Denver Art Museum.

⁹⁶ The installation photo is included in an essay by Judith Clark, "The Costume Institute 1972-1989: Re-Styling History," in *Diana Vreeland: The Eye Has to Travel*, ed. Lisa Immordino Vreeland, (New York: Abrams, 2011), 239. The text by Clark and the caption for this photo suggests that the painting is by Mondrian but in fact, as Nancy J. Troy has observed, this painting is by Burgoyne Diller. Additional installation photos from this exhibition shown on The Metropolitan Museum of Art's website show that dresses from other collections by Yves Saint Laurent were also exhibited this way, including two dresses created in tribute to artist Tom Wesselman from autumn-winter 1966.

⁹⁷ Yves Saint Laurent's sketches for this collection that has come to be known as the 'Mondrian' collection (Autumn/Winter 1965) show six dresses with matching coats. See <https://museeyslparis.com/en/biography/lhomme-a-piet-mondrian> Accessed: January 5, 2019. The cream dress without any black trim is likely from another Saint Laurent collection.

The body shaped mount was elevated several feet above the ground and painted purple - the same colour as the wall behind the form such that the mount mostly blended into the background. The mounts presented the dresses at eye level and in line with Diller's painting and the flatness of the display of the dresses gave emphasis to the similarities between the dresses and the painting. However, it is impossible to retroactively assess whether the public would have read the Mondrian dresses as readymades in the context of this fashion exhibition. Richard Martin, who became the curator of the Costume Institute upon Vreeland's retirement, said that the presentation of the 'Mondrian' dress in this exhibition "made people think of the dress in terms of planar clothing by utilizing Mondrian as a kind of paradigm for the flatness that prevailed in that era;" Martin does not use the term readymade nor does he argue that the dresses were read as art.⁹⁸ Judith Clark read this unusual mount as an illustration of Diana Vreeland's interpretation of the complex relationship between fashion and art, writing: "She [Vreeland] had never stated that fashion was indeed art but exhibited the love affair between the two. She exhibited Yves Saint Laurent's 'Mondrian Dress' next to the original Mondrian painting."⁹⁹ Her clever hand as a critic was to exhibit the dress on a flattened body – halfway between 2D and 3D – revealing a possible ambiguous reading."¹⁰⁰ Both of these comments make it clear that it is difficult, if not impossible to retroactively render judgment as to whether the public interpreted this dress as a readymade.

⁹⁸ Richard Martin qtd. in Alice Mackrell, *Art and Fashion: The Impact of Art on Fashion and Fashion on Art* (London: Batsford, 2005), 153.

⁹⁹ As noted earlier, this painting is in fact by Burgoyne Diller not Piet Mondrian.

¹⁰⁰ Judith Clark, "The Costume Institute 1972-1989," 239.

As outlined earlier, an additional condition of the readymade is the inclusion of a linguistic component in the naming the object. Saint Laurent did not give separate names to each of the six dresses and matching coats in the Mondrian-inspired collection.¹⁰¹ While some designers like Paul Poiret, Lucile, Christian Dior and others assigned each of their dresses a name, typically such names are poetic, lyrical or suggestive, rather than the verbal puns associated with the Duchamp readymades.¹⁰² There was no ironic intention in the creation of this collection by Saint Laurent, even though it might be said retrospectively that the dress mocks the idea of originality in appropriating Mondrian's painting motifs or possibly even copying an unknown Canadian fashion designer working in Paris who was making similar dresses that same year.¹⁰³ Thus a key difference in the status of the dresses as objects of clothing and not as readymades might be linked to the absence of the linguistic component that intellectualizes rather than pays homage to the work of Mondrian.

¹⁰¹ This Fall-Winter collection of 1965 was called *Homage to Piet Mondrian*. Each of the dresses and its matching coat was numbered (91, 77, 78, 81, 80, 102) and the name of the model was written on the sketch such as Muriel, Bridgett, etc. Saint Laurent's sketches and selections for fabrics can be seen on the Musée Yves Saint Laurent website, accessed January 5, 2019. <https://museeyslparis.com/en/biography/lhommage-a-piet-mondrian>

¹⁰² For example, Christian Dior often named his works after flowers, people, or places such as the 1947-48 evening dress called *Rose France* in reference to his favourite flower and the colour of the dress. See Alexandra Palmer, *Christian Dior: History & Modernity, 1947-1957* (Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 2018). See also Troy, *Couture Culture*, 98-99 in relation to the naming of dresses by Poiret and Lucile.

¹⁰³ In September 1965, *The Montreal Gazette* reported that a young Canadian designer named Michele Rosier had been "selling her two-color jersey dresses all over Europe when Saint Laurent added a few black lines and came out with his Mondrian collection." See Anonymous, "Parisienne Pioneers Pop Style," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 14, 1965, 35. As well, Troy observes that in 1945 New York fashion designer Stella Brownie created dresses inspired by Mondrian that were reported upon by *Art News* journal. See Troy, "Art," 33-34.

The 'Mondrian' dress by Saint Laurent seems to meet at least three of five conditions of the readymade. Saint Laurent authored the dress and each version of the dress has a unique number ascribed to it by the couture house and marked on the labels. The dresses have been exhibited within The Metropolitan Museum of Art like artworks, but evidence as to their acceptance as an artwork by the public is elusive. As well, in spite of its unique couture number, there are multiple versions of the 'Mondrian' dress that are held by other dress collections around the world, including the Rijksmuseum, the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Kyoto Costume Institute and the Museum at FIT. In comparison, there are only four Duchamp waistcoats that are part of the *Made to Measure* series, each slightly different than the other and three of them include evidence of the artist's hand with his signature rendered in ink. Does the fact that there are a limited number of waistcoats authored by Duchamp equate to an enhanced aura of originality in light of the fact that there are an unknown number of 'Mondrian' haute couture dresses by Saint Laurent?

A fundamental concern related to the status of the readymade artwork relative to the haute couture dress is the issue of authenticity and originality. The term *haute couture* is a legally registered designation of origin administered by the organization once called Chambre Syndicale de la Haute Couture and recently renamed Fédération de la Haute Couture et de la Mode.¹⁰⁴ Design houses and brands must apply and qualify each year in order to legally use the designation haute couture. Requirements have in the past stipulated that the brand own an atelier in Paris with at least fifteen full-time employees and offer personal fittings of made-to-measure clothing. Twice a year, the brand must also present at

¹⁰⁴ See the website for the Fédération de la Haute Couture et de la Mode, accessed: October 10, 2017. <https://fhcm.paris/en/the-federation/>

least thirty-five looks in shows during designated fashion weeks including both daytime and formal evening wear. As an object with an haute couture label, the ‘Mondrian’ dress is associated with the myth of singularity that is pivotal to its marketing as a luxury good. Haute couture is differentiated from the mass produced ready-to-wear or mass production or prêt-à-porter through the use of hand-sewn techniques for embellishment and finishing as well as in the fitting of garments to a specific individual. Costume Institute Head Curator Andrew Bolton argues that this notion of singularity gives an aura to haute couture that has also perpetuated an assumption that handwork techniques are superior and more refined to that of the mechanical techniques of ready-to-wear.¹⁰⁵

Troy argues a key link between the domains of art and fashion is the signification of the artist’s signature or designer label. Duchamp signs a waistcoat and it becomes a readymade; Saint Laurent attaches a label with a numbered sequence to mark it an haute couture garment. In both cases, the creator authenticates the object with a label or signature that becomes its signifier of value. Troy notes that her reading of the transformative power of the signature aligns with that of Pierre Bourdieu and Yvette Delsaut who wrote: “The couturier does nothing different from the painter who constitutes a given object as a work of art by the act of affixing his signature to it. If there is an instance where one makes things with words, as in magic ... it is certainly in the universe of fashion.”¹⁰⁶ The signature of the creator implied by the label inscribes an aura onto the object. We know that Saint Laurent designed the ‘Mondrian’ dress even though the couture label in the dress is not

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Bolton, “The Mediator Between the Hand and The Machine Must be the Heart,” in *Manus x. Machina: Fashion in an Age of Technology*, ed. Andrew Bolton (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 9.

¹⁰⁶ Pierre Bourdieu and Yvette Delsaut, qtd. in Troy, *Couture Culture*, 26. Ellipsis in Troy.

visible when the dress is on display.¹⁰⁷ The aura of Saint Laurent's creative genius is there even in his absence. In this way, the label in the 'Mondrian' dress signifies that Saint Laurent was at some point present and authenticated the object, even if his hands never touched this dress or the other versions of it. Both the Duchamp waistcoat readymades and the 'Mondrian' dresses carry the aura of their creator in the form of the signature or label, but is the aura enhanced if the editions are limited in number and can be traced?

In the 1936 essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Walter Benjamin considers the effects of mechanical reproduction on the emergence of new forms of art, in particular photography and cinema, on the aura of the artwork. Framing the notion in historic terms, Benjamin suggests that: "the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity"¹⁰⁸ and links the creation of value to the idea of authenticity – "the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced."¹⁰⁹ Benjamin identifies exhibitions as a form of secular ritual in which the aura of the original is heightened by the possibility of mechanical reproduction and argues for a reconceptualization of the [art]work in relation to technical innovations that allow for multiples. In Kamien-Kazhdan's analysis of the remaking of the fourteen readymades reproduced by Arturo Schwarz in 1964 as a series of editioned replicas of eight (plus one for the author and one for the publisher), she argues that these replicas complicate the

¹⁰⁷ The labels for these dresses are sewn into the side seams. See Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.9.

¹⁰⁸ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 220.

¹⁰⁹ Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," 221.

notion of originality since these objects, as substitutes for the lost originals, share and possibly even exceed the status and value of the originals.¹¹⁰ These objects were not selected with indifference, but were meticulously constructed reproductions, supervised by Duchamp, whose aesthetic qualities were enhanced by the careful replication process that gave “rigorous attention to historical detail.”¹¹¹ As Kamien-Kazhdan observes, museums and galleries were not adverse to displaying the replicas, since this was a strategy that Duchamp himself endorsed. The aura of the original readymades remained intact, and possibly even was enhanced, in the remaking of the replicas.

In contemplating the myth of originality and authenticity in the domains of fashion and art in the early twentieth century in dialogue with Benjamin, Troy considers the overlapping strategies in the marketing of haute couture dresses by Poiret, Vionnet and other designers with the marketing of easily reproducible modernist works by cubist painters Pablo Picasso and the readymades of Duchamp. She maintains that Benjamin’s analysis underpins the “central problem for modernism itself” since multiples can attain the status of original works of art;¹¹² she writes: “At stake in both domains were the originality, authenticity, and aesthetic aura of the individual object, which are essential to the establishment of any fashion, whether in dresses or in vanguard art production.”¹¹³ Troy compares the production of multiples in art and to that in haute couture and writes: “not

¹¹⁰ Kamien-Kazhdan also traces other reproductions of Duchamp’s works for exhibition or sale by the Sidney Janis Gallery in 1950, a 1960 Duchamp exhibition in Stockholm, a retrospective at the Pasadena Art Museum in California in 1963, as well as Richard Hamilton’s reconstruction of the *Large Glass* in 1965-66. See Kamien-Kazhdan, *Remaking the Readymade*, 69-109

¹¹¹ Kamien-Kazhdan, *Remaking the Readymade*, 155.

¹¹² Troy, *Couture Culture*, 256-257.

¹¹³ Troy, *Couture Culture*, 8.

only is any original couture creation based on a model designed for reproduction, but in order for that model to become an established fashion, it must first be circulated in the form of multiple copies.”¹¹⁴ Troy argues that both domains of art and fashion harness marketing strategies to create demand.

Troy’s argument echoes that of Rosalind Krauss who similarly explored the modernist myths of originality and authenticity that have been actively promoted within aesthetic discourse. Using the examples of Auguste Rodin, Claude Monet and other artists, Krauss argues that the myths of singularity, originality and authenticity have been constructed and promoted through cultural practices. She writes:

The theme of originality, encompassing as it does the notions of authenticity, originals, and origins, is the shared discursive practice of the museum, the historian, and the maker of art. And throughout the nineteenth century all these institutions were concerted, together, to find the mark, the warrant, the certification of the original.¹¹⁵

Krauss defines singularity as a function of the beholder and dependent upon a “re-cognition made possible only by prior example.”¹¹⁶ Aside from the waistcoat series, Duchamp did not seem to concern himself with these issues, since many of his works were replicated, as was noted earlier.

The impact of reproduction on the aura of the original is at the core of the problem in discerning the differences between Saint Laurent’s couture dresses and Duchamp’s readymade waistcoats. Although Duchamp issued authorized reproductions of his

¹¹⁴ Troy, *Couture Culture*, 259.

¹¹⁵ Rosalind E. Krauss, “The Originality of the Avant-Garde: A Postmodernist Repetition,” *October* 18 (Autumn 1981): 58.

¹¹⁶ Krauss, “The Originality of the Avant-Garde,” 62.

readymades, the waistcoats were limited to four and were not reproduced as a series.¹¹⁷ The Duchamp waistcoats thus become singular since there are only four in total, and each differs from the other, whereas there are an unknown number of Saint Laurent ‘Mondrian’ dresses. There were six versions of the dress with variations in how the blocks of colour and black grid lines were laid out.¹¹⁸ Which of these dresses is considered the original? Is each considered an original within the series? How many dresses have survived and where are they?¹¹⁹ Answering these questions is further complicated by the unknown number of customized variations of the ‘Mondrian’ dresses as the recent appearance of a version with sleeves on the auction block has shown.¹²⁰ Although Benjamin predicts that the exhibition and reproduction of a work enhances the aura of the original work, in this case there can be no definitive conclusion, even though as couture dresses by Saint Laurent the extant examples have enhanced status as iconic examples from the designer’s oeuvre. In this example, the limited number of waistcoats authored by Duchamp has the enhanced aura and value associated with singularity and originality. Duchamp’s friend Salvador Dalí once predicted that originality would ultimately become the artistic product when he said: “one day, when all objects that exist are considered readymades, there will be no readymades at

¹¹⁷ A reproduction of the Péret waistcoat was made for the exhibition *Détour* by Michael Parekowhai at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (17 March – 8 November 2018).

¹¹⁸ See Yves Saint Laurent’s sketches and textile choices for the collection on the Musée Yves Saint Laurent, accessed February 7, 2019, <https://museeyslparis.com/en/biography/lhommage-a-piet-mondrian>

¹¹⁹ Some dresses may have been worn and discarded by their wearer when they were no longer in fashion. The market for vintage items like this did not materialize until the 1980s.

¹²⁰ See “Yves Saint Laurent Mondrian Dress”, Leslie Hindman Auctioneers, accessed February 7, 2019, <https://www.lesliehindman.com/yves-saint-laurent-mondrian-dress/>

all. Then Originality will become the artistic Work, produced convulsively by the artist by hand.”¹²¹

In concluding this chapter, I note that the *Made to Measure* series by Duchamp not only extends the parameters of the readymade into clothing but is imbricated within the etymology of the word readymade itself. Unlike his other readymades, these readymades were not created with indifference to matters of taste but are deeply personal in significance and consistent with the artist’s sartorial preferences documented in photographs. These readymades are animated by the body such that the wearer becomes a walking readymade creating a new form of sartorial art that counters Heidegger’s argument that art cannot be worn. Duchamp signalled the significance of the series by including references in his last set of notes that also included many other references to clothing that record his sensory engagement with clothing. The key difference between the waistcoat readymade series by Duchamp and the ‘Mondrian’ dresses by Yves Saint Laurent is the linguistic twist or pun that distinguishes the Duchamp readymade. However, this does not preclude a designer from adding a textual component to their works, as Kate Sylvester did in applying her label to her reproduction of the Péret waistcoat with lead face buttons for artist Michael Parekwohai. It is interesting to note that Duchamp once said that he preferred the term “craftsman” to that of “artist”:

The word ‘art’ interests me very much. If it comes from Sanskrit, as I’ve heard, it signifies ‘making.’ Now everyone makes something, and those who make things on canvas, with a frame, they’re called artists. Formerly, they were called craftsmen, a term I prefer. We’re all craftsmen, in civilian or military or artistic life[...].¹²²

¹²¹ Salvador Dalí qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 14.

