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**Conscripting the 'Jura-Paris road': military themes in the
work of Marcel Duchamp**

PhD Thesis

University of Wales, Newport

Kieran Lyons

17 April 2007

Newport School of Art, Media and Design

DECLARATION

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My three sisters would expect to be credited and so I will take this opportunity to do so. Of the three, Véronique ought to step forward for her guidance over long passages of translation and also for her perspicacity in introducing me to Jacques Dreux and Henri Lesoin, both instrumental in this process of research. Bryony Dalefield, my partner, has supported me throughout this period. Over the years she has begun to think of me as a 'presence in the attic', stirring occasionally to change a light bulb, while muttering incomprehensibly about an *enfant phare*. I'm not suggesting that Bryony is incapable of changing light bulbs without my help, but she has got used to my more or less total absence from everything except the dinner table and a few mundane chores. The problem for Bryony now is how to adjust to my re-integration into domestic affairs.

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My connection with the main themes of this thesis, the military ones in particular are fairly remote. I was never a soldier although my father and brother, when they were alive, were both serving officers in the Royal Artillery. This paper is dedicated to them, with love, as well as to my mother, who born in France, retained, throughout her life, the same distinctive accent that derived from the mountain regions of the Jura where, as a little girl she grew up in the town of Morez, just a few kilometres from the village of Étival. The topic of this thesis has mysteriously settled into a zone that is defined by these three people.

Summary

Conscripting the 'Jura-Paris road': military themes in the work of Marcel Duchamp

The research claims that Marcel Duchamp was significantly affected by military structures in France between 1905-1915 and that this relationship between the artist and the military establishment becomes evident as a theme in his work of the period. This military theme resurfaces periodically as an identifiable thematic throughout his life.

The thesis is driven by questions that link together two episodes in Duchamp's career that although regularly cited have never been considered in relation to one another:

- his military conscription in 1905 – 1906.
- the automobile journey between the Jura and Paris in October 1912 and its formulation into the note, the 'Jura-Paris road.'

These two events appear routinely in the literature on Marcel Duchamp; nevertheless they attract insufficient critical attention and in the case of the 'Jura-Paris road', remains as a mysterious anomaly that is particularly resistant to analysis. The continual reference to these two events, in the literature, without satisfactory exegesis only relegates their importance to the marginalia of Duchamp's career, and this problem is addressed in this thesis. Rather than being marginal events, Marcel Duchamp's conscription into the army and his later formulation, seven years later, of the Jura to Paris motor-journey in terms of a military invasion of territory, should be interpreted as episodes of more central importance. They contribute significantly to an understanding of his practice in this period and in his subsequent work. The thesis tracks this military influence through a range of the artist's work, which the author brings together as a strand that he describes as his 'Military Preoccupation.' The thesis is arranged into six chapters that consider this material in terms of its literature, artefacts and competing histories, backed up by field research.

Key Words: Duchamp — 1905-1915 — Conscription — Jura-Paris road — Military Preoccupation.

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'three'

- CABANNE: You continued elaborating the 'Large Glass' with the 'Three Malic Moulds,'
- DUCHAMP: No, there were nine of them.
- CABANNE: Right. But you started by making three. Almost at the same time as the 'Three Standard Stoppages,' and perhaps for the same reason.
- DUCHAMP: No, at first I thought of eight but I thought, that's not a multiple of three. It didn't go with my idea of threes. I added one, which made nine. There were nine 'Malic Moulds.' How did they come?

3^e CORPS D'ARMÉE
5^e Division
9^e Brigade

39^e Regiment d' Infanterie
CERTIFICAT DE BONNE CONDUITE

*La Commission spéciale du 39^e Regiment d' Infanterie
instituée en execution du Règlement du 20 octobre 1892 sur le
Service intérieur des troupes,*

*Certifie que le — **Caporal DUCHAMP** — N°6871
Henri, Robert, Marcel*

*A tenue bonne conduite pendant le temps qu'il est resté sous les
drapeaux, et qu'il y a constamment servi avec honneur et fidélité.*

(Cabanne 1973: 48)

(Extract from Marcel Duchamp's *Certificat de Bonne Conduite*: 1906: 1)

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Outline of Argument

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Fig. 0.1
Répartition et emplacement des troupes de l'armée française (Troop Dispositions of the French Army), 1905. Detail.

0.0.1. Introduction

This thesis revisits the work of Marcel Duchamp, situating it in the context of French military culture between the period of his conscription into the infantry in 1905 and his arrival in New York with a discharge from the army in the summer of 1915. The claim of the thesis is that through an examination of the military requirements the French government imposed on Duchamp important issues emerge in relation to four written notes that he produced in 1912.

These notes were published separately and all have come to be known collectively as the 'Jura-Paris road.' Commentators have regularly cited the notes that comprise the 'Jura-Paris road' because as a group they detail a motor journey made in 1912, which then became an inspirational catalyst for Duchamp. Nevertheless, the actual importance and relevance of the journey within the canon of his work has remained obscure. Within the notes are to be found references that suggest routines and procedures that are couched in the language of territorial aggression that has an organized, military nature and these will be examined in the course of this thesis.

By reading the 'Jura-Paris road' as a form of military text, it can be located within a nexus of related artworks that can be understood in terms of a larger military preoccupation. This interpretation challenges

the predominant view of Duchamp as disengaged from the events and responsibilities of his day and presents him instead as a bleak observer and pessimistic commentator of the French military escalation leading to the outbreak of war in August 1914. The scope of Duchamp's thoughts on these matters will be revealed through the examination of further notes and artefacts that create a supporting network around the 'Jura-Paris road.' The tone of the notes can be gauged in this extract from a letter sent to his friend Walter Pach in America in March 1915 when he wrote:

There is talk of the 'great spring attack' supposed to be decisive. There's a lot of confidence in the air with the first buds of spring. I remember only too well the same confidence in the month of August and it just seems to me that civilians are getting carried away. (Naumann & Obalk 2000: 32)

The misapplication of military confidence that Duchamp identifies here can be traced to a recurring theme in his work; it will be seen to resonate beyond the initial ten-year period of 1905-1915 and will continue to surface and re-surface throughout his long career.

0.0.2. Military evasions

Marcel Duchamp's work has been previously arranged into various organised groups in order to reflect particular themes and points of view, but never with the aim of linking them back to his period of conscription in 1905-06 and the military preoccupations that followed. Duchamp, quite exceptionally, managed to reduce his period of conscription in 1905 by volunteering early. Then by arranging a temporary medical discharge in 1909 he secured a more permanent exemption, excused on health grounds, telling Walter Pach in January 1915:

I am doomed to remain a civilian for the entire duration of the war. They said I was too sick [*malade*] to be a soldier¹. (Naumann & Obalk 2000: 30)

One can only guess at the nuances behind Duchamp's underlining of the term '*malade*' here. The details of his conscription and release from service have been regularly repeated to the extent that they have become incorporated into the official chronology of his life at this time and vaguely assumed to contribute towards the progress of his artistic maturity. However, the standard narrative moves too quickly over this episode before passing on to focus elsewhere; it relegates this military avoidance to the marginalia of his career seen best as a typical example of his youthful ingenuity, rebellious nature and disdain for authority. His period of conscription, in this commentary, is consigned to further obscurity in the shadow of his more mature preoccupations. An inquiry into the question of how this unusual sequence of military and medical exemptions can have been permitted at a critical time, when the period of mobilisation was being increased rather than reduced, has never really been addressed in the literature on Duchamp. At the time the French military authorities were recruiting every available man under the age of forty-five into the armed forces and the effect of this extraordinary evasion of military duty needs to be looked at in terms of the

consequences and outcomes that affected his career as well as his personal and social relations with artists, literary colleagues, friends and family. The question of why Duchamp cooperated with his biographers, (Cabanne 1971: 19) in perpetuating the ambiguity over, what is effectively, a lacuna in his career has never been conducted and the significance of his extraordinary process of military avoidance will be addressed here.

0.0.3. Artistic and military impositions

In his early twenties, between 1909 and 1912, Marcel Duchamp bridled under the pressure of two forms of authority. The first was defined by the patronising attitude of his two older brothers and is comprehensively surveyed elsewhere in terms of the elder brothers' conformity to the particularly focused nationalism of salon cubism that Duchamp had to accept while he remained in their circle. (Cabanne 1975 [1976]: 91. & Antliff 1992: 107-134) Salon-cubism was the most internally regulated art movement of the immediate pre-war period and Duchamp submitted to its control with increasing reluctance. The relationship came to an end in the humiliating rejection of his painting 'Nude Descending a Staircase, no.2' from the *Salon des Indépendants* in March 1912. Evidence will be brought to show how some of the formal logic of this painting originated from the experience of his military service, which links to the second imposition of control that was exerted on Duchamp at this time; not as an isolated individual in the face of the accepted protocols of cubism, this time, but in joint company with the mass of eighteen to twenty-one year old Frenchmen who comprised the conscripted strength of the army. These conscripts, in the words of the physiologist Josefa Joteyka, commissioned to report on the conscription process in 1905, were trained into a condition of 'military listlessness', and in consequence of over-training languished unproductively in regimental barracks all over France:

The condition of neurasthenia caused by over-training is a serious issue in military life; not only for the individual soldier, but entire battalions suffer from overtraining². (Joteyko 1905: 84)

At issue was, not only the range of physical activities that that soldiers underwent, but also the length of military conscription.

By 1912, the military authority was beginning to reclaim its prestige after a period of unpopularity initiated by the Dreyfus affair (1894-1906), when the loyalties of the officer *cadre* of the army had turned inwards to protect a set of interests that were seen as distinctly self-serving. The army's reputation began to reassert itself in the impending call to arms and in light of this emergency redefined itself along less partisan and more genuinely nationalistic lines. The increasingly strident debate over national conscription from 1911 onwards put the army at the centre of a popular nationalist movement that found definition in the enthusiastic preparation for the future war with Germany and Duchamp, who had spent a productive working summer in Germany in 1912, affirmed his opposition to conscription in one of his notes of 1914.

This thesis addresses itself to the questions that arise from this double imposition of authority in respect of both Duchamp's artistic peer and sibling group and from the imperatives of a resurgent military culture. Duchamp responded to both of these in ways that were untypical of a man in his social group and indeed differently from virtually every other cubist painter of his generation in that he began to reference military subject matter and inevitably the preparations and ultimately the prosecution of the war in his work. He did this, initially, by developing a set of working modalities that ran counter to the prevailing methodologies of cubism. (Henderson 1998: 58) His project for the 'Jura-Paris road' signals these intentions and the note is revealed in this thesis as a key text through which, in coded language, Duchamp develops his preoccupation with the details and the limitations of the French military imagination. In so doing he produced, in the same text a work of art that indicated his direction away from the dominance of Parisian artistic culture as it was defined and constituted in the cubist imagination. In another correspondence to Walter Pach he reveals the extent of this distaste for the oppressive atmosphere in Paris:

I am not going to New York, I am leaving Paris. That is quite different.
(Duchamp [Naumann]. 2000: 36)

0.0.4. Military preoccupations in the peer group

Military preoccupations appear as a consistent theme in Marcel Duchamp's work, perhaps more so than in the work of the other artists of his generation who actually fought in the war. Of the artists who shaped the course of twentieth century art, Duchamp is perhaps singular in his systematic return to themes with a military provenance. These began to develop in Duchamp's case in the period when war with Germany was keenly anticipated between 1909-14 and continued when he might expect to be beyond the range of its influence after he left for New York in June 1915. Indeed his 'Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even' (1915-23) was put into commission by Duchamp during America's protracted entry into the hostilities and Duchamp drew on the features and themes of a generic military experience — his own conscription — in order to devise key aspects of its subject matter³.

Artists as dissimilar as Albert Gleizes, Fernand Leger, Guillaume Apollinaire and Jacques Vaché responded to their military experiences by producing work that described the banality of barrack-room life or the traumas experienced in the front line of the fighting. Nevertheless, in spite of the compelling resonance of these themes in their work, they were obviously disinclined to continue with them once the war was over. The point is that the artists who individually found ways of depicting their conscripted predicament while the war lasted were not inclined to do so after it had ended. Whether they were impelled to record the war's lunatic qualities, as in the case of Vaché, or in Apollinaire's erotic spectacle, despite the examples of Léger's quasi-mechanical representations and Gleize's elegiac treatment, comparatively few artists had anticipated the military conditions before the war and were evidently keen to forget the experience once the war was over. Duchamp's preoccupations, on the other hand, developed a sustaining imaginary that reflected the tensions between military and civil authority in France and for which the war

provided merely an intensification of the process. It is the contention of this thesis that the original definition of Duchamp's preoccupations with military structures in French culture stem from his military training before the war, and their most complex and sophisticated expressions are to be found in his four texts for the 'Jura-Paris road'; works in which themes of military arcana, the language of conflict, territorial occupation, conquest and aggressive colonialism get deployed in an expeditionary context that continued to find a form in later work once the hostilities had ceased.

0.0.5. Military preoccupations in Marcel Duchamp

Themes reflecting Marcel Duchamp's preoccupation with military and civil authority remained as a recognisable thread running through his work until the mid-1940s and probably beyond. The four notes were composed in a language that is reminiscent of written military dispatches; they give the minimum of detail for an unspecified expedition and expect the reader to possess sufficient initiative and background knowledge to fill in the elliptical passages that Duchamp leaves out. Written in the months after the journey, Duchamp discarded descriptive exactitude: 'in order little by little, to become without topographical form'⁴. (Duchamp 1958: 41) He chooses instead a fictional address to the reader that allowed him to steer away from the restrictive protocols of cubism, thus allowing other preoccupations to show through. In the 'Jura-Paris road' he replaced factual details of an uncomfortable motor-ride, where, his memory seems to have been distorted by a sickness that he was suffering from *en route*. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 26/10/12 unpaginated) He fixates, instead, on a military thematic of territorial gain that appears in hallucinatory suspension within the four different notes. The notes for the 'Jura-Paris road' advance his theme of the interrelationship between military and civil authorities and locates it within an artwork of his own for the first time.

Before 1912, Marcel Duchamp developed a variety of themes dealing with military culture; principally in his cartoons, drawings and paintings, but these isolated studies have not been linked with a more evident line of enquiry. Although the artworks that reflected this preoccupation range from his earliest childhood drawings of soldiers, blowing bugles or mounted on horseback, the beginning of his mature interest and consistent preoccupation does not appear until 1904-1905 with a series of drawings of men, although they are not soldiers, in traditional working costumes. These rapid sketches include the driver of a hearse, a gasman, a policeman, a *sous-préfet* and an enigmatic, but not overtly military 'man in a hat' – and so, these characters all rely in some way on the status invested in them, through the authority of a uniform that in Duchamp is likely to be exchanged for the uniform of national service. This series of vignettes includes the more closely detailed pencil sketch of a soldier, an infantry reservist of 1905, which was drawn just before or during the time of Duchamp's own conscription into the 39th regiment, Infantry of the Line and suggests that it might be his brother Gaston, whom eleven years older was also a serving in the 21st Line Infantry Reserves⁵.



Fig. 0.2
Marcel Duchamp
'The Reservist'
1905



Fig. 0.3
Unknown photographer
'Jacques Villon'
1905

0.0.6. Fault-line along the Jura-Paris road

The return journey to Paris from the Jura and the notes that Marcel Duchamp wrote following the journey provoked this enquiry because they occurred at a critical moment in his development. The notes signalled the rupture between his growing dissatisfaction with cubism; a period of apprenticeship when Duchamp defined himself as a painter and his later redefinition of himself as an artist, operating through language towards a multiplicity of varied outcomes that contribute towards a trans-disciplinary process. The 'Jura-Paris road' serves as the first draft of this new orientation. This change of mode created a division in his practice that is revealed in a sinuous line that winds its way between his artworks. The fault does not define itself as a decisive break. The divide that is created on either side of the journey, 26th-30th October 1912, and its physical trajectory on a north-westerly route from Étival back to Paris, displays instances of both forms of work on either side, but in so far as a line can be drawn between the end of Duchamp *peintre* and the beginning of Duchamp *respirateur* it is here. (Cabanne 1971: 69)

The momentum of this journey has contributed to the schism that still exists between conceptual and perceptual practices that remain as a defining characteristic in the methodologies of contemporary art. For this reason the 'Jura-Paris road' should be seen as a pivotal moment in 20th century art history. As has been noted many times, this divergence in Marcel Duchamp's own practice is accentuated across the two sections of the 'Large Glass,' a work that has been most exhaustively and persuasively analysed by Linda Henderson in terms of its scientific context. Linda Henderson's survey also develops the most sustained and useful insights in the literature on the 'Jura-Paris road' and the one from which the 'military' theme of this thesis was first drawn. (Henderson 1998: 37-39) Other considerations of this journey by Buffet-Picabia 1949, Janis 1953, Lebel 1959, Cabanne 1967, Schwarz 1969, Burnham 1970, Golding 1973, Hamilton 1973, Paz 1978, Camfield 1979, Samaltanos 1984, Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993, Tomkins 1997 and Ramirez 1998 will be considered in relation to this discussion.

0.0.7. Military 'Glass'



Fig. 0.6

1912

Cycles Peugeot. [Poster].

Sochaux. Musée Peugeot

The 'Large Glass', which remains at the centre of all Duchamp scholarship, and against which this 'military' reading will have to eventually be measured, has been discussed and explained from other

perspectives and points of view: Breton's interpretation of the 'Glass' as a revelatory illumination for a changing world, Burnham's structuralist exegesis on the future of art, Schwarz's alchemical transmutation, Lebel's sexual metaphor and Henderson's scientific thesis are leading examples. Notwithstanding their various perspectives these analyses all agree over the structurally irreconcilable divide that is the central polemic of the 'Glass', which owes its perpetual state of frustration to the inability of the 'Bachelors' to reconcile the upper and lower sections through the potential of their artillery that, inadequately, they bring to bear. This incompatibility between the two sections is physically maintained on the separate panes of glass through the agency of three transverse glass strips laid horizontally and at right angles to the main composition and designated by Duchamp as its 'Horizon.' This horizon crosses the central section of the 'Glass' and it is here that a glimpse — perhaps only fleeting — can be gained of the reflections and dramatic modulations of the 'Jura-Paris road.'

It will be shown how the 'Large Glass' refers, in significant ways, to French military protocols while invoking regimental codes and traditions as well as items of equipment. Although this work was completed in 1923, the record of Duchamp's notes in the 'Green Box' shows that Duchamp had already worked out its key features during the most intense period of military preoccupation between 1912-15. The 'Large Glass' is a work that was painstakingly formulated in the military build-up to war and which gradually lost its momentum after hostilities had ceased. This suggests, of course that World War I was contextually significant for the production of the 'Large Glass' and Duchamp's methodological approach provides *prima facie* evidence that the army continued to influence him after his departure for New York. Preoccupations with a military agenda have never been, seriously, considered within a review of Duchamp, either as an artist, or in his day-to-day activities after he was thought to have abandoned his art and was living transitionally between France and America.

0.0.8. Inventory of military works

A preliminary survey in Marcel Duchamp's *catalogue raisonné* indicates the following list in an inventory of works that demonstrates either a relationship with the 'Jura-Paris road' in its subject matter or a link with military themes, many of which will be identified in this thesis. (Schwarz 2000: *passim*) The symbol ☉ indicates a compelling military thematic. The symbol • indicates a relationship with the 'Jura-Paris road'.

1893	☉	Drawings	Various soldiers drawings. etc.
1897	☉	Photograph	Marcel Duchamp in uniform
1895	☉	Drawing	<i>Marcel in Soldiers Disguise</i>
1904	•	Drawing	<i>Le Sacré Coeur</i>
1905	☉		<i>The Reservist</i>
1909	☉	Cartoon	<i>Experience: je t'en ficherais, des p'tits lieutenants ...</i>
1911	☉	Painting	<i>Le Moulin à Café,</i>
1912	☉	Painting	<i>Nu Descendant un Escalier Nos. 1 - 2</i>
1912	•	Drawing	<i>Aeroplane</i>
1912	•	Drawing	<i>Deux Personnages et une Auto</i>

1912	•	Drawing	<i>Portrait de Guillaume Apollinaire</i>
1912	⊙	Journey	<i>Automobile to Étival with G.A, F.P, G.B-P.</i>
1912	⊙	Note	<i>The Jura-Paris road</i>
1913	⊙	Drawings, Glass	<i>Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries</i>
1914	⊙	Readymade	<i>Trois Stoppages Étalon</i>
1914	⊙	Painting	<i>Réseau de Stoppages,</i>
1914	⊙	Note	<i>Éloignement and the Box of 1914</i>
1915	⊙	Drawings	<i>Medical staff,</i>
1915	⊙	Readymade	<i>Tiré à 4 Epingles</i>
1915	⊙	Readymade	<i>In Advance of the Broken Arm</i>
1916		Readymade	<i>Pliant de Voyage,</i>
1918	⊙	Readymade	<i>French Military Paper</i>
1921	•	Photograph (de Zayas)	<i>Tonsure: Voici Rose Sélavy,</i>
1938	⊙	Notes	<i>Green Box, (Saint Etienne catalogue)</i>
1943	⊙	Magazine Cover	<i>Allégorie de Genre (George Washington)</i>
1945	⊙	Magazine Cover	<i>View (with Livret)</i>
1964	⊙	Etching	<i>Pulled at 4 Pins,</i>
1967	⊙	Exhibition poster	<i>'Éditions et sur Marcel Duchamp'</i>

0.1.0. Dual strand of research

This thesis develops a dual strand of research:

a). To address a deficit in the knowledge about the procedures of Duchamp's recruitment in order to demonstrate a preoccupation of his that has been overlooked. This study will expand upon and inform his relationship with military structures in an inventory of works from the canon that develop themes with a discernable military thematic.

b). To contribute to an understanding of Duchamp's post 1905 career with reference to the works that were conditioned, either, by his conscription or by the prevailing military culture in France. The four notes for the 'Jura-Paris road' will be established within this inventory as key texts and the first works to codify the depth of Duchamp's preoccupation with the military environment.

0.2.0. Focus of research

The research shows that Marcel Duchamp was significantly affected by the pre-war military climate in France in a way that has previously not been examined in Duchamp scholarship. This developed into a tension towards the military establishment, which became evident in his work of the period. The military

thematic continued to resurface periodically and as will be argued, became a recognisable strand within his artistic preoccupation.

The thesis considers two episodes in Duchamp's career that, although regularly cited have never been relationally connected. Questions in this thesis emerge from:

- a). his period of military conscription in 1905 – 1906.
- b). the automobile journey between the Jura and Paris in October 1912 and its formulation into the set of hand-written notes, known as the 'Jura-Paris road.'

These two episodes appear routinely in the literature on Duchamp; nevertheless they have attracted limited critical attention and in the case of the 'Jura-Paris road', have remained particularly resistant to convincing analysis. The regular references, without a satisfactory exegesis, in the literature of the last seventy years has effectively relegated this military experience and the events of the 'Jura-Paris road' to the periphery of Duchamp studies, and this status will be centrally addressed in this thesis. The period of Duchamp's military training and its outcomes in various works, including the texts of the 'Jura-Paris road' will be investigated and advanced. The claim is that rather than being a marginal event, Marcel Duchamp's conscription into the army had a fundamental effect on him. His depictions in note form, seven years later, of the Jura to Paris journey in terms of an invasion of territory should be interpreted within the framework of this experience. An examination of the two events will contribute significantly to a better understanding of Duchamp's practice in this period and in subsequent work.

0.3.0. Issues of control

There is a fundamental distinction between the two episodes that form the subject of this enquiry. These are found between 1905-15 in the slow pace Marcel Duchamp's training and lengthy appeals against conscription. The second is encapsulated in the rapidly changing experience of his journey to the Jura. This distinction is reinforced by recognising that Duchamp's conscription was obligatory and imposed upon him by the state, whereas, the journey and indeed the written note of the 'Jura-Paris road' that followed, although couched in uncompromising language, was in fact the artistic formulation of a social event that in spite of its other compulsions was wholly voluntary. Nevertheless, it will be shown that between the drawn-out process of mandatory military duty of 1905-06 and the sensational and high-speed trajectory of the voluntary road-trip in 1912, Duchamp produced a series of works that connected the two. These reveal a developing preoccupation with issues of control. In this thesis, Duchamp's conscription and the overall military situation, over which he had no control, will be discussed in order to illuminate and inform the aggressive progress of the 'Jura-Paris road' that he described in terms of necessary control.

0.4.0. Methodological Approach: Field Research, Literature Review and Textual Analysis of the 'Notes'



Fig. 0.4
The house at Étival
Postcard *circa* 1905.



Fig. 0.5
The house at Étival
2002.

The thesis incorporates a material analysis of the journey based on field research and from archive material drawn from visiting the house at Étival between 2000-04. Four trips were made by car between Neuilly and the house in the village of Étival where Duchamp and his friends travelled to in 1912. These research journeys, starting in 2000, were timed to coincide with the dates in 1912 of the original journey (Oct 26-30) in order to determine the weather conditions experienced in 1912. While at Étival I discussed the visit in a series of extended discussions with Mme Laurence Buffet-Challié, the niece of Francis Picabia and owner of the house where Duchamp and his companions had stayed. Relevant material in Mme Buffet-Challié's archive of paintings, publications and correspondence was also examined at this time. Born in 1914, Laurence Buffet-Challié is also the daughter of Jean-Louis Challié (1880-1943), the *intimiste* painter, and friend of the art-critic Louis Vauxcelles. Both Challié and Vauxcelles were hostile to recent developments in modern painting and in 1912 Challié owned the house in Étival, the destination of the outward Paris to Jura journey.

Discussions continued with Mme Buffet-Challié at her apartment at No. 20 Rue Larrey, Paris 5 (coincidentally nine doors away from Duchamp's home between 1927-42 at No. 11 Rue Larrey.) Access was granted to a second archive of postcards, drawings and paintings. Field research was conducted to examine the conditions of travel in early automobiles, as well as an assessment of their general capabilities. From this examination it became possible to advance the thesis of the journey as an ordeal. Attention was paid to driving attitudes and the particular vicissitudes of being a passenger on a long journey in bad weather. Safeguards taken against exposure and its debilitating effect on the affective communication between passengers were also considered. Visits to related archives and collections in relation to travel,

motoring and transport generally at the headquarters of *Pneu Michelin* in Paris, as well as the headquarters of the German company, *Pneu Continental* at Clairoux, fifty miles to the north of Paris on the outskirts of Compiègne. Two separate visits were made to the *Musée l'Aventure Peugeot* at Montbéliard in the Jura, where access to their archives was granted in order to determine the specifications of a probable vehicle.

This necessarily incorporated an inquiry into vehicle components based on the particular requirements and conditions of the journey, which took place in some part at least, after dark and over some very rough roads particularly in its latter stages. This survey therefore extended to a review of vehicle lighting in 1912 as well as developments in the manufacture of automobile tyres. In turn this led to an examination of how these components feature within the work of Marcel Duchamp and beyond that, how they refer to a problematic world of religion, nationalism and colonialism from which these industries arose and to which Duchamp would point in his 'Jura-Paris road' and related works.

One criticism of the previous literature that encouraged this research was that, short of paraphrasing the text or directly quoting from it, there has been very little study into the meaning of the 'Jura-Paris road.' As ever, Linda Henderson's study emerges as the lone voice here, but Henderson's survey covers a far greater sweep than the subject of this thesis and so it seemed that there might be room for further analysis of the four notes beyond the remit of her own argument. Visits were made to MNAM (*Centre Georges Pompidou*) in Paris for the exhibition '*Eau et Gaz a Tous Les Étages: la dation Alexina Duchamp*' (2000) and then later to the archive at MNAM to examine its complete collection of original notes from the 'Green Box', the 'Box of 1914' and the Matisse Collections. The texts themselves were studied in French, in the first instance and then checked against their English translations. Sanouillet's '1958 Introduction' to the Flammarion 1994 edition became a particularly informative source suggesting that after almost fifty years an updating of some of this material might be in order.

Inevitably this programme of work has involved a further literature review across a broad front. The research began with an examination of the material on Marcel Duchamp, Guillaume Apollinaire and Francis Picabia in order to determine the nature of the writing on the 'Jura-Paris road'. The general literature, on Duchamp in particular, is enormous, but in fact relatively little discussion appears on the topic of this thesis. An examination of the 'Jura-Paris road' as the formulation of a cognitive network shared by the protagonists on Duchamp's journey seemed a likely avenue to explore and also reflected the interests of the CAiiA Research Group to which I belonged and regularly reported back to. These interests informed my early approach. Some of the material that appears in Chapter Four of this thesis came from this period of research and the literature that supported and drove it. More prosaically, research was conducted into the material aspects of driving in 1912, on the infrastructure of communications in France at the time. For a while my main source material were the motoring guides and maps of the period. Julian Barnes' essay alerted me to the existence of the unpublished Kipling diaries and to a vein of literature in both English and French dealing with the experience of early motoring. Military histories of France are obviously plentiful and this research led to the Public Records Office at Kew, where much of the material quoted on the

military subject comes from. This research was procedural and findings appear almost systematically, but good luck plays its part over time as well. An example of this was finding a battered copy, in a Hay-on-Wye bookshop, of the catalogue to the 1887 *Salon d'Automne (édition De Luxe)* from which several of the images reproduced here are drawn.

