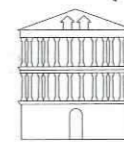


THE SMALL UTOPIA
ARS MULTIPLICATA

CURATED BY GERMANO CELANT

CA'
CORNER
DELLA
REGINA



Fondazione Prada

AN ANTHOLOGY

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NOTE TO THE READER

In addition to a text by the curator, the volume contains essays by scholars, theorists and artists that take a historical, critical, philosophical and sociological look at the theme of multiplication in art through a variety of languages and media: magazines, books, radio, film, design, fashion, performance and editions of artists' originals and multiples, over a period that stretches from the historical Avant-Gardes to the 1970s.

The volume is completed by a chronology of the period from 1901 to 1975 accompanied by historical texts. An appendix at the end of the volume includes a list of illustrations and exhibited works, and a bibliography.

The illustrations of works and documentary materials in the volume are accompanied by short captions marked with a progressive numbering that refers to the Book and Exhibition Checklist (p. 300) in which the complete data relating to each reproduction can be found.

Duchamp, Man Ray, and Replication

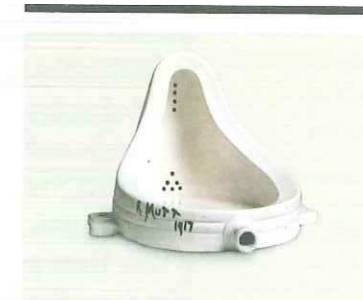
Adina Kamien-Kazhdan

Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray recognized the power of replicas and multiples to convey novel concepts, boost their reputation and render their works iconic. In the 1950s and 1960s, Duchamp and Man Ray forged particularly close relationships with scholar-poet-dealer Arturo Schwarz, who featured these artists in numerous solo or group exhibitions at the Galleria Schwarz in Milan between 1954 and 1975. Schwarz produced editioned replicas of fourteen of Marcel Duchamp's readymades in 1964–65, and editioned replicas of ten of Man Ray's objects in 1963–64 and 1971, in close collaboration with each of the artists. This essay offers a glimpse into these collaborations within the broader context of Duchamp's and Man Ray's activity in the realm of replication, exploring what originality, authenticity, and authorship meant for each artist.¹

The Israel Museum's extensive holdings of Duchamp's and Man Ray's work, together with unpublished letters between Duchamp and Man Ray and Schwarz in *The Arturo Schwarz Library of Dada and Surrealist Documents, Periodicals, Books, Manuscripts, and Letters*, provided the impetus for this study and constituted its primary source material.² This fresh material allows for a reassessment of the editioned replicas in relation to the later careers of Duchamp and Man Ray, and also clarifies Schwarz's role in the (re)production of readymades and objects. It explicates the purposes for making the editioned

replicas of objects that are of great importance to art and art history in the twentieth century, without always the necessary differentiation between original, replica, or edition.

Over the course of the 1960s and in later years, replication was practiced by numerous artists in Duchamp's and Man Ray's circle, including Alberto Giacometti, Hans Bellmer, Marcel Jean, André Masson, Meret Oppenheim, Salvador Dalí (who collaborated with Max Clarac of the *Galerie du Dragon* in Paris), and Maurice Henry (who, like Man Ray, worked with Sergio Tosi in Milan), also represented in the exhibition "The Small Utopia: *Ars Multiplicata*."



136 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Fountain, 1917 (1964)



137 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Trap, 1917 (1964)

LOST WORKS AND FILLING THE GAP

Many of Duchamp's and Man Ray's original works, created between 1913 and 1958, were lost, dismantled, or destroyed. For both artists this situation

resulted from an emphasis on the “creative act”³ rather than the object’s permanent physical realization. In addition, both artists’ lives were characterized by frequent moves or expatriations, which also contributed to the loss of works. Duchamp lived and worked in Paris, New York, and Buenos Aires; Man Ray travelled between New York, Ridgefield, Paris, Hollywood, and Paris again. Both lived through the global catastrophes of World War I and II. By the 1960s, only seven out of Duchamp’s fourteen original readymades remained. Five were donated to the Philadelphia Museum of Art by the artist’s lifelong patrons Walter and Louise Arensberg, and two were bequeathed to the Museum of Modern Art, New York, by Katherine S. Dreier, cofounder with Duchamp and Man Ray of the Société Anonyme. Man Ray’s works suffered a fate similar to that of Duchamp’s readymades, and many of Man Ray’s “Objects of My Affection” survived only as photographic images.

To fill the gap in each artist’s oeuvre, between the 1910s and 1960s Duchamp and Man Ray created or chose objects to replace lost original works, and individual replicas were chosen or produced by others authorized by the artists for exhibition purposes. Duchamp and Man Ray’s replication projects with Schwarz did more than just complete additional objects from a lost corpus. The process of replication yielded a change in the number and meaning of these objects. In fact, half of Duchamp’s “original” readymades and many of Man Ray’s objects continue to exist and can be experienced today only as editioned replicas produced by Schwarz. Despite their lack of uniqueness, these signed and numbered editioned replicas, displayed in public and private collections from the 1960s onwards, gradually became mainstreamed and eventually stand-ins for the lost originals, sharing in their status, aura, and value.

Ever probing the meaning of a work of art, Duchamp foresaw this aspect of the replica even prior to his collaboration with Schwarz. In his 1961 statement *Apropos of “Readymades”* he wrote:

“Another aspect of the ‘Readymade’ is its lack of uniqueness... the replica of the ‘Readymade’ delivering the same message, in fact nearly every one of the ‘Readymades’ existing today is not an original in the conventional sense.”⁴

THE PARADOX OF THE ORIGINAL AND ITS REINTERPRETATION

The usurpation of the “original” readymade by the editioned replica was paradoxical, since even the term “original readymade” is, in essence, an oxymoron. Duchamp’s unassisted readymade—urinal, snow shovel, or bottle rack—was chosen from an assembly line of mass-produced industrial items, among which there is no true “original.” The revolutionary value of the readymade lay precisely in dismantling the concept of the original. In 1964, Duchamp used the editioned replica to revisit questions that he had raised with the “original” readymades fifty years earlier, and to elicit a “new thought for that object.”⁵ The editioned replicas offered Duchamp an opportunity to make a “renvois miroirique” (mirror return) to the key issues provoked initially by the readymade.

The idea to edition replicas of Duchamp’s readymades might well have been born out of an earlier collaboration between Schwarz and the artist on the casting in bronze of two of Duchamp’s erotic objects that stemmed from the artist’s last major work, *Étant donnés: 1° la chute d’eau | 2° le gaz d’éclairage* (1946–66).