¹²² Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 16. Ellipsis added.

In this passage, Duchamp discerns no difference between craftsman and artist and suggests that anyone's work might be understood in reference to making, including civilians, military personnel, and by extension fashion designers. What remains unresolved is the role of the spectator in defining the work as art which is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

This is (Not) Art: Duchamp and The Curatorial

In a corner, we had an electric plate on which coffee beans were roasting. It gave the whole room a marvelous smell; it was part of the exhibition. It was rather Surrealist, altogether.
--Marcel Duchamp¹

The pivotal role of the curator in defining the readymade is made plainly evident from the fate of Duchamp's readymades in the early years when his creations were overlooked, discarded or lost. Duchamp's first readymades, the bottle rack and the bicycle wheel mounted on a stool, were thrown away by his sister Suzanne; the umbrella stand and parasol included in the 1916 exhibition at the Bourgeois Gallery in New York were ignored; and the infamous urinal signed by R. Mutt presented to the Society of Independent Artists in 1917 was lost after it was photographed by Alfred Stieglitz. Perhaps the most telling example is the story told by curator George Heard Hamilton in connection with Duchamp's mid-century recreation of a snow shovel readymade called *In Advance of the Broken Arm* for an exhibition at Yale University in 1945. Hamilton later recounted that it was not recognized as a work of art when the shovel was put on display – “nothing happened. Nobody came to see it.”² When the Yale show went on tour the following winter, a janitor in a small Minnesota museum “mistook it for a shovel” and used it to clear away a snowdrift.³ In spite of the presence of Duchamp's signature on the shovel, the

¹ Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 82.

² George Heard Hamilton, “In Advance of Whose Broken Art?” in *Marcel Duchamp in Perspective*, ed. Joseph Masheck (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 74.

³ Heard Hamilton, “In Advance of Whose Broken Art?” 74.

shovel was just an implement for the custodian. This example, which took place three decades after Duchamp's first readymade, reminds us that the readymade only came to be understood as an object of art over time, that audience engagement is key to the reading of the work, and that the curator is instrumental in the process of articulation of the readymade as art. Elena Filipovic observes that: "the readymade is not only an object selected and nominated but, perhaps even more importantly, one that is curated."⁴

Curators serve as institutional gatekeepers and de facto arbiters of taste, something that Duchamp noticed when talking about the Louvre: "It doesn't interest me, because I have these doubts about the value of the judgments which decided that all these pictures should be presented to the Louvre, instead of others which weren't even considered, and which might have been there."⁵ As will be discussed in this chapter, Duchamp was actively engaged in curatorial acts to ensure that his work lived on in private collections and was accepted into public museums. His curatorial gestures also included two exhibition designs that have explicit links to fashion and that purposefully engaged the spectator's whole body in immersive and sensorial experiences, making them of notable interest to this project.

This chapter is organized into a brief overview of the scholarship on Duchamp with respect to his curatorial activities, followed by analysis of the links between fashion and Duchamp's curatorial activities in the 1938 exhibition of Surrealists in Paris as well as the 1942 exhibition of the Surrealists in New York. An exploration of the resonances of these exhibition designs in a contemporary exhibition of fashion – *The Concise Dictionary of*

⁴ Elena Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge: MIT Press: 2016), 6.

⁵ Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 71.

Dress curated by Judith Clark in London, England in 2010 – brings Duchamp’s curatorial work into conversation with fashion studies, and leads to consideration of the role of the spectator in deciding whether an object is a work of art. Ultimately, I suggest, the concept of the curatorial is central to gauge the significance of the intersection of fashion and art that is the focus of this dissertation.

Duchamp and The Curatorial

During Duchamp’s lifetime, the word curator described a person who was engaged in sorting, classifying, labeling, researching, and exhibiting objects and artworks on behalf of a museum or art gallery.⁶ The curator’s association with museum work may be a reason why Duchamp’s activities to care for, mediate, install, and exhibit his own work as well as work by other artists have only begun to be foregrounded within studies of the avant-garde and the frame of the curatorial.⁷ In spite of his professed indifference to the trajectory of his career and his repeated statements that he had given up art for chess, Elena Filipovic’s aptly titled book *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp* (2016) provides considerable evidence that Duchamp was actively engaged in curatorial acts that produced discourse around his work and ensured his legacy. These curatorial acts included: the

⁶ To read more on the etymology of the curator and the articulation of the shifting meaning and role of the curator in museums over time, see Hans Ulrich Obrist with Asad Raza, *Ways of Curating* (New York: Faber and Faber, Inc., 2014). For the history of the scholarship on curation as it specifically relates to the exhibition of Dada and Surrealist artworks, see also Kathryn Floyd, “Writing the Histories of Dada and Surrealist Exhibitions: Problems and Possibilities,” *Dada Surrealism* 21, no. 1 (2017).

⁷ Duchamp also took on the role of curator for exhibitions of the work of other artists, including Brâncuși’s exhibition of sculptures in New York in 1926, as well as a posthumous retrospective of Florine Stettheimer’s work at the MOMA in New York in 1946.

rhetorical gestures that publicized the refusal of *Fountain*, the publication of his notes, the creation of a portable museum with *Boîte-en-Valise*, and the placement of his works with museums and important private collectors like Walter and Louise Arensberg as well as Katherine Dreier.⁸ He also enhanced knowledge of his work in the broader public domain by giving many interviews and by allowing his work to appear in popular magazines like *Life*, *Time*, *The New Yorker* and *Vogue*. Consequently, Filipovic observes a deep level of engagement and complexity to Duchamp's administrative and curatorial gestures that served to publicize, recognize, value and safeguard his work and legacy. Filipovic documents these efforts and rewrites the historiography of Duchamp's oeuvre to articulate the artist's "perennially engaged relationship to the framing sites and discursive or presentational procedures that help construct something as a work of art."⁹ Filipovic points out that there are numerous "intangible and transient, context- and situation specific details of the presentation of the artwork" that are "intrinsically difficult to acknowledge and perhaps even more difficult to historicize."¹⁰ And while it is challenging to revisit exhibitions from the past, it is in doing so that meaning can be excavated. Filipovic's work on Duchamp serves to emphasize that the meaning of an artwork is articulated not only by what is inside the frame or on top of the pedestal but also "what is outside and around the artwork."¹¹ This is particularly relevant when discerning the differences between an object as art and an object of fashion, as the chapter on waistcoats has shown.

⁸ Elena Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge: MIT Press: 2016).

⁹ Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp*, 7.

¹⁰ Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp*, 9.

¹¹ Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp*, 8.

Installation design has come to be recognized as an aesthetic medium unto itself that conveys the “vitality, historicity, and time-and-site bound character of all aspects of culture,”¹² and Marcel Duchamp’s curatorial activities and exhibition designs for the 1938 *International Surrealist Exhibition* in Paris and the 1942 exhibition *First Papers of Surrealism* presented in New York are of notable significance in this regard. Although Duchamp never considered himself part of the Surrealist movement, he was called upon to act as *Générateur-Arbitre* or idea generator/referee for the 1938 exhibition. In that role, he was responsible for generating ideas for the appearance of the exhibition, including the layout and placement of the art, as well as acting as referee for disputes between artists; he had a similar role in 1942, and today we would describe his role as a curator and/or exhibition designer. As will be shown in this chapter, Duchamp, in both exhibitions, upended the conventions of gallery display, confounding the spectator’s ability to see the art and instead provided immersive and multi-sensory experiences that made them feel something. Brian O’Doherty identifies Duchamp’s installation design as “the first time an artist subsumed an entire gallery in a single gesture – and managed to do so while it was full of other art” and reads this gesture as exposing “the effect of context on art, of the container on the contained.”¹³ He posits that Duchamp’s exhibition design served to recognize “an area of art that hadn’t yet been invented” and thus marks it as a significant rupture in the history of exhibitions and the ideology of gallery space.¹⁴ In his book *The Curatorial Avant-Garde 1925-1941: Surrealism and Exhibition Practice in France* (2013),

¹² Staniszewski, *The Power of Display*, xxi-xxviii.

¹³ Brian O’Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 69.

¹⁴ O’Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*, 69.

Adam Jolles explores the legacy of curatorial avant-garde in the period of 1925-1941 in France, including Duchamp's participation in the 1938 *International Exhibition of Surrealism*, and argues that this group disrupted traditional formats of display, challenged the status of the artwork and the historical object, and also merged the role of curator and artist.¹⁵

Likewise in *Displaying the Marvellous* (2003), Lewis Kachur identifies the 1938 *International Surrealist Exhibition* and the 1942 *First Papers of Surrealism* as illustrative of the emergence of foregrounding of the environs of the exhibition space by the avant-garde in which the overlapping histories of the commercial and fine art realms intersect, such that the spaces of the gallery and the department store overlap.¹⁶ In his attempt to “counterbalance the literature on Duchamp that has served to privilege and over-interpret his readymade,”¹⁷ Kachur also emphasizes the significant points of contact between the Surrealists and fashion designers during this time citing photographer Man Ray's work for fashion magazines in photographing models and mannequins, and Salvador Dalí's

¹⁵ Adam Jolles, *The Curatorial Avant-Garde 1925-1941: Surrealism and Exhibition Practice in France* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 175-177. In his book, Jolles also identifies the 1933 *Exhibition of Surrealism* at the Galerie Pierre Collé as a significant turning point in curatorial practice in light of the fact that quotidian objects were presented alongside artworks in a display space that conflated the traditional boundaries between gallery and artist studio. Duchamp was not involved in this exhibition and therefore I do not consider it further here. However, Christian Dior was a part owner of this gallery – something that goes unremarked upon by Jolles. This exhibition was reprised in the seventieth anniversary retrospective of the House of Dior presented at Les Arts Decoratifs in Paris in 2016-2017, which included a mock-up of this Surrealist exhibition. In doing so, the exhibit redefined the boundaries between fashion and art by including art as a prop to the exhibition itself.

¹⁶ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 5-7.

¹⁷ Louis Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous, Marcel Duchamp, Salvador Dalí, and Surrealist Exhibition Installations* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), xvi.

collaborations with Elsa Schiaparelli.¹⁸ Kachur reads the ongoing legacy of these exhibitions in the art world; finding a “continuum and dialogue between past and present,” he identifies selected contemporary art installations that resonate with the Surrealists’ example.¹⁹ Kachur’s extensive documentation of these exhibitions allows me to reconsider the Surrealist exhibitions designed by Duchamp for their links to fashion and I also supplement his analysis with other accounts by Elsa Schiaparelli, Man Ray, Bettina Wilson, and Duchamp himself to show that Duchamp’s immersive and sensorial designs for these exhibitions were consistent with his oeuvre as an iconoclastic body-aware auteur. Before considering the dialogue between past and present in a case study exhibition that resonates with Duchampian influences, Duchamp’s curatorial role in two Surrealist exhibitions requires more detailed elaboration.

Mannequins, Dreams and Miles of String

In 1938, the Galerie Beaux-Arts, owned by Georges Wildenstein and located at 140 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, was according to Man Ray “one of the smartest galleries in Paris.”²⁰ Located in the fashionable eighth arrondissement, it had previously shown exhibitions of Georges Seurat, Marc Chagall, Maurice Utrillo and other “*étapes de l’art contemporain*.”²¹ and was a bastion of “bourgeois good taste.”²² Although no records have

¹⁸ Salvador Dalí’s collaborations with Elsa Schiaparelli in designing clothing in 1937 included *The Shoe Hat*, *The Tear Dress*, and *The Lobster Dress*. See Richard Martin, *Fashion and Surrealism* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

¹⁹ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 8-9.

²⁰ Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, 191.

²¹ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 23. Italics in original.

²² Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp*, 96.

been found that trace the precise motivations behind the gallery's decision to host the exhibition of Surrealists, Kachur surmises the previous summer's Nazi-organized *Entartete Kunst* (1937) show in Munich, which was deeply disturbing and notorious, may have motivated the Parisian Surrealists to formulate a response.²³ The exhibition organizers, André Breton and Paul Eluard, negotiated with Wildenstein to stage a show at his gallery from January 17 to February 24, 1938 of about fifty surrealist artists from ten countries comprising about two hundred works.²⁴ According to Man Ray, Duchamp "was invited to suggest ideas" for the exhibition and had "the red carpet and period furniture removed."²⁵ In his role as *générateur-arbitre*, Duchamp reimagined the "top-lit, cream-colored, elegantly appointed eighteenth-century interior as a 'dark grotto'" and covered the "ornate moldings, ceiling, and banks of light with suspended coal sacks."²⁶ Filipovic notes that this installation was unlike any other exhibition that had preceded it and bore no resemblance to any of the Surrealists' previous exhibitions, which were relatively sober and staid.

The invitations to the opening on January 17, 1938 were illustrated with a black and white photograph showing a street scene in which a group of men are walking with a monster-like figure, which according to the caption underneath is the "authentic descendant of Frankenstein" (Figure 5.1). The invitation hints at some of Duchamp's more unusual curatorial choices including the "*ciel de rousettes*" (sky of skunks); the "*taxi pluvieux*" (rainy taxi); and "*les plus belles rue de Paris*" (the most beautiful streets of Paris), likely

²³ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 18-19.

²⁴ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 28-29. Breton and Eluard wrote a publication related to the exhibition that listed the artists and some of the works as well as quotes from literary Surrealism called *Dictionnaire abrégé*.

²⁵ Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, 191.

²⁶ Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp*, 96-97.

referring to the corridor of mannequins. Although the invitation warns of apparitions, hysteria, and manic acts, invited guests were expected to be attired in evening dress (“*Tenue de soirée*”), meaning cocktail dresses or dark suits with evening slippers. The invitations do not mention Duchamp’s involvement, but are consistent with his acute attention to language and typography, and his delight in provocation and subversion.

As the invitations note, André Breton opened the exhibit at ten p.m., but those that arrived fashionably late, at eleven p.m. or later, were held back behind a line of police since the gallery was already filled to capacity. The owner of the shop next door, decorator Jean Michel Frank who owned Dalí’s sofa in the shape of red lips, opened his doors and entertained some of the late arrivals, while Dalí ran up and down the lines that formed outside the gallery “explaining to his friends that they must come back in an hour when the crowds could thin out.”²⁷ Although Duchamp was seen at the venue just prior to the opening,²⁸ he did not attend the event; he explained later in a tongue-in-cheek manner that he did not attend that evening because “I have a horror of openings.”²⁹ In attendance that evening were: artists, photographers and poets including Joseph Breitenbach, Georges Hugnet, Man Ray, Paul Eluard, Léo Malet, Edward James, and Salvador Dalí; fashion designers Elsa Schiaparelli and Christian Bérard; socialites including Bettina Bergery, Madame Jean (Lilia) Ralli, Mrs. John Wilson (Nathalie Paley); and critics including Paul Fraysse, Raymond Lecuyer and Bettina Wilson.

²⁷ Wilson, “Surrealism in Paris,” 144.

²⁸ According to Tomkins, the artist Marcel Jean reported seeing Duchamp “in the main gallery shortly before the opening.” See Tomkins, *Marcel Duchamp*, 309.

²⁹ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 82.