0.5.0. Thesis structure: Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1. The Notes. In which a line-by-line analysis of the four notes for the 'Jura-Paris road' is conducted in order to introduce these key texts and to lay the foundation for subsequent research and analysis.

Chapter 2. Literature Survey. In which the work of six authors and commentators on Duchamp are examined in relationship to the 'Jura-Paris road'. They are Andre Breton (1934), Michel Sanouillet (1958), Harriett and Carroll Janis (1953), Pierre Cabanne (1967), Katia Samaltanos (1984) and Linda Dalrymple Henderson (1998). Between them they provide a historiography in developing attitudes to the 'Jura-Paris road'.

Chapter 3. The Journey. In which a survey is conducted of the motoring literature of the period, followed by an analysis of the material realities of motor-touring in fast vehicles. This includes an examination of the equipment and components that Duchamp alludes to in the 'Jura-Paris road.' The chapter concludes with a study of the relationships that were formed between the tourists who were involved with this journey; Marcel Duchamp, Guillaume Apollinaire, Francis Picabia, Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, and the notion of a problematic 'fifth person' is offered, whom it is argued was psychologically connected with the mood of tension that is apparent in Duchamp's notes.

Chapter 4. Networks and Configurations. In which the journey is interpreted in a set of six differing hypotheses and speculations that separate it from the more mundane, practical concerns explicated in Chapter 3. This chapter offers the suggestion that the 'Jura-Paris road' may betray Duchamp's military preoccupation.

Chapter 5. The Army. In which the military context is established through an examination of the conscription procedures that were implemented after the French defeat of 1870 in the Franco-Prussian war and the opening stages of World War I. It is shown that Duchamp opposed these procedures, while remaining, nevertheless, morbidly fixated on the army.

Chapter 6. Military Preoccupation. In which Duchamp's relationship with the army and nationalism is examined through his attitude towards his two brothers, through the imposition of the 'Two-Year Law' and through national and family expectations. Duchamp's preoccupation with the army, and more specifically military failure, are further examined in Section 6.2, where his experience of the journey between the Jura and Paris created the conditions for the formulation of the 'Jura-Paris road'. Section 6.3 ends with a lengthy demonstration of how Duchamp's military preoccupations surface in a selection of works drawn from the canon of his practice between 1909 and 1945.

Chapter 7. Conclusion. In which the thesis is concluded and the military preoccupations affecting Duchamp's artistic thinking throughout his period of military preoccupation and beyond are summarised.

¹ 'J'ai passé le conseil de réforme: et je suis *condamné à rester civil pendant toute la durée de la guerre. Ils m'ont trouvé trop malade pour être soldat.*' The author's italics.

² *La neurasthénie par hyperentraînement joue un rôle important dans la vie militaire; et non seulement des individus isolés, mais des bataillons entiers peuvent être hypertrainsés'*

also:

'sur la fatigue qu'occasionne l'attitude de L'IMMOBILITÉ militaire dans les rangs.' P.84.

'of exhaustion that causes a condition of military IMMOBILITY throughout the ranks.' English translation by the author.

³ Duchamp's major work, the 'Bride Stripped Bare by her Bachelors, even', will be commonly referred to in this text as the 'Large Glass.'

⁴ The full extract in French reads: *pour petit à petit (devenir sans forme topographique).*

⁵ The two older brothers will be referred to by their professional names from now on. Gaston, the older brother, became Jacques Villon and the younger brother took on the name Raymond Duchamp-Villon.

1

The Notes

- 1.0.0. Introduction
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- 1.3.1. Nine categories

1. 1912
~~La machine à 5 coeurs, l'enfant~~
 La machine à 5 coeurs, l'enfant
 fusil, de nickel et de platine, doivent
 dominer la route Jura-Paris.
 D'un côté, le chef des 5 mus sera en
 avant des 4 autres mus ~~et~~ (vers) cette
 route Jura-Paris. De l'autre côté, l'enfant
 phare sera l'instrument vainqueur
 de cette route Jura-Paris

Fig. 1.0. Marcel Duchamp. 1912. 'The Jura-Paris road' (Detail/ 'Green Box'.)

1.0.0. Introduction

A discussion of the influences that bore on Marcel Duchamp from the military establishment cannot be addressed without an explanation of the notes that he wrote between 1911 and 1915. The dates correspond with the period of Duchamp's preoccupation beyond the hermetic world of his painting when he was also trying to negotiate the terms of a discharge from the army. Towards the middle of this period Duchamp wrote the four notes that are called the 'Jura-Paris road'; and it is in these notes that a particular sense of disquiet can be detected. The notes themselves are terse and economical, running to no more than six hundred and fifty words with repeated phrases that occasionally develop a hypnotic quality. They give the impression of Duchamp brooding over thoughts that could not easily be defined or properly clarified. He uses metaphors that were particular to the social and political conditions in France in this period, incorporating cult identifications within the Catholic Church and the army as well as other references to nationalism and colonialism. In spite of the difficulties they present in understanding their hermetic qualities, the notes give the impression of being overshadowed by external events.

This chapter will illuminate some of the themes that occupied Marcel Duchamp: in order to do this it divides into three parts. Section 1.1 gives a general outline and context for the notes, explaining when, why and how they were written. Section 1.2 provides a line survey of the four notes. It acts as a checklist of terms and provides a survey of how they have been understood in the literature over the years. Section 1.3 groups this thematic material into nine topics relevant to this thesis and gives the coordinates of where they are to be found within the line survey used in this analysis. The three sections will consider the 'Jura-Paris road' and the journey to the Jura that preceded it from the viewpoint of existing interpretations, showing how they contributed to the overall task of

understanding the ‘Jura-Paris road.’ As well as a line survey of the notes section 1.2 considers them in their order of appearance. Insights that have not made an appearance in the literature so far and which are tangential to the military analysis of this thesis are occasionally brought to bear. Developed gradually over the course of this research these are submitted to further a general understanding of these notes.

Commentators on Marcel Duchamp have been well advised to avoid ‘grand theories’ for interpreting his work; nevertheless from the 1940s onwards, successive commentators have aligned his work with agendas that, no matter how plausible when applied to particular aspects of his output become unsustainable in a larger survey. This interpretation may well suffer from the same problem. It is, nevertheless, predicated on the fact that as a French citizen, at a particularly critical juncture in the political history of France, Duchamp was caught-up in the legislative machinery of his country. This became particularly relevant to his practice between 1911-15 and then gradually diminishes in importance. Nevertheless, these concerns are to be detected before 1911 and continue to reverberate in the period beyond 1915.

1.0.1. Terminology employed — descriptive conventions used

The journey to and from the Jura took place between 26th and 30th October 1912, and comprises two distinct episodes that take into account the outward journey, which was an all-male affair with Duchamp, Apollinaire and Picabia and incorporates the period when they stayed with Picabia’s fifty eight year old mother-in-law at her home at Étival in the Jura and the second stage when the three men returned to Paris with Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, after which Duchamp wrote the notes under discussion in this chapter. Confusions occur when referring to these written notes because there are four of them, each with its particular thematic character. As a generic group they will be referred to as the ‘Jura-Paris road.’ However, when considering them independently a suffix will be applied to distinguish between them, so that when referring to the 1934 ‘Green Box’ Note, the suffix ‘GB’ will be inserted, i.e. ‘Jura-Paris Road GB.’ When discussing the 1980 Matisse notes, where they appear in Matisse as notes 109-111 the actual number of the note in his catalogue will be inserted, e.g. ‘Jura-Paris Road 110.’ This method should alleviate the need for unnecessary reference to the endnotes by the reader.

‘Jura-Paris road’	=	all four notes written on the subject
‘Jura-Paris GB’	=	the first of the four notes to be published by Duchamp in 1934 and then in book form by Sanouillet in 1958.
‘Jura-Paris 109/110 or 111’	=	the three notes to be published by Paul Matisse in 1980.

1.1.1. Publishing history

The set of four texts comprising Marcel Duchamp’s original material on the Jura journey appear in two compilations, the ‘Writings of Marcel Duchamp’ and the later ‘Marcel Duchamp: Notes.’ The first of these includes the notes and sketches that Duchamp chose for the ‘Green Box’ of 1934 into which, he had painstakingly reproduced the collotype facsimiles of his notes, eventually releasing them in an edition of 300 boxes¹. This limited edition gained a wider readership when André Breton drew upon

the notes for his article on the 'Large Glass' entitled *Phare de la Mariée*, which he published in *Minotaure* no. 6 in 1935. Twenty-three years later, in 1958, Michel Sanouillet undertook the first conventional publication of the notes from the 'Green Box', editing them into book form along with various other writings into one collection, *Duchamp du Signe* 1958 (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1958/ 1994) Robert Lebel's monograph *Sur Marcel Duchamp*, in 1959, contributed to a gathering interest in Marcel Duchamp and an English language translation of Duchamp's 'Green Box' notes by the historian George Heard Hamilton followed in 1960. Heard Hamilton then adapted his original translation for a different text in collaboration with the artist Richard Hamilton for the 'typographic' version of the same collection of notes. (Duchamp [Hamilton] 1960: unpaginated) This was followed by a second volume by Sanouillet of the 'complete' collection, published in English in 1973 as 'Salt Seller: The Writings of Marcel Duchamp.' This volume finally appeared as 'The Writings of Marcel Duchamp', and as such was thought to be the definitive collection of the artist's ideas and aphorisms. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973/ 1989) In each of these publications, the texts of the 'Jura-Paris road' appeared prominently amongst the earliest notes. In 1980, twelve years after the artist's death, at the request of Alexina Duchamp the artist's widow², his stepson Paul Matisse published a new group of notes in French under the title of *Marcel Duchamp: Notes*, which he followed-up with his own translation into English in 1983.

1.1.2. General interpretation

After Paul Matisse's publication of *Marcel Duchamp: Notes* it became clear that the project was more complex than was previously thought, and that it encompassed a greater number of themes, ideas and references than had been deduced from the existing note in the 'Green Box' (Jura-Paris GB). With the inclusion of the new material came the sense that the notes of the 'Jura-Paris road', already puzzling, were now even more confusing and problematic. This impression began to change in 1998, with the publication of Linda Dalrymple Henderson's 'Duchamp in Context: Science and Technology in the "Large Glass" and Related Works', which included the first detailed enquiry into all the notes incorporating a sustained analysis of the four notes for the 'Jura-Paris road.' Before Henderson's research, little was ventured about the notes for the 'Jura-Paris road' or the journey that they referred to beyond the limited information gleaned from Duchamp's economical responses to interview questions in the closing years of his life. These merely acknowledged that the journey had occurred towards the end of 1912. (Janis, H & C 1953: unpaginated, Cabanne. 1971: 36) Intentionally or not, Duchamp's limited replies served to deflect attention from a more searching inquiry into these notes. Perhaps because of Duchamp's evasions and the scant information on offer, the journey and the notes, in the interpretations that followed, mutated into an anecdotal hybrid that blurred together the notes and the actual journey without maintaining a clear distinction between either. Understandably, the uncertainty that attached itself to this journey and its curious position among Duchamp's notes had the effect of reducing this episode to the marginal aspects of his career. Before Henderson, the authors who chose to discuss the 'Jura-Paris Road' tended to do so in extended quotations from the original text, which while successfully establishing Duchamp's prose style and the names of his key players did little more than confirm their existence and mysterious progress. Interested readers between 1959 and 1980 became

fairly conversant with the expressions and rhythms of Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road' without proceeding very far with its exegesis.

1.1.3. Maintaining distinctions between the journey and the text

Maintaining the distinction between the physical journey and the problematic text inspired by it, caused particular problems for this thesis, and as with other commentators, terms and ideas relating to these very different events tended to blend into one another. This problem surfaced in my own conference papers between 2000 and 2005 as well as in presentations at research sessions that developed the preliminary work for this thesis. (Lyons 2000-04: *passim*) As with previous commentators, thoughts on Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road' on the one hand, and the actual motor-journey on the other, had a tendency to flow into one another resulting in elisions between fiction and reality and creating a problematic fusion that resided somewhere between Duchamp's visionary account in the notes and the actual event on the road. This distortion revealed the importance of maintaining a separation between the notes and the journey and, in order to achieve this, the familiar practice of creating linked associations that identified and connected the four human protagonists on the journey with the fictional avatars of the road was deliberately avoided³. A distinction has been maintained between them in the conviction that representing very different objectives and intentions, they reflected very different realities.

1.1.4. Received assumptions

The journey is commonly understood to have been an exhilarating experience in convivial company. Marcel Duchamp's account of it in these notes is assumed to be his first attempt at a project, which he never actually completed. There is little evidence to suggest that he developed the ideas beyond these rough drafts and so this sense of a phantom project, without a more obvious outcome, explains perhaps why the 'Jura-Paris road' has been treated rather cautiously. The impression gained from the general response to its fitful appearance in the literature before 1998 is that it was, in fact an anomaly. Its lack of evident connection with later projects and unfinished status has seen it relegated to the level of his unfinished or abandoned business with a tangential relationship to the main inquiry. The sense gained is that the 'Jura-Paris road' did not fit into the themes of Duchamp's career, as it was being charted between the 1950s and the early 1980s, and that therefore it would add little to current understanding of his achievement.

1.1.5. Relationship to Duchamp's practice

Marcel Duchamp wrote the 'Jura-Paris road' at about the time that he was formulating other experimental works of early 1913 such as his first essay into chance that he called *Erratum Musical* and the preliminary sketches and notes for the 'Chocolate Grinder.' These projects broke decisively with the Munich paintings from the summer of 1912. Just ahead of him, in 1913, lay the 'Bicycle Wheel' and the 'Standard Stoppages'. The form of these works and their cryptic mode of address, in his notes, give an indication of his disengagement from the artisanal, studio-centred, object-based art of his brothers and their colleagues in the Puteaux group. Instead, his practice began to reflect this

transitional state with ideas being jotted down as they occurred to him, gradually accumulating on the scraps of paper that came to hand. Through their occasional reference to location they attest to the fact that for Duchamp the site of practice was beginning to change from the exclusiveness of an artist's studio to a more informal circuit of cafés and kitchen tables. Furthermore, his four 'Jura-Paris road' notes reflect his deliberations on the theme of mobility as if to exemplify his own restless, wandering position. However, the restlessness that emerges from the 'Jura-Paris road' is created in the neutral language that sets in motion an unspecified occupation of terrain — without divulging its larger intentions. The controlled language of the 'Jura-Paris road' conveys a sense of vigilance, of a potential held in readiness that contrasts with Duchamp's other projects of this time where items that he was indifferent to would become effortlessly transformed into works of art through his agency and the beholder's share. (Gombrich 1960: 151) These were of course the readymades that derive their meaning from a process of artistic simplification, a reductivism that empties ordinary objects of their meaning while paradoxically investing them with the added value of art-works. The 'Jura-Paris road' by contrast develops its narrative by layering mystical, religious, arcane and ultimately incredible references onto a secular event. Rather than emptying the journey of meaning and calling it a readymade, as he might have done, Duchamp inflates it into a distorted and fantastic narrative that belies the prosaic implication of its title. The process that resolves into the 'Jura-Paris road' is an accumulative and obfuscating one whereas the process that makes a readymade is a reductive and refining one.

1.1.6. Themes of control

The evident difference between the 'Jura-Paris road' and Marcel Duchamp's other projects of the time can also be seen in the relationship between the 'Jura-Paris road' and the other notes that he was also beginning to develop. Although the impression from the notes and projects in the 'Green Box' and other notes is one of disengagement, the dynamic of the 'Jura-Paris road' projects an ordered purpose that is at odds with the detached style of these other notes. This develops into the brooding observation that: 'The chief of the 5 nudes manages little by little the annexation of the Jura-Paris road' ('Jura-Paris 110'), and so forms of territorial occupation are under discussion here, creating the impression of a military style of address or a *communiqué* of some kind⁴. In a pre-mechanised era of military adventure, Duchamp envisages a telepathic and biomechanical control of terrain with an aggressive outreach that contrasts with the immobile condition of his readymades. The 'Bicycle Wheel' that Duchamp created directly after the journey, has the tyre removed and will travel no further. The unrelenting process of subjugation in the 'Chocolate Grinder' is an internal, self-absorbed function, which is never deployed externally for territorial gain. Nevertheless, when these capabilities were released onto the 'Jura-Paris road', they were adapted to the successful occupation and control of a dimensionally unfamiliar terrain.

Mechanical themes invest much of Duchamp's thinking at this time, and the 'Jura-Paris road' epitomises much of the ominous quality that attaches to this subject. (Steeffel 1977[1960]: 106-151) Furthermore, Duchamp extends his remit beyond the normal context of salon painting into a 'site-specific' discourse on the national terrain through the specificity and signification of his title, the 'Jura-

Paris road.' Such forebodings about territorial control and the mechanical environment contrast strangely with the casually haphazard approach that he adopted in writing these notes and in his, apparently, perverse method of preserving them for future reference. The notes and particularly the 'Jura-Paris road' offer, parenthetically, a coherent metaphor for the complexities of Duchamp's resistance to the different controlling forces that were arranged around him that he was attempting to outwit. These controls were imposed upon him artistically through the restrictive and formal preconditions of cubism 'on the one hand' and in the burdensome protocols of military duty 'on the other'⁵. Evidence for his response to the former is cited in the outward journey into the Jura mountains in October 1912 in the volatile company of Picabia and Apollinaire, whereas the evidence for the latter is to be found in the return journey and the cautious, coded language of the 'Jura-Paris road' that he wrote later on, when his travelling companions are no longer recognisably the same.

1.1.7. Archive research

The original 'Green Box' notes and the later posthumously published 'Marcel Duchamp: Notes' are held in the archive of the *Musée Nationale de l'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou* (MNAM) in Paris. An examination of these notes was conducted at MNAM in order to determine whether material discrepancies between them might suggest the order that they were written in. Details such as the quality of ink and the type of paper were examined to see what they would reveal about their chronology. Paul Matisse's classifications of the three posthumous notes do not necessarily reveal the order in which the ideas occurred to Duchamp but they demonstrate a developing change of emphasis from one note to the next. Terms and expressions formulated and commonly used in one note get ignored, and are frequently superseded in the next and this reveals a development in Duchamp's thematic material. The Line Survey that forms the second part of this chapter will be used to discuss the common themes contained in these notes and also to provide a history of terms and ideas that fell by the wayside, abandoned by Duchamp that reveal an editorial role on his part. For instance, 'Jura-Paris GB' is really the only note that describes the topological changes in terrain that have fuelled the dimensional insights of Linda Henderson's analysis but these do not appear in the Matisse notes. Conversely, the Christian imagery that appeared in 'Jura-Paris 109' in 1980 is not evident in 'Jura-Paris GB', which was the only version available to Jack Burnham in 1970 when writing his secular exegesis in 'The Structure of Art.' (Burnham 1971: 162) Burnham's nomination of Duchamp as the 'headlight child' might have inspired a more circumspect reading had he known that the claim also took in the fact that: 'This headlight will be the child-God, rather like the primitives' Jesus'⁶. However, this material was not available at the time. Duchamp's preference, in 1934 for this note, (Jura-Paris GB) over the three other notes has created a semi-official version of the 'Jura-Paris road', because it was the only version available between 1934 and 1980 and leads to questions about Duchamp's motives for expunging this divergent material.

Following this examination of the original material at MNAM, the notes were subsequently consulted in French in the two Flamarrion editions (1958 and 1980), although in this thesis, they will be referred to in the English translations made for Sanouillet's final compilation, published in 1973. Paul Matisse's later edition of the notes was studied in their original form in a similar way. Following

this research, an investigation was conducted across Duchamp's entire collection of notes, for related material that would indicate whether the themes in the 'Jura-Paris road' were part of a larger preoccupation.

1.1.8. Personal direction for this research

Linda Henderson's analysis has done much to illuminate the shadowy status of the 'Jura-Paris road' and naturally the material that she brings to bear will be examined in the course of this thesis. But her work also suggests an area of research beyond the remit of her book, which seemed appropriate to follow-up. Gradually the different possibility of a military scenario for the 'Jura-Paris road' began to emerge, clarifying the direction of my own thesis. In it I propose why this episode should be viewed with greater interest within Marcel Duchamp's work, in contrast to the marginal condition that its arcane status confers upon it.

1.2.0. Line survey and text examination based on the critical literature — 1934-2006

The line survey of the four notes that follows will account for Duchamp's terminology through its exegesis in current literature. As stated, it will be limited to the prevailing themes and interpretations and as such will provide an overview of current understanding. Additional meanings and particular insights that have been developed as a consequence of the new research for this thesis will be introduced, more appropriately, in subsequent chapters. In this way the military analysis that casts a long shadow over these texts appears only fleetingly in this chapter for the simple reason that it does not appear in any substantial form in previous literature. To introduce a military agenda here without the framing context of the supporting research will only serve to confuse the process.

The notes for the 'Jura-Paris road' were written in French, in Paris between November 1912 and January or February 1913. Duchamp was fluent in English by the time they were translated in 1960, yet he did not translate them himself; had he done so, certain ambiguities in the text might have been resolved. In certain instances alternatives to the original G. H. Hamilton version have been made that provide a clearer understanding of these notes in terms of the expeditionary reading that will be considered below.

The notes are given in full at the beginning of each survey in the following order: Matisse 'Jura-Paris 109', Matisse 'Jura-Paris 110', 'Jura-Paris Matisse 111' and finally the note from the 'Green Box' 'Jura-Paris GB.' Unlike many of the other notes, Duchamp wrote these 'Jura-Paris road' notes in exercise books, which do not necessarily allow for the most logical line breaks and so these have been reformatted here to accommodate this particular survey. Each line has been numbered and closes with a conventional 'forward slash' symbol (/).

1.2.1. Matisse 'Jura-Paris 109' — text

Line 1. Pictorial Translation /

Line 2. The 5 nudes, one the chief, will have to lose, in the picture, the character of multiplicity. /

Line 3. They must be a machine of 5 hearts, an immobile machine of 5 hearts /

- Line 4. The chief, in this machine, could be indicated in the centre and at the top, without appearing to be anything other than a more important gear-train (graphically). /
- Line 5. The machine of 5 hearts will have to give birth to the headlight. /
- Line 6. This headlight will be the child-God, rather like the primitives' Jesus. He will be the divine blossoming of this machine mother. /
- Line 7. In graphic form, I see him as pure machine compared to the more human machine-mother. /
- Line 8. He will have to be radiant with glory. /
- Line 9. And the graphic means to obtain this machine child, will find their expression in the use of the purest metals for a construction based (as a construction) on the concept of an endless screw. /
- Line 10. (accessories of this endless screw, serving to unite this headlight child God, to his machine-mother.
- Line 11. 5 nudes. /

1.2.1a. Matisse 'Jura-Paris 109' — line survey

1. Pictorial Translation.

This heading describes a methodological approach rather than a working title and demonstrates the provisional, exploratory nature of these notes. The French term '*Traduction picturale*' suggests a transposition from text into pictorial form, or from concept into painting. However, it is an unusual association of words in orthodox French. It suggests a play on the common expression *traduction littérale* meaning 'to the letter', perhaps the term 'literally', would be most appropriate. So *Traduction picturale* incorporates a *jeu de mots*, a verbal slippage reminiscent of the puns that Duchamp had used in his earlier cartoons, but which find their most sophisticated expression in the disks of his project, *Anémic Cinéma* (1926). In these devices, punning sentences combine with mechanical systems to blur meaning in actual *traduction picturale*.

2. The 5 nudes, one the chief, will have to lose, in the picture, the character of **multiplicity**. /
 - **5 nudes:** Soon after the Jura trip Guillaume Apollinaire published 'The Cubist Painters: Aesthetic Meditations' confirming Duchamp as: 'the only painter of the modern school who today (autumn 1912) concerns himself with the nude', and so presumably the place of the nude in Duchamp's art would have been discussed at this time. (Chipp 1968: 245) Duchamp's reference to '5 nudes' in this note is one of relatively few themes that link all four of the notes for the 'Jura-Paris road.' The presence of the '5 nudes' at the beginning and end of this note, effectively bracketing the text, is an endorsement of Apollinaire's observation. Duchamp does

not make a distinction between different conditions of nudity. Whether he means primal nakedness i.e. without clothes or whether he tends towards the metaphorically elevated status of artistic nudity is unclear. There is no further description to build on, and other than being culturally naked Duchamp's nudes offer nothing further about their identity or gender. The French '*nu*' is a masculine noun and consequently the assumption will be that they are male whose deployment behind a **chief** suggests an established social structure; one where being naked was a natural condition. Of course, once naked, the signifiers that denote hierarchy are likely to be physiological. Perhaps, out there, on the Jura to Paris road (as elsewhere in male society) size counts — particularly in selecting the 'chief of the 5 nudes.' This primal emphasis accords strangely with the cultivated bias of the 'Jura-Paris road', a journey from the rural margins of *France profonde* to the sophistication of its metropolitan capital.

- **multiplicity:** Duchamp's method of describing the trajectory of his nudes in the paintings of 1912 was by multiplying a trail of images, sequencing their progress into an overlapping and translucent index of movement across the picture plane. This technique is attributable to Etienne Jules Marey's chronophotographs of the 1880's and 1890's, which in turn invoke optical phenomena such as 'persistence of vision' associated with the cinema. A favourite term used by Duchamp to depict the illusion of movement was through a process that he called *démultiplication*, which is also a motoring term used to describe the power to speed ratio of vehicles in relation to their gearing⁷. (Duchamp. 1958 [1994]: 222) The term *démultiplication* also takes on a more sinister association when applied to the *corps démultiplié* or 'demultiplied body' in a separate note in the 'Green Box' that deals with the cannon shots of the 'Large Glass.' (Duchamp 1958 [1994]: 54)

3. They must be a **machine of 5 hearts**, an **immobile machine** of 5 hearts /

- **machine of 5 hearts:** This phrase appears three times in this note, but then disappears until 'Jura-Paris GB' where it appears in the opening statement in the first line of text. The intervening 'Jura-Paris 110' and 'Jura-Paris 111' make no further reference to the **machine of 5 hearts**.
- Referring to previous automobile literature — Mirbeau and Pawlowski — Henderson makes a convincing association between the **machine of 5 hearts** and an automobile. However Henderson makes another point about the 'female as automobile.' The masculine noun *automobile* became officially feminised after 1915 and so Henderson's point is enhanced by this gender irregularity⁸. (Henderson 1998: 37)
- **immobile machine:** Duchamp signals his plan to abandon the illusion of *démultiplication* that had preoccupied him in the earlier 1912 paintings of nudes in transit. The *immobile* allusion arrests the momentum of the **machine of 5 hearts** and Duchamp's experiments with

movement seen in the rotating motion of his 1911 'Coffee Grinder' and the dynamism of the 'King and Queens' of 1912 come to an end at this point. The first major work of 1913, the 'Bicycle Wheel', was of course an **immobile machine** that had been decommissioned through the removal of its rubber tyre. The wheel sits in its forks, fixed upside-down, on the wooden stool as if awaiting repair.

4. The **chief**, in this machine, could be indicated in the centre and at the top, without appearing to be anything other than a **more important gear-train (graphically)**. /
 - **chief**: Duchamp develops the theme of an internal hierarchy in the **machine of 5 hearts** and how this might be depicted (**graphically**) in a work of art. Beyond these notes this interest in hierarchical order can be seen in the 'Bicycle Wheel' where, as *un rouage plus importante* or a **more important gear-train** the wheel dominates the supporting four-legged stool just as the **chief** dominates his retinue of nudes.

5. The machine of 5 hearts will have to **give birth** to the **headlight**. /
 - **give birth**: Duchamp links his idea to speculations about the mechanistic inquiry concerning the 'girl born without a mother' by Picabia and others. He accentuates the procreative qualities of the **machine of 5 hearts** in contrast to the inanimate productions of the machine world.
 - **headlight**: The editor Paul Matisse incorporated George Heard Hamilton's translation of the French noun *phare*, which itself contains a variety of subtle distinctions relating to modes of illumination. In 1960 when Hamilton translated the notes he turned to the modern meaning, which is an automobile headlight, making a logical connection with the motorised theme of the journey.

6. This **headlight** will be the **child-God**, rather like the **primitives'** **Jesus**. He will be the divine blossoming of this machine mother. /
 - **headlight**: in this extract the functional term **headlight** is fused to mystical associations of innocence and omnipotence in the reference to a **child-God**. Ultimately this leads to Christian mythology and a twist on Picabia's theme of the 'girl born without a mother.' A contemporary

detail, in 1912, that helps to give prominence to Duchamp's fusion of automobiles and Christian mythology appeared in the popular magazine *L'Illustration*, which published on the 6th December an advertisement for UNIC Automobiles linking automobile tourists with pilgrims to the Holy Land (fig. 1.1)⁹.