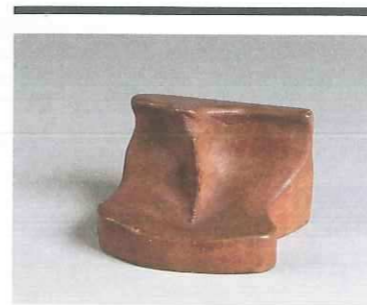
During the summer of 1962, Duchamp and Teeny paid Arturo Schwarz a visit during a trip to Milan. Over lunch with Duchamp and several other artists, Schwarz proposed the idea of issuing an edition of Duchamp’s *Objet-Dard* (*Dart-Object*, 1951, cast edition 1962) [139] through the Galleria Schwarz. In 1962 Duchamp authorized Schwarz to produce an edition of eight bronze casts (plus two additional casts for Duchamp and for Schwarz) in Milan. This sculpture would be the first editioned object by Duchamp produced by the Galleria Schwarz.

Originally created as part of a series of copper-electroplated small-scale sculptures based on broken pieces of the plaster mold that was used to make a 1949 model of the *Étant donnés* mannequin, *Objet-Dard* took its form from the female mannequin’s left breast—yet resembles a veined, detumescent penis, hence the punning title, which plays on “penetrating dart” and “art object” (*objet d’art*). The related objects, *Not a Shoe* and *Feuille de vigne femelle* (*Female Fig Leaf*) [138], were created in 1950, and *Coin de chasteté* (*Wedge of Chastity*) [140] was made in 1954 as Duchamp’s wedding gift to Alexina (Teeny) Matisse.

According to Duchamp scholar Michael Taylor, these works “derive from the molding processes that pressed animal skin into the central figure of what he [Duchamp] called his ‘sculpture-construction.’”⁶ In describing his erotic objects, Duchamp stated: “They weren’t completely trompe l’œil, but still they were very erotic just the same.”⁷ While the erotic objects attracted limited public attention during Duchamp’s lifetime, he was consistently engaged with these pieces, as evidenced by his decision to reproduce these objects as editions between 1951 and 1963.

Several of these objects were gifted to family and friends, including Man Ray, who was involved with the replication of *Female Fig Leaf*. Duchamp made two versions of *Female Fig Leaf* in 1950: one a painted plaster—which remained in Duchamp’s collection as an artist’s proof, and one in galvanized plaster, which he gave to Man Ray as a parting gift in 1951 when the latter left the United States for Paris. That year, at Duchamp’s request, Man Ray prepared an edition of ten plaster casts from the original and painted them brown. In 1961, Galerie Rive Droite in Paris issued the work in an edition of ten bronze casts.

In 1962 Duchamp, Man Ray, and Schwarz were connected through *Female Fig Leaf* and the matter of replication. In a letter dated March 27, Duchamp recounted to Man Ray



138 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Feuille de vigne femelle, 1950
(1951)



139 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Objet-Dard, 1951 (1962)



140 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Coin de chasteté, 1954 (1963)



141 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Couple of Laundress' Aprons, 1959

that he had met Schwarz in New York a few days earlier and promised him a copy of *Female Fig Leaf*, which according to Jean Larcade (Galerie Rive Droite) was in the possession of Man Ray. Duchamp regretted this promise: "*Cette promesse est une grosse erreur de ma part car Teeny m'a enqueulé pour avoir fait cette promesse et tient beaucoup à avoir cet exemplaire.*"⁸ Duchamp reported that the entire edition was sold out and asked Man Ray to help him find a solution to sat-

isfy both Teeny and Schwarz: to either have Larcade make another cast or prepare a second edition. Ultimately, it appeared that a solution was found, since a note written by Schwarz on May 17, 1962, stated that he had bought a bronze cast of Duchamp's *Female Fig Leaf* from Man Ray for USD 900.⁹

Man Ray was again involved with this matter in 1963, when Duchamp's and Man Ray's dealer in New York, Arne Ekstrom, was interested in obtaining *Female Fig Leaf*. In a letter from Man Ray to Ekstrom, the artist explained that there were some bronze casts of *Female Fig Leaf* of which Schwarz acquired one. He said that he did not know where the others may be, but was aware that Duchamp had the original signed version in galvanized plaster. He suggested that Ekstrom contact Duchamp when he was in New York that week.¹⁰ It appears that Man Ray decided to sell the second original he owned; in a following letter Man Ray thanked Ekstrom for his payment of USD 2,000 for *Female Fig Leaf*: "[...] it is the original which was a gift to me, and Marcel agreed that I sell it but I still feel he has a right to it and shall compensate him."¹¹ These narratives demonstrate how Duchamp and Man Ray collaborated in order to meet dealers' needs.

During the summer of 1963, Duchamp and Schwarz met again, this time to discuss an Italian edition of Michel Sanouillet's collection of Duchamp's writings, *Marchand du sel* (1958). They exploited this meeting to talk about the production of an edition of Duchamp's 1954 *Coin de chasteté* (*Wedge of Chastity*). Galleria Schwarz produced an edition of eight (plus two) signed and numbered copies of the piece in bronze and dental plastic.¹²

The 1962–63 replication ventures on which Duchamp and Schwarz collaborated heralded their major 1964 project of replicating the readymades. The use of casting—a traditional mode of reproduction—might have led the artist and dealer-scholar to think along these modes for the editioned replicas of the readymades.

DUCHAMP'S SELF-REPLICATION AS A PRECURSOR FOR THE EDITIONED REPLICAS

After Duchamp abandoned his complex erotic/mechanical opus, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*, most often called *The Large Glass* (1915–23), he turned to other projects, increasingly involving his earlier productions, using his own works as readymades. This recycling included the use of photographs of readymades as covers for catalogues or periodicals,

the printing of etchings, and the editioning of readymades. Duchamp found the repetitive nature of the work of his fellow artists the opposite of creativity. Thus, ironically, instead of repeating a certain style, he chose to work in the field of replication. Though replication would confine him, inevitably,

to the narrow spectrum of art that he had already made, according to Francis Naumann, Duchamp saw it as the purest way to maintain his artistic integrity.¹³

Duchamp's practice of self-replication was an implicit justification for the production of the editioned replicas. Duchamp had already legitimized the concepts of replica and multiple when he chose to create single replicas of earlier works, small editions of works, or works in multiple. Ranging from 1914 until 1968, Duchamp's editions include: *The Box of 1914* [142]—a standard container for Kodak photographic plates, containing notes and one drawing related