In his role as exhibition designer, Duchamp initiated ideas and orchestrated the scenography for the surrealists. Although he acknowledged that he “was part of a team,” he explained to Cabanne that he “gave advice” and that the Surrealists “had a lot of confidence in the ideas I could bring to them.”³⁰ Duchamp’s independence and neutrality were clearly qualities that appealed to this group, but his motivation for taking on this curatorial role are unclear; when later questioned in an interview by Cabanne, he said little, other than “it was very amusing.”³¹ Nonetheless, his articulation of ideas in his exhibition design signal a desire to engage and provoke the visitor from the moment they stepped into the courtyard in front of the gallery. Visitors first encountered Salvador Dalí’s ivy-covered *Rainy Taxi* (1938) with its shark-jawed driver in the front-seat and a snail encrusted blonde mannequin as back-seat passenger. Inspired by his “experience of waiting for a taxi during a downpour in Milan,”³² Dalí had designed the installation to spout water that drained into the courtyard creating what Duchamp referred to as “Dalí’s pond.”³³ This stream of water filled the courtyard, “soaking the guests’ evening slippers,”³⁴ setting the stage for further assaults on their wardrobe and senses.

Once inside, visitors entered a long, narrow corridor lined with sixteen mannequins,³⁵ each dressed by a different artist. Duchamp vetted who was invited to

³⁰ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 81.

³¹ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 81. Duchamp’s playful response is notably apolitical in light of the events that would unfold as a result of the Nazi’s growing power and ultimate occupation of France in the 1940.

³² Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 34.

³³ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 81.

³⁴ Wilson, “Surrealism in Paris,” 144.

³⁵ In this chapter, the word *mannequin* refers to an inanimate model of a human figure used for the display of garments, typically in a retail environment. However, from the turn of the twentieth century, the word *mannequin* can also be used to describe a living person who

participate and indicated that “each of us had his own mannequin.”³⁶ The mannequins (listed here in order of presentation) were dressed by: Jean Arp, Yves Tanguy, Sonia Mossé, Marcel Duchamp, André Masson, Kurt Seligmann, Max Ernst, Miró, Augustin Espinoza, Wolfgang Paalen, Salvador Dalí, Maurice Henry, Man Ray, Josef Breitenbach, Léo Malet, and Marcel Jean.³⁷ The mannequins had been borrowed from one of the department stores on the Grands Magasin for the duration of the show, and Duchamp’s curatorial vision for the display included a sign giving credit to “Mannequins PLEM,” creating a highly visible link to commerce in the exhibit.³⁸ Although the mannequins were later dismantled and returned, photographs by Josef Breitenbach, Raoul Ubac, and Man Ray record their dressed figures during the installation (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3). The mannequins have slender white bodies, with small busts and long legs, softly curled mid-length hair, pencil-like eyebrows, and curled eyelashes – representing the fashionable ideals of the late 1930s, and the Surrealists were “rather choosy about the mannequins they borrowed” having rejected ones that were considered “too maladroit and unlikelike.”³⁹ This comment highlights the group’s objectification of woman as a medium for artistic expression, and their final choices of readymade women are slim simulacra of the female form with a range of facial expressions, hair colours, and hairstyles. By this time, the

was employed in the modeling of clothing, but I do not use it in that manner here. In distinguishing between the two, it is helpful to note that the word *manikin* was first used to describe an artist’s lay figure, usually made of wax or wood. See Alison Matthews David, “Body Doubles: The Origins of the Fashion Mannequin.” *Fashion Studies* 1, no. 1, 2018, 1-46.

³⁶ Marcel Duchamp qtd. by Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 65.

³⁷ See Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 43-62.

³⁸ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 44.

³⁹ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 41.

Surrealists had been using mannequins for a relatively long period in the years since André Breton's citation of "the modern mannequin" as a manifestation of the "marvelous" in his 1924 *Manifesto of Surrealism*.⁴⁰

According to Man Ray, "we each out did one another with bird cages, roosters' heads, etc. for headgear; veils, cotton wadding and kitchen utensils for clothes; I left mine nude with glass tears on the face and glass soap-bubbles on the hair."⁴¹ Georges Hugnet later recounted the loving attention given by the artists to dressing their mannequins: "The Surrealist artists all felt they had the soul of Pygmalion. One could see the happy owners of mannequins [...] come in, furnished with mysterious little or big bundles, token for their beloved, containing the most unlikely presents."⁴² Hugnet's remark indicates that the artists imbued these inanimate mannequins with human qualities, fashioning them with great care. Only two of the artists dressed their mannequins in clothing or fabric: Seligmann covered his mannequin from head to toe in a nun-like swath of white fabric, with only her hands and face left exposed, while Duchamp's *Rose Sélavy* was partially dressed, her legs and pubic area left bare (Figure 5.2). The other mannequins were fashioned (or violated) with all manner of objects that included a birdcage, a black bag, a dagger, wire, mushrooms, and beetles.⁴³ Behind each mannequin were blue enamel street signs with the names of real and imagined streets in the city of Paris. In one of the few detailed accounts related to these

⁴⁰ André Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 16.

⁴¹ Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, 191.

⁴² Georges Hugnet qtd. in Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 39-41. Ellipsis in Kachur.

⁴³ Man Ray's photographs of the mannequins in the exhibition can be seen at <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/33171/man-ray-resurrection-des-mannequins-american-1966/>

mannequins, André Masson (1896-1987), whose work the Nazis would later deem “degenerate,” indicated he was “proud to have rue Vivienne,” meaning “alive,” which he considered “a capital of Surrealist myth;”⁴⁴ and this narrative indicates that Duchamp had a hand in assigning the street names.⁴⁵ Duchamp is also given credit for installing the wiring that ran “along the floor for the length of the hall,”⁴⁶ which illuminated some of the mannequins, including his own as well as those by Dalí, Ernst, Mossé, and Tanguy. The use of wiring would have required Duchamp to give thought and planning as to the layout of mannequins.

Bettina Wilson, the reviewer for *Vogue*, commented on only two of the mannequins that seemed relatively innocuous in appearance in comparison to some of the others on display and her comments foreground the role of fashion in this display. About one of the mannequins that was dressed by Sonia Mossé (1897-1942),⁴⁷ Wilson wrote: “One dummy had a chalk white body with water-lilies here and there, a green beetle on her mouth, and tiny green lobsters on her body – the whole veiled in green tulle.”⁴⁸ Mossé’s ornamentation of the mannequin body with water-lilies and her use of green tulle – a semi-transparent material of fine netting used to give soft volume to evening dresses and ballet costumes – enveloped the mannequin’s body in a colourful fluffy cloud, obscuring and softening the effect of the green lobsters and green beetles underneath. Wilson also described Dalí’s

⁴⁴ André Masson quoted by Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 51.

⁴⁵ Other street names included “Passage des Panoramas” for Dalí, “Porte de Lilas” for Tanguy, “Rue Nicolas-Flamel” for Espinoza. See Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 51.

⁴⁶ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 48.

⁴⁷ Kachur indicates that little is known about Mossé, who had no other works in the show. See Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 45-46. In the footnotes, he reveals that Mossé died in a Nazi concentration camp in Poland.

⁴⁸ Wilson, “Surrealism in Paris,” 144.

mannequin, which “had Schiaparelli’s shocking pink knitted helmet on her head as well as a penguin on top, a broken egg on her chest, and tiny coffee-spoons all over.”⁴⁹ The knitted helmet covered Dalí’s mannequin’s face in its entirety leaving only two slits of the eyes and a small opening for the mouth (Figure 5.3). The menacing appearance of this mannequin in black and white photos was undoubtedly neutralized when seen in person, since the helmet was executed in Schiaparelli’s signature colour – a vibrant tone of pink called fuchsia. Only the year before, Schiaparelli and Dalí had collaborated on the design of *Lobster Dress* (1937) and the *Tear Dress* (1937). Wilson’s selections focus on the mannequins that might have had the greatest visual appeal to the readers of *Vogue*, especially those familiar with the collaboration of Schiaparelli and Dalí.

Dalí was also commissioned to create a variant of his mannequin for a shop window notably on the same street. In a photograph of the shop window version, the mannequin’s face is left uncovered and she is dressed in a softly draped long beaded cape that extends from her shoulders and that pools on the floor (Figure 5.4). She holds an oversized flower in one hand, her naked body is ornamented with small coffee spoons like Dalí’s art gallery mannequin, and her feet are clad in men’s shoes like Duchamp’s, linking this window display to the gallery display. This extension of the display space of the art gallery into the department store highlights the significance of context in defining the object as art but also implicates them both as sites of spectacle. This type of display was soon after echoed in the New York store windows of Bonwit Teller at Sixth Avenue and 18th Street. A March 1938 article in *Vogue* (New York) called “Surrealism in New York shops” takes notice of the

⁴⁹ Wilson, “Surrealism in Paris,” 144.

slippage between art gallery and shop window with the observation that the influence of the Paris exhibition has spread to New York with the comment that: “Current art forms creep into American shop-windows almost as soon as they do in the galleries.”⁵⁰

Duchamp’s mannequin did not receive much notice, which is perhaps not surprising given that her body was not caged, encrusted or otherwise violated. According to Man Ray, “Duchamp simply took off his coat and hat, putting it on the figure as if it were a coat rack” making it “the least conspicuous of the mannequins, but most significant of his desire not to attract too much attention.”⁵¹ Duchamp admitted to Cabanne that he had indeed used his own clothes in dressing the mannequin, whom he identified as “Rose Sélavy herself.”⁵² She thus appeared in a public exhibition for the first time cross-dressed as a man in a shirt and tie, waistcoat, jacket, hat, and Oxford brogues, and with her gender revealed by her feminine facial features, curly blonde hair, exposed pubic area and her slender legs (Figure 5.2). Her breast pocket contained a small lightbulb which one reviewer described “*comme une blague*” (like a joke).⁵³ Kachur observes that Duchamp’s mannequin “has not been regarded as one of his important works and is sparsely commented on,” but reads it as a complex gesture that extends Duchamp’s use of his alter ego to sign his artworks, foreshadows the nude mannequin in *Étants donnés*, as well as raising the issue of gender in an exhibition that included few women artists.⁵⁴ Kachur’s reading aligns with my analysis of Duchamp’s motivations for cross-dressing discussed in chapter 3. I also extend his

⁵⁰ “Surrealism in New York shops,” *Vogue*, March 1, 1938, 108-109. This is same issue in which Bettina Wilson’s account of the Paris exhibition appeared.

⁵¹ Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, 191.

⁵² Marcel Duchamp qtd. by Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 65.

⁵³ Guetta qtd. by Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 48.

⁵⁴ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 47.

analysis to interpret Duchamp's mannequin as a harbinger for his waistcoat series, offering us insight into how these readymades might be worn in an erotic encounter. With Duchamp dressing her in a fairly conventional manner in comparison to the other mannequins, she stands apart, like Duchamp himself, as a quiet referee or voyeur on this scene of female mutilation.⁵⁵

This long corridor of mannequins, each positioned about two metres apart, was the only way a visitor to the gallery could reach the main part of the display. Even though the mannequins were situated close to the walls, this relatively narrow passage would have quickly become crowded with people. Not only would bodies be pressed against bodies in such a tight space, but the spectators were also confronted with mostly naked female mannequins violated by daggers and spindles, bound by wire and rope, or constrained by cages. The mannequins' various states of undress and mutilation was consonant with the Surrealist fetishization of the female body. This corridor of mannequins casts the spectator among sixteen streetwalkers since the street signs indicate that the women have been "metaphorically put out to hustle the pavements;"⁵⁶ alternatively, the spectator might feel like an unwilling voyeur to the mutilation of female bodies and feel the affects of distress in their own bodies.

⁵⁵ Duchamp would also return to the mannequin as a vehicle of artistic expression in his shop window installation *Lazy Hardware* for Gotham Book Mart in New York in 1945, as well as in his final work *Etant donnés: 1 La chute d'eau, 2 Le gaz d'éclairage* (*Given: 1 The Waterfall, 2 The Illuminating Gas*) (1946-66). In each case, Duchamp left the female mannequins' pubic area bare, exposing her hairless flesh. Duchamp was known for his dislike of any body hair as was discussed in chapter 2.

⁵⁶ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 40-41.

From the corridor, visitors used a revolving door hung with drawings and objects to enter the next gallery that Duchamp had fashioned into what he later described as a “central grotto.”⁵⁷ This large room contained four large beds, complete with pillows and bedding, positioned in the corners, metaphorically linking the space to the previous corridor of mannequins. Most notably, this space contained Duchamp’s installation design of “twelve hundred coal sacks hung over a coal grate.”⁵⁸ Duchamp wryly recalled that the insurance companies initially did not approve of this set up since the grate was electric, but Duchamp said “We did it anyway, and then they accepted it.”⁵⁹ This comment not only indicates Duchamp’s evident delight in subversion but also indicates that this curatorial gesture was carefully planned (and vetted) in advance.

This infamous room of coal sacks, called *Dante’s Inferno*, was dark with the only source of light coming from an electrified street brazier in the centre and from the flashlights handed out to the visitors for opening night. Photographs of the installation show a dark oppressive room like a grotto or subterranean space with dirty coal sacks hanging from the ceiling and ferns and leaves scattered on the floor.⁶⁰ Duchamp also added another “amusing detail, the smell of coffee,” which he achieved with an “electric plate on which coffee beans were roasting” that gave the “whole room a marvellous smell.”⁶¹ There was a soundtrack “consisting of hysterical laughter recorded at a psychiatric asylum and the lockstep of a German army procession.”⁶² Hélène Vanel, a dancer known by Dalí, was

⁵⁷ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 81.

⁵⁸ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 81.

⁵⁹ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 81.

⁶⁰ See installation photographs in Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 69-71.

⁶¹ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 82.

⁶² Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp*, 101.

dressed in a torn chemise and presented her “*acte manqué*” around midnight, leaping onto the beds and splashing in the water, muddying “the fancy evening clothes of her surrounding audience.”⁶³ It was this room that displayed the art, including: found objects, furniture, readymades, paintings, and sculptures by artists such as Giorgio de Chirico, Max Ernst, André Breton, Jean Arp and others. Bettina Wilson described this room thus:

The ceiling was hung with sacks of coal that just missed your head. There were hundreds of people, and no air. In one place was a muddy pool with ferns growing around the edge, and in the pool a woman was dancing, with a hammer in one hand and a plume in the other. Near-by an old-fashioned phonograph with a horn was running at full speed – but no sound came out. A hand was suspended over the disc, casting lovely moving shadows as the disc revolved, and a pair of legs extended from the horn.⁶⁴

In this dark room, Duchamp created a sensory encounter that privileged smell (from the roasting coffee beans), touch (from the coal dust dropping from the ceiling), and hearing (from the soundtrack) rather than sight, thus subverting the norms of exhibition display. In his account of the exhibition in his interview with Cabanne, Duchamp emphasizes that vision was not a priority when he said: “The coal grate, out in the middle, gave the only light. Man Ray had the idea of giving each visitor a flashlight, in case he wanted to see something.”⁶⁵ The use of the phrase “in case he wanted to see something” gives emphasis to the fact that seeing the artworks was not the primary objective. Instead Duchamp wanted visitors to feel something and with this exhibition design, he orchestrated an immersive and affective experience.

⁶³ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 87-88.

⁶⁴ Wilson, “Surrealism in Paris,” 144.

⁶⁵ Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 81. Ellipsis added.

Adjacent to the main room, there were two smaller rooms designed by Georges Hugnet with a young girl's pantalettes or bloomers, ca. 1830 that hung from the ceiling. This room attracted much "less photographic and critical attention."⁶⁶ For *Vogue* reviewer Bettina Wilson, this room was a highlight: "filled with Surrealist objects at their finest" including "a wheelbarrow lined in quilted satin; two hands and arms in a bird-cage; a pair of Victorian pantaloons on the ceiling; a fur umbrella – and André Breton's really beautiful exhibit – an antique Spanish chest standing on women's legs."⁶⁷ Undoubtedly these art works became highlights for Wilson since the textiles used in creating objects, especially the satin-lined wheelbarrow and fur umbrella, were readily understood by her audience of readers in *Vogue*.