Fig. 1.1
Automobiles UNIC
L'Illustration
Paris, 6th December 1912

- **‘primitives’ Jesus:** with few exceptions, cubist painters aligned themselves with anti-clerical, anti-Christian, pro-trades union, *syndicalistes* groups. The historian Mark Antliff has shown how the Puteaux cubists also reflected a popular form of nationalism, identifying with pre-neoclassical, gothic values to invoke a suitably alternative French identity. In this context, the cubist painter and theoretician Albert Gleizes identified gothic cathedrals as the fundamental, expression of proletarian French culture. In 1912, the same year as the ‘Jura-Paris road’, Gleizes published ‘*Cubisme Devant les Artistes*’ of which Antliff notes: ‘Gleizes traces the lost period of French cultural dominance back to the Gothic era, whose cultural representatives are ‘our primitives and our cathedrals’¹⁰. Duchamp’s theme of *le Jésus des primitifs* is, perhaps, developed in light of these cubist affinities with a pre-neoclassical

history. Immediately, the gothic cathedrals of *Saint Claude* at Lons-le-Saunier, *Saint Vincent* at Chalons-sur-Saône, *Saint Étienne* at the cathedrals of Auxerre, Sens, Melun and, of course, *Notre Dame* in Paris spring to mind as important landmarks along the Jura road.

7. In graphic form, I see him as **pure machine** compared to the more human **machine-mother**.

- **as pure machine:** Duchamp develops the relationship with Christian mythology by replacing traditional themes of the Virgin and Child with his own **human machine mother** and **pure machine** and investing this relationship with a mystical status.

8. He will have to be **radiant with glory**.

- **radiant with glory:** This phrase provides evidence of Duchamp's interest in a numinous subject matter and Henderson draws a connection with the internal illumination that emanates from baroque nativity paintings. (Henderson 1998: 39) This account qualifies the technological interpretation of the **headlight** seen earlier in this note. Henderson also cites the contemporary literature on the fourth dimension to demonstrate an allegorical transcendence towards higher dimensions.

9. And the graphic means to obtain this machine child, will find their expression in the use of the **purest metals** for a construction based (as a construction) on the **concept of an endless screw**. /

- **purest metals:** Rather than planning a painting, Duchamp considers the possibility of making a precious object such as a casket or a religious reliquary, similar to the object he describes in Note 178: 'Everything in a flat valise or large jewel case'¹¹. (Duchamp 1980 [1999]: 108)
- **purest metals:** Also suggests an alchemical interpretation. However, Arturo Schwartz, who is prominently connected with alchemic interpretations makes no reference to 'purest metals' in his index to the *catalogue raisonné*. Henderson, on the other hand, provides a historical account of alchemical references in Duchamp's early practice making the clearest connection between esoterically tempting themes such as the **purest metals**. However, she is sceptical about the position of alchemy in Duchamp's practice at this time and notes the decline of alchemical imagery in favour of metaphors for modern science in Duchamp after 1911.

Henderson also discusses André Breton's revisionist attempts in the 1940's to link Duchamp to Surrealism through his previous interest in alchemy. (Lebel 1959: 73)

- **concept of an endless screw:** Duchamp is ambiguous about his intentions for this new work. This is unsurprising given the status of these notes. They are provisional working outlines for complex ideas and in this section he seems to be uncertain whether they would materialise as a painting or a construction of some sort, however the **concept of an endless screw** seems to suggest a less conventional outcome. If so the closest example in Duchamp's work would be the *Anémic Cinéma* (previously mentioned [**Pictorial Translation**]), where graphic lettering in the form of a spiral of punning sentences transform into an oscillating line achieved by an endlessly turning mechanism.
-

10. (accessories of this endless screw,
serving to unite this **headlight child**
God, to his machine-mother.

- (: Duchamp does not close his parenthesis.
 - These are familiar themes that recapitulate the ideas of an innocent deity who is connected by the 'girl born without a mother.'
-

11. **5 nudes.**

- Final endorsement of the '5 nudes' and Duchamp's role as an artist who: 'concerns himself with the nude.' (Chipp 1968: 245)
-

1.2.2. Matisse 'Jura-Paris 110' — text

Line 1. The chief of the 5 nudes manages little by little the annexation of the Jura-Paris road. /

Line 2. The chief of the 5 nudes annexes to his estates, a battle /

Line 3. (idea of colony) /

1.2.2a. Matisse 'Jura-Paris 110' — line survey

1. **The chief of the 5 nudes manages little
by little the annexation of the Jura-
Paris road. /**

- **chief of the 5 nudes:** The only ‘nude’ with a distinctive identity. He appears in the text for the first time, independently, without his retinue of subordinate nudes.
- **little by little the annexation:** The ‘nudes’ function as an occupying force; their **annexation** of the road is gradually achieved, there is a suggestion of stealth. ‘Jura-Paris 110’ introduces the concept of a mobile and relentless operation.
- **Jura-Paris road:** The first reference to the **Jura-Paris road** in these notes and therefore the first indication that the notes refer to the journey in October 1912. The inference is that the **annexation** takes place in actual space, along a recognisable terrain and not in a conventional painting. The road between the Jura and Paris is proposed in the manner of a site-specific work with a particular relationship to the terrain it crosses.
- **Jura-Paris road:** This title is unequivocal and never changes in spite of frequent repetitions in ‘Jura-Paris 110-111/GB.’ Whereas other important terms are gradually modified, the **Jura-Paris road** remains unaltered throughout its twelve citations.
- The **annexation** by the ‘5 nudes’ begins in the provincial margins and continues in a progressive annexation of the region between the Jura and Paris.
- Samaltanos (1984) links the phrase, **Jura-Paris**, to an obscene *jeux de mots* playing on the term *jus rapparie*, which is French slang for semen, first suggested by Ulf Linde in 1963¹². (Samaltanos 1984: 77)

2. **The chief of the 5 nudes annexes to his
estates, a battle /**

- **a battle:** This escalates the theme of occupation into an aggressive action and military conflict.

3. **(idea of colony) /**

- No material exists on Duchamp and the ‘idea of colony.’ The discussion will begin to be developed in the relevant section of Note 111 and will continue to be addressed in this thesis.

1.2.3. Matisse ‘Jura-Paris 111’ — text

Line 1. Title. The chief of 5 nudes extends little by little his power over the Jura-Paris road. /

Line 2. There is a little ambivalence: after having conquered the 5 nudes, this chief seems to

enlarge his possessions, which gives a false meaning to the title. /

Line 3. (He and the 5 nudes form a tribe for the conquest by speed of this Jura-Paris road) /

Line 4. The chief of the 5 nudes increases little by little his power over the Jura-Paris road. /

Line 5. The Jura-Paris road, on one side, the 5 nudes one the chief, on another side, are the two terms of the collision. This collision is the *raison d'être* of the picture. /

Line 6. To paint 5 nudes statically seems to me without interest, no more for that matter than to paint the Jura-Paris road even by raising the pictorial interpretation of this entity to a state entirely devoid of impressionism. /

Line 7. Thus the interest in the picture results from the collision of these 2 extremes, the 5 nudes one the chief and the Jura-Paris road. /

Line 8. The result of this battle will be the victory obtained little by little by the 5 nudes over the Jura-Paris road/

1.2.3a. Matisse 'Jura-Paris 111' — line survey

1. Title. The chief of 5 nudes extends little by little his power over the Jura-Paris road. /

- **Title:** This title reveals that the narrative of the **Jura-Paris road** is predicated on the methodical exercise of force.
- Henderson identifies this note as a provisional title for Duchamp's project. It develops the theme on the exercise of **power** and Henderson is the first to remark on this, describing it in 'terms of a military conquest.' (Henderson 1998: 37)

2. There is a little **ambivalence**: after having **conquered** the 5 nudes, this chief seems to **enlarge** his **possessions**, which gives a false meaning to the title. /

- **ambivalence:** The French noun *équivoque* might also be interpreted as 'uncertainty' or even 'ambiguity.'
- **conquered:** This provides some detail about the narrative history of the of the '5 nudes.' The notes hint at a struggle between them and having subjugated the '5 nudes' as well as the terrain, the 'chief' now uses his power for his personal benefit.
- **enlarge:** the noun (pl), **possessions** might **enlarge** into a sexual metaphor that celebrates the physical anatomy of the chief. The 'uncertainty' or **ambivalence** that invests the 'chief of the

5 nudes' could refer to this **enlargement**, which may refer to the expanding Jura/ Paris real-estate, but could equally refer to an enlargement of his own sexual morphology, demonstrating the necessary attributes for his position as the chief.

- **5 nudes:** Another ambiguity arises from the number of nudes in this extract. In this episode the chief has triumphed over five other nudes. Duchamp usually quotes 'four nudes' and one leader. This is, presumably, an oversight in what was probably a provisional and introductory set of notes.

3. (He and the 5 nudes **form a tribe** for the conquest by **speed** of this Jura-Paris road)

- **form a tribe:** this alien occupation by a **tribe** suggests a group that is culturally on the outside of the metropolitan society of the **Jura-Paris road**. Duchamp's **tribe** calls upon exceptional powers, namely the use of **speed**, which, in Duchamp had been a mechanically or scientifically enhanced expression and not an attribute of non-scientific tribal groups. This casts doubts on Duchamp's conception of nudes as culturally idealised ciphers as in, for instance, Robert Delaunay's painting 'The City of Paris' (1912), which continued the tradition of depicting nudes to represent the cultivated virtues of the city¹³. Perhaps like the 'Indian' in Alfred Jarry's *Le Surmâle* (1902) the nudes conquer by speed, which, as in Jarry, is a quality that attaches to an obsessively sexual vigour. If so, the **conquest by speed** turns into a systematic occupation by sexual means.

4. The chief of the 5 nudes **increases little** by little his power over the Jura-Paris road.

- **increases:** This is a recapitulation of the title line except that the verb, 'extend' in the original sentence is exchanged for the associated verb, increase. Once again this seems to refute the idea that this conquest might be done by speed and supports the notion of a deliberate sexual agency.

5. The Jura-Paris road, on one side, the 5 nudes one the chief, on another side, are the two terms of the **collision**. This

collision is the *raison d'être* of the picture. /

- **collision:** this predicts the violent confrontation between the two protagonists. The predictable certainties of French culture epitomised in its progress along the 'Jura-Paris road' is contrasted with the unpredictable methods and solutions of the '5 nudes.'
 - Henderson identifies the term **collision** with an irreconcilable difference between the dimensional categories that ultimately lead to the dysfunctional relationships in the 'Large Glass.' Henderson associates the material world of the vehicle and its passengers on the journey as terrestrial protagonists that aspire to a higher dimensional category. In Henderson's analysis, these become transformed into the Bachelors and the Bride of the 'Large Glass.' (Henderson 98: 88)
-

6. To paint 5 nudes statically seems to me without interest, no more for that matter than to paint the Jura-Paris road even by raising the pictorial interpretation of this entity to a state entirely **devoid of impressionism**. /

- **devoid of impressionism:** Duchamp revisits the process of making art-works; see 'Jura-Paris 109-110.' While expressing his dissatisfaction with traditional forms, he was thinking perhaps towards a more open-ended interventionist approach for this work. Not a work to be found within the frame of conventional painting, but out along the linear stretch of the Jura to Paris Road.
-

7. Thus the interest in the picture results from the collision of these **2 extremes**, the 5 nudes one the chief and the Jura-Paris road. /

- **2 extremes:** This is predicated on confrontation between irreconcilable opposites. But he says that it is this conflict that attracts him to the subject.
-

8. The result of this **battle** will be the victory obtained little by little by the 5 nudes over the Jura-Paris road. /

- **battle:** This restates the violent oppositional quality of his idea and links again to the formal set-piece of battle.

1.2.4. Green Box — text

Line 0. 1912

Line 1. The machine with 5 hearts, the pure child of nickel and platinum must dominate the Jura-Paris road. /

Line 2. On the one hand, the chief of the 5 nudes will be ahead of the 4 other nudes towards this Jura-Paris road./

Line 3. On the other hand, the headlight child will be the instrument conquering this Jura-Paris road /

Line 4. This headlight child could graphically, be a comet, which would have its tail in front, this tail being an appendage of the headlight child appendage which absorbs by crushing (gold dust, graphically) this Jura-Paris road. /

Line 5. The Jura-Paris road, having to be infinite only humanly, will lose none of its character of infinity in finding a termination at one end in the chief of the 5 nudes, at the other in the headlight child. /

Line 6. The term “indefinite, seems to me (more) accurate than infinite. /

Line 7. The road will begin in the chief of the 5 nudes. and will not end in the headlight child. /

Line 8. Graphically, this road will tend towards the pure geometrical line without thickness (the meeting of 2 planes seems to me the only pictorial means to achieve purity) /

Line 9. But in the beginning (in the chief of the 5 nudes) it will be very finite in width, thickness (etc), in order little by little, to become without topographical form in coming close to this ideal straight line which finds its opening towards the infinite in the headlight child. /

Line 10. The pictorial matter of this Jura-Paris road will be wood which seems to me like the affective translation of powdered silex. /

Line 11. Perhaps see if it is necessary to choose an essence of wood. (the fir tree, or then polished mahogany) /

Line 12. Details of execution Dimensions - Plans. Size of the canvas /

1.2.4a. Green Box — line survey

1912

The underlined date locates the work as having been created in 1912, a date defined by Ramirez as the 'decisive year' of Duchamp's career and one in which his most radical break away from orthodox cubism was achieved. (Ramirez 1993 [1998]: 21)

1. **The machine with 5 hearts, the pure child of nickel and platinum must dominate the Jura-Paris road. /**
 - **machine with 5 hearts:** Translated by Matisse as the 'machine of 5 hearts' in 'Jura-Paris 109.' The phrase appears here, influentially, at the beginning of the establishing sentence.
 - **pure child:** Recapitulates the religious emphasis of 'Jura-Paris 109.'
 - **nickel and platinum:** Henderson provides an alternative to the alchemic interpretation by identifying these elements as the materials used in automobile headlights. (Henderson 1998: 37)
 - **must dominate:** the impersonal language situates the work within a context of controlled aggression.

2. **On the one hand, the chief of the 5 nudes will be ahead of the 4 other nudes towards this Jura-Paris road. /**
 - **On the one hand:** Whereas 'Jura-Paris 109' describes internalised movement such as the repetitive workings of mechanical instruments, Duchamp, in 'Jura-Paris GB' emphasises physical displacement and directional movement. Duchamp develops themes that were begun in 'Jura-Paris 111' such as: 'on one side, the 5 nudes one the chief, on another side, are the two terms of the collision', where the narrative is concerned with the aggressive occupation of space.
 - **ahead and towards:** Develops the theme of specific placement and movement.
 - **chief of the 5 nudes:** This is where the nudes of 'Jura-Paris 109' finally reappear, having disappeared in 'Jura-Paris 110/111). Duchamp's manner of using the definite article to introduce the '5 nudes' suggests a prior acquaintance with them. This would have been impossible in the forty-six years that elapsed between 1934 when his note appeared in the 'Green Box' and 1980 when the Matisse collection was published. However, this grammatical detail helps to locate the chronological order of the notes, placing the Matisse notes earlier than the 'Jura-Paris GB.' Nevertheless, reading 'Jura-Paris GB' without recourse to the Matisse notes would have created the sense that basic information was missing.

- **4 other nudes:** the reference to the '4 other nudes' positively confirms the exact number of nudes after the uncertainty in 'Jura-Paris 111.'

3. On the other hand, the **headlight child** will be the **instrument conquering** this Jura-Paris road /

- **headlight child:** it is interesting to note that terms such as **machine child** and **headlight** in 'Jura-Paris 109' do not become the **headlight child** (*enfant phare*) until 'Jura-Paris GB.' Attempts have been made to link the 'headlight child', autobiographically, with Duchamp himself as well as Guillaume Apollinaire¹⁴. Alternatively, the term *enfant phare* could be a play on the musical term *en fanfare*, which suggests some form of celebratory musical flourish. Amongst the principal uses of the term *en fanfare*, the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* identifies a military application for the term, in which case the term *en fanfare*, would mean 'being amongst the troops at the head of the column'¹⁵.
- **instrument conquering:** in this translation the text uses the idea of a 'headlight' and so from this mechanically conditioned interpretation, the 'headlight child' becomes an 'instrument conquering.'

4. This headlight child could **graphically**, be a **comet**, which would have its **tail in front**, this tail being an **appendage** of the headlight child appendage which **absorbs by crushing (gold dust, graphically)** this Jura-Paris road.

comet: The appearance of Halley's comet in the sky above Paris in the early summer of 1912, provides a context for this astronomical term (fig. 1.2). Duchamp's evocation of a comet lends the impression of speed, which is not suggested elsewhere in 'Jura-Paris GB.' His aside, written in parentheses about the ability of the 'nudes' to conquer the road by 'speed' in 'Jura-Paris 111', has been exchanged for a new emphasis on dimensional change, which is particular to this note.



Fig. 1.2
Halley's Comet:
Paris rooftops transformed into observatories
Le Petit Parisien
1912

As well as a notion of velocity, the comet signifies a mysterious, night-time activity. The astronomical reference is described '**graphically**' in terms of an illustration, and so Duchamp's solution for his project returns to the familiar conventions of the painted surface.

- **its tail in front:** This reference is interpreted as the effect of a beam of light probing into the night. When linked with George Heard Hamilton's translation of *enfant phare* into the 'headlight child' this reversing comet was understood, literally, as the projection from a vehicle headlight. This interpretation is consistent with every major account of the 'Jura-Paris road'¹⁶. The idea of the comet with its tail projecting out ahead of it was also supported in 1919 when Duchamp shaved the motif of a star onto the back of his head with a shaved strip extending from his crown to his forehead, where the centre parting might otherwise be expected to be. Georges de Zayas photographed this at the time. The 'tonsure', as Duchamp labelled it, was assumed to refer to the comet of the *enfant phare*, emphasising the importance of the 'Jura-Paris road', where Duchamp's metaphor of the comet first appeared¹⁷.
- The Arturo Schwarz *catalogue raisonné* addresses the main features of the 'Jura-Paris road', saying that Duchamp's *tonsure* was in all probability an anti-clerical act, mocking the celibacy of priests. Duchamp's *tonsure* was shaved into the motif of a five-pointed star that Schwarz connects with alchemical symbolism; in alchemy the five pointed star links also to the element mercury, and eventually to androgyny. This is a theme that is consistent with Schwarz's agenda and general interest although he provides no further insight.
- **appendage:** This refers to the tail streaming out in front and is generally thought to contain a lewd suggestion; a priapic and burlesque codicil to the sexual silhouette of the *enfant phare*. If so, then Duchamp resists the temptation of developing this innuendo any further.

- **(gold dust, graphically):** Prevailing interpretations depict 'gold dust' as the light from an electric headlight although more plausibly, (Tomkins 1997: 113) Henderson makes a connection with a scientific literature, in 1903, on comet's tails. (Henderson 1998: 38) This research suggests that the lamps on motor vehicles in 1912 would be more likely to be acetylene, in which case the light cast was a greenish white colour. This suggests a diminishing emphasis on the headlight interpretation for 'gold dust', giving more credence to the rich materials in early medieval painting or reliquary, also advanced by Henderson. The *enfant phare* transforms this ordinary substance into the sumptuous materials of medieval painting. Duchamp's frequent use of the idea of a 'hinge' also emerges from this rich medieval imagery. The two-part structure of the 'Large Glass', was initially considered as being hinged together as in a medieval religious painting or reliquary. This 'religious' template provides an additional context for the Christian imagery seen in Duchamp's note 'Jura-Paris 109.'

5. The Jura-Paris road, having to be **infinite only humanly**, will lose none of its **character of infinity** in finding a **termination at one end** in the chief of the 5 nudes, at the other in the headlight child.

- **infinite only humanly:** This is the beginning of a sustained passage with dimensional themes that test the *enfant phare* and the '5 nudes' in a contest across a terrain that is continually changing. The opposing protagonists develop their personal characteristics in this limitless and limiting context.
- **character of infinity:** This suggests an endless continuum, perhaps like the thousand mile railway circuit in Jarry's *Le Surmâle* (1902) in which, a locomotive races against a special bicycle ridden by eight men and where the supervening shadow of the *surmâle* is caught fleetingly in the headlights as he passes both the train and the eight man team. The *enfant phare* and the '5 nudes' establish themselves in Duchamp's text, much in the manner of this shadow, emphasising their presence through their repetition in the text without disclosing any more details about their identity. The ambiguity that is not explained in spite of this emphatic repetition is compounded by the gradual absorption of the road and its protagonists into one 'character of infinity'; apparently into one conscious identity, suggesting that in spite of their oppositional nature and the language of conflict and territorial appropriation in 'Jura-Paris 110/111', an element of agreement also exists between them.
- **termination at one end... at the other:** The endless terrain is absorbed into the contrasting persona of the '5 nudes' and *l'enfant phare* who occupy polar positions in this relationship. Their capacity for being discretely human while successfully allowing the transit of the road to pass through their body is reminiscent of Duchamp's paintings in the winter and spring of

1911 in, for instance, his 'Chess Player' series, where human beings are shown with the details of their surroundings appearing through them. This leads to the ether physics, clearly established by Linda Henderson, but if her mystical references in 'Jura-Paris 109' are recalled, the process takes on a sacred magnitude as well. Duchamp's shaven 'Tonsure' of 1921 develops, the idea contained in the 'transubstantiation' of one figure passing through or into another¹⁸. So long as Duchamp kept his tonsure, it would reflect the paradox of Duchamp facing one way, with his comet in permanent suspension, but heading in the opposite direction¹⁹.

6. The term '**indefinite**', seems to me (more) accurate than **infinite**.

- '**indefinite**'/ **infinite**: Duchamp pointedly selects the uncertainty of in-definiteness over the certainties of infinity.
-

7. The road will **begin** in the chief of the 5 nudes, and will **not end** in the headlight child.

- **begin / and will not end**: The distinction that Duchamp makes here is between static and mobile states of his major protagonists. Initially he seems to be suggesting that the '5 nudes' emanate from specific environments at either extremity of the Jura-Paris road. One of these might be the 'colony' that appears in 'Jura-Paris 110', but if so this colony will have to accommodate the information that the 'the chief of the 5 nudes manages little by little the annexation of the Jura-Paris road'; in which case a function of this colony will be to sustain the progress of its nudes along the road. The advance is of course problematic because colonies, by definition are predicated on stability; colonists arrive to colonise, but once established the colony tends to stay put. Nevertheless a feature of this one is that it has to allow a mobile resource to pass through and replenish it. Duchamp frequently uses the verb *alimenter*, meaning to replenish, in these notes, although not in 'Jura-Paris road 109, 110, 111 or GB'²⁰. Nevertheless the replenishing process and passage through an object, seen in the 'Jura-Paris road', and of course in cubist painting where the ideas probably originated, becomes a good example of Duchamp's very original application of the concept. The 'Jura-Paris road' becomes a mobile resource that replenishes the '5 nudes' while they move along it.
- **. and will not end**: Duchamp added a postscript to the sentence, which invokes the complementary role of *l'enfant phare* who assumes a position somewhere along the length of the road, which stretches out 'indefinitely.' Duchamp starts his sentence with the grammatically irregular conjunction 'and' and also fails to give it the appropriate capital letter,

but these irregularities are probably unintentional mistakes and would have been corrected in a later draft, had he developed the idea into subsequent notes. Nevertheless, at the same time, Apollinaire had begun to tinker with grammatical form in his own poetry and was about to excise all the punctuation marks from his collection of poems, *Alcools*. This precipitate action followed the return to Paris and seems to have been on an impulse before publication and so Duchamp's minor grammatical oversights, if they have any positive intention, may have been due to these discussions with Apollinaire.

8. Graphically, this road will **tend towards the pure geometrical line** without thickness (the **meeting of 2 planes** seems to me the only pictorial means to **achieve purity**) /

- **tend towards the pure geometrical line:** Once again Duchamp is thinking about a graphic interpretation of these ideas where the texture and narrative of the journey is progressively reduced into the minimal content of a straight line. The **purity** of this description suggests a limitless two-dimensional projection, which, would have been impossible to achieve with conventional drawing materials so that other possibilities would have to be considered. As with other themes that were shared between the travellers, the distinction between the straight and sinuous line is also common to both Apollinaire and Duchamp and may well have come from these discussions. The ideas generated at this time would find their most celebrated expression, eight months later in his 'Three Standard Stoppages' of 1913 when a line of thread, held in tension, transforms unpredictably into a sinuous second version of itself once the tension relaxes. For Apollinaire an outcome came slightly sooner when, following his return to Paris, and in the same reckless moment that saw him remove all his punctuation from *Alcools*, he strung one taught line of text across an otherwise empty page. (Apollinaire 1913 [2000]: 36) Uncoupled from its punctuated reference points, the single line loses direction in the puns that circulate around the primary reading; releasing alternative meanings that loop towards more dubious associations:

Et l'unique cordeau des trompettes marines

Or:

And the solo string of marine trumpets

Although the expression 'marine trumpet' sounds like a crude epithet directed at sailors, it is also a rudimentary musical instrument with a single string.

- **meeting of 2 planes:** Various references have been suggested in this text in relation to the format of iconic or religious painting and this 'meeting of 2 planes' suggests folding religious paintings. Furthermore it predicts the twin panels of the 'Large Glass', one of which contained the image of a 'Virgin.'
- **to achieve purity:** Repeating the theme of purity.

9. But in the beginning (in the chief of the 5 nudes) it will be very **finite** in width, thickness (etc), in order little by little, to become without **topographical** form in coming close to this **ideal straight line** which finds its **opening towards the infinite** in the headlight child. /

- **finite:** This describes the Jura Paris road as it emerges from an actual, three-dimensional landscape complete with **finite** details (including the 'colony' that sustains the '5 nudes'). It gradually loses its identifying features as it transforms into the projection along a one-dimensional straight line. Presumably, this straight line retains the information of the road, which once transformed from its transitional **indefinite** status continues into the **infinite**.
- **its opening towards the infinite:** Before the **topographical** terrain, in this note, can be refined down to the infinite straight line that it described in the text, it has to pass through an **opening** in the *enfant phare*. The translation of this note by George Heard Hamilton replaces the very particular French noun *trou* with the more generic English term **opening**. This obscures the relationship between the *enfant phare* and the Jura road and deflects an important, if problematic, interpretation derived from the original French. This is more provocative than Hamilton's English version because the context of *trou* in Duchamp's original suggests a passage into the body of the *enfant phare*. Whether or not this access into the *enfant phare* has a perverse interpretation is left unclear; if it does it links to a more exploitative approach to sexual themes than the mischievous innuendo in other commentaries.
- This transit via the *enfant phare* triggers the necessary response that successfully transforms the '**indefinite**' dimensional topography of the road into the limitless projection of the perfect straight line. The conversion from **indefinite** state into **infinite** projection is achieved through this rite of passage, which confers on the *enfant phare* the status of a medium for refining experience and conveying it in a purified form²¹. The *enfant phare* becomes the agent that converts an **indefinite** condition into an **infinite** one.
- Thus, the agency of the *enfant phare* predicts other aspects of Duchamp's output where transformations are enabled between states. This can be seen, perhaps, in the 'Handler of Gravity' in the 'Large Glass'²², but more directly in the electrical agency that transforms the textual puns of *Anémic Cinéma* (1926) into endless linear abstractions. (Henderson 1998:163) Ultimately, the readymade 'Door: 11 rue Larrey' (1927), transforms the user into the occupant

of a bathroom or a bedroom with minimum effort. These works operate through the users' agency that functions in a mediumistic way, allowing changes to occur. The figure of the *enfant phare* becomes crucial in achieving the purity and the straight line of the 'Jura-Paris road' because there would be nothing in place to transform it in the critical stages between its indefinite dimension and infinity.

- **ideal straight line:** A materialist reading, based on the 1960 contemporary translation of the 'headlight child' would claim a technologically determined outcome to the mystery of these references and that Duchamp's terminology related directly to the experience of the lights of a speeding vehicle at night (Henderson. *ibid*). Duchamp could be merely inferring, as perhaps he has done all along, that the outcome of this fantasy will be a conventional work of art that transposes the traveller's experience of a traditional landscape into a line drawing. This view was discussed by Richard Hamilton in 1973 in the following way:

The text turns to a speculation on the graphic means by which to express this mechanomorphic object in a limitless one-dimensional space. (Hamilton 1973: 59)

By the time of Linda Henderson's exegesis in 'Duchamp in Context' twenty-five years later, the framework of possibilities has changed to a less pictorial definition. After dismissing the 'phallic connotations' that have preceded her own assessment, Henderson notes that:

More original is Duchamp's thinking of the projected headlights as a new kind of line, drawn in space and continually moving through space towards infinity. (Henderson 1998: 38)

The conclusion here is that Duchamp's speculative work could not be achieved through conventional means of depiction and illusion and that a mobile project involving the temporal transformations of a travelling line, responding and adjusting to an unpredictable topography was, by contrast, being considered.