142 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
The Box of 1914, 1914

to his forthcoming *Large Glass*; *The Green Box* (1934) [143]—a box issued in an edition of 320 signed and numbered copies which contained a collection of notes, sketches and preliminary notes for *Large Glass*; *Rotoreliefs* (1935) [20–21], Duchamp's experiment in motion and optical effects (500 sets of six colored cardboard disks designed to be played on a gramophone) presented at the Concours Lépine, an annual fair for gadgets and inventions in Paris;¹⁴ *Pocket Chess Set* (1943); and *Waistcoat* (1957)—personalized waistcoats with the owner's name glued in lead type letters to the five buttons of each waistcoat. *Couple of Laundress' Aprons* (1959) [141, 432]—male and female pot-holders issued in an edition of twenty—was assembled by Mimi Parent for *Boîte alerte!* (1959–60) [433], the deluxe version of the exhibition catalogue *Exposition InteRnatiOnal du Surréalisme* at the Galerie Daniel Cordier; *Bouche-Evier* (*Sink Stopper*, 1964) was a lead drain-stopper made for Duchamp's bath in Cadaqués (editioned in bronze, stainless steel, and silver in 1967); and *À l'Infinifif* (*The White Box*, 1967)—an edition of 150 signed and numbered boxes containing facsimile reproductions of seventy-nine notes relating to the *Large Glass*.

Duchamp's "portable museum," known as the *Boîte-en-valise* [23], was assembled between 1935 and 1941. The carefully organized box originally contained sixty-nine reproductions of earlier works by the artist in the form of two-dimensional prints and three-dimensional miniature replicas of readymades. The valise that holds this summation of Duchamp's most important artistic achievements captures visually his status as a serial expatriate. With no fixed address and living in an environment that was politically volatile, Duchamp reproduced his work in a format and on a scale that allowed him to transport it with relative ease. With the fall of Paris to Nazi Germany in June 1940, the artist smuggled the elements of the *Boîte* out of occupied France on several trips, ultimately assembling the work in New York.¹⁵

Significantly, the *Boîte* plays on Duchamp's interest in the commercial world: the foldout box resembles a store window displaying multiple mass-produced commodities. Some compare it to a puppeteer's portable theatre,



143 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
The Green Box, 1934



144 — MARCEL DUCHAMP, *Boîte-en-valise*, 1941 (1943)

or to a salesman's sample kit. The vertical arrangement of the miniature replicas of the readymades within the valise's "exhibition space" relates to the adjacent reproduction of *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (or *The Large Glass*): the glass ampoule, *Paris Air*, next to the upper section of the bride's domain; the Underwood typewriter "skirt," *Traveler's Folding Item* [148], in the middle; and the urinal, *Fountain* [136, 368, 452], at the bottom, parallel to the bachelors' domain. Though Duchamp promoted the idea that he had ceased artistic activity,

Martha Buskirk maintained that the *Valise* "provided him with a way of continuing to make his work without making additional works."¹⁶ Moreover, Michael Taylor claimed that the "baby museums" "allowed the artist to be his own curator, organizing daily displays of his paintings and readymades simply by rearranging the contents of the valise." This ability to create and curate art independently was particularly important at a time when no public institution would consider offering him a retrospective.¹⁷

For the *Boîte-en-valise*, Duchamp used elaborate reproduction techniques—collotype printing with color applied by hand through stencils—that blurred the boundaries between the unique artwork and its reproduction in multiple. Author of *Marcel Duchamp, The Portable Museum, The Making of the Boîte-en-valise*, Ecke Bonk claimed that "Duchamp's elaborate reproduction process had resulted in 'authorized' new versions of his most important paintings. Signed and notarized like stock certificates, the reproductions had a new 'market quotation'."¹⁸ According to Dawn Ades, Neil Cox, and David Hopkins, Duchamp's divergence from conventional techniques of representation ultimately led to his experimentation with the notion of the replica, and the *Boîte-en-valise* provided Duchamp with an opportunity to study the relationships between original, mold, and cast.¹⁹ They argue that the *Boîte* should not be viewed merely as a "commercial set of reproductions of existing works," but rather as "a unique 'construction' produced serially as a limited edition. Each of the deluxe versions, moreover, contained an 'original work of art,' some of a highly personal character for the owner of that box."²⁰ More than just a thorough-yet-simple collection of Duchamp's works, the *Boîte-en-valise* highlights the artist's ability to confront technical challenges with his typical "meticulosity."²¹

Ironically, the production of the miniature replicas of the readymades involved hand-crafting the mold of an already mass-produced object in order to mass-produce

it again. This process greatly resembles Schwarz's procedure in producing the editioned replicas of the readymades, and appears to have served as a precedent for such a fabrication process. For example, since the original *Fountain* was lost, the artist made a miniature papier-mâché version, based on the Stieglitz photograph and on studio installation shots of 1917. Henri-Pierre Roché, the French journalist who was Duchamp's friend and promoter of Dada in New York, called this model a "little masterpiece of humorous sculpture."²² The papier-mâché served as a model for an inter-positive copy made by a potter, from which a mold was taken to produce the cast multiples. The first miniature *Fountains* had a white porcelain glaze, and the later ones a cheaper matt glaze.

Between 1941 and 1971, seven series of the *Boîte-en-valise* were produced, totaling more than three hundred copies.²³ The first edition was produced by Duchamp between 1941 and 1949 in a deluxe edition of 20 copies [144], each including one unique work. Series B, C, D, and E were produced in

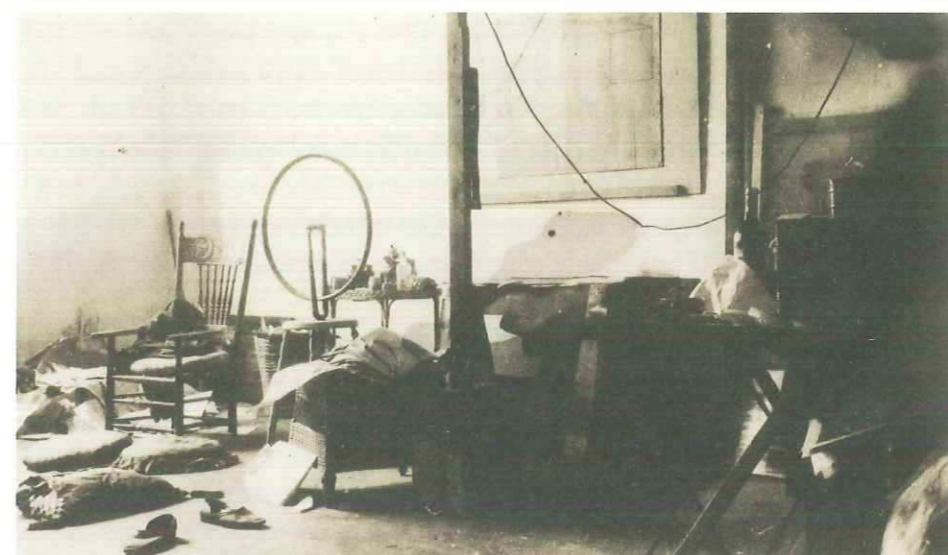
1941–52, 1958, 1961, 1963, respectively, the last two in Paris by Duchamp's stepdaughter, Jacqueline Matisse Monnier, Teeny's daughter from a previous marriage. In 1966, Schwarz supervised the production of 75 copies of the *Boîte-en-valise* (series F) [146] in Milan, which Duchamp inspected while visiting to help with details for Schwarz's catalogue raisonné of his work. This series and another (series G) produced by Schwarz between 1966 and 1971 were assembled in Paris by Matisse Monnier. Duchamp's 300 "portable museums" made it possible for viewers to experience his range of works at once and intimately.