After reading about and studying the photos of this exhibition on opening night, I envision a dark and claustrophobic space, crowded with people, cold and tired from waiting outside in line on a winter night, their feet wet from stepping into the rivers of water emitting from Dalí's taxi in the courtyard, and their evening dresses both dirty from the traces of coal dust dropping from the ceiling and wet from the dancer's vigorous splashing in the water. No doubt some were disturbed by the strange violations of the mannequins' bodies, and the hysterical laughing on the soundtrack. Some may have felt frustrated by their inability to see the art on the walls. Given that the viewer is able to muster up these sensations from the textual accounts, it comes as no surprise that there were many negative reviews of this exhibition, including critic Raymond Lecuyer who complained that: "the display apparatus that (in the shadows) accompanies the presentation of several canvases

⁶⁶ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 75.

⁶⁷ Wilson, "Surrealism in Paris," 144.

and panels is so voluminous and so provocative that painting plays no more than the vague role of accessory.”⁶⁸ Raymond Cogniat, director of Galerie des Beaux-Arts, reacted to the criticisms by defending the exhibition design when he said that “the work of art, without being an accessory element [...] nonetheless counts only as a function of the ensemble: it participates in a totality.”⁶⁹ Cogniat acknowledges here the impact of the context on the reading of the work, adroitly sidestepping the scandal witnessed “by le tout Paris.”⁷⁰

In summarizing her experience of the exhibition for *Vogue*, Bettina Wilson likened it to a bad dream where nothing quite makes sense citing a general feeling of: “Unrest, claustrophobia, a feeling of some terrible disaster hung over the rooms” and dismissing it as “boring, démodé, and false.”⁷¹ Art critics similarly remarked on the dream-like quality of the exhibit, including Paul Fraysse of *Le Figaro littéraire*: “the exhibition that had just opened [...] bears witness [...] to the margins of the poetic work, which itself is not exhibited, certain objects we perceive that have just been released in dreams. These consist, in my opinion, of accessories.”⁷² The allusions to dreams and the affects cited – claustrophobia and disorientation – probably delighted both Duchamp and the organizers since the Surrealists viewed dreams as a source of creative energy.

This exhibition was Duchamp’s subversive challenge to the idea that an exhibition merely displayed art objects in a manner that provided an aesthetic or educational

⁶⁸ Raymond Lecuyer qtd. in Adam Jolles, *The Curatorial Avant-Garde 1925-1941: Surrealism and Exhibition Practice in France* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 177. Ellipsis in Jolles.

⁶⁹ Raymond Cogniat qtd. in Jolles, *The Curatorial Avant-Garde 1925-1941*, 170.

⁷⁰ Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 309.

⁷¹ Wilson, “Surrealism in Paris,” 144.

⁷² Fraysse qtd. in Jolles, *The Curatorial Avant-Garde 1925-1941*, 177. Ellipsis in Jolles.

experience of art. Instead viewers were presented with an immersive sensory encounter that subjected their bodies to discomfort from the water in the courtyard, the sight of strange, mutilated female bodies, the dust dropping from the ceiling, the head-splitting soundtrack, and the tight spaces where bodies rubbed up against each other. The body of the spectator was foregrounded here, rather than the art, such that this exhibition design fits within Duchamp's body-aware sensibility and art practice, but also contrasts with his professed claim to indifference. By harnessing his imagination and embracing "anything that could bring out the meaning of two incompatible elements,"⁷³ Duchamp designed an exhibition that forced an emotive response from the spectator, even if it was boredom or distress. In this way, Duchamp was prescient in experimenting with what is now called the curatorial – which Jean-Paul Martinon describes as "a jailbreak from pre-existing frames" as well as "a sensual practice of creating signification."⁷⁴ In the curatorial, Martinon goes on to explain, attention is given to how the bodies move through the exhibition space, but more importantly, the curatorial frames the exhibition as a disrupter of generally accepted bodies of knowledge, including "what we understand by art, art history, philosophy" and also "cultural heritage."⁷⁵ Duchamp did not call himself a curator, nor did he articulate his exhibition philosophy, but in the 1938 exhibition and again in 1942, this iconoclast presented something that had never been seen before.

⁷³ Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 308.

⁷⁴ Jean-Paul Martinon, "Introduction," *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating*, ed. Jean-Paul Martinon (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 4.

⁷⁵ Jean-Paul Martinon, "Theses in the Philosophy of Curating," *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating*, ed. Jean-Paul Martinon (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 26.

* * *

The many negative reviews did not prevent the Surrealists from asking Duchamp to act as exhibition designer again for their 1942 exhibition entitled *First Papers of Surrealism* (October 14 – November 7, 1942), which took place in the midst of World War II, overlapping the German occupation of France. As a fundraiser for the Coordinating Council of the French Relief Society in New York, it was meant to help generate funds for food for French prisoners of war. Like the 1938 exhibition, this exhibit also has links to fashion. The main sponsor was fashion designer Elsa Schiaparelli, with Peggy Guggenheim, and other patrons including collectors of Duchamp's work Walter and Louise Arensberg as well as Katherine Dreier also acting as patrons.⁷⁶

In her memoirs, Elsa Schiaparelli recalls that she approached Duchamp to organize an exhibition that would be “completely modern and *d'avant garde*” suggesting that she was not looking for a reprisal of the 1938 installation, but something altogether new.⁷⁷ This time Duchamp radically transformed the gallery space in the Whitelaw Reid mansion with “sixteen miles” of ordinary white string that inscribed the gallery space with larger significance. Duchamp spun his version of a spider's web through the mansion housing the show, winding the string from chandeliers and mantels and pillars in crisscrossing skeins that obscured the artwork on display. Edward Allan Jewell, art critic for *The New York Times*, called Duchamp's installation “weird and devious” in that it “forever gets between you and the assembled art, and in so doing creates the most paradoxically clarifying barrier

⁷⁶ Kachur, *Displaying the Marvellous*, 172.

⁷⁷ Elsa Schiaparelli, *Shocking Life: The Autobiography of Elsa Schiaparelli* (London: V&A Publications, 2007), 135.

imaginable.”⁷⁸ He noted that Duchamp’s “ingenious investiture” shrouded the installation with the “irrational” and thus served to “make imperative the effort to determine just what surrealism really is” – an effort that he then undertakes in his lengthy review.⁷⁹ Like the 1938 exhibition of surrealist art, Duchamp’s installation design not only impacted the spectator’s ability to see the art but also affected their bodies in terms of how they were able to move through the space. In each case, movement through the exhibition space was orchestrated by Duchamp – limiting access to the works of art through artificial barriers of one type or another. In the 1942 exhibition, the string created a labyrinth structure, confounding and disorienting the viewer from freely moving through space and seeing the artworks, possibly a metaphor also for what life in occupied France had become.⁸⁰ This design required the spectators to become active participants in the experience; spectators were not only to look passively at the art but had to navigate their bodies in specific ways to see the work.

The links to fashion outside of Schiaparelli’s sponsorship are less provocative in this exhibition since there were no mannequins and the opening was not covered in *Vogue* or other fashion magazines. However, it is significant to my argument that it was at the opening for this exhibition that Duchamp came to the attention of *Vogue*’s art director Alexander Liberman which led to Duchamp’s work appearing on the cover of *Vogue* in

⁷⁸ Edward Alden Jewell, “Inner Visions and Out of Bounds: Sidelights and Afterthoughts on the Rise of the Surrealist School and its Limitations – Other New Exhibitions,” *New York Times*, October 18, 1942, X9.

⁷⁹ Jewell, “Inner Visions and Out of Bounds,” X9.

⁸⁰ In Tomkin’s biography of the artist, he describes at length the difficulties Duchamp faced in his efforts to leave occupied France during World War II; he finally boarded a steamship bound for New York on June 7, 1942, describing his thirteenth crossing of the Atlantic as “the best trip of all.” Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 324.

July 1945 as was discussed in the introduction. Even though Duchamp did not attend the opening, Liberman “was so impressed by Duchamp’s legendary status – and by his maze of string at the “First Paper’s exhibition” – that he [later] invited Duchamp to provide ideas for the cover of the “Americana” issue of *Vogue* whose publication date would be “February 15, 1943.”⁸¹ Tomkins writes that Duchamp willingly undertook the commission and submitted his collage portrait of George Washington to Liberman several weeks later. In this work American President George Washington is represented in profile in stained bandage gauze, pinned down by thirteen gold-headed stars (Figure 5.5).⁸² When the collage is turned on its side, the portrait’s outline is transformed into a map of the United States, but according to Tomkins, “Vogue’s editors never noticed that – they were too upset by the stained gauze, which to some of them suggested used sanitary napkins.”⁸³ Tomkins suggests that Duchamp was anxious about his submission – at least enough “after some time had gone by with no response from Liberman, Duchamp finally telephoned him, and Liberman, greatly embarrassed, explained the work was not for *Vogue*” but that he would receive \$50 for “expenses.”⁸⁴ Tomkins speculates that Duchamp’s submission was “a

⁸¹ Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 336. Tomkins identifies the issue as being intended for publication on February 15, 1943 when in fact, the Americana issue was published on February 1, 1943 (indicating that he did not confirm the date of actual publication in writing his account). The cover of the February 15, 1943 issue of *Vogue* instead features a model wearing “a spring suit for nimble needles to make” from *Vogue* Suit pattern 9609.

⁸² Duchamp did not discuss his reasons for his unusual choice of materials for this project; however, in 1943, America had been involved in World War II for two years, and the bandages may have been intended as an allusion to the bloodshed of the war.

⁸³ Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 336.

⁸⁴ Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 337. I find Tomkins’ account of the story somewhat incongruous with Duchamp’s professed indifference to selling his work. Suggesting that Duchamp was “anxious” about a submission seems curiously out of character and Tomkins offers no evidence to support this statement. In Duchamp’s account of the incident in his interview with Cabanne, he says: “they refused my project. They sent me forty dollars for my trouble

sulfurous comment on the always-incipient marriage of art and fashion in *Vogue*'s glossy pages,"⁸⁵ but Tomkins ignores (or did not know) that Duchamp allowed his work to appear on the cover of *Vogue* in July 1945 (Figure 0.1). Viewed in retrospect, this *Vogue* cover with Duchamp's masterwork *The Large Glass (Le Grand Verre)* positioned in relation to a fashion, marks a moment in which Duchamp publicly acknowledges the fertile relationship between art and fashion, and it might also be read as a portent of his first waistcoat readymade in 1957.

In both exhibition designs, Duchamp carefully orchestrated the experience of the spectator, denying them a conventional viewing of art in immersive encounters that engaged multiple senses and required active participation. The labyrinth-like exhibition designs encompassed the entire structures and denied visitors the ability to move freely through the space and easily see the artwork. Designed in a lighthearted spirit of playfulness to disorient and confound,⁸⁶ Duchamp anticipated the spectators' willingness to embrace ambiguity, an aspect of exhibition design that is relevant in the case study considered later in this chapter.

In considering these two exhibition designs by Duchamp that obscured and obliterated the art from the view of the spectator, transforming it into mere backdrops to his aesthetic vision, O'Doherty asks the obvious question: "Why did the other artists stand for

and it never appeared. André Breton bought it for three hundred dollars." See Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Duchamp*, 85.

⁸⁵ Tomkins, *Duchamp*, 337.

⁸⁶ In his interview with Tomkins, Duchamp recounted that his design for these exhibitions was "done with a spirit of real playfulness." See Calvin Tomkins, *Marcel Duchamp: The Afternoon Interviews* (Brooklyn, Badlands Unlimited, 2013), 37.

it not once but twice?”⁸⁷ O’Doherty reads Duchamp’s interference with the expectations of the artists and the spectators as part of his light-hearted feint of neutrality in that he “keeps the spectator, whose presence is always voluntary, hung up on his own etiquette, thus preventing him/her from disapproving of his/her own harassment – a source of further annoyance.”⁸⁸ He further explicates these types of hostile gestures that aggravate and annoy the audience as “one of the key coordinates of modernism” and it is through this hostility ritual that there has been “an ideological conflict about values – of art, of the lifestyles that surround it, of the social matrix in which both are set.”⁸⁹

O’Doherty does not read fashion into this ideological conflict but I would locate the nexus of the debate about whether fashion belongs in the art museum here. To understand contemporary art or curatorial gestures that have the potential to disturb or disorient, spectators have to be able to contextualize the work or be willing to embrace ambiguity. If viewers lack the knowledge, access or desire to unlock such modernist gestures that obscure or complicate the act of viewing, the work may be ignored, denigrated or dismissed with expressions of resentment or hostility.⁹⁰ The viewer might prefer a pleasurable experience that demands little in the way of engagement rather than submit to discomfort or confusion as to how art is defined or what message is intended. This may be the reason why exhibitions of fashion in the museum are so popular.⁹¹ And this is likely why critics like

⁸⁷ O’Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*, 71.

⁸⁸ O’Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*, 73.

⁸⁹ O’Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*, 73.

⁹⁰ To illustrate my point, I note that exhibitions of the Impressionists are among the most popular draws into art museums, since these works are relatively easy to look at and understand.

⁹¹ This observation is something that Harold Koda, former Costume Institute curator at the Met, discussed with me in an interview published in *Fashion Projects* in 2011. He

David Carrier have argued that few exhibitions of fashion challenge the spectator to create meaning.⁹² And yet, as the next section illustrates, Duchamp's legacy resonates within fashion curatorial practice in the twenty-first century, notably in a remarkable exhibition of fashion and art that took place at the storage facility of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, England in 2010 that metaphorically co-opted Duchampian booby traps to disorient the spectator.

Duchampian Resonances in *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*

The exhibition *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* (28 April – 9 June 2010) invites comparison to Duchamp's exhibition designs for the surrealists in that this provocative site-specific installation included art objects and garments staged in a manner that was disorienting and discomforting for the visitor. For this commissioned Artangel project, architect and exhibition maker Judith Clark inserted clothing, accessories, cast objects, and photographs in surreal and evocative tableaux within the confines of the Blythe House, a storage facility of Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Clark said she wanted the visitor to “acknowledge intervention as part of interpretation”⁹³ and the result was a highly

maintained that audiences often found exhibitions of fashion and dress to be more relevant to their lives than exhibitions of painting or sculpture, and this manifested in the attendance numbers for the Costume Institute being among the highest of any department in the institution. See <https://www.fashionprojects.org/blog/3062>

⁹² David Carrier, “The Divergence of Art and Fashion at the Metropolitan Museum,” in *Hyperallergic*, July 14, 2018, accessed August 15, 2018.

<https://hyperallergic.com/450868/heavenly-bodies-fashion-and-the-catholic-imagination-at-the-metropolitan-museum-of-art/>

⁹³ Judith Clark, “A Series of Questions Posed Anonymously to Judith Clark,” in *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* (London: Violette Editions in association with Artangel, 2010), 113.

unusual exhibition where viewers encountered disorientation and ambiguity, making it an exhibition worthy of analysis through a Duchampian exhibition design lens. Although I am discussing an exhibition that I saw a number of years ago, the memories of this experience are burned into my memory as a pivotal moment in which I came to view fashion as an artistic medium for the expression of provocative ideas about the body, gender, identity, and began my exploration of the relationship between fashion and art. In this part, I interrogate this exhibition and its manner of presentation as well as the exhibition reviews that have been published since.