10. The pictorial matter of this Jura-Paris road will be wood which seems to me like the affective translation of powdered silex.

- **powdered silex:** A footnote in Richard Hamilton's 'Typographic' version of the Green Box notes (1960) informs his English speaking readers that: 'Silex is a material for making road beds.' In fact the French noun *silex* is the common term for flint — silex is not a manufacturing trademark like Macadam, (itself a term in regular use in France in 1912,

contemporary road guides describe roads as *bien macadamisé*), but simply that silex appears to be a raw material from which products such as Macadam were in fact formed.

10. Perhaps see if it is necessary to choose an essence of wood. (the fir tree, or then polished mahogany)

- This coda to the main text details fabrication ideas that Duchamp intended to employ. He seems to have moved away from building a kinetic machine such as the one expressed in 'Jura-Paris 109.' It is puzzling to relate the binary in the two forms of wood to the previous text. The natural condition, expressed in the 'fir tree' of this note, might perhaps be compared with the culturally transformed 'polished mahogany' that he is also considering. Perhaps they create a distinction between the remote Jura of fir tree forests growing wild in the mountains and the mahogany (brought from the colonies), and then transformed into elegant, domestic commodities, intended for the Paris market.

1.3.1. Nine categories

From this Line Survey it has been possible to determine a number of themes that will continue to be influential in this thesis. It is notable that the primary research that forms the basis of this thesis does not appear here and so the results from this survey give an outline of the current thinking about Marcel Duchamp's notes for the 'Jura-Paris road.' Nevertheless, nine categories can be drawn from the Line Survey and these are listed here as:

Lexical and Translation, 2. Character Development, 3. Transformation, 4. Religious and Mystical, 5. Hierachy, Order and Dimension, 6. Agency and Occupation 7. Marginal to Metropolitan, 8. Location and Context, 9. Painting and Construction.

The chart, below, lists where these categories appear in the four notes.

1. Lexical and Translation Issues

- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 1)
- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 5)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 9)

2. Transformation

- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 1)
- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 8)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 9)

3. Character Development

- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 3)
- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 5)
- 'Jura-Paris 110' (line 1)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 1)

4. Issues of Hierarchy, Order and Dimension

- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 2)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 5)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 6)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 7)

5. Religious and Mystical

- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 5)
- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 6)
- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 7)
- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 9)
- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 9)

'Jura-Paris GB' (line 1)

6. Agency and Occupation

- 'Jura-Paris 110' (line 1)
- 'Jura-Paris 110' (line 2)
- 'Jura-Paris 110' (line 3)
- 'Jura-Paris 111' (line 2)
- 'Jura-Paris 111' (line 4)
- 'Jura-Paris 111' (line 5)
- 'Jura-Paris 111' (line 8)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 1)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 3)

7. Themes Contrasting Metropolitan and Marginal qualities

- 'Jura-Paris 110' (line 1)
- 'Jura-Paris 111' (line 3)
- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 4)

8. Locational Indicators

- 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 10)

9. Ambiguities in Intention and Outcome (Painting/Construction)

- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 3)
- 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 9)
- 'Jura-Paris 111' (line 2)
- 'Jura-Paris 111' (line 6)

¹ For a detailed discussion on the chronology of Duchamp's process of production and choice of printing methods see: Thirkell, Paul. 2005. From the 'Green Box' to 'Typo/Topography': Duchamp and Hamilton's dialogue in print. *Tate Papers*. Spring Issue. <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/tatepapers/05spring/thirkell.htm#fnB10>

² From an email correspondence with Jacqueline Matisse Monnier, 15th/ 16th Sept 2005.

³ Examples of the links between the actual travellers and the fictional characters can be seen in:

Lebel. 1959: 25; Burnham. 1971: 162; Samaltanos. 1984: 77; Henderson. 1998: 37/38.

The 'headlight child' and the 'chief of the 5 nudes' first appeared in the 'Green Box' note, published by Duchamp in 1934 and then in Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 26-27. The 'machine mother' appeared much later in the posthumously published Duchamp [Matisse] 1983. (unpaginated).

⁴ When quoting from Duchamp's notes in this text, the corresponding text in French will be incorporated into these footnotes thus: *Le chef des 5 nus obtient peu à peu l'annexion / de la route Jura-Paris*.

⁵ For 'on the one hand' and 'on the other hand' see following Line Survey, (Section 1.2.0.)

⁶ *Ce phare sera l'enfant-Dieu. Rappelant / assez le Jésus des primitifs*.

⁷ In November 1964, Duchamp described his 'Nude Descending a Staircase No. 1' in terms of '*la démultiplication du mouvement*', which he went on to say was his abiding interest in 1912. These texts entitled *A propos de moi-même* are not translated into English in Duchamp 1989.

⁸ In 1918 Apollinaire published *La Petite Auto* in his group of poems entitled *Calligrammes, Poèmes de la Paix et de la Guerre 1913-1916*. Apollinaire was describing an event in late August 1914, although the poem was written later than that.

⁹ I am grateful to the historian and theoretician Bert Jansen for sending me this image. Jansen suggests that the image provides a likely provenance for Duchamp's conception of the character of the '*enfant phare*' and it is tempting to make the association. However, Duchamp had generated the powerful conception of the '*enfant phare*' in October and would have, most likely, formulated it by December 6th; it is reasonable to suppose however that this image in *L'Illustration* enriched the concept for him, giving it a seasonal topicality.

¹⁰ Quoted from Antliff & Leighton. 2001:126.

Mark Antliff first developed his theme of Celtic Nationalism and Cubism in Antliff. 1992:. The theme is also to be found in Brooke. 2001: 'Albert Gleizes: For and against the twentieth century.' New Haven. Yale University Press.

¹¹ The complete note reads: 'Wall decorated with parish laziness (in gothic letters) the Christ glued onto an automobile carriage window with the paw serving for lifting the glass. The whole in a flat valise or a large jewel case.' *Paroi parée de paresse de paroisse (en lettres gothiques) / le christ collé sur une vitre de voiture automobile avec la patte qui sert à monter le vitre. / Le tout dans une valise plate ou grand écrin*. It is tempting to exchange the noun Paris for any one of its homophonic echoes in this first line (*Paroi / parée / paresse / paroisse*). But the Parisian similarity is not the only evidence of the relationship between Note 178 and the 'Jura-Paris road'. Apart from the obvious fact that Duchamp's description involves an automobile, this reference to the Christ figure, stuck onto an automobile windscreen evokes the Christian references in 'Jura-Paris 109.' These are the only references to the Christ figure in the Notes.

¹² Linde. 1963. *Marcel Duchamp*:

¹³ It also questions Apollinaire's assertion that Duchamp was the only artist concerned with the nude. Apollinaire was living at the apartment of Robert Delaunay at the time.

¹⁴ For Duchamp see: (Lebel, Schwarz Linde & Hopps, Henderson), for Apollinaire, see Samaltanos.

¹⁵ This can be seen in the following quotation: *Doutteville se fait reconnaître par un aide de camp; nous nous rangeons derrière la fanfare, et nous voilà poussant de bon cœur mille exclamations : 'Vivent les alliés!'* Adam. 1902: 164.

¹⁶ Lebel 1959 p26, Schwarz 1969 p571, Hamilton 1973 p47, Samaltanos 1984 p77, Tomkins 1997 p109, Henderson 1998 p37.

¹⁷ His submission of two photographs to Picabia for inclusion in the indexical collage *L'Œil Cacodylate* of 1921 demonstrates the importance of this gesture for Duchamp.

¹⁸ The theological noun 'transubstantiation', implying a conversion from one state into another (typically the bread and wine of Christian communion into the body and blood of the Saviour), is a familiar one in Marcel Duchamp's writing, appearing most memorably in his 1957 lecture 'The Creative Act.' However this conversion from one thing into

another does not take place in the 'Jura-Paris road.' Instead the noun 'consubstantiation' might be employed more effectively, where two states co-exist in one, e.g. the road and the '*enfant phare*.'

¹⁹ This is surely the description of a 'persistent phenomenon' as described by scientific commentators such as Steve Grand. (Grand 2000: 43) The persistent phenomenon is compared to a standing wave that maintains stability while supporting physical activity in two directions:

'... if you can think of light and other sub-atomic particles as wave-like propagating disturbances, then the very components of which the universe is built are nothing more than persistent localised distortions of the basic fields that make up all of space.'

Whether or not the *headlight child* is operating at Grand's sub-atomic level, the inference of Duchamp's creation is for a highly efficient colonisation of space and one that would provide a significant advantage on the contested progress of 'Jura-Paris road.'

²⁰ This term '*alimenter*' will be considered more closely in the discussion on Duchamp's note '*Éloignement*' in the 'Box of 1914.'

²¹ For Duchamp and the 'mediumistic being' see: Duchamp, Marcel. 1957. The Creative Act. *Art News*. 56 (4).p 2.

This text can be more readily found in the appendix in Tomkins. (1997: 509)

²² Linda Henderson devotes an important section of Chapter 11 to the 'Juggler of Gravity.'

2

Literature Survey

- 2.0.0. General note
- 2.1.0. André Breton: '*Phare de la Mariée*' 1934 and 'Lighthouse of the Bride' [1945/1972]
- 2.1.1. André Breton: Lexical definitions of the noun '*phare*'
- 2.1.2. André Breton: *Le phare d'automobile* and the military flare
- 2.2.0. Michel Sanouillet: 'Introduction' to 'The Writings of Marcel Duchamp' 1958 [1973]
- 2.2.1. Michel Sanouillet: The machine and chance
- 2.3.0. Key Texts: Harriett and Carroll Janis. 'Interview with Marcel Duchamp' (unpublished) 1953
- 2.4.0. Pierre Cabanne: 'Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp' 1967 [1971]
- 2.5.0. Katia Samaltanos: 'Apollinaire, Catalyst for Primitivism, Picabia, and Duchamp' 1984
- 2.5.1. Katia Samaltanos: Colonialism and primitivism
- 2.5.2. Katia Samaltanos: The bond between language and Dada
- 2.5.3. Katia Samaltanos: Camaraderie on the Jura to Paris journey
- 2.6.0. Linda D. Henderson: 'Duchamp in Context: Science and technology in the 'Large Glass' and related works' 1998
- 2.6.1. Linda D. Henderson: Four parallel, interpretative strands; 1. Human/ machine synthesis
- 2.6.2. Linda D. Henderson: Four parallel, interpretative strands; 2. New materials, new languages
- 2.6.3. Linda D. Henderson: Four parallel, interpretative strands; 3. Religious readings
- 2.6.4. Linda D. Henderson: Four parallel, interpretative strands; 4. Conquest (military)
- 2.6.5. Linda D. Henderson: Shared dimensional concerns between the 'Jura-Paris road' and the 'Large Glass'
- 2.7.0. Chapter conclusions

2.0.0. General note

The texts, considered in this review, respond to Marcel Duchamp's notes for the 'Jura-Paris road' in different ways and according to various imperatives; they cover academic disciplines, interpretive methodologies and anecdotal references; two of them have been drawn from the informal language of interviews with Duchamp. The stylistic coherence of this survey has to concede to the imperatives of previous interpretations where the modes of delivery have been developed over a sixty-year period, and therefore this literature survey of the 'Jura-Paris road' has to accommodate this shifting impression. Each text has been selected because of the insight it delivers, which supports an examination of the notes from the military perspective as undertaken in this thesis. The tone changes, nevertheless, and ranges across a spectrum of differing opinions and attitudes and they do not necessarily speak with a common voice. They do not necessarily continue the sombre views that emanate from André Breton's initial exegesis of 1934 or the positive re-evaluation that emanates from Henderson's scientific and mystical examination in 1998; two works that appear in time zones at either end of this temporal and thematic survey. At a remove from their positions, again, is this thesis, which claims that Marcel Duchamp was preoccupied with the military preparations in France from 1911 onwards and that his association with themes that can be interpreted as having a military provenance, outlined in the Introduction, appear clearly, in a unique form and language in the 'Jura-Paris road.'

André Breton's insights into the relationships that exist between his essay *Phare de la Mariée* (1934) and Marcel Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road' have been overlooked in the work of later historians who come from different intellectual traditions. (Lebel [d'Harnoncourt & McShine] 1973: 136) Their polemics cover different concerns reflecting the changing emphasis of post-1945 histories and focus on for instance, Duchamp's posture of indifference, his use of chance, his use of language, his methodology of disengagement and subsequent interest in trans-gender experiments and identity. When these authors address Duchamp's conscription or the Jura journey, they do so, with few exceptions, in a cursory way that fails to reveal their importance within the overall narrative.

Nevertheless, there remains a considerable amount of material and many authors have had to be left out of this survey. Robert Lebel is perhaps the most obvious of these. His pioneering monograph, '*Sur Marcel Duchamp*' (1959) has been omitted, because although it has much to say about the social and political *milieu* that Duchamp grew up in he has relatively little to say about the 'Jura-Paris road', other than acknowledging its complexity; nevertheless he does call for a further analysis, which is the point where this dissertation takes off. In passing he does reveal the polarity of views that operated in Duchamp scholarship, even in the 1950s, as this acerbic reference to André Breton and his wartime experience in psychoanalytic rehabilitation makes clear:

Note that we are keeping at a prudent distance from psychiatry, which others will not hesitate to draw upon. (Lebel 1959:25-26)

This exegesis will hope to skirt Lebel's further disapproval by aiming for facts to fuel the argument rather than offering a psychoanalytic analysis of an event, now long gone.

An obvious omission in this Literature Survey is Calvin Tomkins, whose 'Duchamp: A Biography' effectively replaced Robert Lebel's monograph and has been a regular source of information and inspiration in this research. (Tomkins 1997:108-109) In spite of a chapter entitled 'The Jura-Paris Road', Tomkins, rather in the manner of Lebel, says relatively little about the note, the journey or the subject of Duchamp's military service beyond the material that can be found in Caumont & Gough-Cooper (1993). Tomkins refers to Duchamp's mysterious silence while on the trip when he appears in the shadow of his more garrulous travelling companions, but also later, when he declines to offer much comment on the subject of the journey. Arturo Schwarz's *catalogue raisonné*, 'The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp' (1969/ 2000) remains the major reference source, although Schwarz's thematic interests have not been followed in this thesis. His index of works makes no significant mention of either the 'Jura-Paris road' or of Duchamp's military service. Schwarz's survey of Duchamp's career and life is, in any case, too sweeping to allow much space for the 'Jura-Paris road' leaving the impression that it has been somehow absorbed into the larger exegesis. Schwarz does address himself to it, of course, but in order to achieve his enormous work the 'Jura-Paris road' all but disappears.

Dawn Ades with her co-authors Neil Cox and David Hopkins published their influential survey of Duchamp's career, 'Marcel Duchamp' in 1999. It is more than a survey of course and is particularly good and detailed about the origins and context of much of the material in this thesis. In their exceptionally good Chapter 2: 'Catholicism and the Symbolist Inheritance', the authors penetrate into cultural aspects and the impact of the Catholic religion in France at the turn of the 20th century, when Duchamp was growing up. It was disappointing, however to find them ignoring the Catholic mysticism that is obviously revealed in note 109, with its invocation of the virgin Mary, the Christ child and of God, which once read, then percolates through notes 110 and 111 and ultimately into the 'Green Box.' As with Schwarz, the scope of the work means that the authors bring relatively little to the Jura episode and fall back on the familiar forms of supposition that tend to be calm so much writing about the Jura journey. This can be seen in the following excerpt where the same authors discuss Apollinaire's critical role:

Apollinaire's *Les Peintres cubistes* was a polemical tract backing this new school of painting. Published in 1913, it was almost certainly the subject of discussion during a visit Apollinaire, Duchamp and Picabia paid to the Jura Mountains late in October 1912, to stay with Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia at her mother's house.
(Ades *et al* 1999: 66-67)

The consequence of this provisional approach, the 'almost certainly' aspect adopted by Dawn Ades' editorial team and so much other writing about the 'Jura-Paris road', is that claims remain tentative and hypothesise gradually turn into mythologies that do not develop further.

In a sense Ades, Cox and Hopkins epitomise the question that provoked this thesis in the first place. Why, if the Jura-Paris episode was always present, was it never adequately investigated? Until

Henderson's text in 1998, authors satisfied themselves with a repetition of the same formula, without ever any major comment or claim made for it. Certain authors (not the above) suggested that this was one of the originating moments of Zurich dada; perhaps so, but if so it had over four years to lose momentum and for its personnel to disperse. When dada did emerge the protagonists of the Jura journey were widely scattered; Duchamp and Gabrielle Buffet were in New York, Picabia was in Barcelona and Apollinaire was by this time in the trenches in Artois and would not have been sympathetic to its anti-war stance. Nevertheless, the Jura episode has become part of the checklist of Duchamp's activities in 1912 and ever since Robert Lebel's monograph in 1959 the Jura journey and the illusive note of the 'Jura-Paris road' has automatically appeared in its correct chronological sequence, following Roussel's 'Impressions of Africa', after Munich, but before the Ste. Genevieve library and the readymades. A survey of the key writers in this checklist would include: Lawrence Steefel Jr (1960), Pierre Cabanne (1967), Arturo Schwarz (1969), John Golding (1973), Richard Hamilton (1973), Octavio Paz (1978), Jerold Seigel (1995), Juan Antonio Ramirez (1998), Alice Goldfarb Marquis (2002), Caroline Cros: (2006). These texts have been read and appreciatively consulted, during the course of this research, on the obviously important themes and 'legacies' of Duchamp's career in general. Yet few of them go beyond the slender material that could be gained from interviews with Duchamp and the other travellers. Around the event, there has arisen, the legend that the journey pursued: 'a metaphorical link between the body and the machine' (Sanouillet 1958: 6), as expressed in the notes for the 'Jura-Paris road' (Steefel, Schwarz, Hamilton). Following on from this the journey is seen as a precursor of dada (Buffet, Golding, Samaltanos), and inflected with good-humour and *bonhomie* this largely pleasurable occasion resulted in the interest in the wordplay that became evident in the work of all three men (Samaltanos, Henderson, Marquis).

In the face of the evidence from the key players mentioned above, the selection that has been made to inform this literature survey might seem haphazard. Linda Henderson's credentials for inclusion are of course secure, but the choice of some of the remaining authors and interviewers may appear less obvious. Nevertheless, it is within these texts that a different argument is made that will go deeper into the taxonomy of the 'Jura-Paris road.'

2.1.0. André Breton. '*Phare de la Mariée*' 1934 and 'Lighthouse of the Bride' [1945/1972]

Between the 1920s and the 1940s André Breton (1896-1966) was the foremost theorist and critic of the Parisian *avant-garde*, and his decision to devote a major essay to the Large Glass stimulated a re-evaluation of Marcel Duchamp's artistic reputation. Breton gave his essay a literary reference, calling it *Phare de la Mariée* and invoking in this title Charles Baudelaire's cycle of poems *Les Fleurs du Mal*. One of these poems, *Les Phares*, describes artists as pathfinders through the problematic terrain of modern life. Breton's essay was written in response to the release of Marcel Duchamp's notes for the 'Green Box' in 1934 and *Phare de la Mariée* is mostly a careful reading of these notes. It created the model for later interpreters to

follow. Breton shows through quotation and example how the notes variously foreshadowed and came to be reflected in the 'Large Glass', and how they help to reveal some of its complexity and in doing so *Phare de la Mariée* became the first flare to travel over the obscure language of the notes for the 'Large Glass' and expose its shattered mechanism.

André Breton's essay was later published as 'Lighthouse of the Bride' in 'View' magazine where the March 1945 issue, was devoted to Marcel Duchamp. (Breton 1945: 6-9) In 1972, the historian, Simon Watson-Taylor incorporated a second translation into his compilation of Breton's major writings on art¹. (Breton 1965: passim) Watson-Taylor's translation seems to accommodate Breton's prose with greater facility and coming as it did within his lifetime can be taken as receiving Breton's approval².

The opening paragraph of *Phare de la Mariée*, seems to indicate the sombre dilemma of Duchamp's *avant guerre* predicament. The title can be traced to the influential and mysterious *enfant-phare* of the 'Jura-Paris road' and Breton goes on to develop a string of allusions and references in the context of the first long paragraph of *Phare de la Mariée* that suggest a relationship with Duchamp's note. The date of the publication, 1935, and Breton's close association with Duchamp at this time, invests the essay with a special significance and authority and so Breton's coded references to the troublesome content of the 'Jura-Paris road' should therefore receive particular consideration.

André Breton's status as the spokesman for a generation of artists who had been through the war and now wanted both political and artistic change, gave him, in his view, a close intellectual affinity with Marcel Duchamp. Breton's personal experience of working on a number of projects, in which Duchamp arbitrated between the factional rivalries further emboldened Breton to view Duchamp as a working colleague. Their professional relationship was, perhaps, more tenuous, but even so, Breton's insight into Duchamp's practice was penetrating and clear and Duchamp's preoccupations that he adumbrates in the first long paragraph of *Phare de la Mariée* describes a lurking concern that he detects in the penumbra on the shadow side of his eponymous 'lighthouse.' (Breton [Watson Taylor] 1972: 85)

2.1.1. André Breton: Lexical definitions of the noun 'phare'

There is a discrepancy between the image of a 'lighthouse' and the impression gained from Breton's more nuanced *phare*, a noun that Duchamp applied in 1912 to the personage of *l'enfant-phare*, one of the central figures of the 'Jura-Paris road.' Breton uses the term *phare* to invoke Duchamp's visionary formulation of the iridescent glow around a child whose role it is to rise up and illuminate the scene from above. Breton therefore relates the *phare* to a symbolist imaginary, one that involves ascending towards the stars and Duchamp had illustrated this in a drawing in 1912³. However, *l'enfant-phare* took on a different personality and developed a different role once George Heard Hamilton translated the term into the 'headlight-child' in 1960. (Duchamp [Hamilton] 1960: unpaginated) Hamilton's conception projects a direct beam of light that is at once more mobile, more autonomous, perhaps even more *auto-mobile* and through this relationship with the automobile, the 'headlight child' came to be appreciated in a more technologically explicit relationship with the 'Jura-Paris road.' Consequently, the original reading of the *enfant-phare*, illuminating

a dimensionally unstable surface by rising high above and casting its light downwards, began to lose ground to a mechanistic interpretation of the speeding automobile's beam of light; which gradually became the accepted reading.

When the 'headlight child' appeared in Heard Hamilton's translation in 1960, the French term *phare* covered a range of meanings in relation to illuminations that ranged from a 'beacon', a 'lighthouse' and of course to an automobile 'headlight.' However, in the 'Cassell's New French and English Dictionary' of 1905, revised in 1910 to accommodate: 'words of recent introduction connected with aviation, bicycling, motoring, and photography' the compilers do not include the English noun 'headlight'. In the English-French section they translate the French noun, *phare* as: *n.m.* 'light-house, beacon, beacon-light' and once again there is no reference to the automotive term 'headlight.' (Boïelle 1903 [1910]: vi) A second dictionary published in 1914, Elwall's *Petit Dictionnaire Anglais-Français* allows exactly the same set of omissions and entries in relation to the French noun *phare*. Additionally, in its appendix of new terms at the end of the dictionary, Elwall gives the reader *Automobiliste, Bicyclette, Cinématographe, Kodak, Pneu, Sous-Marin* and *Surménagement*. These are all terms that can be applied to Marcel Duchamp's career and they will also take their place in this thesis; not included, however is the problematic designation of the noun *phare* as a headlight.

By the time André Breton used the term *phare* in the title of his essay the word had come to mean both 'lighthouse' and 'headlight.' The term *phare* was used to advertise vehicle lighting from 1910 and was a familiar expression after 1918. However, the first use of the term in French literature, according to the Dictionary of the *Académie Française*, appears in 1917 in Henri Barbusse's wartime novel 'Under Fire' published in 1917 as *Le Feu*. (Barbusse 1917[1929]: 307) Barbusse's novel will be cited again in support of other material in this thesis, but here he uses the term in alignment with the English translation of *phare* as a 'headlight.' After the war, the primary meaning switched to this systemic interpretation and the automotive possibilities of this term encouraged a Duchamp literature that has devoted itself to an analysis based on this later meaning⁴. (Henderson 1998: 37-39) The questing, searching, probing and technologically appealing history of the automobile headlight has swerved round the obstacle of Breton's more revelatory lighthouse and avoided Duchamp's own redemptive formulation of *l'enfant-phare* as the saviour child. This mystical provenance was tacitly acknowledged in the revelation, in 1980, that *l'enfant phare* was a derivation of Duchamp's original *l'enfant-dieu* or 'child-god'⁵.

2.1.2. André Breton: *Le phare d'automobile* and the military flare

Breton's opening sentences suggest a less benign and more dispassionate form of illumination than the ones suggested by either a technological enthusiasm for headlights or the safety of lighthouses. Consistent with the language of stress in his essay, the light source from Breton's *phare* was perhaps developed to reveal the features of an aggressively contested, perhaps even military ground. In the nights of early October 1912, this ground would have hosted the annual *manoeuvres d'automne*, an exercise that extended to the horizon with lights arcing into the sky, demanding an immediate response from the troops frozen within its

radiance. Writing his essay retrospectively, the landscape that Breton describes in the first paragraph of *Phare de la Mariée* is reminiscent of the western battlefields of 1914 that these annual *manoeuvres* failed to anticipate properly. In Breton's text, the soldiers are invisible and a broken industry replaces the natural scene:

Buildings flung under a grey sky turning slowly to pink – it is in a troubled and anguishing style of conquest, where the transitory conflicts with the pompous — all this has arisen suddenly at some extreme point of the globe and there is nothing that can prevent it, besides, from melting for us at a distance into the most conventional scene of modern adventure...⁶

The sentence is more than twice as long as the quoted extract, but Breton is at pains to bring together the associations of a world in physical and moral crisis and his light arising 'suddenly' in *un rien de temps*, present the terrain under an ominous grey sky with a pink tinge to it. Flares shooting upwards to detonate their 'rapid exposure' have artificially generated this colour under the clouds. (Duchamp 1973[1989]: 28) This militarized interpretation of André Breton's text, suggesting a landscape of toiling men, working beneath a dangerous sky, begins to suggest the relationship between the 'Bachelors' and the 'Bride' in Duchamp's 'Large Glass.' Breton's description is oriented towards the upper half of the 'Glass' where the 'Top Inscription' appears as a grey cloud shading to pink — Breton's *phare* projects its light towards this landscape complete with shattered masonry, or in Duchamp's case a malfunctioning industry that is served by nine conscripts inexpertly toiling with their inadequate artillery under this fearsome illumination.

This interpretation is at variance with the conventional one of the *enfant-phare* with its illuminated trajectory reaching along the 'Jura-Paris road.' The '*phare*' in this thesis suggests a light that is more evenly distributed than the one developed to penetrate the narrow trajectories of automobile journeys. Breton's light, which reveals a landscape where nothing moves is anticipated in an extract from an earlier description written by an artist, a contemporary of Duchamp's also serving in the 39th Infantry Regiment. Roland Dorgelès (1885-1973) will have met Duchamp during his year of conscription in 1905-06, when the regiment was stationed at Eu in Normandy. Duchamp may also have encountered him previously, during the publicity surrounding the Boronali affair in Paris⁷. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 1/4/1910) Unlike Duchamp however, Dorgelès served his full conscription and was present at the battle of the Marne with the 39th Regiment. He wrote his own impression of some of the night fighting and the urgent need to remain motionless under the light of bursting star-shells:

Two flares climbed, hissing in a parallel trajectory. "Stay still!" The place, starkly illuminated in the blinding light, revealed stone crosses, tombs and cyprus trees: we were in the cemetery. We stared without moving our heads⁸. (Dorgelès 1919:177)

Breton's first paragraph of *Phare de la Mariée* is a long one and it reveals that he is not only discussing the physical demise of a culture that had broken down as a consequence of war. He also extends this into a derogatory metaphor on cubism, which had been culture's defining artistic expression that was unable to

respond to this collapse in a socially productive way. Breton claims, in fact, that through a combination of its *indigence* and its *grandeur*, cubism becomes implicated in this collapse. Duchamp, having separated himself from its influence in 1912 through projects such as the 'Jura-Paris road' is credited, in Breton's text, with predicting its decline while seeing it as a sign of a more profound demise. The reader, at this point, is left uncertainly wondering whether Breton is really referring to cubism, or whether he was promoting Duchamp as an artist with more than particular prescience about the cultural and military consequences of this war. In fact Breton is at pains to reveal, in this same long opening paragraph of *Phare de la Mariée* that the artist's abilities (and therefore Duchamp's abilities) to affect change were distinctly limited:

Although this kind of judgement is salubrious in that it rightly reminds the artist of the limitations of his own activity (the increasingly urgent transformation of the world is different from the transformations that can take place on canvas). (Breton 1945: 8)

When André Breton wrote *Phare de la Mariée* in 1934, his sense of unease was palpable. The broken landscape and strange illumination that emerges from his descriptive writing pictures a malfunctioning world into which Marcel Duchamp is projected as the artist who intuits its imminent collapse. Afterwards, according to Breton, Duchamp would be revealed as the redeemer who would then start to repair the things that had been broken⁹. (Benjamin 1940 [1969]: 257-8) In line with his policy of refraining from comment, Duchamp remained true to his principles and said nothing about this redemptive role that Breton seems to have outlined for him.