THE EDITIONED REPLICAS

In 1964, on the fiftieth anniversary of the 1914 readymade, *Bottle Dryer*, Duchamp collaborated with Schwarz on the production of replicas the two



145 — MARCEL DUCHAMP *Boîte-en-valise*, 1941 (1961)

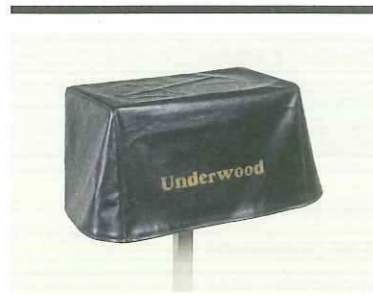


147 — Marcel Duchamp's studio with the *Bicycle Wheel* replica made by the artist in 1916, New York ca. 1917



146 — MARCEL DUCHAMP *Boîte-en-valise*, 1941 (1966)

considered his most important readymades, assisted readymades, rectified readymades, and object-constructions, in editions of eight signed and numbered examples (plus one for “the author,” one for “the publisher,” and two for museum display). The following list highlights the condition of the original objects replicated by Galleria Schwarz in 1964 [151]:



148 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Traveler's Folding Item, 1916 (1964)



149 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Why Not Sneeze, Rose Sélavy?, 1921 (1964)

- 1 *Bicycle Wheel*, original Paris 1913 / LOST
- 2 *3 Standard Stoppages (3 Stoppages Etalon)*, 1913–14
The Museum of Modern Art, New York,
Katherine S. Dreier Bequest, 149.1953.a-i
- 3 *Bottle Dryer (Bottlerack)*, Paris, May or June 1914 / LOST
- 4 *In Advance of the Broken Arm*, New York, November 1915 / LOST
- 5 *Comb (Peigne)*, New York, 11 A.M., February 17, 1916
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and
Walter Arensberg Collection
- 6 *With Hidden Noise (À bruit secret)*, New York, Easter 1916
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and
Walter Arensberg Collection
- 7 *Traveler's Folding Item (Pliant de Voyage)*, New York, 1916 / LOST
- 8 *Apolinère Enameled*, New York, 1917
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and
Walter Arensberg Collection
- 9 *Fountain*, New York, April 1917 / LOST
- 10 *Trap (Trébuchet)*, New York, 1917 / LOST
- 11 *Hat Rack*, New York, 1917 / LOST
- 12 *Paris Air*, Paris, 1919
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and
Walter Arensberg Collection
- 13 *Fresh Widow*, New York, 1920
The Museum of Modern Art, New York,
Katherine S. Dreier Bequest, 151, 1953
- 14 *Why Not Sneeze, Rose Sélavy?*, New York, 1921
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and
Walter Arensberg Collection

In an effort to understand Duchamp's practice of replication in greater depth, several scholars—primarily Francis Naumann in his book *Marcel Duchamp: The Art of Making Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*—aligned the 1964 replicas with Duchamp's earlier activity, identifying an overarching practice of replication from his early experience with printmaking through the proliferation of readymades in the 1960s. Naumann claimed that Duchamp “opened up a debate about the nature of authorship and what could properly be claimed to be an original work of art when he came up with the idea of editioning collections of his work.”²⁴ Building on this scholarship and drawing from a substantial collection of primary source material, this essay argues for the complexity of the picture, demonstrating how in some ways the

editioned replicas sharpen Duchamp's original challenge and in other ways deconstruct his original ideas and de-canonize them. The editioned replicas emerge as a device to spur rethinking, unhinge original meanings, and further blur conventional categories—aims which constitute Duchamp's major contribution to art.

A detailed study of the commissioning and fabrication of the editioned replicas reveals the altered status of Duchamp's editioned replicas in relation to his earlier readymades. Duchamp's and Schwarz's enterprise was paradoxical because it both challenged and aligned with concepts launched by the original readymades. Schwarz and Duchamp collaborated on the editioned replicas, intending to make them exact reenactments of the originals. Each of the editions was the result of rigorous research and painstaking technical processes directed by Schwarz in order to replicate the appearance of the original in every detail. For the readymades that had been lost, measurements and features were based on old photographs of the originals. For the readymades in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the reconstructions were based on plans, drawings, photos, and instructions supplied by the relevant museum. Duchamp examined and corrected the technical drawings that Schwarz had commissioned preceding the production of these custom-made editioned replicas.



150 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
In Advance of the Broken Arm, 1915 (1964)

REPLICATING BICYCLE WHEEL

Duchamp left the “original” 1913 *Bicycle Wheel*—a bicycle wheel and fork mounted upside down on a painted kitchen stool—behind in Paris when he



151 — “Homage to Marcel Duchamp” exhibition view,
Galleria Schwarz, Milan, 1964

sailed to New York in 1915; it was subsequently lost when Duchamp's sister Suzanne cleaned out his Paris studio. In 1916 Duchamp made a replica of the work for his studio in New York City at 33 West 67th Street and this version was photographed by his friend Henri-Pierre Roché [147]. In late 1950 or early 1951, Duchamp assembled a replica of *Bicycle Wheel* for the exhibition "Climax in 20th Century Art, 1913" at the Sidney Janis Gallery with a wheel and black-enameled fork Janis brought from Paris and a used stool purchased in Brooklyn, New York. Duchamp inserted the rusted stem of the front fork of a bicycle to which a wheel was attached through a metal-lined hole drilled into the seat of a mass-produced painted wooden stool.²⁵ The next replica was made in 1960 in Stockholm by Ulf Linde and Per Olof Ultvedt and inscribed by the artist: "pour copie conforme Marcel Duchamp Stockholm 1961;" in 1963 another was constructed in London by Richard Hamilton and inscribed "pour copie conforme Marcel Duchamp 1963."