Like the 1938 and 1942 Surrealist exhibitions, *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* deployed the Duchampian technique of embracing the entire building and asserting a discrete separation from everyday life. In 2010, Blythe House was the home of the reserve collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum, and as such represented an extension of the museum. This imposing structure, built in the Edwardian Baroque style in 1899-1903, was the former home of the headquarters for the Post Office Savings Bank. Because access was tightly controlled in this locked-down facility, tickets had to be purchased online and could not be purchased on site. Attending the exhibition required advance planning, and entry through the security gate required production of the printed ticket as well as photo identification. After walking through a large windswept courtyard, visitors entered a holding area where bodies were stripped of all personal belongings, leaving behind coats, bags, purses and umbrellas in locked cabinets. Groups of seven visitors were admitted at twenty-minute intervals and accompanied through the exhibition by a docent who brandished large rings of keys through the labyrinth of dimly lit corridors along with periodic reminders not to talk inside this working facility.

This protocol for entry established a distinct demarcation from the everyday, and Carol Duncan notes that such rituals serve to facilitate the transition to a liminal space as well as sensitize viewers to the experience such that the museum visit has the potential to become a type of transformative experience with a purpose.⁹⁴ Normally, when visitors enter a museum like the Victoria & Albert Museum (or its proxy in Blythe House), they anticipate encountering a neat ordering of objects and time, giving the illusion that these objects can be deciphered in a systematic and orderly way. Foucault describes museums as heterotopias of modernity in that they represent the idea of:

... accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place...⁹⁵

In using the word dictionary in the title and in staging the exhibition in the heterotopia of the storage facility to the Victoria & Albert Museum, there was an anticipation that the experience would be staid and conventional. As I soon discovered, this experience would be unlike any other museum encounter I had before or have had since and produced affects of disorientation that I equate to Duchamp's exhibition designs for the surrealists.

At each installation, the docent produced a white card with a single word printed on it in large type including: *armoured, comfortable, conformist, creased, essential, fashionable, loose, measured, plain, pretentious, tight*.⁹⁶ Each word was associated with a

⁹⁴ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), 13.

⁹⁵ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," trans. Jay Miskowiec. *Architecture/Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité* (October 1984), 7.

⁹⁶ These words were chosen by Adam Phillips, Judith Clark's collaborator and husband. Phillips is a psychoanalyst and worked with her on this project. Although he had a

related installation of objects and artworks situated in various locations around the facility, but the references were at times obtuse and seemingly random. No other text, labeling or information was provided about the objects on display. The docents did not answer questions inside the exhibition and talking was not permitted such that interpretation of the eleven objects became a silent and personal conversation with one's self.

For example, the presentation for *CONFORMIST* consisted of a calico/muslin dress that had been embroidered using a William Morris design for wallpaper called *Windrush*. Designed and commissioned by Clark, the embellishment on the dress was drawn by hand in pencil, painted and worked in coloured stranded silk thread and a variety of metal threads and spangles by Rosie Taylor-Davies. This dress was given shape on a headless mannequin and displayed on the shelf of a storage unit with the embroidery design extending into the backdrop and enveloping the headless figure in the space (Figure 5.6). The definition of *CONFORMIST* was not on display, but was articulated in the exhibition catalogue as:

- 1 a state of essential simplification; safe in numbers
- 2 recipient of an un-noticed demand, complicit; choosing not to choose; compliant, and therefore enraged; unwitting double agent
- 3 blended into a selected background
- 4 committed to difference, and by it; horrified by the idiosyncrasy of desire; uniformly agreeable
- 5 accurate, diligent; wired for surprise. Mourning variety (Phillips 2010: 42).

The notion of conformity within this tableau was multi-layered. I did not initially read this piece in terms of its associations to William Morris and his legacy in relationship to the

significant role in the text that accompanies this exhibition, both in terms of selecting the words used to describe fashion in the exhibition and in writing the exhibition catalogue, he did not act as curator or exhibition designer. Clark assigned the words to the objects.

museum as the press materials suggested.⁹⁷ My interpretation was more in line with the idea of the aesthetic conformity inherent in fashionable dress for women, particularly in the nineteenth century, which was consistent with the alternate interpretation as this tableau being about the dress as an aesthetic representation of taste. As the press materials revealed: “Here, taste and ideas about craftsmanship are stored in the dress itself – so a sketch for wallpaper is translated into a sketch for a dress (toile) and presented to *CONFORM* to Morris’s ideals of craftsmanship.”⁹⁸ For a viewer without knowledge of fashion history or the relationship between Morris and the museum, the interpretation was left open since there were no text panels to elucidate the display. The mannequin was both headless and accessorized with black gloves, suggesting a harbinger of death or violence and a subtle curatorial gesture that can be equated to the affects of witnessing the mutilation of the female mannequins in Duchamp’s 1938 exhibition design.

The word *PLAIN* was illustrated with four mounts dressed in distinctive silhouettes of contemporary gowns within the V&A dress collection and covered in Tyvek as if ready for the opening of an exhibition (Figure 5.7). Panels for display labels were mounted on the floor nearby and similarly covered in Tyvek. The accompanying text read *PLAIN*, which was defined in the exhibition catalogue to be: “1 Nothing special where nothing special intended. 2. Hiding to make room.”⁹⁹ In the exhibition catalogue, Clark confirms that her intention was to highlight the way space is fetishized in the storage facilities:

⁹⁷ Artangel Press Pack: “The Concise Dictionary of Dress: Words, Definitions, Installations and Their Meanings”, 2010, unpaginated.

⁹⁸ Artangel Press Pack: “The Concise Dictionary of Dress”, unpaginated.

⁹⁹ Adam Phillips, “Look it Up,” in *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*, ed. Judith Clark (London: Violette Editions in Association with Artangel, 2010), 80.

A hypothetical exhibition – having hypothetically been staged – is then stored as a set of iconic gowns (now made up of shapes standing in for iconic Balenciaga gowns owned by the V&A.) The exhibition is not dismembered. The spaces between the gowns have been stored in the same way as the gowns would be themselves, under white conservation-friendly Tyvek. The Tyvek creates therefore a holding pattern for an exhibition. The curator is gone but her intervention is recorded, not collapsed (as is the norm after an exhibition closes).¹⁰⁰

For me, this tableau confounded my preferred viewing practices. Covered in Tyvek, the shapes were visible, but the gowns were not. Like Duchamp's miles of string, or his 1200 coal sacks in a darkened gallery, which obscured the viewers' ability to see the art, I could not see the objects such that I was forced to confront my desires to look and instead invited to embrace ambiguity.

Another tableau called *TIGHT* required each visitor to peek through a narrow opening in a wooden crate. Inside was another headless mannequin wearing a brown two-piece dress ensemble from the late nineteenth century onto which a pornographic image of a naked woman was projected.¹⁰¹ This image of a woman bent over, peering between her legs, and ready for penetration was disturbing. As each person stepped forward to look through the hole in the crate, the viewer became acutely aware of their body in relation to the tightly confined space; and after looking and stepping back into the group, there was sense of discomfiture and awkwardness – perhaps like the feelings that some of the visitors to Duchamp's 1938 exhibition experienced when bumping into each other as they made their way through the naked and mutilated bodies in the narrow mannequin corridor. Like

¹⁰⁰ Clark, "A Series of Questions Posed Anonymously to Judith Clark," 115.

¹⁰¹ In the catalogue, one of the definitions for this tableau describes its meaning as "the intimate as threat and embrace; the line between torture and comfort." Adam Phillips, "Look it Up," 162.

Duchamp, Clark orchestrated an installation that harnessed the naked female form to force the viewer to confront the relationship between fashion and eroticism, but also conformity and resistance. In his interview with Cabanne, Duchamp noted that eroticism was “a way to try to bring in the daylight things that are constantly hidden [...] because of the social rules. To be able to reveal them, and to place them at everyone’s disposal – I think this is important because it’s the basis of everything, and no one talks about it.”¹⁰² Although Clark did not offer any explanation for this provocative installation, Duchamp’s thoughts on eroticism resonate here since pornographic images are rarely encountered in exhibitions of fashion in the museum.

In absence of labels that delineated a history, the object or explanation of what was being presented, the dialogue was internal, challenging the viewer to create connections between the words and the objects of fashion and create meaning for him or herself. I read this juxtaposition of fashionable garments, accessories and artworks in and amongst the objects in storage as a form of creative subversion of the normal codes of museum practice, and perhaps even a parody of the conventions of exhibition display that prioritize the presentation of didactic text. In some cases, the objects were difficult to see, in that they were obscured, such as *BRASH, FASHIONABLE, PLAIN*, bringing to mind Duchamp’s darkened rooms and miles of string. Others were displayed in tight or small spaces, such as *CREASED, MEASURED, TIGHT*, echoing Duchamp’s narrow corridor of mannequins and labyrinth-like exhibition plans. The effect was startling, giving awareness to one’s body in the space and also raising questions and provoking affective responses of surprise, delight,

¹⁰² Marcel Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 88. Ellipsis added.

distress, and sometimes antipathy. Over the course of the exhibition, I grew accustomed to this provocation and felt liberated by the freedom to make my own interpretation. For visitors without knowledge of museum protocols, for those that preferred didactic text, or who were expecting a conventional display of fashion, the result might have been a profound and destabilizing sense of ambiguity akin to a bad dream.

In viewing the exhibition, I recall feeling an initial sense of disorientation, perhaps like the feeling of unrest mentioned by Bettina Wilson in her account of the 1938 exhibition. Stripped of my belongings and walking in silence, I was led around like a child through Blythe House. This nineteenth century building is a maze of corridors, stairwells, and oddly shaped spaces; with the installations placed in various nooks around the building – from its rooftop to the coal bunker – the absence of sightlines and reference points made it impossible to know where we would be going or what we would see next. There was no obvious way to exit or escape from this labyrinth. The building was unheated and the damp chill added to the sense of vulnerability, particularly since I had been defrocked at the entrance. Some of the spaces were dimly lit, further adding to the feeling of liminality. The whole building was part of the experience – invoking the spatial qualities of the specific site into the experience – just as Duchamp did in his design for the Surrealist exhibitions of 1938 and 1942.

The last installation on the docent-led tour was in the coalbunker, where the resonances with Duchamp's 1938 exhibition design are perhaps most evident. In this installation, a silver evening gown with spike-like decorative frills by Janya Watanabe for *Commes des Garçons* rested on an oversize mattress inside the coalbunker. A Perspex dish hung above the dress to capture the drips of water that fell from the ceiling of the dirty

bunker (Figure 5.8). The word associated with this display was *creased*, which Clark suggested was “linked to the feared fixed folds in dress caused by the body’s heat, perspiration, and as the common site of deterioration and therefore of focus.”¹⁰³ This offered a provocative link to Duchamp’s curatorial gestures for the *International Exhibition of Surrealism* in 1938. The dirty coal dust and the mattress in the coalbunker recalled Duchamp’s room called *Dante’s Inferno* with its coal bags hanging from the ceiling with beds in the corners of the central gallery in the Galerie Beaux-Arts. And the dripping water from the coalbunker’s ceiling alluded to the water spilling out of Dalí’s taxi in the courtyard. For me, these Duchampian resonances were a source of intellectual delight.

For Julia Petrov, curator of western Canadian history at the Royal Alberta Museum and adjunct lecturer at the University of Alberta, this exhibition was highly unsettling. Petrov wrote an extended review of the exhibition and catalogue for the peer-reviewed scholarly journal *Fashion Theory*. Deeply thoughtful in her critique, Petrov’s comments highlight the discomfort felt by many fashion curators in the absence of didactics. She wrote: “Without the benefit of traditional didactics, some of which was available in the catalog, but not in the exhibition itself, it was impossible to divine anything more than the physical appearance of the objects on display.”¹⁰⁴ This preference for didactics is shared by many other fashion curators as evidenced by Lou Taylor’s scathing review of Judith Clark’s 2005 exhibition *Spectres: When Fashion Turns Back* at the Victoria & Albert Museum for the journal *The Art Book*. She wrote: “This show failed to convince me that

¹⁰³ Clark, “A Series of Questions Posed Anonymously to Judith Clark,” 119.

¹⁰⁴ Julia Petrov, “Exhibition and Catalog Review: *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*,” *Fashion Theory* 16 no.1 (2012): 111.

‘mind over matter’ is a valid approach to the display of fashion/dress. There were minimal textual explanations – as if text panels were the devil.”¹⁰⁵ Taylor’s words highlight one of the most polemical topics in the fashion curatorial community; and I note that the presence of didactic text is something not often commented on in art reviews, where open interpretation is anticipated and perhaps even preferred. The absence of didactics in this case signals that the curator Judith Clark, like Marcel Duchamp, anticipated a visitor who is willing to accept ambiguity and make meaning for themselves.

Petrov suggested that in her view the “end result of the exhibition and the catalog seemed arbitrary” and surmised that the exhibit would have limited appeal to a narrow group of fashion scholars:

The illusions and allusions of the installation – parodied conventions of storage, labeling, exhibition, and venue – make audiences question what it is about museum ‘originals’ that makes them identifiable as such. The exhibition and catalog would therefore appeal most effectively to someone who was aware of Clark’s curatorial trajectory, and her unconventional focus on concepts over objects, or to someone very familiar with the critical discourses around curation and fashion.¹⁰⁶

Petrov considered whether or not Clark was an artist and mused that her “focus on process reveals her as such,”¹⁰⁷ but did not unpack that statement, nor did she make the connection to Duchamp’s curatorial precedent. Petrov instead points out that Clark, as a freelance curator, was not bound by the conventions or limitations of being tied to a specific collection and this gave her the freedom to create theatrical and conceptual exhibitions rather than didactic ones. Petrov argued that the exhibition served to raise more questions

¹⁰⁵ Lou Taylor, “Review: Spectres: When Fashion Turns Back,” *The Art Book* 13 no.1, (February 2006): 18.

¹⁰⁶ Petrov, “Exhibition and Catalog Review,” 114.

¹⁰⁷ Petrov, “Exhibition and Catalog Review,” 114.

than it answered but did not elaborate. Although she predicted that the exhibition “is guaranteed to inspire self-reflection, and reflections on long-established tradition,”¹⁰⁸ this has not come to pass, and reflection in the curatorial community on the significance of this particular exhibition has been scant,¹⁰⁹ which may in part be because very few people would have seen it.¹¹⁰ Greer Crawley and Donatella Barbieri consider Clark’s corpus of conceptual exhibitions in terms of a “wider interdisciplinary approach” in fashion curatorial practice, linking her work to Jens Hoffman as well as Andy Warhol’s role in identifying objects that would be displayed in an exhibition called *Raid the Icebox I* in 1969, but they do not cast a wider net to include Duchamp.¹¹¹

Although Judith Clark has acknowledged the influence of Aby Warburg and Harald Szeeman on her work,¹¹² the exhibition design for *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* exhibition resonates with Duchampian techniques that foreground an affective experience

¹⁰⁸ Petrov, “Exhibition and Catalog Review,” 115.

¹⁰⁹ Ingrid Mida, “The Enchanted Spectacle of Fashion in the Museum,” *Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style* 4, no. 2 (2015): 47-70. While this earlier article discusses this exhibition in relation to Baudrillard’s theories of fashion as an enchanting spectacle, my dissertation analysis is markedly different in examining the resonances of this exhibition with Duchamp’s curatorial precedent.

¹¹⁰ The exhibition ran from April 28 – June 27 in 2010, providing tours to a maximum of twenty-one people an hour (three tours an hour in groups of seven).

¹¹¹ Greer Crawley and Donatella Barbieri, “Dress, Time and Space: Expanding the Field through Exhibition Making,” in *The Handbook of Fashion Studies*, ed. Sandy Black et al. (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 45-53.