2.2.0. Michel Sanouillet. 'Introduction' to 'The Writings of Marcel Duchamp' 1958 [1973]

The 'Jura-Paris road' has an ambiguous relationship with the other notes in the 'Green Box', a fact that Michel Sanouillet, the first editor to publish the notes, reveals in his 1958 compilation of Duchamp's original texts. Rather than including the note with the main texts on the 'Large Glass', Sanouillet placed the 'Jura-Paris road', with seven others, in a preliminary section entitled 'Marginal Notes.' These suggest a more ambiguous relationship with the 'Large Glass.' (Duchamp 1958[1994]: 41-45) The 'Jura-Paris road', although relegated to the 'Marginal Notes', appears, nevertheless, on the first page ahead of everything else and therefore sets up expectations about the notes that will follow. Duchamp's literary, almost Apollinarian language and metaphor (Jura-Paris 109), in the 'Jura-Paris road', nevertheless, gives ground to a more matter-of-fact set of formulations, beginning in the following section entitled 'Laws and General Notes.' This segregation of the 'Jura-Paris road' outside the main body of notes reveals, in Sanouillet's mind, a certain discrepancy, a lack of fit between this note and the 'Large Glass.'

The *Notes Marginales*, appearing, as they do, before the sections devoted to the 'Large Glass' consist of a miscellany of ideas on contrasting themes that bear little immediate relationship to one-another.

They range between different conditions and states of being, from the restless mobility of the 'Jura-Paris road', to the stasis and suspended animation of another note called 'Delay in Glass.' Among these 'Marginal Notes' appearing alongside the 'Jura-Paris road' is a precautionary statement that reads; 'NOTICE', which alerts the reader to a succession of collisions or 'assaults' occurring rapidly, one after another. Duchamp circles his *AVERTISSEMENT* with an emphatic ring in red pencil. The red pencil is used again to underscore the predicament of being 'in the dark' a qualification that eludes comprehension, until the 'illuminating gas' triggers another series of 'extra rapid' exposures, creating an *extra-rapide* illumination, plausibly argued and thought to refer to Duchamp's interest in photography. If so the red pencil becomes a witty reference to the red dark-room light. However these extra rapid exposures could suggest, the sudden, unexpected burst of light ascending into the night sky that vividly renders a position visible from its concealment in the sheltering dark; in which case a military reference can be drawn and the witty reference is obliterated in this life-threatening extra-rapid exposure.

In Michel Sanouillet's *Duchamp du Signe* of 1958, the *AVERTISSEMENT* note and *la route Jura-Paris* appear side-by-side on facing pages and repeated again in Hamilton's 1960 'typographic' version. These allow the reader to scan across the two notes. In so doing, the texts merge together and the cautionary language, the 'extra rapid' exposures, the deployments of '5 nudes', the influence of the 'illuminating gas', the repeated 'collisions' obstructing the progress of the 'headlight-child', and so on combine to merge their differences in the impression of one seamless act of writing. The turbulence and hazard in the two texts combine and advance across a contested landscape, which Linda Henderson in her section on the Jura-Paris road describes in terms of a military conquest.

2.2.1. Michel Sanouillet: The machine and chance

Michel Sanouillet's assessment of Marcel Duchamp's contribution to art practice rests on two equal platforms. The first relates to his imaginative, if only hypothetical application of machine technologies, a theme that he shared with other artists. The second relates to his use of chance. The two themes are revealed in Sanouillet's 1958 *Introduction to Duchamp du Signe* and in its English translation 'The Writings of Marcel Duchamp' in 1973. However, the journey in 1912 that lead to the four notes of the 'Jura-Paris road' predates Duchamp's use of chance, which came later in 1913. The machine thematic however bears directly on Duchamp's language, and although the 'Jura-Paris road' is not mentioned in the 'Introduction', Sanouillet's discussion of mechanisation has an important observation that directly relates to these notes:

According to Duchamp, the machine is a supremely intelligent creature which evolves in a world completely divorced from our own: it thinks, organizes this thought in coherent sentences ... uses words whose meaning is familiar to us. However these words conspire to mystify us. The thought, which we follow step by step ends at an impasse, in a dark laugh, and in a new questioning. (Sanouillet 1973[1989]: 8-9)

Duchamp introduces into his note the entity that he calls *la machine à 5 coeurs* or 'the machine with 5 hearts', which functions to synthesise different aspects of this journey into one coherent operational system. '*La machine à 5 coeurs*' incorporates several aspects of this journey — the vehicle, the road and the travellers into one consciously functioning organism that seems to have evolved in Sanouillet's 'world completely divorced from our own', quoted above. This sophisticated 'world' is very different from his derisive reference, to the familiar trope of science fiction where; 'piteous robots can never express themselves except in human terms and where all the research into the fantastic never results in anything but a poor animalization of Martians or Moonmen.' (Sanouillet 1958[1994]: 8-9)

2.3.0. Key Texts: Harriett and Carroll Janis. 'Interview with Marcel Duchamp' (unpublished) 1953

And then the following year we were again with Apollinaire — in fact, Nov '12 — before the Section d'Or was over — Picabia and Apollinaire and I and Picabia's wife — we went to her mother's place in Jura which is about 12 hours from Paris by car — it was winter almost in Nov. — and we had a wonderful meet there, Apollinaire, Picabia and I playing Jack Straws — having fun because Apollinaire was great fun in small company — he was not a ham at all — he was a ham ordinarily but not in this — in small (among friends) yes¹⁰. (Janis 1953: 14)

In this short extract from an, unpublished interview with Harriet and Carroll Janis, Duchamp was more forthcoming than he normally was, in interviews, about the Jura journey. He provides information about its duration, the time of year, the travellers; but he makes no reference at all to his notes that survive as the solitary witness to this episode. The interview hints at tensions within the group, particularly in relation to Apollinaire. For Duchamp, Apollinaire behaved like a 'ham ordinarily', but not as it transpires, on this occasion. 'Ordinarily', he infers, Apollinaire, as the celebrated author, editor and literary lion would be the intellectual lodestar, the flaring comet who would attract a degree of interest and attention from satellites and less significant bodies on the journey. On one occasion Apollinaire did perhaps appear as a 'ham', when, taking centre stage, he gave a recital of his long autobiographical poem *Zone* to the assembled company when, no doubt, an element of expedient flattery would inflect Duchamp's responses to the literary moment. Emulation is, of course, a form of flattery and might explain the technical, thematic, even structural similarities that exist between Apollinaire's poem and the notes for Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road'; which look increasingly as though they were written with Apollinaire in mind. The 'Jura-Paris road' creates the impression that it, of all the notes, was written with a particular audience in mind.

Whether Apollinaire was 'ordinarily a ham' or not Picabia and Duchamp, on this occasion, would have endured his eccentricity without too much protest. His presence was important to both of them because of his decision over the final selection of artists in his forthcoming book on cubism that was about

to go to print. Although the wealthy Picabia was underwriting the publication of the book and naturally expected to be included, he would be keen to see his allies represented in it as well, and at this point his alliances seem to have rested with Duchamp alone. The self-centred Picabia would have needed Duchamp on board to assist the argument, because the more conservative Apollinaire had, up till now, responded somewhat ambiguously to Duchamp's work and had, as yet, to be persuaded about Picabia's enthusiasm for an ever more radical abstraction. However, Duchamp also seems to have been keen to court Apollinaire's approval, as the similarities in Duchamp's notes to themes in Apollinaire's poetry suggest. The flippant throwaway phrase about Apollinaire being a ham in the Janis interview actually concealed pressing concerns that lay beneath the surface.

2.4.0. Pierre Cabanne. 'Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp' 1967 [1971]

In 1966 the historian Pierre Cabanne held a series of 'conversations' with Marcel Duchamp, which were published one year later under the title *Entretiens avec Marcel Duchamp* and translated into English in 1971 as 'Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp.' In a series of five interviews Pierre Cabanne steers Marcel Duchamp, as best he can, through the significant history of his life or, at least, through that part of it that Duchamp was prepared to offer for inspection. What Duchamp chooses to leave out of his life-story is of interest here. He remains silent, for instance, about the major final project *Étant Donnée* that he had been developing over the last twenty years and when Cabanne unwittingly stumbles upon this topic by introducing the subject of Duchamp's second home in Cadaquès and asking about his immediate plans for his holiday, Duchamp answers: 'Nothing. I have a very pretty, very nice terrace. I made an awning.' (Cabanne 1967: 105) Perhaps sensing an artwork, Cabanne asked if this awning was a readymade; Duchamp replies that it was not, but refrains from saying that an old weathered door from Cadaquès was about to be delivered to his studio in New York, which Duchamp would incorporate into the installation that he was secretly building. Duchamp gave no hint, either, in the interview, about the group of notes, which were to be published twelve years later in 1980 as *Marcel Duchamp: Notes* by his stepson Paul Matisse¹¹.

These notes show a different emphasis in the subject of the 'Jura-Paris road'. The relevant notes make direct references to the military and religious culture in pre-war France, themes that were expunged in the Green Box publication (Jura-Paris GB). The motives for suppressing this material seem to be different and more complicated than Duchamp's simpler desire to complete *Étant Donnée* in peace, without the disturbance of media attention. In the case of the 'Notes', there seems to have been a discrepancy between Duchamp's interest in the 'Jura-Paris' project post-war and the circumstances of their creation in the tense period before the war; it is as if the ideas they contained had either been superseded or no longer corresponded with the salient features of his reputation. The affect of this was to obscure the military and religious emphasis of the 'Jura-Paris road' as it was written in 1912. These issues are absent from the

record of the discussions that appeared in 'Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp' and although references to the military culture and the army appear in Cabanne on a number of occasions, they demonstrate for the most part his more conventional objections to being in the army and his determination to avoid contact with it:

Expecting to serve, under the law, two years of military service, I felt, being neither militaristic nor soldierly that I must still try to profit from the 'three-year law'; that is, do only one year by signing up immediately. (Cabanne 1971: 19)

In 1906, after being promoted to corporal, he was interviewed about taking a commission in the army and described his responses to this to Cabanne in the following way:

I understood that for him, the corps of French officers could not have a worker earning seven francs a day in its ranks, and I had the impression that I would not go very far as a soldier. (Cabanne 1971: 20)

Recalling his time in America after 1915 when, presumably, he thought that he was far from the war he announces that:

Yes, I left for a neutral country. You know, since 1917 America had been in the war, and I had left France basically for lack of militarism, for lack of patriotism if you wish. (Cabanne 1971: 59)

Given this posture, it is perhaps surprising to return to the beginning of the interview to find Duchamp announcing within the first few sentences: 'We're all craftsmen, in civilian or military or artistic life.' (Cabanne 1971: 16) The military theme is returned to once again, this time less surprisingly when discussing the 'Malic Moulds' he says:

The idea is amusing because they are molds (*sic*). And to mold what? Gas. That is, gas is introduced into the molds (*sic*) where it takes the shape of the soldier, the department store delivery boy, the cuirassier, the policeman, the priest, the stationmaster etc. (Cabanne 1971: 48)

Duchamp mentions the subject twice here, first in a generalised reference to 'the soldier' and then with the specifically regimental designation of *cuirassier*. In fact, only one soldier appears on the roll-call of the 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries.' Presumably Duchamp could not immediately bring to mind the regimental appellation and settles for the generic term 'soldier' before remembering that he was in fact a *cuirassier*. The fact that the soldier is a *cuirassier* and not a dragoon, an artilleryman or an infantryman is significant here and will be discussed in Chapter Six, but what is immediately relevant is that he put a soldier at the top of his list of male professions, and that this pre-eminence came a full fifty-two years after his apparent military discharge in 1915. After this glimpse into the prevalence of military associations, comes the admission that in 1917 he:

... wanted to work, so I got a job in the French military mission. Not being a soldier I was simply a captain's secretary, which I assure you wasn't at all funny. (Cabanne 1971: 52)

Presumably it wasn't funny. In the eyes of the French army Duchamp was an *embusqué*, a *faençant*, a malingerer, if not an actual deserter; but perhaps Duchamp's relationship to the military establishment in France and America was more nuanced than the ideological stance that is normally attributed to him. In a series of different questions put to him by Cabanne about his Munich trip taken in 1912 just before the Jura episode, the topic of the journey arose, to which Duchamp failed to respond. (Cabanne 1971: 36) Thirty-three years earlier, in 1934, Marcel Duchamp had thought that the Jura journey, or at least the note from that journey, sufficiently important to include in the 'Green Box.' So it is perhaps strange that Duchamp did not take the opportunity to discuss it again here. Instead, he discussed the paintings and drawings that he made in Munich, describing them as continuing a theme that had already started.

Thematically, the 'Jura-Paris road' continues the same line of nude *personages* that dynamically informed Duchamp's paintings, which as he explained to Cabanne belonged to his 'before' — Munich preoccupations. The number of nudes had steadily accumulated in these paintings, from the solitary nudes of the 1911 and early 1912 'staircase' paintings, to streams of them in the pre-Munich 'King and Queen' series. Apollinaire subsequently claimed in 'The Cubist Painters: Aesthetic Meditations', that the nude had become, uniquely, Duchamp's area of special interest, the subject that marked him out and invested his originality within the cubist project¹². (Apollinaire 1913: 74) Their organisation, in his text into a formation that patrols the unregulated length of the 'Jura-Paris road', would seem in its turn to have been calculated to appeal to Apollinaire and perhaps as a consequence of this, the incidences of Duchamp's appearance in Apollinaire's writing greatly increase after October 1912.

The nudes of the 'Jura-Paris road' have no defining or social markers. They operate some way behind their leader, and some way 'towards this 'Jura-Paris road', and somehow in counterbalance with the mysterious entity that he calls the 'headlight child':

the chief of the 5 nudes will be / ahead of the 4 other nudes towards this Jura-Paris road ... in finding a termination at one end / in the chief of the 5 nudes, at the other / in the headlight child. (Duchamp 1973[1989]: 26)

Their co-ordinates are ambiguous, uncertain and difficult to measure and this complexity suggests why Duchamp avoided their discussion with Pierre Cabanne in 1967. The 'Jura-Paris road' was, by this time an anomaly within his output, and its concerns and interests were at a tangent with much of his subsequent work. Like the fourth dimension to which it alludes, the 'Jura-Paris road' along with its troubled military thematic seems to recede in ways that become inaccessible to the comprehension of the viewer approaching it¹³. (Adcock [De Duve] 1991: 311-350)

2.5.0. Katia Samaltanos. 'Apollinaire, Catalyst for Primitivism, Picabia, and Duchamp'

1984

In her book, 'Apollinaire: Catalyst for Primitivism, Picabia, and Duchamp', Katia Samaltanos analyses Apollinaire's influence on cubism through his understanding of the formal and spiritual aspects of 'primitive' art. She shows that in supercharged encounters such as the journey down to the Jura, he helped to pave the way for a breakaway movement that, she claims, anticipated the dada experiments of 1916. Samaltanos provides the only monograph on the poet that details the Jura journey and it offers a good description of the relationship between Apollinaire, Marcel Duchamp, Francis Picabia and Gabrielle Buffet. Samaltanos' text was drawn from her PhD thesis in 1981 and published in 1984, after the publication of Paul Matisse's posthumous *Marcel Duchamp: Notes*. It is puzzling therefore that Samaltanos does not refer to the posthumous 'Notes' in her book. The level of knowledge and insight that she brings to bear on the relationships before the journey suggests that strong links between them could be developed over the mystical/ religious themes that interested all three men. (Duchamp 1980: Note 109) The link between childhood, primitivism and religion that Samaltanos ends on would have been strengthened by the additional information from the Matisse Notes.

2.5.1. Katia Samaltanos: Colonialism and primitivism

Nineteenth-century Symbolism had encouraged a preoccupation with the imaginative possibilities of 'primitive' art as demonstrated in the artefacts, brought back as trophies of French colonial expansion. This led Apollinaire to evaluate their formal sophistication and coupled with a fascination for their creative distortion, provided themes that he addressed in his poetic writings. He then applied this critical appraisal to cubism. Samaltanos' exegesis considers Apollinaire's influence on the Paris avant-garde, through his creative interpretation of works, which originated from objects brought back to France as a result of colonial expansion. Apollinaire seems to have been alone in reconciling the spiritual aspects of African art with its formal and disturbing characteristics.

Samaltanos claims that, becoming impatient with the constraints imposed on the cubists of the Puteaux group, Apollinaire sought in primitivism a means of developing a less regulated form of practice. Through the permissive accommodations of 'primitive' forms, a new synthesis of art would be allowed to emerge. Samaltanos provides a comprehensive insight into Apollinaire's influential presence within this discourse, which then bore on Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road.'

2.5.2. Katia Samaltanos: The bond between language and Dada

Perhaps it was in relation to his mystical leaning that Apollinaire was given the soubriquet of 'pontiff.' Samaltanos describes Apollinaire's impatience with this title, because he recognized in it a dictatorial role that conflicted with his own self-image of a man who encouraged experimental risk-taking. He was *une fusée signal*, to use his own incendiary wartime metaphor, he was a flare rocketing upwards to illuminate the occult and incoherent world beneath it¹⁴. (Samaltanos 1984: 64) Samaltanos points out that Apollinaire

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thought of his role in revelatory terms; rather than repressing talent he encouraged it. This being the case he would be impatient with the restrictive connotations of this papal soubriquet. In fact, Pope Pius X does appear in Apollinaire's poem *Zone*, but his reference is ambiguous and although Samaltanos does not comment on this, the Pope's 1906 encyclical, *Vehementer Nos*, against the Law of Separation annoyed many republican Frenchmen and although Apollinaire was not French, he identified with his adopted country where most of his friends represented the liberal, intellectual wing of political opinion that the pope inveighed against.

Apollinaire met Picabia in 1911 and sometime later introduced him to Duchamp and their common interest in the ambiguities of language in wordplay, puns and jokes suggests to Samaltanos that this shared enjoyment enlivened the longeurs of the Jura automobile journey. She interprets the event as relaxed and affirms the easy relationship between the members of the party, which is evidenced in a surprisingly conventional portrait sketch of Apollinaire, made in the Jura by Duchamp. According to Samaltanos, the atmosphere of light-hearted pleasure in their own company, in their discussions paved the road for the emergence of dada:

This is an important date for the annals of Dada, for it marks the time when the three friends were discussing in a comico-serious fashion the possibilities of a new art. (Samaltanos 1984: 63)

Picabia's wife, Gabrielle Buffet, returned with them to Paris but recalls that she first met Apollinaire, earlier that summer in July 1912 when on holiday with her children in Hythe on the English Coast. (Buffet-Picabia 1977: 59) Picabia and Apollinaire unexpectedly arrived from Paris in Picabia's car. Samaltanos mentions this episode because, in her account, this signalled the date from which Picabia, Apollinaire and ultimately Duchamp would begin to develop their ideas that would resolve into the wartime experiments engendered by dada. Samaltanos claims that these two automobile journeys became the motivating rites of passage from which dada would spring¹⁵.

2.5.3 Katia Samaltanos: Camaraderie on the Jura to Paris journey

Samaltanos considers the Jura journey in a section entitled 'The Headlight-Child and Jura Paris' (Samaltanos 1984: 77-79) and cites Picabia, who states flatly:

We drove all three on a night ride ... Guillaume Apollinaire never stopped singing¹⁶. (Samaltanos 1984: 77)

This reminiscence hints at the irritations that can develop between travellers in close proximity on a long journey. It is not too fanciful to imagine the tense white knuckles of the other travellers as the vehicle journeyed through the night, and Apollinaire persisted with his musical repertoire; Duchamp remembers the journey as lasting twelve hours. Apollinaire, however, was in the habit of composing his poems by humming to himself, and so he may even have been going through the final permutations of *Zone* before

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reciting it to his assembled audience in the following days. However, Picabia's description of Apollinaire's behaviour seems to be more testing than the thought of the poet innocently humming to himself the rhythmic snatches of his current creation.

Samaltanos' section on the 'Jura-Paris road' or the 'Jura-Paris' as she calls it, brings the reader's attention to a shift in emphasis relating to Baudelaire's poem *Les Phares* and claims that:

Duchamp's 'enfant-phare' evokes above all Baudelaire's poem, *Les Phares*. In which artists are compared to lighthouses projecting light in the darkness, a metaphor also used by Apollinaire. (Samaltanos 1984: 77)

John Golding had previously cited *Les Phares* in 1973 as a reference for Breton's essay *Phare de la Mariée* that accompanied Duchamp's publication in 1934 of his 'Green Box.' (Golding 1973: 13) Breton's intention, then, was to incorporate Duchamp into Baudelaire's pantheon of artists who project their penetrating gaze into the future. Although Duchamp mentions other symbolist poets in his checklist of influences in the Cabanne interviews, he probably knew his Baudelaire well enough to recognise the reference but it is less certain that he would be necessarily very enthusiastic with this designation of the revelatory artists.

Samaltanos describes the journey as having lasted two weeks, which discounts the careful dating of the event by the historian William Camfield five years before her own publication. (Camfield 79: 34) Samaltanos creates an evocation of what the 'Jura-Paris note' may have become and relates the note to the 'Large Glass', citing it as the first draft of this project. She creates an imaginary link between the 'Jura-Paris road' and a different note, which discusses a future project in terms of a two-sided hinged object. Although Samaltanos does not offer more on this interpretation she confines her remarks to attributing the character the *enfant phare* to Apollinaire and that the 'leader of the 5 nudes' to a self-portrait of Duchamp himself. Samaltanos draws attention to the theory that plays on the similarities between Duchamp's term *5 nus*, (now re-edited as *cinq nus*) and *seins nus*, or 'bare breasts.' Although she does not substantiate her references here, she nevertheless makes a suggestion about an extraordinary sexual pun that seems to have been ignored in the subsequent literature. This seems also to be entirely consistent with the eroticized language that many have claimed for this text. (Hopps, Linde & Schwarz 1964: 43)

Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris' text is the first to deal entirely with puns and sexual connotations. Apart from the pun on *5 nus* (*cinq nus*) and 'seins nus' ("five nudes – nude breasts") and 'queue en avant', the actual title 'Jura-Paris' hides an obscene pun on '*jus rapparie*' and 'enfant-phare' suggests '*fanfare*.' Apollinaire, a lover of puns and obscene jokes, no doubt encouraged Duchamp in this direction and probably suggested some of these erotic word-games to him. (Samaltanos 1984: 78)

Samaltanos' reading of the comet of the *enfant phare* is consistent with every interpretation of the 'Jura-Paris road' and invokes the lights of the speeding automobile. She then suggests that the literary influence flowed, for once, the other way, from Duchamp to Apollinaire when in 1915 he wrote in his poem *Lou mon étoile*:

La voie Lactée monte comme une poussière derrière / Le météore automobile. ¹⁷

Samaltanos concludes by re-invoking childhood through primitivism and claims that:

The primitive strain of Apollinaire's generation can best be seen as a quest for a new religion. *La religion seule est restée toute neuve la religion*, he wrote in *Zone*, and confessed to himself that if he could listen to himself, he would become a priest or a religious man ¹⁸. In a similar vein, Duchamp stated that 'art has replaced religion' and that the artist is a sort of missionary: 'He is a curious reservoir of para-spiritual values... Today more than any other time, the Artist has this para-religious mission to fulfil: to keep lit the flame of an interior vision.' (Samaltanos 1984: *ibid*)

2.6.0. Linda D. Henderson. 'Duchamp in Context: Science and technology in the *Large Glass* and related works' 1998

It was not until Alexina Duchamp commissioned her son, Paul Matisse, to publish the remaining notes after Duchamp's death that a new appraisal of his work with a particular emphasis on Duchamp's experiments with language appeared¹⁹. In the literature that followed this release of new material, Linda Henderson's 'Duchamp in Context: Science and Technology in the 'Large Glass' and Related Works' stands out for its detailed examination of the notes, where, her analysis surveys the work from the perspective of the prevailing science and technology in pre-World War I France. An aspect of Henderson's thesis is Duchamp's interest in the scientific theories of his day and the inspiration that he derived from current speculations on ether-physics. However the physics that prevailed before Einstein have been superseded and have passed out of currency; because of this they now pose problems of interpretation for the modern reader and so Henderson provides a guide through the scientific back-story of the ether and the pre-war theories upon which it was conceived. 'Duchamp in Context' now occupies a benchmark position in Duchamp scholarship and any reappraisal of his work will have to contend with the compelling evidence in Henderson's detailed examination.

Henderson devotes a complete section to the 'Jura-Paris road' and to the automobile journey that preceded it. In relation to the length of the book, this proportion is necessarily modest. Nevertheless, more attention is devoted to the 'Jura-Paris road' than in previous writing and the culmination of this sustained focus greatly extends existing scholarship on the subject. Furthermore, the section entitled 'The "Jura-Paris road" Project', draws further support from material that is developed in the previous sections of the chapter, and for the first time in the literature on Duchamp, the influence of the 'Jura-Paris road' starts to percolate into a larger thesis.

The claim in 'Duchamp in Context' is that the 'Jura-Paris road' became the first example of Marcel Duchamp's interest in human-machine metaphors, a subject that had been previously explored by

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writers, but rarely if ever by artists before this time. Given Duchamp's interest in the work of the symbolist poets, a literary outcome was to be expected from this topic and some form of visionary text would be the most likely form that it would take. To support this thesis, Henderson points to a history in the literature of human-machine interfaces, from Guillaume Apollinaire's poem *Zone*, recited while actually on the journey in October 1912, reaching back to Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1909), Maurice Maeterlinck (1907), Octave Mirbeau (1906), Alfred Jarry (1902) and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (1886), all of whom develop a language, a fictional imaginary and a rudimentary theory around the interface of humans with automobiles or more specifically with the conception of the human-machine.

Previous commentators have described this relationship as 'mechanomorphic'²⁰, but Henderson sidesteps this term, in order to avoid suggesting earlier technologies that had, by this time, been superseded and which would not account for Duchamp's sophisticated inquiry into the physics of electro-magnetism, X-Ray, the ether and other 'invisible' sciences that are explored in the overall thesis of her book. The information that Henderson provides in the previous two sections serves to underpin the material on the 'Jura-Paris road', although not listed as such in the index. Nevertheless, this material supports Henderson's survey of the 'Jura-Paris road', adding to it and developing the study to the point where one entire chapter of the book is devoted to the subject, whether implicitly or by explicit reference. Henderson goes on to develop the theme further in later chapters including a final encapsulation in both of her separate conclusions. This greatly increased attention, shifts the emphasis of the 'Jura-Paris road' from its marginal position as a mysterious if compelling episode before Henderson, to an important project that bears more emphatically on the centre ground of Duchamp's practice.

The similarities that Henderson draws between subjects such as the '5 nudes' and Duchamp's later formulation of the nine 'Bachelors' of the 'Large Glass' create relationships between these separate groups. This is also developed between the 'Jura-Paris road' as the first of Duchamp's texts to develop the human machine analogy and the note, styled by Henderson as the 'ten page automobile note', appearing in the 'Green Box.' (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 42-43) The 'ten page' note provided an initial audit of terms and interconnecting relationships, in effect a game-plan, for the 'Bride' in the 'Large Glass' and the association that Henderson makes with the 'Jura-Paris road' inevitably draws the two works together. This relationship binds the 'Jura-Paris road' into a closer relationship with the other notes in the 'Green Box' and therefore strengthens its relationship with the 'Large Glass' itself. This, strongly argued position, prevails in a context of historical uncertainty, where the links between the 'nudes' and the 'Bachelors' have, admittedly, been assumed to exist, but never convincingly demonstrated.

Henderson's thesis implicitly counterbalances the evidence in Michel Sanouillet's *Duchamp Du Signe*. Sanouillet, working with Duchamp in 1958 on the published version of the notes put the 'Jura-Paris road' into his 'Marginal Notes', which form a separate section for material that has an ambiguous relationship with the 'Large Glass', at the front of the book. This placement separated the 'Jura-Paris road' from the notes that are exclusively related to the 'Large Glass.' Sanouillet was perhaps constrained by the presence of Duchamp himself who collaborated with this task. Given the opportunity to re-assess the

complex interrelationship between his notes, forty years later, Duchamp may well have wanted to relegate the 'Jura-Paris road' to a marginal position from his central inquiry because it had no further outcome within his project as it had developed. Henderson's research has the advantage of not being constrained by the elderly artist's recollections and provides a compelling reason why the 'Jura-Paris road' should be re-instigated closer to the mainstream of the principle narrative.