In 1964 Arturo Schwarz produced an authorized edition of eight replicas of *Bicycle Wheel*. Under the seat of each stool, the artist signed *Marcel Duchamp* in black ink and on a copperplate affixed to the bottom of the seat [inscribed]: *Marcel Duchamp 1964 1/8-8/8*; engraved beneath the signature *ROUE DE BICYCLETTE, 1913 / EDITION GALERIE SCHWARZ, MILAN*. Three replicas outside the edition were reserved for the artist (inscribed *Marcel Duchamp ex. Rose*), publisher (inscribed: *Marcel Duchamp ex. Arturo*), and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (inscribed in felt marker: *For the Philadelphia Museum of Art | Marcel Duchamp | 1964*). Two additional replicas were also made for museum exhibition, inscribed on plate, under seat of stool: A. Schwarz I/II-II/II, engraved: *ROUE DE BICYCLETTE / EDITION GALERIE SCHWARZ, MILAN | Ex. h.c. pour exposition, 1964*. Schwarz donated Ex I/II to The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, on the occasion of a 1972 Duchamp exhibition, and gifted Ex II/II to the National Gallery of Modern Art, Rome, in 1997.

According to Schwarz, Duchamp preferred to have the editioned replicas fabricated rather than bought or assembled from readymade components. This method distanced the artist further from the creative process yet simultaneously led to the creation of something new, free from the vice of repetition that Duchamp so abhorred. In Milan, Schwarz commissioned a professional draftsman to execute technical drawings for five of the readymades from which he produced the editioned replicas by enlarging old photographs of each readymade (the majority from the *Boîte-en-valise*). These detailed one-to-one drawings included measurements and indications regarding materials. Duchamp reviewed each drawing, "press-proofed" it, made corrections, answered Schwarz's questions, and signed off in red pen *OK Marcel Duchamp*. Schwarz explained, "sometimes he [Duchamp] did make corrections so we destroyed, and made again, until it was the perfect one... It took a long time to do this job, until he was really satisfied."²⁶ Indeed, it is an ironic twist or "mirrorical return" to go back to an industrial artist for these technical drawings, someone who could have been the designer of the "original" urinal, bicycle wheel, etc.!



152 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Bicycle Wheel, 1913 (1951)



153 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Bicycle Wheel, 1913 (1960)



154 — MARCEL DUCHAMP
Bicycle Wheel, 1913 (1964)

Schwarz produced his edition of *Bicycle Wheel* according to photographs of Duchamp's 1916 replica. Two technical drawings were prepared for the production of the *Bicycle Wheel* edition on the basis of these photographs. In order to decipher other aspects of *Bicycle Wheel* that were unclear in the photograph, Schwarz also examined a 1915 bicycle exhibited at the Museum of Science and Technology in Milan. The first working drawing (dated May 1964) depicted the kitchen stool for *Bicycle Wheel*. On this drawing Schwarz questioned Duchamp whether the stool should be lacquered white or left in its natural-wood color; Duchamp crossed out the latter and wrote in red ink: "lacqué blanc;" he approved and signed: *OK Marcel Duchamp*. The one-to-one technical drawing of the bicycle fork (frontal and side views) detailed the connection to the stool and was approved, signed, and dated July 24, 1964. This drawing is stamped with the name and address of "Arredamenti Zaroli," the Milan manufacturer of some of the replicas. I contacted this company and was told that it did not keep or file any of the material regarding the replication of the readymades.

Though we do not know the shape of the 1913 original Paris version, the Schwarz edition resembles the replica Duchamp made in 1916 in New York in the structure of the wheel, its fork, and stool, and its relative proportions. The edition made by Schwarz has a straight fork like Duchamp's 1916 version—a correction vis-à-vis the curved fork of the Janis, Linde, and Hamilton replicas.

The *Bicycle Wheel* edition was not completed in time for the exhibition "Homage to Marcel Duchamp" held in June 1964 at the Galleria Schwarz. It is possible that Schwarz exhibited either the Linde and Ultvedt 1960 Swedish replica, or the as-yet uncorrected prototype of the edition (see installation photographs). The exhibition catalogue *Marcel Duchamp, Ready-Mades, etc. (1913–1964)*—designed by Duchamp in collaboration with Schwarz, and comprising essays by Walter Hopps,²⁷ Ulf Linde, and Arturo Schwarz—reproduced a version with curved fork and unpainted stool (photographed by Attilio Bacci). It is my understanding (based on installation photographs and dates of technical drawings) that when Duchamp came for the opening, he reviewed the drawings and prototype and Schwarz implemented the artist's directives after the exhibition closed, completing it prior to Duchamp's visit in September 1964 to sign the edition.

Upon his return to Neuilly, Duchamp expressed his gratitude to Schwarz for the care he had invested in the exhibition and catalogue, and the two continued to work on the production of the editions:

"Cher Arturo,
Nous avons tellement de remerciements à vous faire que nous ne savons pas par où commencer. D'abord l'exposition certainement remarquable et ensuite le soin que vous y avez mis—et puis

le catalogue un chef d'œuvre et un document si important pour nous. Enfin Teeny vous envoie un merci spécial pour le sac petit-point de Venise si joli! Par le même courrier je vous adresse le grand rouleau bien reçu. Le surdeli de la pelle à neige est parfait sauf pour un renforcement en fer non galvanisé que j'ai indiqué sur le dessin. Nous partons Jeudi soir à 9 heures—Peut-être nous verrons nous à Paris avant.

Très affectueusement à tous—Marcel Duchamp et Teeny.”²⁸

In a 1967 dialogue published in *L'Œil* with his first monographer, Robert Lebel, Duchamp responded to Lebel's criticism of the editioned replicas, emphasizing his great pleasure with Schwarz's exacting attitude as well as with his own intense involvement in the project:

“En effet, je suis très satisfait du soin presque fanatique avec lequel Schwarz a réussi à reproduire les *ready-mades*. La *Roue de bicyclette* n'est pas n'importe quelle roue de bicyclette qui aurait eu la fourche courbe. Schwarz s'est donné la peine de faire copier la fourche droite de l'ancienne photographie... Je n'ai pas contribué à l'exécution de la série de Stockholm mais je me suis occupé de celles de Milan au point d'en donner le 'bon à tirer,' j'y veillais, voyez-vous.”²⁹

Duchamp's involvement in the replication process and the degree of fidelity in appearance to the originals was unprecedented among the earlier replicas of his readymades. However, the process of producing custom-made readymades was anathema to the original concept of the industrial object, which was chosen readymade. Over the course of this process, the readymades and objects became, in essence, custom-made limited-edition objects—an ironic recasting of the readymade, a displacement or redefinition of the original conception.