¹¹² Clark discusses cultural theorist Aby Warburg as inspiration related to this exhibition in the catalogue. See Judith Clark, *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*, 112-113. Clark’s work as a curator/exhibition designer is unique in signifying her knowledge of art historical references and curatorial gestures outside of fashion. On her website, she cites curator Harald Szeeman as her inspiration for the exhibition *Installing Allusions* at the Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam in 2010. See Judith Clark, “The Art of Fashion— Installing Allusions,” accessed August 20, 2017. <http://judithclarkcostume.com/exhibitions/the-art-of-fashion-installing-allusions/>

driven by provocation.¹¹³ In particular, Clark's exhibition manifested what O'Doherty would describe as Duchampian booby traps, in that the visitor, whose presence was anticipated and voluntary, was soon frustrated by his/her "own etiquette, thus preventing him/her from disapproving of his/her own harassment."¹¹⁴ The docent-led tours deprived visitors of the opportunity to linger in front of any particular installation. Many objects were displayed in a manner that restricted the viewer from seeing them in full. The prescribed code of silence in the facility denied elucidation by the docent about what was on display as well as prevented any discussion amongst the visitors while inside the building. The cards held up by the docent with the dictionary words often seemed to have little or no relationship to what was on display and thus seemed akin to the Surrealist game of disassociation. For example, *loose* was used in association with a man's buckled shoe from the eighteenth century juxtaposed with a row of swords. The visitor had no tools to record the experience since neither photos nor writing instruments were allowed, forcing the visitor to inscribe this fleeting experience in memory. There was a profound sensation of doubt and discomfiture and in this exhibition, there was no obvious way to escape Clark's booby traps, especially since the group-led tours denied an easy exit. The overall effect was "weird and devious" to use the words of art critic Edward Alden Jewell in describing Duchamp's 1942 Surrealist installation.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ The title of Clark's exhibition – *The Concise Dictionary of Dress* – also coincidentally bears a similar title to Eluard's and Breton's catalogue *Dictionnaire abrégé* for the 1938 *Exhibition of Surrealism*.

¹¹⁴ O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*, 73.

¹¹⁵ Jewell, "Inner Visions and Out of Bounds," X9

In coopting Blythe House into a site-specific installation of fashion and commissioned artworks that unhinged museum conventions, Clark, like Duchamp, “subsumed an entire building in a single gesture”¹¹⁶ – and managed to do so while it was full of other things. I mark Clark’s exhibition as a significant rupture in the history of fashion exhibitions for doing so and in describing her work this way, I also link her work to the curatorial, a phrase used to describe contemporary practices of display that embraces experiential, participatory and contingent engagement with the spectator. Jean-Paul Martinon describes the curatorial as a “strategy for inventing new points of departure” that invites reflexivity.¹¹⁷ In the context of the curatorial, it is noteworthy that Clark was also responsible for the exhibition called *Malign Muses: When Fashion Turns Back* presented at MOMU in Antwerp in 2004 and later that year renamed and restaged as *Spectres: When Fashion Turns Back* at the V&A Museum that attracted the critique of Lou Taylor on the absence of didactics.¹¹⁸ This exhibition was more widely seen by the viewing public, but was not an immersive encounter, nor did it envelop the entire site that would suggest a resonance with Duchamp’s framing of space. However, in both exhibitions Clark interrogated the role of the spectator in defining and experiencing the work. Like Duchamp, she acted as provocateur in redefining the conditions of viewing and requiring the visitor to embrace disquiet and ambiguity. A key question arising from this comparison is: what is the role of the spectator in defining the work?

¹¹⁶ This is the phrase that Brian O’Doherty used to describe Duchamp’s curatorial gestures for the Surrealists. See O’Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*, 69.

¹¹⁷ Jean-Paul Martinon, “Introduction,” in *The Curatorial, A Philosophy of Curating*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 4.

¹¹⁸ See Judith Clark, *Spectres: When Fashion Turns Back* (London: V&A Publications in association with ModeMuseum, 2004).

The Role of the Spectator

To Marcel Duchamp the spectator is as an equal partner in the creative act that articulates and defines the work of art. Duchamp expressed this idea in a lecture called “The Creative Act” in April 1957 at the Convention of the American Federation of Arts in Houston, Texas and published in Robert Lebel’s catalogue in 1959. In his statement, Duchamp suggests that the artist begins with an intention to create a work, which will invariably involve “struggle” and a sustained “series of efforts, pains, satisfactions, refusals, decisions.”¹¹⁹ He anticipates that the intention of the artist might not be realized such that there might be a gap between what the artist hoped to achieve and what was realized. Duchamp defines the role of the spectator as part of the creative act since it is the spectator who determines “the weight of the work on the esthetic scale” and renders judgment as to whether or not it is art by “interpreting its inner qualifications.”¹²⁰ Consequently, the Duchampian creative act is a partnership between the artist and the spectator and in expressing this view, Duchamp assumes a spectator who is both knowledgeable and willing to enfold ambiguity in interpreting the work. In his 1964 interview with Tomkins, Duchamp described this interaction between the onlooker and the maker akin to “the spark that comes from that bipolar action gives birth to something – like electricity.”¹²¹ That electrifying discharge of energy – between artist and onlooker – is what brings the work to life. Duchamp’s thoughts on the role of the spectator in creating the work aligns with the postmodern thoughts of Umberto Eco as well as Susan Sontag.

¹¹⁹ Marcel Duchamp, “The Creative Act,” in *Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Robert Lebel (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), 78.

¹²⁰ Duchamp, “The Creative Act,” 78.

¹²¹ Duchamp qtd. in Tomkins, *Marcel Duchamp: The Afternoon Interviews*, 31.

In his 1962 treatise on modern aesthetics *Opera aperta (The Open work)*, Umberto Eco articulates the radical difference between traditional art and modern works in which the artist deliberately cultivates a multiplicity of meanings through ambiguity, such that the reader is seen as an active participant in responding to the work. Eco uses the term “work” to encompass a range of mediums including performance, music and the visual arts, and views the openness of contemporary visual art as a rupture from a “unified, definitive image of our universe” to embrace a suggestion made by the artist that must be seen, accepted, and integrated into the viewer’s sensibility.¹²² This freedom of interpretation is seen as bringing deep pleasure to the experience of art that invites the viewer “to conceive, feel, and thus see the world as possibility.”¹²³ Eco’s lyrical analysis embraces opacity with the open work giving the spectator freedom to have a unique experience with art and thus echoes Duchamp’s position.¹²⁴

Likewise, Susan Sontag embraces ambiguity in her 1964 essay “Against Interpretation” and provocatively asserts that the sensual qualities of the work of art have been ignored in wanting to translate a work of art into its intellectual equivalent. She writes that “Real art has the capacity to make us nervous,” and observes most manage this discomfort by seeking interpretation by others.¹²⁵ She equates the modern style of interpretation to excavation that “digs ‘behind’ the text, to find a sub-text which is the true

¹²² Umberto Eco, *The Open Work*, trans. Anna Cancogni (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 90.

¹²³ Eco, *The Open Work*, 104.

¹²⁴ Eco must have been aware of Duchamp since Eco includes a quoted passage by Georges Mathieu that mentions the artist in a discussion about the role of chance in contemporary art.

¹²⁵ Susan Sontag, “Against Interpretation” in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*, ed. Susan Sontag (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966), 8.

one,” but suggests that such acts of interpretation largely serve “to impoverish, to deplete the world – in order to set up a shadow world of meanings.”¹²⁶ Sontag argues in favour of welcoming ambiguity in allowing the “luminousness of the thing in itself, of things being what they are,” to overcome the diminished sensory experience that results from the crowded conditions of modern life.¹²⁷ In this essay, Sontag conveys the latent desire by both the spectator and the critic to make and articulate meaning through acts of interpretation but suggests that this instinct should be suppressed in favour of engaging in a richer sensory experience. The reader is encouraged to “learn to see more, to hear more, to feel more” in order to make works of art a personal experience and in this way more, “rather than less, real.”¹²⁸ Sontag’s argument against interpretation of art encourages spectators to be their own critic, a viewpoint that aligns with Duchamp, but for some spectators and critics like Lou Taylor and Julia Petrov as discussed earlier, opacity can be highly discomfoting and obfuscating.

In Duchamp’s designs for the 1938 and 1942 surrealist exhibitions, the spectator was immersed in experiences that obstructed their easy access to the works of art. Instead Duchamp offered them an immersive and multi-sensory experience that was felt in the body and expected them to share in the work of making meaning. He left the interpretation open and anticipated their engagement in defining the work or in embracing uncertainty as part of their experience of the work. Like Duchamp, Sontag and Eco argue on behalf of a willing, engaged and knowledgeable spectator – one who is not discomfoted by opacity.

¹²⁶ Sontag, “Against Interpretation,” 7.

¹²⁷ Sontag, “Against Interpretation,” 13.

¹²⁸ Sontag, “Against Interpretation,” 14.

In contrast, in his 1967 Marxist critique of consumer culture – *La Société du spectacle* (*Society of the Spectacle*), Guy Debord identified a spectator who is passive and unwilling or unable to engage in acts of interpretation. In his articulation of the primacy of spectacle as a manifestation of late-stage capitalism, Debord views the fetishization of commodities as being detrimental to society and warns against the banality, misery and estrangement that he expects will prevail. The social relations between people become mediated by images (Thesis 4),¹²⁹ since direct experience is replaced with representation (Thesis 1) and vision takes primacy over touch (Thesis 18). The role of the celebrity is to illustrate a desired lifestyle in which consumption of commodities simulates happiness and conceals cultural homogenization (Theses 60-63). Debord opines the spectacle as the dominant ideology of a society drugged by the false happiness of consumption and the false consciousness of history and time, and thus reveals his opinion that the average person is passive, without agency, and unwilling to engage in interpretation.

In *The Emancipated Spectator* (*Le Spectateur Émancipé*), Jacques Rancière denies Debord's argument reading it as anti-Platonic and instead describes the spectator as active in creating knowledge for herself: "She can learn, one sign after the other, the relationship between what she does not know and what she does know."¹³⁰ In this way, the journey of discovery between ignorance and knowledge is seen as a path "that constantly abolishes any fixity and hierarchy of positions within their boundaries."¹³¹ Rancière places the

¹²⁹ This work is unpaginated and the citations are referenced according to the numbering of the passages/theses. Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black & Red, 2010).

¹³⁰ Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 2011), 10.

¹³¹ Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, 11.

spectator at the heart of debates over art and politics. He identifies the paradox of the spectator in which “viewing is the opposite of knowing,” since the audience is assumed to be a passive recipient in the performance of spectacle.¹³² He argues that it is the spectacle of theatre that creates opportunities for the audience to harness their desires to take action and transform it.

Duchamp’s articulation of the creative act as a partnership between creator and spectator was echoed in Clark’s exhibition design for *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*, since Clark and her collaborator anticipated spectators willing to engage in the Duchampian process of making meaning by confronting the ensnaring traps of conformity.¹³³ Clark has since reiterated her position in favour of the engaged spectator in respect of her other curatorial projects writing: “instead of reading labels, why not encourage people to see?”¹³⁴ In the end, Clark’s exhibition articulated a deep level of respect for the spectator as a willing participant in the creative act and the result was an intellectually challenging and memorable experience for me. There are many kinds of spectators: some want authoritative interpretation; some are indifferent; and some are willing to play the role that Duchamp anticipates as creative partners. Duchamp’s traps unsettle and disrupt spectatorial conformity, establishing the act of interpreting and giving signification to what they see or experience as a necessarily creative one.

¹³² Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, 2.

¹³³ In the catalogue, Clark’s collaborator Adam Phillips articulates the inherent ambiguity of dress and language. He explains that: “The difference between what you are told and what it makes you think, between what you see and what occurs to you; between what makes sense and what remains as undefined, unclear, indeterminate.” Phillips, “Look it Up,” 17.

¹³⁴ Judith Clark, qtd. in Annamari Vänskä and Hazel Clark (eds.), *Fashion Curating: Critical Practice in the Museum and Beyond*. London: Bloomsbury 2018, 88.

* * *

In the end, whether viewing Duchamp's waistcoat as an art object mounted in Perspex or on a mannequin dressed as Rose Sélavy, the spectator's interpretation of that thing – as a work of art or as an article of dress – is their own.¹³⁵ The curator presents the object in a manner that may purposefully engage or provoke viewers as willing (or unwilling) participants in interpreting that object and experience, but ultimately a motivated and engaged spectator will decide whether or not to accept or challenge that discourse. Thus, if we accept Duchamp's creative act as an equal partnership with the spectator, the decision as to whether or not the snow shovel, the waistcoat, or a 'Mondrian' dress is a work of art is ultimately a personal and deeply consequential one.

¹³⁵ John Dewey argued in 1934 that “every individual brings with him, when he exercises his individuality, a way of seeing and feeling that in its interaction with old material creates something new” such that “as a work of art, it is recreated every time it is esthetically experienced.” John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York: Berkeley Publishing, 2005), 113.

Concluding Remarks

Each of them gives his particular note to his interpretation, which isn't necessarily true or false, which is interesting, but only interesting when you consider the man [or woman] who wrote the interpretation, as always.

--Marcel Duchamp¹

In February 1963, *Vogue* published an interview with Duchamp that confirms his evident pleasure in provocation and subversion. In discussing the riotous reception of his 1912 painting *The Nude Descending a Staircase* at the Armory Show, he said: “I was delighted to be a *succès de scandale* because for me it was a form of revolutionary action. You see if I were accepted with open arms that would be the opposite of what I wanted.”² This is one of many such statements made by Duchamp that articulate his desire to provoke a response in the spectator. In negating the boundaries between art and everyday objects, and in conflating art and life, Duchamp was an iconoclast who provocatively challenged the boundaries of how art was defined and presented, encouraging the spectator to be part of the creative process.

This dissertation has argued that clothing and dressing are significant themes that recur in Duchamp's life and his oeuvre – including his drawings, his fashioning of his body, his readymades, and in his curatorial gestures. Duchamp's waistcoat readymade series *Made to Measure* (1957-1961) deserves to be studied precisely because it is a

¹ Duchamp qtd. in Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, 42.

² Marcel Duchamp qtd. in William Steiz, “What's Happened to Art? An Interview with Marcel Duchamp on Present Consequences of New York's 1913 Armory Show,” *Vogue* 1963, 112.

remarkable and deliberate effort to recalibrate the definition of the readymade to include clothing. The evidence in Duchamp's last series of notes shows that the waistcoat readymade series was a calculated extension of the parameters of the readymade and it also establishes Duchamp's belief that art can be worn. For Duchamp, the waistcoat readymades were an art object of deeply personal significance that transformed the wearer's body into a kinetic art object. With this series, Duchamp established a notable precedent for sartorial art as a valid form of artistic expression.

As the preceding chapters have documented, the waistcoat readymades are not the only objects by Duchamp that manifest links to the fashioned body. In contemplating the nuances of his drawings, Duchamp's awareness of the fashioned body and early explorations of gender play come to light. In studying the photographs of Duchamp that circulated in the mass media alongside the images of his cross-dressing alter ego, his knowledge of the significance of fashion and clothing to the visual representation of the self becomes apparent. In examining the specific items of clothing worn by Duchamp and the related material traces of his management of his wardrobe, Duchamp's use of the three-piece suit as a uniform for public appearances is exposed. His curatorial gestures for the exhibitions of surrealists in 1938 and 1942 manifest provocative challenges to the spectator's body in creating deliberate obstacles to viewing the work. Thus, in considering the material traces of Duchamp's fashioning of his body and identity in his work and life, this dissertation also makes contributions to our understanding of the significance of the clothed body in the vanguard of Modernism. This study hopes to encourage others to embrace the fashioned body as a meaningful framework of analysis in developing a critical account and understanding of artists and their artistic outputs. Future research could involve

a similar approach to the fashioning of self by several female artists that crossed Duchamp's path and whose work is less widely known, including Clara Tice, Berenice Abbott, Mary Reynolds, and Maria Mattins.