2.6.1. Linda D. Henderson: Four parallel, interpretative strands; 1. Human/ machine synthesis

In 'Duchamp in Context', the narrative and structure of the 'Jura-Paris road' is bound into Henderson's larger scientific exegesis, which she orders into four broad topics, summarised below. (Henderson 1998: 37-39)

Previous commentators have understood Marcel Duchamp's work through the human/ machine analogy that he began to create after 1911 and Henderson enlarges on many of these observations²¹. (Steeffel 1960 [1977]: 332-36) She endorses and develops this position, which, amongst other things, considers the field of erotic possibilities that regularly appear in the texts on Duchamp's creative strategy. Henderson cites Marinetti's 1909, 'The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism' where the autobiographical relationship between Marinetti's three motorists and their powerful machines — their 'snorting beasts' — is described in terms of a potentially dangerous, perhaps even fatal sexuality. (Chipp 1968: 284-89) Henderson links this morbid intercourse to Duchamp's Munich paintings and drawings from the summer of 1912, particularly in the potentially violent and sexually charged drawing, 'The Bride Stripped Bare by the Bachelors.' Here two male protagonists have evolved into automata, displaying an array of aggressive spines and projectiles that menace a captive figure, whom, if female might be the eponymous 'Bride' of the title.

A different, yet similarly gendered interpretation of Duchamp's conception of the sexual union between machines and anthropomorphic figures, occurs when Henderson offers a diagram of an automobile, overlaying it with Duchamp's drawing *Vierge No.1*. Henderson rotates this through ninety degrees to show its close relationship with the vehicle. She shows how the anatomy of the figure coincides with the mechanical components, which are revealed in the drawing beneath her outer membrane. Henderson's readers are left to wonder about the appeal of this uncomfortable intercourse, but her real purpose is to introduce a provisional model for Duchamp's ideas on the human-machine interface while, at the same time, providing a plausible genesis for the identity of the 'Bride.' In its earliest conception this was drawn quite specifically from ideas of the motorcar.

2.6.2. Linda D. Henderson: Four parallel, interpretative strands; 2. New materials, new languages

Along with other commentators, Linda Henderson describes the journey in terms of a stimulating event that generated, through its shared camaraderie an enthusiasm for linguistic games. Notwithstanding, Marcel

Duchamp's incomplete project for the 'Jura-Paris road' seems to be, with the exception of the portrait of Apollinaire, the only surviving residue of this episode. Perhaps the complex and potent character of the *enfant phare* emerges from the mind games that emerged from these collaborations. In her analysis of the notes that followed on from the journey itself, Henderson describes *l'enfant phare* in terms of a personality that shifts between two identities. The first identity was inspired by the car itself and specifically from the manufacturing details and powerful beam of the vehicle headlights. Henderson shows how, in October 1912, these would be electric and therefore wired into the circuitry of the vehicle.

A second conception in Henderson's analysis of the 'headlight child' is bound up with the symbol of a comet. In contradiction with the laws of physics, this comet has a flaring tail that reaches out in front so that the tail races ahead, as if in flight on a re-winding cine-projector. Rather than trailing behind the comet, the tail of *l'enfant phare* probes into the dangers and difficulties of the terrain ahead. Henderson proposes a less mechanically determined, more metaphysical, perhaps even miraculous, model that invests the 'headlight child' with a mystical, even sacred character. Henderson's second interpretation creates a subtle aura around a point of light whose agency draws a fluent line: 'continually moving through space toward infinity.' (Henderson 1998: 38) At this point the material science of the automobile industry has given way to a compelling force, embodied in the abstraction of a travelling line; an illuminated trail along the continuum of the journey that loops back into itself through the internal agency of *l'enfant phare* before emerging again into the transforming topography of the darkened 'Jura-Paris road.' Duchamp himself describes his conception in the following way:

But in the beginning (in / the chief of the 5 nudes) it will be very finite in / width, thickness (etc), in order little by little, / to become without topographical form in coming close to this ideal straight line which / finds its opening towards the infinite in the headlight / child. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 27)

In this survey, Henderson indicates the technical advances in automobile illumination and electrical lighting that might have encouraged the first interpretation of *l'enfant phare*. In order to find a precedent for the second conception, in 'Jura-Paris 109', of the *phare enfant Dieu* who directs a beam of light, at once illuminating, purifying and projecting into other dimensions, Henderson has to go back to Apollinaire's poetry and particularly to the poet's recitation of *Zone* while staying at Étival. Apollinaire, she points out, used similar methods within his own poetry, where a fusion of scientific and sacred information blends together managing to profane and bend belief systems and scientific disciplines equally through an irrational distortion on the one hand and problematic theology on the other. Science and religion might, with some justification feel equally misrepresented in both Apollinaire and Duchamp.

Apollinaire's recital of *Zone*, at Étival, seems to have influenced Marcel Duchamp in its fusion of scientific and sacred imagery. Yet it is Duchamp's close attention to technical metaphors that Henderson focuses on as his primary interest. His discussion of new materials involves the improbable processes of turning the flint substrate of the road into dust, the incorporation of 'nickel and platinum', persuasively argued by Henderson as the materials used in the manufacture of headlamps to achieve the optical science

that transforms the incandescent bulb into a serviceable beam of light. These contribute to a possible inventory of material things and events that ultimately might take their place in Duchamp's list of materials for his new composition. Henderson suggests that over this conception, however, there floats a more speculative, metaphysical figuration associated with the line of illumination of the *enfant-phare*, which is picked out by the vehicle headlamp projecting forwards towards a numerical complexity that leads to the mystical fourth dimension.

2.6.3. Linda D. Henderson: Four parallel, interpretative strands; 3. Religious readings

After Paul Matisse's publication of the posthumously discovered *Notes*, in 1980, the full extent of Duchamp's references to conventional Christian themes became apparent. Henderson does not explain the precise reason for this interest except that Apollinaire, Duchamp and Picabia, all shared a preoccupation with religious subject matter, and certainly all three artists incorporated the iconography of Christian theology into their work. This has been interpreted in a number of ways that tend to favour the idea of an avant-garde disrespect for venerated institutions. Henderson on the whole does not take sides and is careful in dealing with this material, acknowledging that its prevalence in Note 109 needs addressing. She approaches the Christian themes that appear, and attributes them to a gendered, female, character of the automobile²². (Henderson 1998: 38) Henderson links the automobile as described by Duchamp in terms of a 'machine mother' which in its turn invokes the solemn and serious image of the Virgin Mary, naturally giving rise to the 'headlight child's' elevation as the holy infant: *Ce phare sera l'enfant Dieu*. These allusions convey a technological updating of religious imagery and in particular re-address the virgin myth that Duchamp had already begun in Munich. Henderson, at this point, reveals a bias towards a less theologically rigorous interpretation, conceding that humour might have played its part in the process and that some of it can be inferred as a tongue-in-cheek response. Nevertheless, the thrust of Duchamp's thinking lay in the possibilities of scientific metaphor.

2.6.4. Linda D. Henderson: Four parallel, interpretative strands; 4. conquest (military)

The aggressiveness of the 'Jura-Paris road' is further underscored by citing one of the Matisse Notes from the group found after Duchamp's death. Note 111 starts with a caption that Henderson suggests serves as a provisional title for the project also demonstrating the tensions arising from its emphasis on disciplined progress, suggesting that the note has some form of regimented or military origin. Henderson draws attention to the caption, which reads: 'Title. The chief of the 5 nudes extends little by little his power over the Jura-Paris road', and having quoted this, Henderson goes on to note that Duchamp: 'then presents the theme in terms of a military conquest', and as if to endorse this interpretation, Note 111 reiterates the noun *collision*, using it three times in the space of one short paragraph, at the end of which, a *victoire* is predicted in some sort of contest, actually a *bataille* along the 'Jura-Paris road.' (Henderson 1998: 37) Henderson

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does not explain how or what this *bataille* actually was, or might be. She does not speculate whether this language alluded to an internalised torment of Duchamp's or a public fear more commonly shared, whether it was exacerbated by competitive hierarchies within the vehicle, or whether Duchamp's method of impacting 'collision' upon 'collision' referred to hazards either in the landscape nearby, or along the road. Elsewhere in 'Duchamp in Context', Henderson discusses Duchamp's problematic relations with the group of painters at Puteaux, an issue that came to a head with the rejection of his work at the *Salon des Indépendants*, earlier that year in March 1912. (Henderson 1998: 58) Duchamp's elder brothers were implicated in this by aligning themselves with the organisers of the exhibition and agreeing to communicate the news of his rejection if their terms were not accepted. Is it likely that Duchamp's response to this treatment would have influenced the belligerent character of the four 'Jura-Paris road' notes in this way? It is surely unlikely that the spectrum of religious, social and military references, picked up by Henderson, would become the vehicle for such intensely personal considerations.

The evidence of military terminology that Henderson detects in Note 111 can be seen in the 'Green Box' note, even without the more specific language of *bataille*. In the 'Green Box', *l'enfant phare* is designated as *l'instrument vainqueur de cette route Jura-Paris*²³, Duchamp deploys his personnel very precisely, suggesting a deliberate formation and an emphasis on preparation that goes beyond the requirements of a motoring excursion, or a pilgrimage to an obscure shrine with bohemian friends.

2.6.5. Linda D. Henderson: Shared dimensional concerns between the 'Jura-Paris road' and the 'Large Glass'

In the final section addressing the 'Jura-Paris road' in 'Duchamp in Context'²⁴, Linda Henderson applies herself to what she identifies as the fundamental issues in the 'Large Glass'; the incompatibilities between three and four-dimensional states of being and the more or less continuous need to migrate from lower to upper levels. These concerns are traced back to the interplay of automobile and road in the note for the 'Jura-Paris road', where the interrelationship of the two elements prefigure the frustrated sexual interplay between the 'Bachelors' and the 'Bride' of the 'Large Glass.' The impediment and cause of this frustration is the fact that the 'Bachelors' are terrestrial creatures, relegated to a commonplace, three-dimensional world, finding a precedent, Henderson believes, in the material reality of the automobile on its journey between the Jura and Paris; whereas the 'Bride' in the 'Large Glass' is prefigured by the automobile journey itself, which instead of terminating has transformed itself into the tessellating, limitless extension of four-dimensional universe. In Henderson's elegant and beautiful conception, the occupants of the material, three-dimensional sphere are naturally impelled to gravitate towards the superior four-dimensional world. This is a process that requires the services of an additional agency, which in Henderson's reading is performed by the 'headlight child.' This gives to the 'headlight child' a functional, particular role within the complex interplay between the other personages in the narrative. Henderson does not distinguish whether the philanthropic support of *l'enfant phare* is there to assist a mystical yearning for higher attainment or as in the 'Large Glass' where he is replaced by the 'handler of gravity' whose efforts go towards the easement

of base gratification. The distinction between base and exalted aspiration is perhaps less important than the knowledge that *l'enfant phare*'s role is essentially that of a mediator between otherwise incompatible types of experience or knowledge.

In spite of the efforts of *l'enfant phare* and the 'handler of gravity', the accommodation of the different motives of desire and spiritual elevation are nevertheless disrupted by the aggressive meshing of their dimensionally incompatible worlds which is described by Henderson in terms of:

an inevitable clash or collision between the three-dimensional world of the 'Bachelors' and the four-dimensional world of the 'Bride.' (Henderson 1998: 88)

Nevertheless, in Henderson this discussion of the finite and infinite capabilities in the different personalities, bears directly onto the 'Jura-Paris road' through the perspective of the 'Large Glass.' This is addressed as the central theme of the two related works and within this assertion arises Henderson's claim for their close association. The notes for the 'Jura-Paris road', therefore, and particularly the expression of violent activity that is inherent in the three expressions of the term *collision*, appearing in Note 111 that Duchamp uses to describe this activity, form the central thesis of the relationship between the 'Jura Paris Road' of 1912 and the traffic between the lower and upper sections of the 'Large Glass', which began to take shape in Duchamp's mind from 1913 onwards.

2.7.0. Chapter conclusions

Whereas many commentators on Duchamp have brought essential information to the discussion of his work, their analysis of the 'Jura-Paris road' has tended to run along the original guidelines laid down by André Breton in 1934 and Robert Lebel in 1958. For the majority of these the 'Jura-Paris road' has featured as a curiosity that will not warrant much further inquiry. They all demonstrate, nevertheless, a nervous recognition of the work's enduring status in their writings on Duchamp because of its elevation into the 'Green Box.' Very few of these commentators developed an independent critical approach to the legacies of the journey or of its significance in the scale of Duchamp's larger operation.

This survey of 'Key Texts' on the subject acknowledges the influence of Lebel, Schwarz, Tomkins, Caumont & Gough-Cooper and Ades for their informed position on Duchamp's career but shows, also, that their contribution to a better understanding of the 'Jura-Paris road' and the motivations for converting the journey into this almost mythological flight from its original meaning as a rather privileged escapade in a motorcar — is more limited. As reference works these texts are unmatched and will be invoked regularly in subsequent chapters; however, they have been superseded in this survey that develops other themes found in the texts represented in the literature of Breton, Sanouillet, Samaltanos and Henderson and in the interviews by the Janises and Pierre Cabanne.

¹ Translated as: Breton, André. 1972. *Surrealism and Painting*. Trans. Simon Watson Taylor. London. Macdonald.

² *Phare de la Mariée* translated as *Lighthouse of the Bride*. Unless otherwise stated, all the English references to Breton's essay will refer to this later translation by Simon Watson Taylor.

³ In 1911 Duchamp had illustrated a set of poems by the symbolist Jules Laforgue including one called *Encore à cet Astre*. 'Once more to this Star.'

⁴ Also: Schwarz.1969, p.571, Hamilton.1973, p.59, Samaltanos.1983, p.77.

⁵ *l'enfant-Dieu rappelant assez le Jésus des primitifs. Il sera l'épanouissement divin de cette machine-mère* (Duchamp. 1980[1999]:68).

'this headlight will be the child-God, rather / like the primitives' Jesus. / He will be the divine blossoming of / this machine mother... serving to unite / this headlight child God, to his machine-mother . 5 nudes.' (Duchamp 1983: unpaginated)

⁶ *Des bâtisses jetées sous un ciel gris virant au rose, très lentement – c'est d'un style trouble et angoissant de conquête, où le transitoire le dispute au pompeux – cela vient de se lever en un rien de temps sur quelque point extrême du globe et rien ne peut faire, d'ailleurs, que cela ne se fonde à distance pour nous dans le plus conventionnel décor d'aventure moderne.*

⁷ With other protesting art students, Dorgelès submitted a painting to the 1910 *Salon d'Automne* that had been painted by tying a brush to a donkey's tail.

⁸ *Avec un sifflement deux fusées montèrent, d'un jet pareil. "Ne bougez pas!" La lumière aveuglante éclaira brutalement l'endroit. Immobiles, sans même remuer la tête, les homes regardèrent. D'un coup d'œil, ils virent les croix, les dalles, les cypress: nous étions dans la cimetière.* (English translation by the author).

⁹ Walter Benjamin's *Angel of History*. Benjamin, W. 1940. 'On the Concept of History, chap ix'. In *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. 1969. N.Y. Schocken Books pp257-258. The only record of Duchamp meeting with Benjamin was in 1937. Benjamin's 'angel' bears certain similarities with Breton's conception of Duchamp – without Benjamin's tragic outcome.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Linda Henderson for her assistance with this material. Henderson cites the interview as follows: Janis, Sidney, Harriet Janis, and Carroll Janis. 'Interview with Marcel Duchamp, New York, 1953. Manuscript in the possession of Carroll Janis.

¹¹ It is possible that Cabanne had a better inkling of these notes than he let on in the interview. Jacqueline Matisse-Monnier has explained that Duchamp, in his later years tried to interest various commentators, including Cabanne, in the publication of these notes, although her mother finally entrusted the project to Paul Matisse. From an email correspondence with Jacqueline Matisse-Monnier (2006).

¹² 'Allow me to make an important observation here. Duchamp is the only painter of the modern school who today (Autumn 1912) shows any interest in the nude.'

¹³ The reference is to Craig Adcock's answer to Francis Naumann during the q/a session at the end of his paper.

¹⁴ As 'pontiff', Apollinaire might have imposed conditions, but this was not his way. Instead of insisting on boundaries, Apollinaire looked for loopholes that would puncture formality. He would probably have preferred the more infantile and mischievous soubriquet of *enfant de chœur* or altar boy.

¹⁵ Gabrielle Buffet's memoir states that both journeys elicited important discussions about art. These discussions turned on 'pure art' and abstraction. Gabrielle Buffet aimed to show the links with dada in the work of the three men – but does not connect this earlier journey to England with its development.

¹⁶ This quotation was drawn from Le Corbusier's '*L'Esprit Nouveau*' (1924). In. 1976. *Francis Picabia*. Galleries Nationales du Grand Palais. Paris.

Apollinaire's preferred soubriquet of *enfant de chœur* is primarily translated as 'altar boy', but perhaps the second meaning of the term 'choirboy' would be more appropriate.

¹⁷ 'The Milky Way rises like a cloud behind/ the meteor automobile.' This author's translation.

¹⁸ Adema, Marcel. 1968. *Guillaume Apollinaire*. Paris. La Table Ronde, p.296.

Cited in a letter to Soffici (Nov 23 1916).

¹⁹ From discussions with Jacqueline Matisse Monnier 15/ 16 September 2005.

²⁰ D'Harnoncourt & M'Shine. 1973: appearing in separate essays (d'Harnoncourt: 34), (Steeffel: 73), (Tancock: 167)

²¹ Also: Sanouillet. 1973, p.8.

Carrouges, Michel. 1975. 'Mode d'Emploi.' In. Marc Le Bot. *Junggesellenmaschinen = Les machines célibataires*. Turin. Alfieri, p.21.

²² This works very well in Henderson's argument, particularly in relation to the gendering of an automobile in French as *une auto* (feminine noun). Duchamp's drawing *2 Personnages et une Auto* of 1912 seems to testify to this although *auto* was a masculine noun until 1915. (Editor's note. JARRY. 1902. [1996])

²³ 'the conquering instrument of the Jura-Paris Road.' Duchamp 1973 [1989]: 26.

²⁴ Chapter 7. 'The Theme of Collision: From Popular Culture to Science and Beyond.' 88–89

3

The Journey

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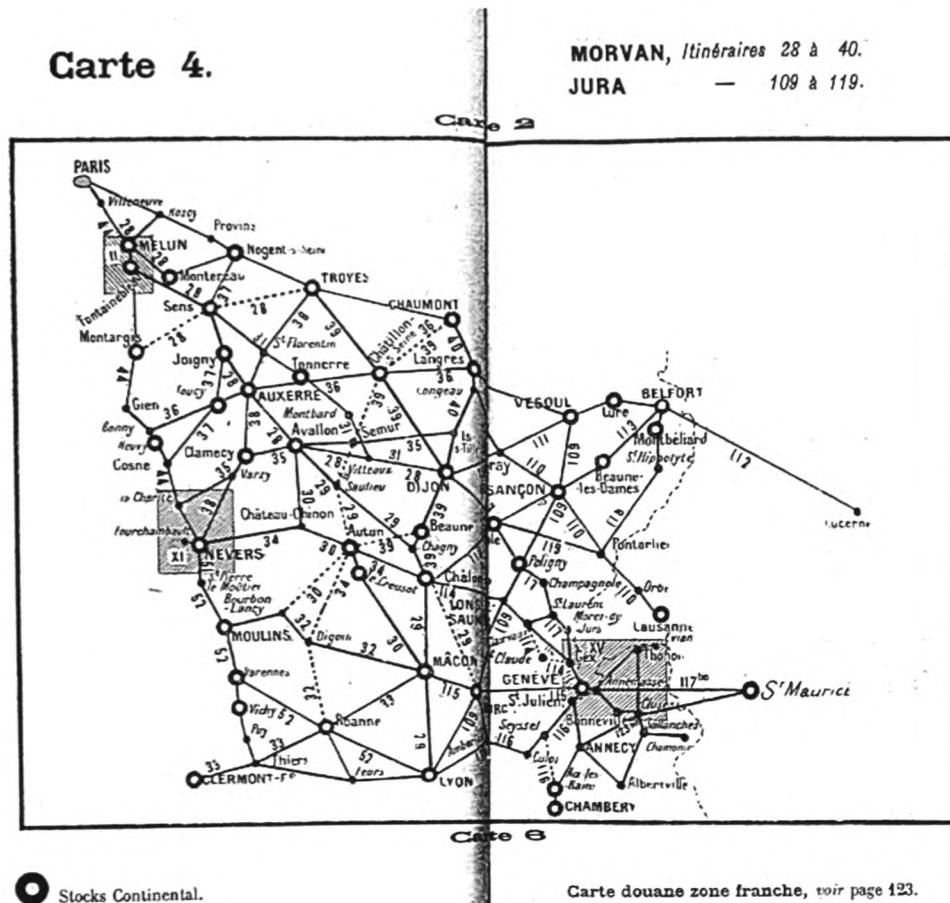


Fig. 3.1
Carte 4. Morvan – Jura
Guide Continental 1911. pp 28-29
Archives Continental

The journey, in 1912, went from Paris at the top left of the map to Étival at the bottom right (on the edge of the hatched box, indicating the 'Zone Franche', between Switzerland and France.)

3.1.0. Visions of the road

Marcel Duchamp's emphasis on place names in his title the 'Jura-Paris road' suggests an affinity with common forms of early twentieth-century travel writing. In 'A Motor-Flight Through France' the American author Edith Wharton (1862-1937) announces her chapters in a similar fashion – 'Boulogne to Amiens', 'Beauvais and Rouen', 'From Rouen to Fontainebleau'. Tourists, in 1912, consulting travel guides for suggestions on motor journeys would see a selection of *Grandes Itinéraires* laid out in much the same way. Nevertheless, readers searching the 'Jura-Paris road' for evidence of Duchamp's journey, as they might do in Wharton or other popular writers, would be frustrated to find so little about the road he took, the personalities who shared the journey, the things they saw *en route*, the weather or the technical features of their particular vehicle.

In *La 628-E8* of 1907, the French author/ journalist, Octave Mirbeau (1848-1917) spends a good deal of time discussing aspects of his vehicle in a way that would be alien to Wharton but even more unimaginable in Duchamp who was simply not interested in these details. Instead, his text directs the reader towards a visionary world of shifting dimensions in which nothing is certain and where the terminal points of the journey merge with the persona of its two mysterious protagonists, *l'enfant phare* and *le chef des 5 nus*. At times Duchamp's texts seem closer to the much later, drug-fuelled writings of Hunter S. Thompson (1937-2005) than they do to the contemporary authors of the period who made driving in automobiles their subject and who developed the motoring literature of the day. Perhaps the author, Alfred Jarry (1873-1907) comes closest to Duchamp in his novel *Surmâle* (1902), particularly in the episode where, through the duration of one night, a pharmaceutically enhanced and hallucinating cycle-team compete with a speeding locomotive across the Siberian plane. The references to a culture of drug-taking also appear in Jarry's earlier 'Days and Nights: Novel of a deserter' based on his experiences as a military conscript. (Jarry 1897 [1981]: 180)

Nevertheless a discussion of the available literature needs to be attempted if only to see how far Duchamp's aims differ from those of other writers. The author Julian Barnes, writing in 2003, describes two categories of pre-World War I writers who develop themes based on their experiences of being in motorcars:

For some of those early literary motorists, like Edith Wharton, the car was largely a means to an end: the end being distant people and far-flung cultural monuments. She savoured the exhilaration of motor travel but ignored its specifics and technicalities; the car was a clever mechanical servant... Kipling, who was whizzing around France at the same time, found the means as absorbing as the end.... He loved totting up the distances covered; he noted each puncture suffered by his Rolls. (Barnes 2003:4)

In a second book 'Fighting France: from Dunquerque to Belfort', Edith Wharton provides her American readers with information about the opening stages of the war. Her discussion of the region now covers the rigorous circumstances of life on the front line and 'Fighting France' abandons the pursuit of informed literary conversation in favour of interviews with officers and nurses and descriptions of the conditions and fortitude of French soldiers and civilians in extreme circumstances. Wharton witnessed this as a celebrity author who was invited to tour the battle-lines in the winter of 1914. She shows little interest in the mechanical details of her motorcar, which judging from photographs was a sedate landaulet model, with an enclosed passenger compartment and an external driving seat for the chauffeur. (Wharton 1915: 98) Occasionally in 'A Motor Flight through France' Wharton comments on the discomforts of motoring, but otherwise concentrates on the main task of appreciating the journey with her erudite travelling companions. Occasionally she departs from this method to make the most of a bad situation:

For, after all, if the motorist sometimes misses details by going too fast, he sometimes has them stamped into his memory by an opportune puncture or a recalcitrant "magneto"; and if on windy days, he has to rush through nature blindfold, on golden

afternoons such as this he can drain every drop of her precious essence. (Wharton 1908:36)

A separate strand of motoring literature identified by Julian Barnes describes the writer as an enthusiast who was primarily interested in the vehicle and who kept journals and 'motoring diaries.' Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) was one of these. Apart from producing reports on hotels for the RAC, he also kept a log in which the details of his journeys were recorded including the regularity of his punctures and the means of repairing them. On one occasion his Rolls suffered three punctures in one day and two on the next, with several more ensuing. (Kipling 1911-23: unpaginated) As always, in these diaries, the emphasis is on material things – how cars work, what is needed to keep them going and the comparative quality of different products. As with Edith Wharton, when the car broke down there was the chance to meet local people, a priest or a farmer, and once before the war in early 1914, a group of army officers who invited him to inspect their barracks. He noted on one occasion that his hotel manager would return in the evenings to oversee his business after being released from his daily duties fulfilling his military service.

Another writer who is concerned with the mechanical aspects of motoring is Thomas Wilby (1867-1923) whom in 1914 published an account of his 1912 pioneering journey with Jack Haney (1889-1935) in 'A Motor Tour through Canada.' This took place in the same year, ending in the same month, as Duchamp's journey. Wilby and Haney completed their journey on Monday October 14th 1912, at about the time that Picabia and his two friends would have been discussing, in Paris, the plans for their own departure for the Jura on the following Saturday.

There are, however, other strands of motoring literature that Julian Barnes leaves out of his survey. These authors write about the interrelationship between motor vehicles, their passengers and drivers, with very different intentions. They write about the change in perception and the optical dislocations that new experiences in motor-travel bring to previously familiar situations and relationships. Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949) described the heightened sensation and sense of shared identity with the machine that he experienced with motor travel in his short essay, 'In an Automobile'. (Maeterlinck 1907: 8) Marcel Proust (1871-1922) observed the smooth recombination, across the windscreen, of church spires that became the subject of his dispassionate gaze in *Impressions de Route en Automobile*. (Proust 1907: 13) Admittedly, this sensation caused by the optical realignment of familiar objects was first experienced by Proust from a horse-drawn carriage in the first volume of *À la Recherche de Temps Perdu*, but Proust formulates the experience most clearly when the objects are seen, steadily, through a motor-vehicle's windshield.

By contrast, Octave Mirbeau becomes aware of the human and social consequences of industrialisation and the ravages that automobiles were inflicting on environments and populations. His unflinching description of the pathetic death of animals under the wheels of his automobile in *Les Animaux sur la Route* in 1906, implicates him in a destructive form of transport that he sardonically accepts, is fascinated with and beguiled by. In this extract he is describing the death of a dog:

Nothing could prevent this brainless embodiment of loyalty, from crossing the road. He was so close to us that in spite of swerving dangerously to avoid him, he disappeared under the gearbox. I felt a violent jolt and heard the sound of bones fracturing under the wheels. I see it now — as I will see for a long time to come — this fine creature resurrect his distressed and mangled body, and then like I have seen dogs do in vivisection, I saw him muster the strength to challenge us, before collapsing without a sound and become nothing more than a degraded, flattened inert form on the road with less life in it than a shadow¹. (Mirbeau 1906:46)

The turn of the 19th and 20th century saw an interest in metaphysics and the occult where aspects of technology such as X-Ray, radio waves and the internal workings of the combustion engine were seen as a medium for the processes of the paranormal. The automobile features in the literature that surrounds this phenomenon in Alfred Jarry and Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876-1944) who develop the relationship between man and vehicles in an exalted way, transcending a normally materialist view. Kipling also in 1904, published 'Traffics and Discoveries' amongst which he included an ambiguously titled short story called 'They'. In 'They', Kipling contrasts the modern world, identified by the protagonist and his automobile, with an older, fugitive, disappearing existence that is exemplified by an ancient house and garden that he cannot always find or discern in his automobile. The man and his vehicle feature as the index of intrusive, noisy, mechanical determinism. This obscures his deeply concealed sense of personal loss. The house and garden is host to a population of elusive children and it transpires, gradually, that they are all ghosts. The motorist does not recognise their occult character until the final episode of the story, when his car suffers a mechanical breakdown in the woods where they are playing and the metaphor of mechanical failure reveals the driver's vulnerability and isolation.