On the one hand, the highly-invested processes and efforts at verisimilitude, which characterized Duchamp's editioned replicas, contradict the artist's rejection of the “retinal.” On the other hand, as editions, they sharpen the original readymade's challenge to the unique, auratic, and valuable work of art. Supervised by Duchamp, but executed by Schwarz and the artisans/factories he employed to construct the editioned replicas, these recreations also underscore Duchamp's initial challenge to authorship launched with the “original” readymades and stretch the artist's concept of dehumanizing the work of art to an extreme. Additionally, the editions develop Duchamp's ideas concerning molds and casts and the “infrathin” differences that exist between objects or experiences.

MAN RAY

In contrast to the great precision that characterized the Duchamp—Schwarz project, the Man Ray—Schwarz replication process was less concerned with extreme fidelity. It reflected Man Ray's position that “to create is divine,

to reproduce is human.”³⁰ In this case, it was less a process of mechanical reproduction and more an issue of locating the components from which to remake or recreate the original juxtaposition of objects. As long as the object conveyed the same idea or word-play as the original, both Man Ray and Schwarz were satisfied. Perhaps in response to Man Ray's flexible flow between the mediums of painting, photography (“artistic” and commercial), and object-making, both artist and dealer adopted a more relaxed attitude towards the editioned replicas, as Man Ray defined it: “approximating the form” and accepting that the replicas “cannot be exactly like the originals but we can preserve the spirit.”³¹

The ten objects by Man Ray, which Schwarz replicated in 1963–64 and in 1971, each in an edition of ten (plus three artist's proofs: two for Man Ray and one for Schwarz), include:



155 — MAN RAY, *Obstruction*, 1920 (1964)



156 — MAN RAY, *The Enigma of Isidore Ducasse*, 1920 (1971)

- 1 *Cadeau (Gift)*, Paris, 1921 / LOST
- 2 *Obstruction*, New York, 1920 / LOST
- 3 *The Enigma of Isidore Ducasse (L'énigme d'Isidore Ducasse)*, Paris, 1920 / LOST
- 4 *Target (Mire Universelle)*, Paris, 1933 / LOST
- 5 *Main Ray*, Paris, 1935
The Vera and Arturo Schwarz Collection of Dada and Surrealist Art, Israel Museum
- 6 *Venus Restored (Vénus restaurée)*, Paris, 1936 / LOST
- 7 *Palettable*, Hollywood, 1941
Collection of Kate Steinitz, Los Angeles
- 8 *Monument to the Unknown Painter (Monument au peintre inconnu)*, Paris, 1955
The Vera and Arturo Schwarz Collection of Dada and Surrealist Art, Israel Museum
- 9 *French Ballet I (Ballet Français I)*, Paris, 1956 / LOST
- 10 *It's Springtime I*, Paris, 1958
The Morton G. Neumann Collection, Chicago

Focus on the exhibitions of Man Ray's work at the Galleria Schwarz and the interrelated replication of his objects reveals a significant collaborative process. Man Ray's dialogue with Schwarz, as well as other gallerists, on the replication of “Objects of My Affection” illuminates the artist's views in relation to the topic of originality and the evolution of his practice of replication. Man Ray used replication to explore central issues of creativity, the distinctions between media, the place of the idea or spirit of the work of art, and differences between the original, handmade replicas, and commercial replicas. Man Ray's and Schwarz's respective approaches and decision-making processes influenced Man Ray's future artistic activity, leading to the further editioning of his work and the creation of new works that stemmed from replication. Man Ray was preoccupied with the permanence of his

works as well as with his artistic legacy. His aspiration was that the exhibition, publication and replication of his works would ensure greater exposure and appreciation for his multi-form artistic activity.

Man Ray's background as an immigrant (and son of immigrants) propelled him to focus his art on issues of self and identity. I argue that for Man Ray, replication provided permanence, making his "destructible" objects more "permanent" or "indestructible" (an idea that Man Ray invokes in the titles of a number of his works). As explored in Mason Klein's recent Jewish Museum exhibition, Man Ray was concerned with the construction of an artistic persona through a series of subtle and encrypted self-references throughout his career.³² His seemingly-contradictory wish to achieve both fame and oblivion, his sense of otherness coupled with the problem of assimilation (the desire to become "a tree *en espalier*," a tree trained to grow into a vine that becomes entwined with others, its origins disguised) are also manifest in the editioned objects. Man Ray wanted his objects to be remembered and circulate; significantly, he did not want to be pegged as an artist of value only within the movement or period assigned to him by the art establishment.

PROFIT AND RECEPTION

Replicas produced by Schwarz in collaboration with Duchamp and Man Ray allowed for a more complete presentation of each artist's work in exhibitions and publications. Offered for sale at the Galleria Schwarz in Milan, as well as at other galleries with which Schwarz had working relationships, these signed and numbered replicas were also a profitable venture for both artists and dealer. These joint projects, together with Schwarz's publications on Duchamp and Man Ray (*The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, 1969, and *Man Ray, The Rigour of Imagination*, 1977), established Schwarz as a dealer, scholar, and promoter of artists.

Schwarz was, and continues to be, a generous lender to Man Ray exhibitions shown at diverse galleries and museums; often, through his involvement, Man Ray's work was displayed, published and editioned by numerous galleries in Europe and the United States with whom Schwarz had working relationships.

In France, Man Ray collaborated on the replication of objects with Daniel Spoerri/Editions MAT (see *Lampshade* [159], original 1919, multiple 1959; and *Indestructible Object* [160], original 1923, multiple 1965), with Marcel Zerbib (Galerie Diderot, Galerie Europe, Paris), and with Lucien Treillard and Georges Visat; in Italy, editions were produced by Giorgio Marconi, Milan (see *Emak Bakia* [161], lost original 1926, editioned replica 1970; and *New York*, original 1920, editioned replica 1973), Sergio Tosi and Fausta Squatriti (Milan), and Luciano Anselmino/Galleria Il Fauno, Turin and



157 — MAN RAY
Main Ray, 1935 (1971)



158 — MAN RAY
Venus Restored, 1936 (1971)

Milan (see *Cadeau* [162], original 1921, multiple 1974), in addition to Man Ray's extensive collaboration with Schwarz; in New York, Man Ray was represented by Arne Ekstrom (Cordier & Ekstrom Gallery) and produced editions with Marion Goodman (Multiples Inc.)/Castelli Graphics. These individuals and galleries promoted Man Ray through exhibition, publication, and marketing of his works in many media, originals and works in edition.