The significance of these findings directly contributes to the discourse on the relationship of fashion and art, since the waistcoat series as a point of intersection has not been specifically addressed before. By analyzing how the readymade is imbricated in the very production of clothing, and by considering the related evidence that articulates Duchamp's engagement with clothing in his artistic fashioning of self, it becomes evident that Duchamp did not espouse hierarchical definitions that delimit clothing or the fashioned body as a significant artistic output. This corpus of evidence ultimately facilitates a response to the questions asked by art critic David Carrier (as discussed in chapter 1): "Is fashion art? If so, what kind of art is it?"³ Duchamp's waistcoat readymades establish an unequivocal precedent for fashion as art, and therefore any object of fashion has the potential to be classified as a readymade work of art, if the conditions of the readymade are met. In making this point, I also challenge and counter the relentless debate over whether fashion belongs in the museum. I also invite the fashion curatorial community to not only seek to extend the purview of fashion in the museum, but to consider the quality of those exhibitions, such that what is being presented also offers an aesthetic and intellectual encounter that inspires the viewer to critically engage with the central ideas and beliefs

³ David Carrier, "The Challenges of Fashion in a Museum," in *Hyperallergic* November 17, 2018, accessed: December 17, 2018. <https://hyperallergic.com/471639/contemporary-muslim-fashions-de-young-museum/>

circulating in society that are articulated and echoed in fashion, such as issues of class, status, gender, race, and ethnicity.

In sum, I maintain that Duchamp recognized and harnessed the intellectual, affective and sensory qualities of fashioning the body as a means of articulating identity in and through art, thereby also disrupting long-held mind/body binaries in western art. Ultimately this project argues that the waistcoat readymade series was “a form of revolutionary action” to use Duchamp’s turn of phrase that serves to dismantle the long-standing prejudice against fashion as art. Fashion is not art’s other, but instead represents another form of expression that Duchamp equated to an aesthetic act in his final set of notes: “*le fait de porter le pantalon, le port du / pantalon est comparable à l’exécution / manuelle d’une sculpture originale,*” or the act of wearing the trousers, the trouser / wearing is comparable to the hand / making of an original sculpture.⁴ In other words, in the act of getting dressed, it is possible to fashion ourselves as an original work of art, (or not).

⁴ Duchamp, *Marcel Duchamp, Notes*, unpaginated.

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Appendix: Figures



Figure 0.1 Cover of *Vogue* July 1, 1945. Erwin Blumenfeld. Licensed from Getty Images.



Figure 2.1 *Woman with Hat over the Eye after Marcel Duchamp 1904-1905.*
Drawing by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Drawn from reproduction in Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp 66 Creative Years: From the First Painting to the Last Drawing* (Milan: Gallery Schwarz, 1972), 13.



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Figure 2.2 *Policeman, Back View 1904-1095, after Marcel Duchamp*. Drawing by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Drawn from reproduction in Anne d’Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine (ed.), *Marcel Duchamp*, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art and Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1973), 235.

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Figure 2.3 *Knife-Grinder*. Marcel Duchamp, 1904-5. Pencil and ink on paper (21 x 13 cm).
Reproduced in D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 236.

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Figure 2.4 *Gasman*. Marcel Duchamp, 1904-5. Pencil and wash on paper (17.3 x 10.7 cm).
Reproduced in D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 236.

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Figure 2.5 *Vegetable Peddler*. Marcel Duchamp, 1904-5. Pencil and wash on paper (17.3 x 10.7 cm). Reproduced in D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 236.

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Figure 2.6 *Funeral Coachman*. Marcel Duchamp, 1904-5. Conté pencil on paper (21 x 13 cm). Reproduced in D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 236.

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Figure 2.7 *Coachman on Box*. Marcel Duchamp, 1904-5. Pencil and watercolour on paper (22 x 14 cm). Reproduced in D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 236.

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Figure 2.8 “A Pretty Walking Suit and Smart Shirts.” Anonymous, 1908. *Vogue* (New York), March 19, 1908, 409.

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Figure 2.9 *Flirt/ Flirtation*. Marcel Duchamp, 1907. Ink wash and blue pencil on paper (31.5 x 45 cm). Reproduced in D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 239.

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Figure 2.10 *Mi-Carême/ Mid-Lent*. Marcel Duchamp, 1909. Conté, graphite, and ink on paper (61 x 48.3 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art (Object #1975.428.3).

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Figure 2.11 *Au Bar/ At the Bar*. Marcel Duchamp, 1909. Ink on paper (38.1 x 292.2 cm).
Metropolitan Museum of Art (Object #1975.428.1).

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Figure 2.12 *Au Palais de Glace/ At the Ice Cream Palace*. Marcel Duchamp, 1909. Ink on paper (43.2 x 30.5 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, (Object #1975.428.2).

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Figure 2.13 *Le Lapin/ Stood Up*. Marcel Duchamp, 1907 or 1908 (dated in 1909). Brush and black ink and crayon on cream laid paper (56.8 x 49.1 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art (Object #2007-46-8).

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Figure 2.14 *La Mère/ The Mother*. Marcel Duchamp, 1908. Black and red chalk, black ink on paper (58 x 44.8 cm). Staatliches Museum. Art Resource ART502581.



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Figure 2.15 *Young Man 1909 after Marcel Duchamp*. Drawing by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Drawn from reproduction in Arturo Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Delano Greenidge Editions, 2000), Plate 141.



Figure 2.16 *Young Man Standing 1909-10 after Marcel Duchamp*. Drawing by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Arturo Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Delano Greenidge Editions, 2000), Plate 170.

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Figure 2.17 *Informations/ News*. Marcel Duchamp, 1908. India ink on paper (32.8 x 50.5 cm). Reproduced in D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 240.

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Figure 2.18 *Informations/ News*. Marcel Duchamp, 1908 (Paris). India ink on paper (dimensions not given). Reproduced in Robert Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, trans. George Heard Hamilton (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), Plate 13.

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Figure 2.19 Advertisement for Regal Shoe Company, Women's Summer Oxfords.
Vogue (New York), June 4, 1908, C4.



Figure 2.20 *Study of a Woman 1910 after Marcel Duchamp*. Drawing by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Drawn from reproduction in Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp 66 Creative Years: From the First Painting to the Last Drawing* (Milan: Gallery Schwarz, 1972), 16.

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Figure 2.21 *The King and Queen Traversed by Swift Nudes*. Marcel Duchamp. 1912. Graphite on Japanese laid paper (27.3 x 39.1 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, (Object #1950-134-61). Gift of The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, 1950.

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Figure 2.22 *Cimetière des uniformes et livrées, No. 1/ Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries (No. 1)*. Marcel Duchamp, 1913. Graphite on Tracing Paper (32.5 x 41.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art (Object #1950-134-66).

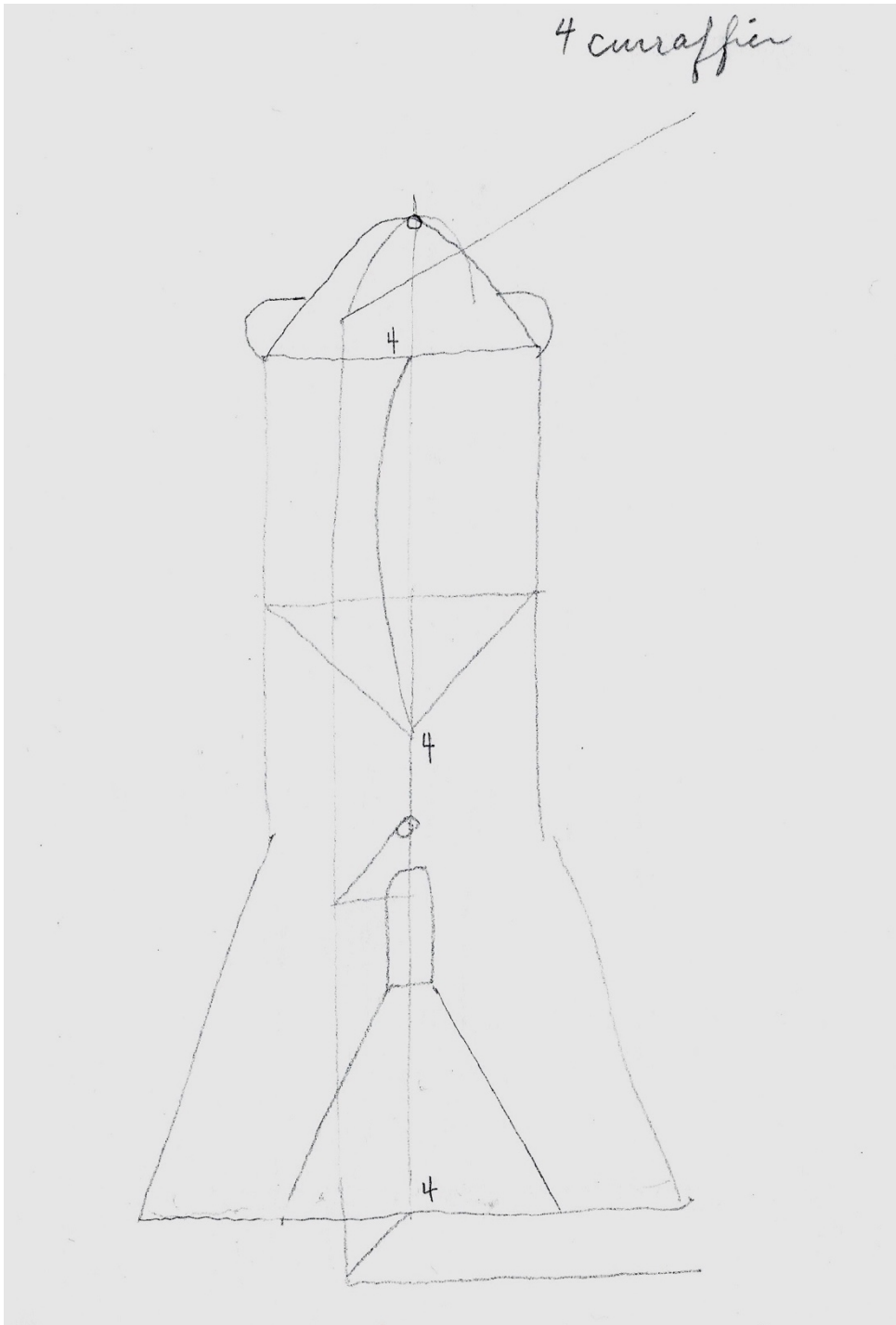


Figure 2.23 *Cuirassier* after Marcel Duchamp 1913. Drawing by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Drawn from *Cimetière des uniformes et livrées, No. 1/Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries (No. 1)*. Marcel Duchamp, 1913. Philadelphia Museum of Art (Object #1950-134-66).

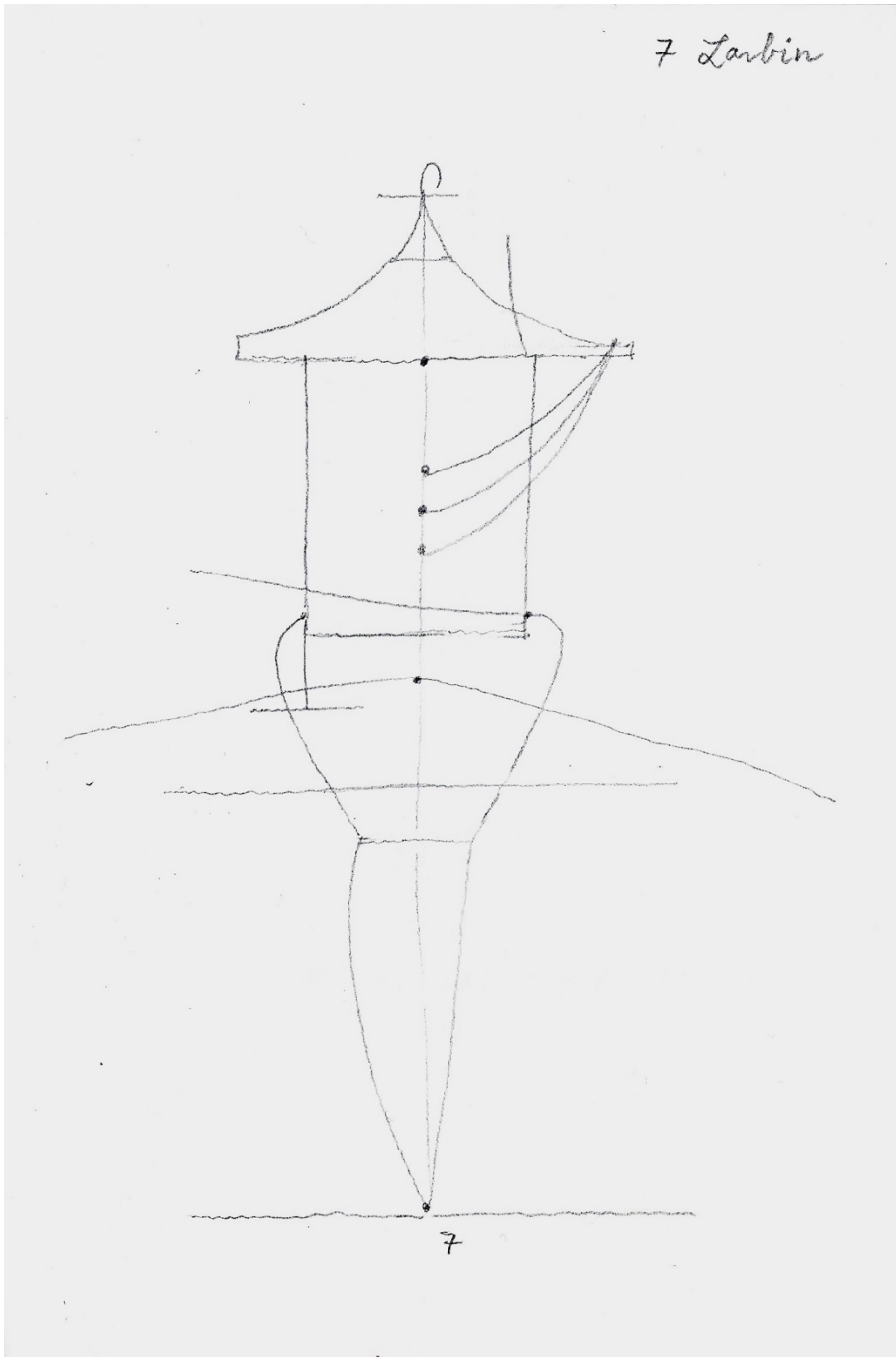


Figure 2.24 *Larbin* after Marcel Duchamp 1913. Drawing by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Drawn from *Cimetière des uniformes et livrées, No. 1/Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries (No. 1)*. Marcel Duchamp, 1913. Philadelphia Museum of Art (Object #1950-134-66).