3.2.1. Conditions of a journey — the trajectory

The journey that provoked the 'Jura-Paris road' began when Francis Picabia decided to travel with his two friends, Marcel Duchamp and Guillaume Apollinaire, by car to the Jura with the intention of collecting his wife Gabrielle Buffet and returning with her to Paris². Evidence of their itinerary is contained in a single postcard sent by Apollinaire from the town of Avallon on the return leg of their journey; otherwise the only certainty lies in the details of Duchamp's simple title, the 'Jura-Paris road.' In all probability the outward journey took the three men from Picabia's 7^e *arrondissement* apartment, out of Paris to Fontainebleau where they travelled across the Morvan regions of Seine-et-Marne and Burgundy, finally entering the Jura at Lons-le-Saunier. From here Picabia swung the car onto the smaller *départementale* roads where it began to work strenuously as it climbed the sequence of long escarpments leading towards the town of Clairvaux. Leaving Clairvaux, Picabia turned off onto a smaller road again, driving his car higher, leading ultimately to a plateau of forest and pastures, typical of the *haute* Jura and eventually to the village of Étival close to the Swiss border. Much of the journey was completed after nightfall, and so the experience of this landscape would be limited to the details that might be caught momentarily in the headlights of the passing

car. By the time they reached their destination in the early hours of the morning it was raining hard and they had travelled slightly more than four hundred and eighty kilometres since starting out.

Gabrielle Buffet, recalling her husband's arrival in his car with his two huddled and bedraggled friends in the small hours of the morning described the extreme conditions in terms of *une pluie diluvienne*. (Buffet-Challié 2004: 115) The travellers had confessed that the journey had been an unsettling one and that Picabia lost control of the car on several occasions. Although Gabrielle Buffet does not say where these mishaps occurred, the probability is that they happened somewhere along the steep inclines and sudden changes on the mountain approaches to Étival. The wet conditions and the precipitous roads on the Paris to Jura journey in late October 1912 would have exposed the discomforts, the disadvantages, even the dangers of motoring in this pre-war period.

The 1911 *Continental: Guide Routier* described the main road out of Lons-le-Saunier, where the travellers began the final 34.75 kilometres of the journey as: '... very tortuous with a number of difficult hairpin bends...' ³ (*Guide Continental* 1911: 699) The guide did not attempt to describe the final and more treacherous 10.5 kilometres of mountain road up to the village, where Picabia took them. English language publications advised their readers not to drive on French roads after dark because of the risk of damage to the vehicle and tyres from debris abandoned on the road. (Home 1910: 8) Affected by these torrential conditions, the *lacets difficile* (difficult hairpin bends) of this steeply climbing *Départementale 118* became an alarming experience for driver and passengers alike⁴.

3.2.2. Temperature and weather

Marcel Duchamp, in his late interview with Harriet and Carroll Janis, claimed that the journey took place in November 1912, the dates of the journey have now been accurately determined as the 26th – 30th October 1912. (Janis 1953: 14) These dates were first established in 1979 by William Camfield and corroborated later by Caumont & Gough-Cooper. (Camfield 1979: 34 and Caumont & Gough-Cooper unpaginated: 26/10/12) Duchamp's recollection of the event, from his perspective forty-one years later was, in fact, faulty. Although this may seem a trivial mistake it does point to a discrepancy between his memory of the time of year and an actual slippage of the seasons. By misremembering the dates so that they fall in November, he pushed the experience further into the cold Jura winter; in doing this Duchamp was surely remembering the severe conditions of the journey. Nevertheless it is now important to date it correctly because two events, one military and the other religious, frame the dates in a significant way. The first of these was the annual army training exercise known as the *manoeuvres d'automne*. The manoeuvres had just finished and the other event of note was the catholic feast of *les Toussaints* or All Saints, (Halloween in the secular calendar), which was due to fall on the Wednesday following their return to Paris. On the face of it, neither might be assumed to have a particular meaning for Marcel Duchamp but when taken together they provide useful insights into the fusion of military and religious themes that he refers to in his notes (Jura-Paris 109).

The weather in the Jura changes around *les Toussaints*, making the possibility of vehicle access to the high villages more difficult and dangerous⁵. The timing of the journey in October, therefore, was chosen with a view to motoring expediency and conditioned by pragmatic reasons. Picabia would be collecting his wife before the approaching winter made the conditions unsuitable for motor travel. As it was, the weather deteriorated earlier than expected that year and the travellers endured the *pluie diluvienne* arriving at Étival, in the early hours of the morning, cold and wet and thoroughly unsettled by their experience. (Buffet-Challié 2004: 115)

3.2.3. Open touring in 1912

Francis Picabia's automobile, always assuming that it survived the journey back to Paris and its probable requisition by the army in 1914 has probably been broken-up by now. Records that might have provided details about the make and model are no longer available and unless hard evidence comes to light, this will always be speculative and a matter of conjecture. Nevertheless, it is important to attempt its identification because knowing the specifications will help to determine the group dynamic; how they behaved towards one another and how they endured the journey. Research into period vehicles and existing information about Picabia's driving habits suggests that unlike Edith Wharton and Octave Mirbeau before them, they would not have enjoyed the luxury of an enclosed landaulet. According to his custom, and in the interests of speed, Picabia would have driven his automobile with the canvas roof folded back, as this reminiscence of a slightly earlier journey from Gabrielle Buffet makes clear:

They were covered in dust, oil and grease, because vehicles of that date were not very refined and Picabia, in order to gain speed, would remove the windshield and the mudguards. (Buffet-Picabia 1977:59)⁶

Nine years later, the artist Man Ray, talking about the reception of his first one-man show in Paris in December 1921, recalled that:

one of the first to appear at my show was Picabia, in a huge open Delage car. It was a raw December day: he was wrapped in sweaters and woollen scarves... (Schwarz 1977:40)

Once in place, a canvas roof would increase wind resistance, making the vehicle less manageable and also considerably slower⁷. This rationale must have influenced the driver of the automobile in the photograph 'Bibi, I and Granny back in Paris. April 1920' by Jacques-Henri Lartigue. Here the three passengers, Lartigue, his wife and his grandmother are dressed-up for a journey, which one can only hope was not a long one. Nevertheless the photograph gives an idea of the discomfort of the passengers and the isolation that this form of travel would impose (fig. 3.2).



Fig. 3.2
Jacques-Henri Lartigue. 1920
Bibi, I and Granny back in Paris. April 1920.

3.2.4. Fast automobiles and excessive speed

A photograph of Picabia in 1911 shows him perched on a powerful open two-seat sports car next to Gabrielle Buffet and their chauffeur, all three of them are kitted out and ready for the road (fig. 3.3). The vehicle was a 1909 Peugeot 105 *Sport*, which rules it out as the vehicle that would have taken them on the Jura journey because of its limited carrying capacity. Their vehicle would have to accommodate the three men, perhaps even a chauffeur as well as Gabrielle Buffet along with their baggage, spare tyres, breakdown tools, supplies of fuel and acetylene for the journey back.

The most likely machine would have been the 1911 Peugeot *Type 141A Sport*. This vehicle could achieve speeds in excess of 90-105 km/h while carrying four passengers in exposed discomfort for as long as they had the endurance to remain with the machine. In 1912 the Peugeot *Type 141A* was probably the fastest production vehicle made in France. It was manufactured in one of Peugeot's main factories at Sochaux in the Jura to the north of Étival, which is still the company's administrative centre. The Peugeot archive maintained a record of its early commercial transactions until World War 2 when the RAF bombed the factories at Montbéliard and Sochaux and any trace of Picabia's purchase record disappeared at this time along with the general destruction of the factory building⁸. In spite of this lack of evidence, Picabia's obvious enthusiasm for the marque, the pre-eminence of this vehicle at the time, as well as its manufacturing link with the Jura increases the likelihood that the car they drove on its long trajectory was the Peugeot *Type 141A* (fig. 3.5).



Fig. 3.3
Francis Picabia, Gabrielle Buffet and chauffeur with their
Peugeot 105. 1911



Fig. 3.4
Peugeot 7.6. 1912
Musée Peugeot. Sochaux.

The strength of this claim is increased by the prestige of the Peugeot marque in competitions. Peugeot had been routinely entering cars for national and international events, which by now they were winning with predictable regularity. This success included twelve major Grand Prix wins between August 1911 and September 1912, turning drivers such as Jules Goux and Georges Boillot into national heroes, the latter winning the French Grand Prix at Dieppe in 1912 and again at Amiens in 1913 (fig. 3.4). On international circuits, Peugeot racing cars were also doing well. Jules Goux broke the British record at the Brooklands Motor Car Racetrack at a speed of 177 km/h in a modified *monoplace* Peugeot and then went on to win the Indianapolis 500 in America in 1913 in a factory developed Peugeot *Lion 7.6*⁹. In light of this success it is probable that in October 1912, attracted by their pre-eminence and continuing success on the racing circuit, Picabia would have bought one of the fifty-two *141A*'s that Peugeot built.



Fig. 3.5
Peugeot Type 141A Torpédo. 35hp. 1911-1912

Picabia's hopes of emulating Peugeot's racing achievements would have been hampered by the national speed limit, which had recently been set at 30km/h in the country and 20km/h in towns. If Picabia intended to test out his car he would be doing so in contravention of the law that was enforced by rural policemen who had little tolerance for the recklessness of metropolitan motorists and their destructive machines. Other forces were at work that frustrated the ambitions of motorists and the accumulation of debris and livestock along the roads frequently impeded rapid progress:

In certain regions... in the Morvan, the Auvergne and in Brittany, roads become stables, pigsties, sheep-pens, cattle-sheds, poultry-yards and rabbit hutches, everything it seems, except a proper road. Peasants have not yet understood, nor perhaps ever will that roads were constructed so that people can travel easily from one point to the next¹⁰. (Mirbeau 1906 [1999]: 29)

Octave Mirbeau, the author of this extract goes on to complain of the connivance between; 'policemen, road inspectors, game-keepers, mayors, magistrates and government ministers' imposed unjust limitations on his freedom to demonstrate the superior advantages of motorcars above other forms of transport. An often-repeated claim in this research is that Marcel Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road' conveys a sense of vigilant progress with the protagonists in his text on guard for the unexpected. This claim is examined from several points of view in the course of this thesis but in this instance there is logic to the mundane suggestion arising from the need for vigilance in avoiding the local authorities that conspired against drivers.

3.2.5. *Alimentation and fuel supply*

Automobiles of the period, even expensive ones suffered from one particularly unreliable design feature that made them prone to malfunction on steep mountain roads. This was not, as one might expect, the braking system, which would be vulnerable to overheating and failure if not allowed to cool on extended downhill trajectories. Chauffeurs of the day could anticipate the problem and would adjust their driving patterns accordingly. The real trouble came on prolonged inclines, when fuel pumps would struggle to maintain a reliable supply to the carburettor in order to keep the engine functioning. Fuel pumps on pre-war cars operated by gravity feed and these worked well on average undulating terrain but poorly on steep uphill sections where an irregular supply would cause engines to misfire and fail at critical moments¹¹. If this happened during the day it would result in no more than a temporary inconvenience for the driver. If he were a resourceful, perhaps reckless mechanic like Jack Haney on his 1912 journey across Canada, he might when experiencing these problems increase the pressure inside the fuel tank by pumping air from the compressed air cylinder to improve the efficiency of the supply. Normally, the compressed-air was carried as an emergency precaution for inflating tyres, but when introduced into the fuel tank the extra pressure would effectively force the fuel up the pipe and into the carburettor, allowing the engine to fire again and the pump to resume functioning. Less resourceful drivers could use another expedient of Haney's, which entailed turning the car round and attempting to reverse up the slope¹². Failing this, motorists, might have to persuade a farmer with a team of animals to tow the car onto level terrain.

Marcel Duchamp's description of an automobile gradually accelerating up a hill, concluding with its triumphal roar of satisfaction on the summit is commonly invoked and usually interpreted as a sexual metaphor. More directly and if a pre-Freudian interpretation can be invoked; Duchamp must also have been describing his relief in the straightforward mechanical feat of regulating a vehicle's fuel supply so that it could get up to the top of an incline without stalling.

As it gradually leaves the arbor, this blossoming is the image of a motor car, climbing a slope in low gear. (The car wants more and more to reach the top, and while slowly accelerating, as if exhausted by hope, the motor of the car turns faster and faster, until it roars triumphantly. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 43)

The verb to fuel, to feed, and to supply are, in French, folded into the one verb *alimenter* and along with its associated noun *alimentation* became a familiar expression in Duchamp's language in the notes in the 'Green Box' and his 'Box of 1914'. (Duchamp 1958: 36, 67, 72) *Alimentation* occurs again in the posthumous 'Notes', particularly in association with motoring metaphors. Linda Henderson, in 'Duchamp in Context' and Paul Matisse in his 'Introduction' to *Marcel Duchamp: Notes*, clearly indicate the relationship of the verb to the supply of fuel to an engine. (Duchamp 1980: 92) Henderson then suggests how the metaphor was extended by Duchamp to include the technology of automobile illumination through scientific references that Henderson associates with the manufacture of electrical headlights. (Henderson 1998: 126) Perhaps this can also be applied to the challenging experience of Duchamp's Jura-Paris journey, by looking at how the two technologies of fuel ignition and vehicle lighting were linked and how the realities of *alimentation*, or fuel supply will have affected the lights along the dangerous 'Jura-Paris road'.

3.2.6. Acetylene and electrical headlamps — driving at night

Engine failure, whether caused by the fuel supply or not, created problems of a more serious nature for vehicles fitted with the new electric headlights: the experience of being plunged into darkness while trying to negotiate precipitous roads on a rain swept night, would have been unnerving for the exhausted travellers in the Jura¹³. High-wattage bulbs that were needed for headlamps were not a practical solution because of the amount of energy needed to supply a continuously strong beam. An auxiliary power source, in the form of a dynamo, was often attached to the engine but because of the fluctuations in the speed of the engine, a rechargeable accumulator was devised and this vulnerable appliance needed very careful handling and maintenance. (Card 1987: 23-25) Systems that relied on accumulators were better suited to urban driving where the roads were better maintained, the journeys were shorter and the driving speeds slower. Batteries, as these accumulators came to be known were easily damaged in cars that were driven at full throttle along the poorly maintained roads of rural France. Possibly because of these uncertainties French lighting manufacturers such as BRC Alpha, Monin and Ducellier, who regularly won *Prix Concours d'Éclairage* for their products at trade fairs around the world between 1905 and 1911 (Liège, Nancy, Buenos Aires and twice in Brussels), while invariably advertising electrically generated lighting systems, tended to favour

acetylene headlamps in their promotional material, with information on these being displayed more prominently. The illustrations, for instance, of vehicle headlamps in the *Guide Continental* of 1911, featured traditional acetylene headlamps. (*Guide Continental* 1911: 15, 34 & 46)

The Musée Peugeot at Sochaux currently displays a 1912, 35hp, *Type 141A* automobile. The particular vehicle on show is fitted with acetylene headlamps and from this it can be reasonably concluded that although the electric lamps were manufactured and sold, and had been from as early as 1905, firms like Ducellier had yet to persuade their wealthier customers of their advantages. The 1912 Peugeot catalogue, which advertises a range of models that culminate with the *Type 141A*, does not give headlamp details within its comprehensive selection of features and components. In fact, Peugeot did not equip their vehicles with electric headlights until after World War I¹⁴. Customers who bought Peugeot vehicles in this period before the war, made their own arrangements for tyres and headlights. The law stated that all motor vehicles had to be equipped with two lights projecting forwards, one white and the other green, and the enthusiast who owned the particular *141A* in the museum complied with the law with the green lamp and matching pair of acetylene projector headlamps, fitted presumably because of their greater reliability.

Acetylene headlamps were not without problems of their own, however. Although their operation was independent of the electrical reliability of the vehicle, they also suffered from particular disadvantages in relation to fuel supply because acetylene required regular monitoring and renewal. The lamp incorporated a chamber for a reservoir of calcium carbide crystals, which when flooded with water produced sufficient acetylene gas for an eight-hour period. Manufactured out of polished brass with nickel plate reflectors; the lamps needed continual maintenance and cleaning in order to prevent the reflectors from becoming coated in a deposit of calcium hydroxide, or slaked lime. (Card 1987: 25) In the instance of the 1912 Jura journey, much of which was in the dark, the acetylene reserve would become depleted and when it finally ran out the travellers would have had difficulty in seeing through the rain and muddy spray thrown up by the wheels and tyres of the automobile. To prevent this, Picabia would have conserved and regulated the supply so that it burned less brightly making its illumination less reliable.

Bon-viveur that he was, it is difficult to think of Picabia starting out on this journey with his two bachelor friends at a reasonable hour. If the minimum journey time is set at twelve hours, then this suggests that Picabia would have had five or six hours of daylight driving before firing up his lights for that part of the journey that took place after dark. (Janis 1953: 14) However this estimated time for the journey would have been extended by other factors, which, included stopping to refuel, cleaning the light fixtures and recharging the calcium carbide as well as the regular calls that human nature would impose on travellers who had been jolted around in a cold open vehicle for extended periods. It is really little wonder that there are no references to the surrounding terrain or the celebrated landscape through which they drove.

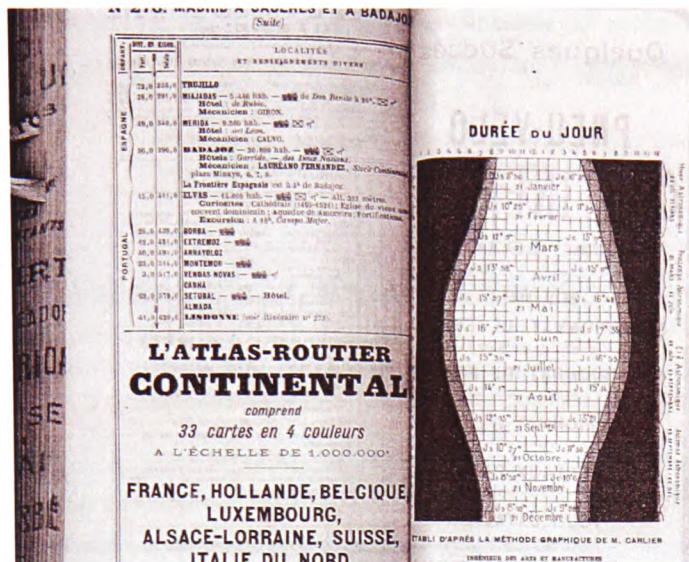


Fig. 3.6
Durée du Jour.
Guide Continental.
Continental Archives
Clairoix



Fig. 3.7
Michelin Cablé-Semelle/ Silex
Michelin Archives
Paris

3.2.7. Tyres and roads

Duchamp's four notes are more forthcoming about the surface of the road than they are about the identity of the vehicle. A reference to the term *silex* appears in the notes (Jura-Paris GB) and Duchamp himself explained, somewhat economically, to Richard Hamilton in 1960 that *silex* is 'a material for making road beds'. (Duchamp [Hamilton] 1960: unpaginated) Of course *silex*, meaning flint is more than a product for road manufacture. Nevertheless, this is one of very few recognisable details, which helps to locate the 'Jura-Paris road' in terms of the language of road travel. The French noun *silex* serves to direct the text towards the problem of punctures.

Punctures were the scourge of driving in the pre-war period and without a telephone network, travellers finding themselves stranded on remote roads would have to solve the problems and complete the repairs themselves. Tyre failure was the main factor that would disrupt the theoretical calculations over journey times and because these emergencies had a propensity for occurring in serial fashion, the confident forecast in the *Durée du Jour* (fig. 3.6) became more hypothetical. The length of time that it took to repair damaged tyres determined the duration of the journey, which in turn had an effect on the finite supply of acetylene for the lights that made these repairs possible at night time. The original *Guide Michelin* appeared in 1900 and in a brisk four-page section describing the upkeep and maintenance of tyres, *Michelin* suggests that the responsibility for punctures should remain with the chauffeur, thus exploiting a tension that already

existed between employers and employees¹⁵. The state and condition of the roads soon became the main culprit so that in 1923 *Michelin* were now advertising the problem in the following way:

Where are the smooth billiard table roads of yesteryear? Today, loose rocks ruin your tyres, while flints (*silex*) cut them to pieces. Add to these problems the menace of hidden nails...

And again under a picture of a car tyre on an outcrop of jagged stones:

On roads that are infested with nails and covered in sharp flints (*silex*), take the precaution of fitting (*Michelin*) 'Cabled Tread' tyres (fig. 3.7)¹⁶. (*Michelin* 1923: 396)

Big fast cars, such as Picabia's, were equipped with the standard slender tyres of the period. These were fitted onto wooden rims and the contact between the tyre and the road was limited to a very small area and in wet weather, a convincing grip on wet surfaces was really a matter of faith. French roads in 1912, in spite of Octave Mirbeau's observations about their misappropriation by farmers in rural areas, were perhaps the best in Europe, in that they were long and straight. Nevertheless they were constructed in compliance with the needs of slower horse-drawn traffic and marching troop formations. Maintenance on them had not kept pace with the rapid development of motor vehicles and the damage they caused. (Cavaillès 1946: 297) Surfaces that had been adequate for their original purpose were no longer so. On the sections of road between towns where the roads were frequently inhabited by wandering livestock the condition and surface deteriorated even faster. (Mirbeau 1906 [1999]: 28) Here, the flint (or *silex*) substrate beneath the surface of the road had a tendency to work through the macadam surface, creating the additional hazard that lacerated tyres, increasing the probability of a puncture. In wet conditions when mountain roads turned into torrents of water, traction was made even more difficult by the churning of the road surface, which in turn pulled up more of the sharp flints, into further troublesome contact with the tyres of the car.

Contemporary travel guides produced by tyre manufacturers such as *Michelin* and the German *Continental* company, prominently advertised their own solutions that were intended to withstand the lacerating effects of *silex*; both companies manufactured a variety of ribbed and metal studded tyres, but in spite of these, the problem remained and on a long journey such as this one, inevitable delays would occur from the effects of *silex* punctures. Paradoxically, the nails dislodged from horseshoes along road surfaces created further problems for speeding vehicles — affording moments of *schadenfreude* as the new technology was brought to a standstill by a carelessness that had previously gone unnoticed. (Di Stefano 1999: 9-24)

Interpersonal Relationships

3.3.1. Gabrielle Buffet: Interpersonal relationships

Gabrielle Buffet had grown up in Étival, the village where the three men were heading on their journey to collect her. Her father, an ex-cavalry colonel¹⁷, a veteran of the Franco-Prussian war had died in 1907. Her mother, Laurence Huguetau de Challié lived on in the family house in Étival until 1940. Gabrielle Buffet's brother was a successful *intimiste* painter with a studio in Montmartre who worked under his mother's name of Challié, as Jean or Jean-Laurent Challié¹⁸. Gabrielle Buffet (taking her father's name) had studied music in Paris and Berlin with Gabriel Fauré and later with Vincent d'Indy in the same class as Eric Satie. She had married Francis Picabia in 1909 and their first children were born in 1910 and 1911.

In late July 1912, Gabrielle Buffet had brought her two young children from Paris to spend the late summer and autumn with their grandmother leaving Picabia in Paris to paint. He came to collect her in order to bring her back to Paris at the end of October and this return journey in the automobile with Gabrielle in the party became the source for Duchamp's text of the 'Jura-Paris road.' In light of the hazardous nature of the outward journey, Gabrielle's reasons for joining the men on their return journey are unclear. The inclement weather and poor driving conditions might have persuaded them all to go back by train with the children, leaving the car in the hands of a chauffeur.

Gabrielle Buffet's children have not found their way into the narrative of the 'Jura-Paris road' nor do they feature in Gabrielle's memoirs except as incidental characters. However, in his notes, Duchamp returns again and again to a 'child' with extraordinary powers, but it seems unlikely that this infant, the *enfant phare* (Jura-Paris GB) and also *l'enfant Dieu* or *l'enfant machine* (Jura-Paris 109) was modelled on either Marie Picabia, a child of eighteen months or Pancho Picabia who was still in his pram. The passenger seats would have been fully occupied with the four adults in their bulky travelling clothes, tools and motoring necessities leaving no room for the children. There was a convenient railway connection with the Munich to Paris express at a nearby station at Andelots-les-Montagnes, where Duchamp had surreptitiously met with Gabrielle in late July. (Tomkins 1997: 111) In October the children would have probably gone ahead with a governess perhaps even their grandmother, in order to return to Paris by train.

3.3.1a. Gabrielle Buffet: Speed, endurance and the mechanical environment

Gabrielle Buffet was photographed with her elder brother Jean on a turn-of-the-century quadricycle (fig. 3.8). This was a four-wheeled, petrol driven tandem with a small engine designed to carry the rider who peddled to get it started, supplying additional power by peddling again when the engine required further assistance. An additional seat for a passenger was positioned precariously over the front axle. With two up, the potential for exhilaration on the mountain roads around Étival, with this machine, must have been fairly limited. Nevertheless, the photograph was taken outside the house at Étival, where old colonel Challié seems to have posted the more sedate relatives at a safe distance from the vehicle. The photograph remains

in the family and is now in the collection of Jean Challié's biographer, his daughter the historian Laurence Buffet-Challié. The quadricycle appears in at least two other photographs in her home at Étival. This picture was taken in 1905-06 when the machine was already six or seven years old. It had probably lost much of its charm in 1912.



Fig. 3.8
Jean Challié and Gabrielle Buffet on a quadricycle. Étival. circa 1905.

Although the Peugeot archives contain photos of women driving quadricycles, Gabrielle Buffet does not appear as the driver on this machine in photographs in the Buffet-Challié collection. Laurence Buffet-Challié, when asked about her aunt's driving skills replied that Gabrielle; '*conduisait peu et plutôt mal*' ('rarely drove and badly when she did')¹⁹. However her response to the question from the perspective of nearly sixty years would have been formed when Gabrielle was already in her early seventies and her comment could and probably should be interpreted with a certain amount of latitude. Given Gabrielle's perceptive comments on the place of machines in the work of both Duchamp and Picabia²⁰, and given also her determination to engage with the mechanical world of performance vehicles, it can be assumed that Gabrielle probably drove – in the manner of Picabia – perhaps too recklessly but with a good deal of dash and enthusiasm. (Motherwell 1951: 257) Further evidence of her infatuation with machines came in April 1912, when much to the disapproval of Duchamp's two older brothers, she mounted the passenger seat of an aeroplane behind its pilot, the racing cyclist Maurice Farman and flew the eighty kilometres between the air-show at Toussu-le-Noble (Versailles) and Chartres.

In a sense Gabrielle and Francis Picabia's relationship had been predicated on motor vehicles and their inevitable breakdowns. In her memoirs she recounts how they met as the result of an engine

malfunction when Picabia and her brother, Jean Chalié were returning from a painting excursion in 1908. On joining them on their return to Paris another problem with the car created an opening for Picabia to explain his frustrations with the current state of painting. If he repaired the vehicle himself he also gave himself enough space to deliver his thoughts on contemporary art, while Gabrielle Buffet, sitting on a pile of old inner tubes listened to him and recognised a fellow traveller on the route to abstraction. (Buffet-Picabia 1977: 38)

By 1912, Gabrielle Buffet and Francis Picabia were certainly familiar with the route to the Jura. The christening of their first child, Marie took place in Étival in 1910 when Picabia, again, arrived by car. Although no records exist to say whether the baby and her mother accompanied him on this journey; it is fairly certain, however, that in the years between his first arrival in 1908 at three in the morning and their departure from Étival in late October 1912, Gabrielle Buffet would have accompanied Francis Picabia and probably driven the car herself on subsequent trips between Paris and the Jura. She was familiar with the hazards and exhilaration of driving in all weathers and had a good idea of what to expect from this particular journey.