Man Ray's collaboration with Arturo Schwarz and other gallerists yielded new visual experiences and led to the perpetuation of objects that would otherwise have been lost from the artist's oeuvre. However, the multitude of replication projects in Man Ray's later years, resulting from the artist's flexible attitude towards replication, led to significant variations in many objects during the replication process from original to edition. In the production of editioned objects, the original materials were altered or adapted to those available or favored decades later, often producing fresh polished objects divergent from the somewhat raw finish that seems inherent to many of the originals due to their artisanal creation process and aging. This disparity creates a blurred sense of authorship and authenticity in some cases. Man Ray endorsed these variations on his originals because he was more interested in the continued lives of his objects than in the faithfulness of an edition to its original. With historical hindsight, however, we understand that the multiplicity of editions, along with the long shadow cast by Duchamp's readymades over Man Ray's objects, has minimized the critical attention Man Ray's objects have received from artists and scholars.

Duchamp's influence peaked in the 1960s within movements such as Pop Art, Nouveau Réalisme, and Fluxus, which incorporated, appropriated, or developed the use of the readymade and the multiple, usually with only a partial understanding of Duchamp's original intentions. Artists, curators, and collectors became increasingly interested in Duchamp's conceptual revolution and in Man Ray's poetic and thought-provoking objects. Fittingly, during this same period, the two artists became involved in the editioning of their work.

Although Duchamp was lauded by artist colleagues and historians for the concept of the readymade, the reception of the editioned replicas was not unequivocal in the art world; some felt that Duchamp was compromising his artistic integrity by issuing editions of his readymades. Important critics, such as Lebel, had already cast doubt on the validity of the earlier replication of Duchamp's works by the Moderna Museet Stockholm team—Pontus Hultén, Ulf Linde, and Per Olof Ultvelt, who had preceded Schwarz and made exhibition copies of several readymades in the early 1960s. In the 1967 interview with Duchamp, quoted above, Lebel claimed that Duchamp had become an "accepteur," excessively laissez-faire regarding the proliferation of his work.³³ Lebel found fault with the commercial aspect of Schwarz's edi-



159 — MAN RAY
Lampshade, 1919 (1964)



160 — MAN RAY
Indestructible Object, 1923 (1965)

tioned replicas and also criticized the cold, non-art quality of the replicas.

Yet, Duchamp expressed his pleasure with the level of precision exercised in the production of the Schwarz editions: "En effet, je suis très satisfait du soin presque fanatique avec lequel Schwarz a réussi à reproduire les ready-mades [...] Si ces ready-mades, qui ont vécu dans le noir pendant quarante, cinquante ans, reviennent sur l'eau, je ne vois pas d'objections à ce qu'on en fasse des éditions, comme pour des sculptures, puis-que le *Porte-bouteilles* est reproduit à titre de sculpture dans le livre de Mme Giedion-Welcker."³⁴ I understand Duchamp's ironic remark to mean that if the readymades are paradoxically classified within the traditional category of sculpture, he might as well make editions of them, just as is done with bronze sculptures, thereby creating "category confusion." And perhaps Duchamp was also referring (by implication) to the fact that Schwarz remade the readymades as sculpture, in the sense that they are individually crafted.

While the collaboration was probably triggered by the heightened interest in readymades that emerged in the 1960s, the Duchamp-Schwarz editioned replicas were also offered as a challenge to those who appreciated and appropriated the readymade for its aesthetic qualities.³⁵ At the height of the readymade era, "encouraged by his imitators," Duchamp chose to reinvent his creative self. While the collaborative project was in the spirit of his earlier iconoclastic endeavors, the editioned replicas constituted a new entity that challenged his original ideas of the 1910s and early 1920s, a fresh attempt to arouse controversy, defy the artistic establishment, and take control of his artistic legacy.

Until Duchamp and Man Ray's collaboration with Schwarz, all extant original readymades and objects were located in museums or private collections; there was no market for them. The collaboration between the artists and Schwarz also offered Duchamp and Man Ray an opportunity to explore ideas concerning artistic value through the development of a market for the editioned replicas. A study of the art market history of the Duchamp and Man Ray replicas—in relation to art historical commentary, re-appropriation by contemporary artists, and museum purchasing policies—lies beyond the scope of this essay but demonstrates how the reception of the replicas has evolved and how such changes reflect broad shifts in the values attached to originality within the art establishment. The mapping out of works from original through replica explicates how the replica resurrected the readymade and object, revived Duchamp's and Man Ray's post-war reputations, and contributed to their future centrality for contemporary art.



161 — MAN RAY
Emak Bakia, 1926 (1970)



162 — MAN RAY
Cadeau, 1921 (1974)