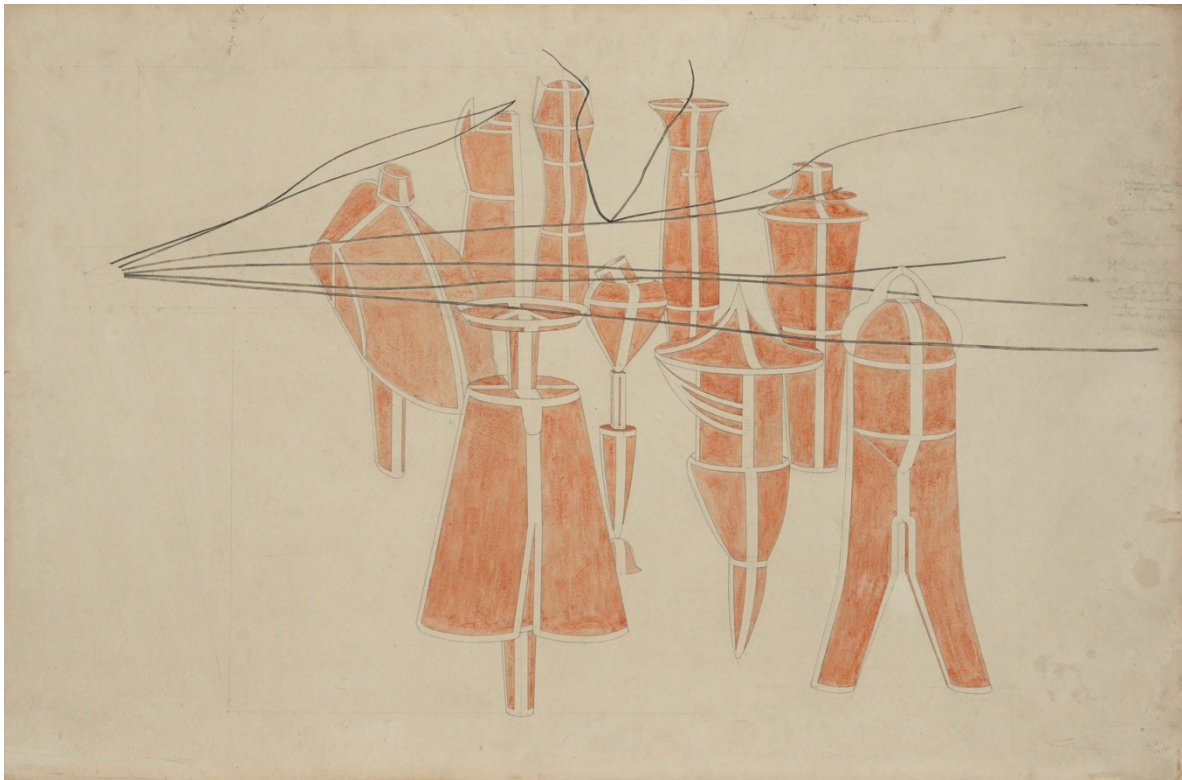


Figure 2.25 *Cimetière des uniformes et livrées, No. 2* / *Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries (No. 2)* [The Bachelors and Nine Malic Moulds]. Marcel Duchamp, 1914. Graphite and Watercolor (66 x 99.8 cm), Yale University Art Gallery (Object #1948.31). Image in Public Domain.

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Figure 2.26 *Jacquette/ Jacket*. Marcel Duchamp, 1955. Pen and ink on tracing paper, 3 drawings each (27 x 20.5 cm). Reproduced in D'Harnoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 310.

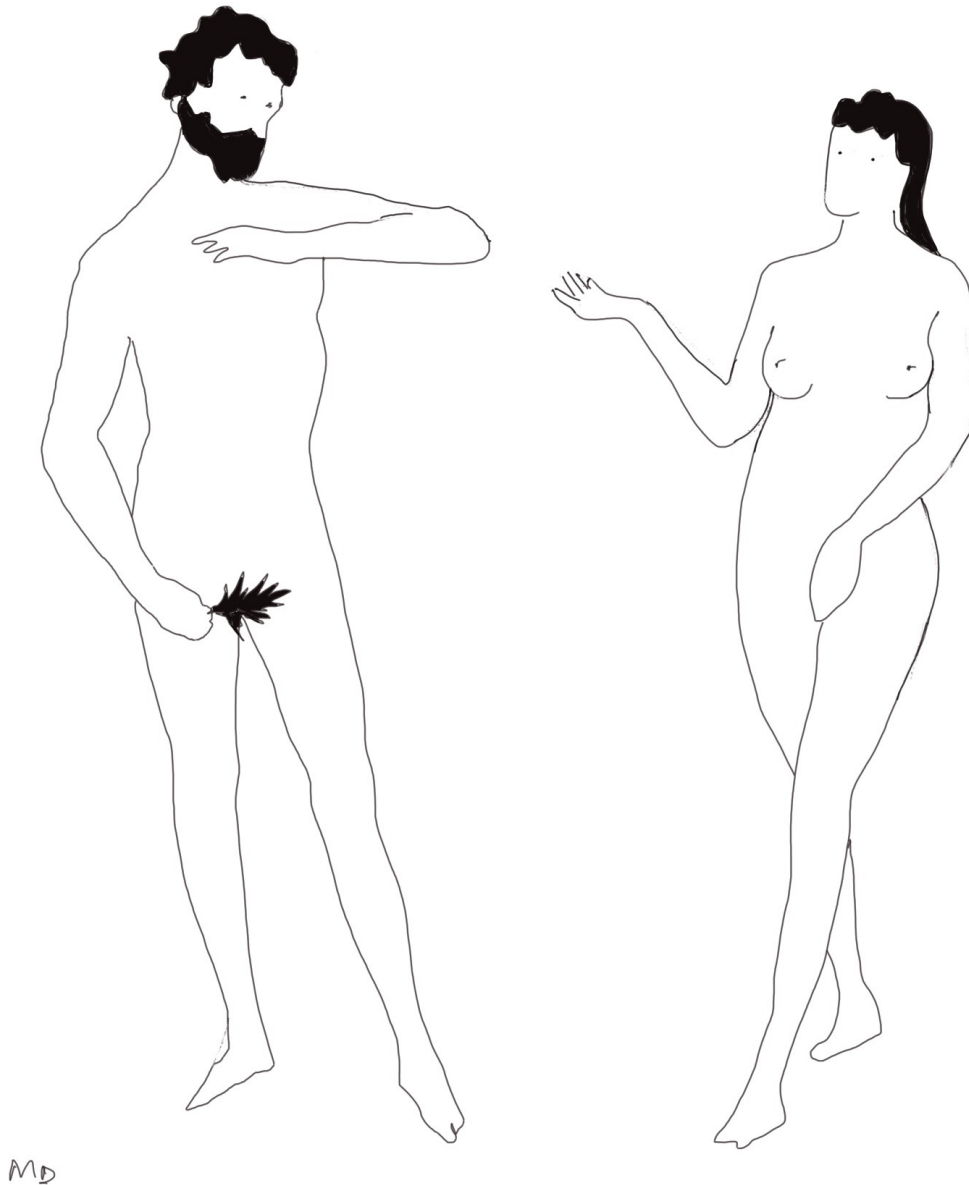


Figure 2.27 *Morceaux choisis d'après Cranach et 'Relâche' after Duchamp 1967.*
Drawing by Ingrid Mida, 2019. Drawn from *Morceaux choisis d'après Cranach et 'Relâche' 1967*, Marcel Duchamp 1967. Art Gallery of Ontario, 1967 (Object #70/208.1).

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Figure 3.1 Portrait of Marcel Duchamp. Pach Brothers Studio, 1915. Published in “Marcel Duchamp Visits New York”, *Vanity Fair*, September 1915, 57.



Figure 3.2 *Artist Marcel Duchamp Wearing Fur Coat, New York City.* Photographer unknown, February 26, 1927. Licensed from Getty Images.

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Figure 3.3 Cover of *Marcel Duchamp in Perspective* by Joseph Masheck, 2002. Photo of cover by Ingrid Mida, 2018.

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Figure 3.4 *Marcel Duchamp, New York, April 30, 1948.*

Gelatin Silver Print (25.5 x 20.4 cm), 1983. Signed and dated by Irving Penn.

Sourced from Christie's Sale 14977, New York, 10 October 2017. Accessed: June 9, 2018.

<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/irving-penn-19172009-marcel-duchamp-new-york-6097983-details.aspx>

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Figure 3.5 Cover of *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp* by Pierre Cabanne, 1971.
Photo of cover by Ingrid Mida, 2018.

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Figure 3.6 Claim tag Bloomingdales included in *Duchamp Dossier* by Joseph Cornell, 1943. Philadelphia Museum of Art Object #1990-33-1(47). Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018.

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Figure 3.7 Mrs. Freeman's Private Hand laundry receipt included in *Duchamp Dossier* by Joseph Cornell, 1943. Philadelphia Museum of Art Object #1990-33-1 (16). Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018.

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Figure 3.8 Delmonico Hand Laundry receipt included in *Duchamp Dossier* by Joseph Cornell, 1943. Philadelphia Museum of Art Object #1990-33-1(63). Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018.

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Figure 3.9 Laundry shirt band included in *Duchamp Dossier* by Joseph Cornell, 1943. Philadelphia Museum of Art Object #1990-33-1(12). Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018.

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Figure 3.10 Portion of necktie (stored inside Bond Street Pipe Tobacco box) included in *Duchamp Dossier* by Joseph Cornell, 1943. Philadelphia Museum of Art Object #1990-33-1(1a,b). Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018.

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Figure 3.11 *Marcel Duchamp*. David Gahr, 1965. Photograph (dimensions unknown).
Getty Images.

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Figure 3.12 *L.H.O.O.Q.* (Front) by Marcel Duchamp, 1919. Rectified Readymade, pencil on reproduction (19.4 x 10.6 cm). Reproduced in D'Harmoncourt and McShine, *Marcel Duchamp*, 129.



Figure 3.13 *Marcel Duchamp as Rose Sélavy*. Man Ray (Emmanuel Radnitzky), 1920-21.
Licensed from Getty Images.

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Figure 3.14 *Marcel Duchamp as Belle Haleine*. Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray (Emmanuel Radnitzky), 1921. Israel Museum (Object #B98.0147).

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.15 *Rose Sélavy (Marcel Duchamp)*. Man Ray (Emmanuel Radnitzky), 1921. Gelatin silver print (22.1 x 17.6 cm) Getty Museum (Object #84.XM.1000.80).

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Figure 3.16 “The Beneficent Rule of Bobbed Hair.” *Vogue* (New York), March 15, 1921, 42-43.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.17 Photo cropped from “A Group of Paris Frocks that Posed for Vogue.” Baron de Meyer, 1920. *Vogue* (New York), November 15, 1920, 42.

Caption for this photo reads: “In a Poiret coat-dress, the Parisienne is as completely and as lavishly embroidered from the seal collar to skirt hem as she could well be, even in this most embroidered of seasons. ‘Berénice’ is of serge in black, patterned in beige, jade green, and bright blue, with smartly novel sleeves.”



Figure 3.18 Black hat with feathers. Designer unknown, ca. 1920. Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Object #CI45.77.4). Image in Public Domain.

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Figure 3.19 Brown lamé coat with green silk velvet collar, cuffs and lining. Paul Poiret, 1920-1921. Kyoto Costume Institute (Object #AC6279-89-1).



Figure 3.20 Silk velvet coat. Maria Gallenga, ca. 1926. Collection of the Costume Institute of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Object #1989.165.1). Image in Public Domain.

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Figure 3.21 *Belle Haleine*. Man Ray, 1921. Getty Museum (Object ID#85.XM.386.3).

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Figure 3.22 *New York Dada* [REVUE]. Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray, April 1921. Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Paris. Photo of cover by Ingrid Mida, 2018.

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Figure 3.23 *Portrait d'une jeune fille américaine dans l'état de nudité/ Portrait of a Young American Girl in a State of Nudity*. Francis Picabia, 1915. Ink on paper (Dimensions unknown). Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection.



Figure 3.24 *Denise Poiret* wearing Poiret's *Mythe*. Photographer unknown, 1919. Licensed from Getty Images. Caption reads: "The Wife Of The Parisian Fashion Designer Paul Poiret Wearing A Dress Designed By Her Husband For 1919, With Then L'Oiseau Of Brancusi."



Figure 3.25 *Flonflon*, Hat of silk, metallic thread and feathers by Paul Poiret, ca. 1920. Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Object #2005.191). Image in Public Domain.

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Figure 3.26 Illustration of Duchess Sjorsa in “The Parisienne and the Mode Take Tea Together” *Vogue* (New York), September 1, 1921, 60.

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Figure 3.27 *Family Portrait II*, Florine Stettheimer, 1933. Oil on canvas (117.4 x 164 cm).
Museum of Modern Art, (Object #8.1956) © Estate of Florine Stettheimer.

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Figure 3.28 *New York Dada* [REVUE]. Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray, April 1921. Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Paris. Photo by Ingrid Mida.

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Figure 3.29 *Berenice Abbott*. Man Ray, 1921. Gelatin Silver Print. Berenice Abbott Archive, Ryerson Image Centre.

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Figure 4.1. Portion of ad for Lord & Taylor CLOTHING for MEN. Partial Display Ad, *New York Times*, October 15, 1915: 8.



Figure 4.2 Rose silk jacquard man's waistcoat with hexagonal buttons, ca. 1960s. Ryerson Fashion Research Collection (Object #2017.06.002). Courtesy of Ryerson Fashion Research Collection.

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Figure 4.3 Illustration for “Marrying – quietly”, *Vogue* (New York), July 1956, 74.
Artist unknown.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.4 *TEENY*, Waistcoat readymade. Marcel Duchamp, 1957. Association Marcel Duchamp, Paris. Photographer unknown.



Figure 4.5 Waistcoat for Benjamin Péret (Object #B98.0454), Marcel Duchamp, (1957).
Used with Permission of The Israel Museum.

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Figure 4.6 *BETTY*, Waistcoat readymade. Marcel Duchamp (1961). Courtesy of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.



Figure 4.7 'Mondrian' Dress, Yves Saint Laurent, 1965-66 (Object #C.I.69.23). The Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute. Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Used with permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute.



Figure 4.8 Label of 'Mondrian' Dress, Yves Saint Laurent, 1965-66 Object #C.I.69.23). Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute. Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Used with permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute.



Figure 4.9 'Mondrian' Dress, Yves Saint Laurent, 1965-66 Object #C.I.69.23). Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute. Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Used with permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute.



Figure 4.10 Label of 'Mondrian' Dress, Yves Saint Laurent, 1965-66 (Object #C.I.68.60.1) The Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute. Photo by Ingrid Mida, 2018. Used with permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute.

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Figure 5.1 Invitation pour le 17 Janvier 1938, *Exposition Internationale du Surrealism*.
Sourced from Wikipedia, accessed: August 13, 2018.

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Figure 5.2 *Rose Sélavy* mannequin by Marcel Duchamp, *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme*. Installation photo, photographer unknown, 1938. Reproduced in Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous, Marcel Duchamp, Salvador Dalí, and Surrealist Exhibition Installations* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), 46.

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Figure 5.3 Mannequin by Salvador Dalí. Installation photo, Raoul Ubac, 1938. Reproduced in Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 2003, 58.

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Figure 5.4 Dalí's Store Window Mannequin, rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris. Installation photo, photographer unknown, 1938. Reproduced in Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous*, 2003, 58.

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Figure 5.5 *Allégorie de genre (George Washington)*, Marcel Duchamp, 1943.
Mixed media (54.8 x 42 x 8.4 cm). Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges
Pompidou (Object #AM 1987-632).



Figure 5.6 *Conformist*, *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*. Installation Photo by Julian Abrams, 2010. Used with permission of Artangel.



Figure 5.7 *Plain*, *The Concise Dictionary of Dress*. Installation Photo by Julian Abrams, 2010. Used with permission of Artangel.



Figure 5.8 *Creased, The Concise Dictionary of Dress*. Installation photo by Julian Abrams, 2010. Used with permission of Artangel.