- 1 For further research on this subject, see Adina Kamien-Kazhdan "Remaking the Readymade: Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray in the Galleria Schwarz," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Essex, Colchester, 2012. The wider study focuses on the collaboration between Duchamp, Man Ray and Schwarz on the replication of readymades and objects, and offers a new and detailed account of the commissioning and fabrication of the replicas. It discusses the relationship between the replicas and the originals, and explores the practice of replication throughout the careers of Duchamp and Man Ray in a comparative fashion.
- 2 The central arguments put forth are based on an analysis of correspondence between Duchamp, Man Ray and Schwarz, as well as on extensive correspondence with other individuals, galleries, and institutions involved with replication during this period, drawn from the Arturo Schwarz Library at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, the Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives, the Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, the Fonds Man Ray, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Pompidou, Paris, and gallery files of Mr. Nicholas Ekstrom, New York. Additional source material includes archival information regarding exhibitions at the Galleria Schwarz, personal interviews and ongoing correspondence with Arturo Schwarz, as well as telephone interviews and correspondence with other individuals involved with Duchamp and Man Ray in the 1960s and 1970s.
- 3 Marcel Duchamp, "The Creative Act." Session given by Duchamp at the convention of the American Federation of Arts, Houston, Texas, April 1957, in *Art News*, vol. 56, no. 4 (Summer 1957), pp. 28–29.
- 4 Marcel Duchamp, "Apropos of 'Readymades'." Talk delivered at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, October 1961, in *Art and Artists*, vol. 1, no. 4 (July 1966), p. 47.
- 5 From "The Richard Mutt Case," *P.B.T. The Blind Man*, no. 2 (May 1917), an article protesting the suppression of Richard Mutt's *Fountain*-urinal from the Independents exhibition. See Dawn Ades, "The Blind Man and New York Dada," in Dawn Ades (ed.), *The Dada Reader. A Critical Anthology* (London: Tate Publishing, 2006), pp. 146–57.
- 6 Michael Taylor, *Marcel Duchamp: Étant donnés*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2009, p. 231.
- 7 Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 88.
- 8 Marcel Duchamp to Man Ray, 27 March 1962, p. 2 (Pompidou). "This promise was a big mistake on my part, as Teeny gave me hell for having made this promise and is totally bent on having this copy." Translation from Naumann and Obalk (eds.), *Affectionately Marcel*, pp. 376–77, no. 271.
- 9 Arturo Schwarz to Man Ray, Paris, May 17, 1962, p. 1 (Pompidou).
- 10 Man Ray to Arne Ekstrom, Paris, September 28, 1963, p. 1 (Ekstrom Gallery files, New York).
- 11 Man Ray to Arne Ekstrom, Paris, October 23, 1963, p. 1 (Ekstrom).
- 12 Prior to Schwarz's edition, Duchamp had made one plaster version for his chess-player friend, Sacha Maruchess in 1954, and in March 1963 Gertrude Stein commissioned an unauthorized edition of seven bronze casts. According to Schwarz, Duchamp was displeased with the casting results and asked that the edition be destroyed. Stein complied, but kept two of the casts (Arturo Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), p. 803).
- 13 Francis M. Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp: The Art of Making Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), p. 17.
- 14 Several editions of *Rotoreliefs* were issued: 1935 Paris (edition of 12, Duchamp), 1953 New York (Enrico Donati, edition of 1,000 [ca. 600 sets accidentally destroyed]), 1959 Paris (Sporri/Editions MAT, edition of 100), 1963 New York (Duchamp, edition of five), and 1965 Milan (Galleria Schwarz, edition of 150, with wall-mounted turntable and unit designed by Duchamp after the 1963 edition).
- 15 See T. J. Demos, *The Exiles of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).
- 16 Martha Buskirk, "Thoroughly Modern Marcel," in *October*, vol. 70 (Fall 1994), p. 116.
- 17 Michael Taylor, "Blind Man's Buff does it say Buff or Bluff?": *Marcel Duchamp's Fountain and the Reception of the Readymades, 1913–1968*, Thesis (Ph.D.), University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art, 1998), p. 135.
- 18 Ecke Bonk, *Marcel Duchamp, The Portable Museum, The Making of the Boîte-en-valise de ou par Marcel Duchamp ou Rose Sélavy*, trans. David Britt (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 154.
- 19 Dawn Ades, Neil Cox and David Hopkins, *Marcel Duchamp* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), p. 180.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 174–75.
- 22 H.-P. Roché, "Journal," Roché Archives, The University of Texas at Austin, in William A. Camfield, "Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain: Its History and Aesthetics in the Context of 1917*," in Rudolf Kuenzli and Francis M. Naumann (eds.), *Marcel Duchamp: Artist of the Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), p. 72.
- 23 1941, Paris; 1942–49, New York, Series A: 20 boxes, numbered I/XX-XX/XX; 1941, Paris; 1942–54, New York, Series B: 60–75 boxes, unnumbered; 1958, Paris, Series C: 30 boxes, unnumbered; 1961, Paris, Series D: 30 boxes, unnumbered; 1963, Paris, Series E: 30 boxes, unnumbered; 1966, Paris-Milan, Series F: 75 boxes, unnumbered; 1966–March 1971, Paris-Milan, Series G: 47 boxes, unnumbered.
- 24 Francis M. Naumann, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 25 Anne Umland and Adrian Sudhalter with Scott Gerson (eds.), *Dada in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2008), pp. 106–07.
- 26 Schwarz-Kamien-Kazhdan interview, September 25, 2007.
- 27 Walter Hopps's essay "Marcel Duchamp: A System of Paradox in Resonance" was first published in his 1963 Pasadena exhibition catalogue.
- 28 Marcel Duchamp to Arturo Schwarz, Neuilly, 26 June 1964, p. 2 (The Arturo Schwarz Library of Dada and Surrealist Documents, Periodicals, Books, Manuscripts, and Letters in The Israel Museum, Jerusalem). "Dear Arturo, We owe you so many thanks that we do not know where to start. First, [for] the exhibit which was certainly remarkable and also the care that you devoted to it—and then the catalogue which is a masterpiece and a document that is so important to us. Finally, Teeny sends you a special thanks for the beautiful Venetian bag with small stitching! By the same messenger I am sending you the big roll well received. The *surdéli* (plan?) of the snow shovel is perfect except for a reinforcement in non-galvanized iron which I indicated on the drawing. We leave Thursday evening at 9:00—maybe we will see you in Paris before then. Very affectionately to all—Marcel
- 29 Robert Lebel, "Marcel Duchamp maintenant et ici," *L'Œil*, 149 (May 1967), p. 22. "I am very pleased with the fanatical care with which Schwarz has succeeded in reproducing the readymades. The *Bicycle Wheel* for instance is not any bicycle wheel, which would have had a curved fork. Schwarz took great pains in having it made with a straight fork, as in the old photograph... I had nothing to do with the execution of the Stockholm series but I involved myself with the Milanese ones to the point of 'press-proofing' each item. I oversaw them, you see."
- 30 "An original is a creation motivated by desire. Any reproduction of an original is motivated by necessity... It is marvelous that we are the only species that creates gratuitous forms. To create is divine, to reproduce is human." Quoted from *Originals Graphic Multiples*, ca. 1968, in Man Ray, *Objets de mon affection*, preface by Jean-Hubert Martin, with six texts by Man Ray (Paris: Philippe Sers, 1983), p. 158.
- 31 Man Ray to Arturo Schwarz, Paris, 12 January 1971, p. 2 (The Arturo Schwarz Library of Dada and Surrealist Documents, Periodicals, Books, Manuscripts, and Letters in The Israel Museum, Jerusalem).
- 32 Mason Klein, *Alias Man Ray: The Art of Reinvention* (New York, New Haven and London: The Jewish Museum, Yale University Press, 2009).
- 33 Robert Lebel, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 23. "I am very pleased with the fanatical care with which Schwarz has succeeded in reproducing the readymades [...] if these readymades, which have lived in the dark for forty or fifty years, are now resurfacing, I do not see any reason to object to their being made as editions, as in the case of sculpture, seeing that *Bottlerack* is reproduced under the title sculpture in the book by Mme Giedion-Welcker."
- 35 See Michael Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–94.