3.3.2. Francis Picabia: Interpersonal relationships

They had married three years before the journey to the Jura at a time when Francis was trying to redirect his painting towards abstraction. Gabrielle's interest in non-programmatic 'pure music' encouraged Picabia in the same direction. For Picabia, 'pure painting' meant the elimination of subject matter in favour of non-referential forms, leading him to abandon his successful career as a post-impressionist painter. By the time of the expedition to the Jura, Picabia's radical compositions were being exhibited for the first time, coming to the attention of the critic Guillaume Apollinaire. Writing in 1979, the contemporary historian and Picabia biographer, William Camfield, makes clear that Picabia's definition of 'pure painting' went further than Apollinaire, whose more cautious formulation suggests that he was really supporting Picabia through stronger ties of friendship than genuine artistic conviction at this time (Camfield 1979: 27-32). This attitude changed, however, and Apollinaire became progressively more enthusiastic about abstraction to the point that in 'The Cubist Painters: Aesthetic Meditations' in 1913, he was urging Picabia towards a 'pure, autonomous creation'. (Read 2004: 177-178). Picabia's name became synonymous with ugly painting, executed in poor taste, but although he became the object of a good deal of negative criticism, he was nevertheless showing his paintings where and as he wanted to. The criticism continued until 1914 when Apollinaire was provoked to write in his defence:

Of late Picabia has so often been accused of vulgarity, that it gave me special pleasure to mention that he produced an entirely different impression on me. (Apollinaire 1972: 374)

However Apollinaire had been more equivocal in 1913, when just a few months after the Jura trip, he referred to Picabia cautiously saying that:

... all this appears too unconscious to be considered 'orphyic cubism'. Cerebration, intuition – let us wait before praising it, but wait, too, before scorning it. (Apollinaire 1972: 291)

Francis Picabia became friends with Apollinaire at the time of the 'Mona Lisa' affair in August 1911, when Apollinaire, suspected of stealing the painting from the Louvre was held in the Paris *Santé* prison. Following his release, Picabia and Gabrielle continued their support when more established friends like Picasso abandoned him. This support continued during Apollinaire's troubled love affair with Marie Laurencin (1883-1956) and when the affair foundered in June 1912, Picabia and Gabrielle Buffet continued with their support, providing distraction and entertainment for him. Attending the production of Raymond Roussel's *Impressions d'Afrique* with Marcel Duchamp was one of these distractions, and the trip down to the Jura in October was another. William Camfield stresses Picabia's tendency to place his own interests first and in 1912 particular motives would have prompted Picabia's generosity towards Apollinaire. (Camfield 1979:72)

Without Marie Laurencin, Apollinaire was staying with the painter Robert Delaunay (1885–1941) whom Apollinaire saw increasingly as the leading exponent in Picabia's own field of 'pure painting.' Apollinaire called this 'orphyic cubism.' His book, 'The Cubist Painters' was in its final stages and Picabia's pre-eminence within it may have been compromised by Delaunay's developing reputation. Plans were in place to devote a separate chapter to Delaunay in a second volume, (Read 2004: 105) but with Apollinaire, indebted to and so admiring of Delaunay, this journey to the Jura provided Picabia with a chance to lobby for his own interests against the possibility of Delaunay superseding him. Apollinaire's closing assessment of Picabia's art as being; 'too unconscious to be considered *orphyic cubism*' reflected, no doubt, the tenor, the focus and the arena of negotiations with Apollinaire when he was a guest at Étival.

Picabia's relations with Marcel Duchamp at this time are less clear. His cosmopolitan style, his apartment in the 7^e *Arrondissement*, his studio in Montmartre, his impulsive behaviour and his cars would have attracted Duchamp, but Picabia, born in 1879 was among the older members of the group that gathered at the house of Duchamp's eldest brother for their meetings at Puteaux. In spite of the age difference, both had become impatient with the constraints that were imposed by the ideological painters who attended these gatherings. Later on, both Duchamp and Picabia would distance themselves from Apollinaire but in this period before 1914 they were grateful for his support and relied upon it. Apollinaire's agency, with its generous vision, could validate their explorations towards an art form governed by; 'no rules whatsoever', as Apollinaire favourably noted in *Le Temps* just six days before their departure. The trip to the Jura with Apollinaire on board should be interpreted as Picabia and Duchamp's dash for the deregulated horizons that Apollinaire's critical approval would provide. Apollinaire was unpredictable, however, as his pronouncement on Picabia's uncertain potential of attaining the heights of 'orphyic cubism' makes clear. However, the article with its approving 'no rules whatsoever', is worth quoting here in full:

Picabia abandoned the conceptual formula at the same time as Marcel Duchamp did and began to practice an art governed by no rules whatsoever. Delaunay for his part silently invented an art of pure colour. Thus we are evolving toward an entirely new art that will be to painting, as it has hitherto been envisaged, what music is to poetry. It will be an art of pure painting. Whatever one may think of such a hazardous undertaking, one cannot deny that these artists are men of conviction worthy of respect. (Apollinaire 1972: 14/10/12)

The inclusion of Delaunay *silently* (inventing) 'an art of pure colour' (*ibid*), will have registered uncomfortably with Picabia as he wrestled at the wheel of his *141A*, while attempting to negotiate, as well as the road, an uncontested space within 'The Cubist Painters.'

3.3.2a. Francis Picabia: Speed, endurance and the mechanical environment

Of the three travellers, Picabia would be most prepared for the mishaps and upsets that were associated with a journey such as this and would be encountered *en route*. He owned the vehicle in which they travelled, having collected a succession of expensive automobiles, replacing them as they became outmoded or when they succumbed to the vicissitudes of his reckless driving. This was apparently of such an order that it is surprising that no record of prosecutions seem to exist for what must have been a fairly continuous chorus of motoring misdemeanours. He evaded trial again, this time on a serious charge, from the military tribunals after he absconded to America while on a military mission in 1915. Perhaps the influential contacts and the skills that Gabrielle would call upon, to avoid court-martial in 1917-18, had been developed in the course of the relatively petty motoring penalties that he doubtless incurred in this pre-war period.

Recalling his enthusiasm for motoring, Gabrielle Buffet wrote that he would modify his vehicles by removing the mudguards and windscreen to emulate the competition models and racing cars of the day. (Buffet-Picabia 1977: 59). Postcards sent by Picabia in 1909 included rapid sketches and diagrams of similar vehicles that he encountered on the road (figs. 9 & 13). These postcards were sent to his friend and brother-in-law, Jean Chalié and they bear witness to shared enthusiasms²¹. Documentary evidence in these postcards shows his over-confident itinerary and anticipated times of arrival. One dated 23rd March 1909 reads:

*En route. 14 heures pour arriver à la maison,
Francis.*

At the bottom is a caustic postscript from Gabrielle, his new wife that reads;

*par train – 13 heures.
Gabrielle.*²²



Fig. 3.9
Francis Picabia: postcard to Jean Challié 1909.
Collection Laurence Buffet-Challié, Paris.

From these brief communications it is possible to determine that Francis Picabia was familiar with the journey and the nature of the final 35 kilometres up to Étival. Tellingly, an earlier postcard from Gabrielle who announces to her brother that:

*Francis est très bien arrivé en voiture à trois heures du matin après s'être perdu en route*²³

Picabia's continuing enthusiasm for fast cars can be seen in later photographs. These reproductions (Camfield 1979:70, Naumann 1994: 69, Pagé 2003: 116-7) show him driving the same sort of open *torpédo* vehicles with the canvas roof folded down²⁴. Nevertheless they now conform pretty much to the unmodified standards provided by the manufacturers of the day. The conclusion to be drawn is that as Picabia and his travelling companions became gradually less *sportif* and less attracted to the exhilaration of driving in stripped-down vehicles, they became more appreciative of the comforts that luxury motoring might provide. Laurence Buffet-Challié describes the surprise arrival, between the wars, of Picabia on the forecourt at Étival when she was still a little girl. She remembers him, stepping out of a chauffeur-driven limousine, wearing lilac socks, and emotionally embracing his estranged former brother-in-law. Her father had been trying to repair his own recalcitrant vehicle at the time, which although she does not recall, would have been a modest upgrade of the venerable quadricycle of 1905²⁵. After 1912 Jean Challié's fortunes had begun to decline while Picabia's had continued to rise.

3.3.3. Guillaume Apollinaire: Interpersonal relationships

Before publishing his first book of poetry in 1911, Apollinaire was best known as the art critic for a number of newspapers; *l'Intransigeant*, *Le Petit Bleu*, *Mercure de France*, and his own *Soirées de Paris*. He was, by now the leading interpreter of cubism, the movement, which he had helped to define. In 1912, he began to think that cubism was gradually dividing into four different strands, all of which he identified, and attempted to put into some sort of perspective through his writing and lectures. Nevertheless he was aware

of a clear hierarchy among its artists and remained consistent in his support for Georges Braque, Andre Derain, his ex-partner Marie Laurencin, and of course Pablo Picasso, whom he recognised as the leader and virtually beyond criticism, in spite of Picasso's disloyal treatment during the 'Mona Lisa' affair. Albert Gleizes, Jean Metzinger, Robert Delaunay and Fernand Léger were the chief exponents of a younger group of second-generation cubist painters and between these eight artists Apollinaire detected his unravelling strands of cubism. Other artists who did not fit into these categories were treated with a mixture of generosity and condescension, which was reflected in the frequency of their appearances in his various critical publications. A survey of his reviews for 1912 gives a clear picture of who he considered to be important and who were merely of interest. Leroy Breunig's, 'Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902-1918' reveals that Picasso merited thirteen mentions, Gleizes, Metzinger, Leger and Delaunay received ten mentions each, Marie Laurencin was accorded nine mentions, six mentions for Juan Gris and five respectively for Picabia and Duchamp. From this it is clear that although Apollinaire viewed these last two as the friends who would replace Picasso after his disgraceful betrayal of Apollinaire, they did not measure up to him in quality and importance and, consequently, had not merited much space in his critical writing.

3.3.3a. Guillaume Apollinaire: Speed, endurance and the mechanical environment

In 1901, Apollinaire's German employer, the Vicomtesse de Milhau drove back to Germany from Paris in her new De Dion Bouton motor-car and Apollinaire accompanied her on this journey (Steegmuller 1963: 57). They maintained an average of just over one hundred kilometres per day and this gave Apollinaire his first recorded experience of long distance driving. Subsequently Apollinaire's relationship with motorcars was chronicled in his poetry and other writings. His most celebrated reference is in the August 1914 calligramme called *La Petite Auto* in which he describes a night journey, on the eve of war, in an open car between Deauville and Paris when three punctures extended the duration of the 160-kilometre journey. He was on his way to enlist in the army. The hot summer's night, stretched into the early hours, eventually finishing off in bright sunshine on the morning when the mobilisation notices were being posted up. Apollinaire remembered the journey with satisfaction and these roadside repairs seem to have given a purpose to the occasion, contributing a resonance, which he described in awed terms as a preliminary ordeal to the ultimate military test of going to war. (Apollinaire 1918: 67)

Three years later in his 1916 collection of stories 'The Poet Assassinated' his outlook on driving is less sanguine:

... a car exploded in the commune of Chatou²⁶ ... The two travellers in the coupé were killed. As for the chauffeur, he was picked up half dead, he was unconscious for several months; and when in a little wheelchair pushed by his wife, he was finally able to leave the hospital, he was missing his left leg, left arm, left eye, and he had become deaf in the left ear. (Apollinaire 1916: 109)

Behind this description of the catastrophic consequence of motoring, is the sense that for Apollinaire things had changed. He had just been severely wounded and evacuated from the front at the time of its publication. His experience of the human calamity in the trenches offers a subtext for the violence of his motoring narrative. The poetry that he published from the trenches tended to foreground the spectacular visual phenomenon of the war, to which he typically assigned an erotic, gendered quality. These destructive manifestations operate on a scale of violence exemplified in the remorseless process of industrial warfare, at one end of the scale, and the perilous exhilaration of speeding vehicles at the other (Apollinaire 1916:139).

Towards the end of 'The Poet Assassinated', in a chapter called 'Little Recipes for Modern Magic', Apollinaire revisits the motoring theme when he offers a 'Salve for Avoiding Car Trouble'. (*ibid*: 124) In it he recommends grinding the soles of old shoes into powder, sieving the result and mixing it with horse grease. Presumably, because Apollinaire calls it a 'salve', it will be applied to a damaged, external, membrane and so perhaps Apollinaire's night ride in 1914 in *La Petite Auto* should be recalled when the 'Deauville-Paris road' was interrupted three times by punctures that had to be repaired. The amalgam of horse grease and powdered shoe leather, in Apollinaire's 'salve', provides an antidote in the manner of Duchamp's earlier remedy in 'Jura-Paris GB' where he recommends the *traduction effective du silex éffrité*. In English, this might be translated as: 'the beneficial application of powdered flint', which suggests that *silex éffrité* – in the manner of Apollinaire's 'salve' – is used as a prophylactic against the problem of further punctures²⁷. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973:27) This method of solving problems, by extemporising with unlikely local materials, suggests that both Apollinaire and Duchamp were influenced by the exegesis of this process, witnessed early on in the summer of 1912, in the binding methodology of Raymond Roussel's absurdist drama *Impressions d'Afrique*. Perhaps more significantly, they had both learned the value and practical application of *bricolage* as French soldiers when they needed to repair and modify their defective equipment, through the same unorthodox process of making do.

3.3.4. Marcel Duchamp: Interpersonal relationships

Picabia's glamorous lifestyle, the reckless motoring trips and bohemian socialising was in marked contrast to the settled existence of Duchamp's two married brothers in the rural atmosphere of their homes in Puteaux. (Sarazin-Levassor 2004:33) The photographs taken in 1912 of the three of them together in the garden at Puteaux suggest a generational divide that was beginning to emerge. Raymond wearing clogs emphasises the artisanal nature of his profession and the rural atmosphere of their home. The older brothers have a settled, slightly melancholy aspect that is accentuated, in these pictures by an attachment to their domestic animals. Apart from the clogs the three brothers are dressed formally as if for a family occasion. Duchamp, however, with his carefully slicked hair, sharp suit and elegantly pointed shoes seems to be dressed for a different reason and is listening for the noisy arrival of his raffish friends. With these his life would change gear, and although he claims not to have joined in Apollinaire and Picabia's habitual opium

sessions, and refrained from the libidinous extremes of the other men (Cabanne 1979: 32), his appearance in the photographs with his sedate brothers signals a shift in outlook away from the bourgeois atmosphere at Puteaux.

Whether or not he enjoyed the pleasures of opium, the probability of sexual encounter in these episodes on the town was greater. Duchamp had a daughter who was born in 1911, but this event did not seem to impede these expeditions. The range of procurable pleasures, doubtless varied and exciting, were nothing compared to the sexual allure, provocative independence and intellectual outreach of Picabia's wife, whom he would meet on these occasions. Gabrielle Buffet's independent ideas and network of friends among the artists and musicians of Paris meant that she regularly joined Picabia, Apollinaire and latterly Duchamp at openings and theatre productions. They went to Roussel's *Impressions d'Afrique* together, as well as to the *Bals Bullier* and to prize fights between Jack Johnson and Sam MacVea. These boxers were attracted to Paris by its reputation for racial tolerance, creating a reverse microcosm of French West African colonialism that Duchamp contemplated with his *idée de colonie*, 'Jura-Paris 110'. (Meunier 1992: 38)²⁸

Part of Gabrielle Buffet's sophisticated appeal lay in her apparent ability to shape and guide Duchamp in both emotional and artistic matters. The author Calvin Tomkins discusses Gabrielle's claim that she 'initiated' Duchamp a claim he is dubious about. (Tomkins 1996:112) Nevertheless Tomkins suggests that beyond her evident attraction and seductive allure, beyond even the promise of sexual fulfilment, Gabrielle provided Duchamp with a maternal substitute for the unemotional relationship with his mother at home. With this fixation, Gabrielle probably found it convenient to channel his energies into projects that were emotionally less compromising and his musical composition *Erratum Musicale* (1913) was developed at this time. Whatever its provenance, the originality of Duchamp's musical abstraction in this work is unlikely to have emerged from his experience of music-making with his sisters at Blainville-Crevon. It reflects instead Gabrielle's more sophisticated involvement with the musical avant-garde and is difficult to see how and where this piece could have originated otherwise. Duchamp's sisters had been brought up to play the piano and his drawings and cartoons of 1906 turn on a variety of musically flirtatious *double-entendres*; there is no evidence, however that these coy references emanate from anything more adventurous than a domestic musical education. By comparison Duchamp's radical experiments with musical forms point to a more focused musical intelligence such as the one that Gabrielle Buffet would bring.

3.3.4a Marcel Duchamp: Speed, endurance and the mechanical environment

No photographs have come to light of Marcel Duchamp with motor vehicles before this expedition to the Jura. In 1966, he told Pierre Cabanne about the rejection of his 'Nude Descending a Staircase, no.2' in March 1912 and how he removed the painting from the show and drove home with it in a taxi. This is all there is to be gleaned from the records and Duchamp's existing letters. Getting around Paris would have been achieved in the horse drawn cabs that he features in several humorous cartoons (1907-1909),

otherwise the Paris *Metropolitain* underground or the overland *Chemin de Fer de Ceinture* would take him as far as the Porte Maillot, a fifteen minute walk to Rue Amiral de Joinville where he was living. The standard Renault taxis with their small 2 cylinder engines could perhaps achieve a top speed of 45km/h although with a speed limit of 20 km/h in Paris, it is doubtful whether Duchamp would have experienced the rush of speed in commercial vehicles. Speed was obviously one of the attractions associated with his friendship with Picabia and the sensationally fast Peugeot *Type 141A* of this hypothesis. Duchamp had no doubt experienced the thrill of accelerating up the Avenue d'Iéna, round the Arc de Triomphe and down the Avenue de la Grande Armée in impulsive bursts from the Avenue Charles Floquet where Picabia lived. There were, no doubt, longer expeditions, in the manner of Picabia and Apollinaire's impulsive cross-channel visit to Gabrielle in Hythe, but Duchamp was in Munich at the time and other occasions remain unrecorded.



Fig. 3.10
 Marcel Duchamp
2 Personages et une Auto (étude)
 1912
 Philadelphia Museum of Art
 The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection

The mechanical environment and automobiles became the subject in Marcel Duchamp's drawing in 1912 of *2 Personages et une Auto*, where two stationary figures allow a narrow gap for the 'auto' of the title to speed through²⁹. The figures stand dangerously close to the vehicle's path and seem unaware of its destructive potential. The drawing evokes the dramatic events in recent memory when competitions such as the 1903 Paris to Madrid road-race had to be abandoned when spectators fatally crowded into the path of the oncoming vehicles. In contrast the 'Jura-Paris road' shows how Duchamp was at pains to combine the mechanical and consciously human elements in order to transform the journey into one symbiotic co-

efficient of forward momentum that he called 'the machine with 5 hearts.' In the drawing, made earlier in 1912, this synthesis between mechanical and biological elements had yet to be established.

Linda Henderson discusses *2 Personages et une Auto* in her major study on the relationship between art and science in 'Duchamp in Context'. Her research considers a less literal reading of the subject which serves to cast doubt on whether the reference to the *auto* in the picture is what it says it is (Henderson. 1998:18-22). The inference that Henderson develops in 'Duchamp in Context', suggests that the slender diagonals and abstracted discs of the drawing veer away from the literal, automotive representation, and recommends instead an adjustment of focus down to the transformed world of particles and aggressively colliding electrons at the subatomic level. Henderson's evidence is clear, nevertheless Duchamp's work regularly operates on different levels of meaning and his 1912 drawing is surely an example of this.

3.3.5. Jean Challié: Interpersonal relationships

On 1st October 1912 Guillaume Apollinaire reviewed the opening of the *Salon d'Automne* for the daily paper *l'Intransigant*. After listing the dignitaries who attended the opening ceremony he reported that:

A minor incident occurred this morning when a few cubist painters descended on one of our colleagues, M. Vauxcelles, and insulted him roundly. But it was all confined to a lively exchange of words. (Apollinaire [Breunig] 1972: 248)

Louis Vauxcelles (1870-1943), the abused critic, had a reputation for his sceptical views on new painting, which he had famously termed *fauves* at the Salon in 1905. He had gone on to repeat this knack for disparaging neologisms with his term *Cubism*, at the Salon in 1908³⁰. Vauxcelles was not a man to miss a chance and now in 1912, after this public attack from men he considered to be inferior artists, replied to their challenge publicly in *l'Intransigant* two days later, ridiculing cubism and its unmanly influence:

Please do me the honour of believing that it is not in my character to allow myself to be insulted 'roundly' without responding to the offence. I did in fact inform the two ill-bred young men that the incident would be resolved in the customary way on the duelling ground. At that they immediately retracted, prevented no doubt by their cubist principles from engaging in a fight. (Apollinaire [Breunig] 1972: 249)

The two 'ill-bred young men' were in all probability Albert Gleizes (1881-1953) and Jean Metzinger (1883-1956), the doctrinaire spokesmen of 'second generation' cubist painting and the men who had rejected Duchamp's 'Nude Descending a Staircase, no. 2' from the *Indépendants* earlier that year. *Du Cubisme*, their thesis on the subject was about to be published and they evidently welcomed the publicity that an argument with Vauxcelles would bring. Vauxcelles was not alone in his objection to the cubists at the Salon d'Automne that year. In response to a developing campaign against the cubists in the press, the acceptability of its exhibits and the conduct of its practitioners were discussed at a national level in the *Chambre des Députés* in late 1912. Worse still, the number of foreign artists representing cubism at the

Salon was condemned and sanctions threatened against the group. Gleizes was then brought in to testify in its defence and in 1953 he remembered the events that followed in a letter to Bernard Dorival, curator of art at MOMA:

We did not fail at the General Assembly, which followed soon after... That gave rise to a fine row, and to a proposed duel between Metzinger and the painter Chaillet, Picabia's brother-in-law, who substituted for Louis Vauxcelles, one of our worst enemies. (Brooke 2001: 26)

Picabia's 'brother-in-law' was actually Jean Challié and not the 'Chaillet' that Gleizes remembered. Challié's daughter, completes the story in her 2004 biography of her father in which she says:

Challié, the enemy of all the avant-garde, then, exploded. The dispute must have been sufficiently stormy between Challié and the two authors for them to consider that the outrage would have to be settled in a duel. Humiliated by Vauxcelles the Cubists now rose to the bait. It was now a matter of honour ... The challenge was delivered and the seconds chosen. The injured parties selected Gleizes and Barzun (as a theoretician of the new tendency) Fernand Léger although asked declined to represent the challenger: he was represented by the painters Carlos Raymond, the son-in-law of Henri Lebasque, and Gaudissart. (Buffet-Challié 2004: 113)³¹

In spite of the apparent hostility, the sense that comes from this episode is of a closely-knit artistic community that was performing a risky game of competitive brinkmanship that was never intended to go beyond posturing within their own small circle. Nevertheless the argument surrounding cubism went deeper than this local quarrel and the heated exchanges between artists, critics and politicians in the *Chambre des Députés* show that the protagonists were being drawn into a political debate at a more profound level³². (Berenson 1992: 169-207).



Fig. 3.11
Jean Challié
Barge on the Loing: Effect of Sunlight. 1908



Fig. 3.12
Francis Picabia.
Effect of Sunlight on the Banks of the Loing. 1905

As Gleizes states in his letter, Jean Challié and Francis Picabia were related by marriage but their friendship pre-dated Picabia's wedding to Gabrielle Buffet. Since that time, ideological differences had emerged and Challié began to adopt an increasingly intolerant line, not only with Picabia, but also with his own sister Gabrielle and her friends in the cubist avant-garde. Challié and Picabia had met in 1904-05 when they rented neighbouring studios in the *Villa des Arts* in Montmartre. They went on painting expeditions together and both men enjoyed critical success in this period with their post-Impressionist views along the river Loing near Fontainebleau. The similarity of their themes and painting titles, Challié's 'Barge on the Loing: Effect of Sunlight' (fig. 3.10) and Picabia's 'The Effect of Sun on the Banks of the Loing' (fig. 3.11), demonstrates their working affinity, painting side by side and sharing and holding the same views. Challié made a double portrait sketch of the two of them in 1905 that suggested an easy personal friendship (Buffet-Challié 2004:70). Although Jean Challié's quadricycle was no match for Picabia's powerful racing machines, they were both interested in automobiles as several of Challié's drawings, now in the collection of his daughter, demonstrate (fig. 3.12). Of course Picabia's drawings on the backs of postcards to Challié make this clear also (fig. 3.13).



Fig. 3.13
Jean Challié. *Auto Sport*. circa 1910
Collection Laurence Buffet-Challié. Paris.



Fig. 3.14
Francis Picabia: postcard to Jean Challié 1909.
Collection Laurence Buffet-Challié. Paris.

A *froideur* set in after 1909 and the flow of postcards from motoring excursions seems to have dried up. They both took up positions in the opposite camps of the Paris critical establishment; the conservative Vauxcelles promoting Challié, and Picabia finding increasing vocal support in the radical pronouncements of Guillaume Apollinaire. This separation affected their personal friendship as well as their professional relationship so that by the time of the Jura to Paris journey and Challié's threatened duel with Metzinger, Challié close friendship with his brother-in-law had broken down, as had his relationship with his sister Gabrielle. As his daughter puts it:

The links that were forged – were then strained to breaking point – because of the marriage of Francis to Gabrielle³³. (Buffet-Challié 2004: 71)

After Jean Challié's father died in 1907, his mother continued to live in the house in the Jura although it had been transferred to Challié before his death. Jean Challié, the successful post-impressionist, *intimiste* painter, friend and ally of the conservative critic Louis Vauxcelles, scourge of the fauves and cubists alike, was therefore the legal owner of the house towards which Picabia, Apollinaire and Duchamp were travelling in October 1912. Challié maintained a studio there and painted the regional scenes on his regular visits that he sold through his Paris dealer, Manzi-Joyant, and then at the *Salons d'Indépendants* and *Automne* as well as from the more conservative *Salon d'Artistes Français*.

3.3.5a. Jean Challié: Invading the domain

Records do not exist of Challié's response to the appearance on his property of Picabia in company with Apollinaire, the apologist of cubism and Marcel Duchamp, the most unfathomable and least academically talented of the group. Duchamp's text of the 'Jura-Paris road' mentions neither Challié nor his house but it conveys, nevertheless, the sense of a group of confederates advancing into unpredictable territory. The resolute, determined tone is consistent with idea of a cautious operation towards an uncertain outcome.

The publication of Gleizes and Metzinger's *Du Cubisme* in late October provoked the controversy and Laurence Buffet-Challié is quite clear that her father's resentment was directed towards Metzinger as the instigator of the insult and one of the authors of the book; the fact that Gleizes was chosen to second Metzinger in the duel shows that the issue was about defeating cubism and not about narrower personal reasons.

Challié's movements are unclear at this point. Apollinaire originally reported the altercation at the Salon in *l'Intransigeant* on October 1st, and therefore, it is likely that the challenge to Metzinger would have been before the 26th of October and therefore before journey to the Jura. All the participants on the cubist side signed a note, on 12th December exonerating them from fighting. This allows a window of a month and a half for the incident to develop, but tempers had been running high since the initial insults from Gleizes and Metzinger that Apollinaire reported on October 1st.

His biographer, Laurence Buffet-Challié, quotes from an account of a cycling trip in the high Jura, made by her father in the late autumn of 1912, but the glorious weather he describes does not match the constant rain that Picabia and his friends experienced. Challié could not really stop his sister visiting their mother but the arrival of Picabia along with Marcel Duchamp would have seemed calculated to offend in this volatile atmosphere. Whichever way the visit to the Jura by these representatives of the radical avant-garde would have seemed an intrusion into the home of a man who was already on record as having a violent antipathy to the principles that they represented. Their arrival would have appeared to be aggressively provocative, and perhaps accounts for the expeditionary tone of Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road'. After the war, Duchamp would be required, on a number of occasions to arbitrate in the bad tempered arguments between the surrealist artists and he became known for his detached stance and balanced,

reasonable judgement. Whether he would have been able to achieve the same in Challié's own house, when he was obviously part of the problem is another matter.

¹ Translation by this author.

² Gabrielle Buffet adopted the *nom de plume* Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia when she started to publish her reminiscences of the avant-garde artists of Paris. Although married to Picabia she retained her familiar maiden name. She will be referred to in this text as Gabrielle Buffet.

³ ... *très sinueux et comporte, même plusieurs lacets difficile* ... English translation by the author.

⁴ Today, the road is well constructed, smooth and properly cambered and in 2005, stage 18 of the Tour de France swept past within yards of the house in Étival before starting on the five hundred and fifty-five metre descent towards Lons-le-Saunier and the finishing line 35 kilometres and forty-eight minutes later. The road now follows the same route as in 1912 except that improvements to its surface have slightly extended the journey, although making it considerably safer.

⁵ Within two and a half weeks of this author's first visit to Étival in late October 1999 the region had its first snowfall of 30 centimetres.

⁶ Translation by this author.

⁷ A useful comparison can be found in the photographs from Thomas Wilby's journey across Canada with Jack Haney in their Reo automobile between August and October 1912. In 1997, vintage car enthusiasts driving another Reo vehicle commemorated the event along the same road at the same time of year, which they also documented photographically. It is interesting to note how few of the original 1912 photographs show the car with the canvas roof installed; whereas eighty-five years later, the majority of the photographs on the 1997 journey show the car with its roof in place. Better road surfaces in 1997 allowed this additional comfort, whereas the cross-country roadways in 1912 evidently did not.

<http://wolfe.vsb.bc.ca/autotour/index.html>

⁸ The author is grateful to the curator Christian Monnier at the *Musée Aventure Peugeot* in Sochaux for this information.

⁹ The vehicle had a straight four, 7.6 litre engine equipped with a double overhead camshaft allowing four valves to operate on each cylinder. This allowed for a much smaller and therefore lighter engine than its nearest rival a Fiat with an engine capacity of 14 litres.

¹⁰ Translation by this author.

¹¹ As an eighteen year old this author helped a friend to restore a 1923 Alvis 12.50. Several of the motoring insights in this chapter arose from this experience, which terminated, perhaps prematurely, any enthusiasm for travelling in early vehicles.

¹² Two extracts from Haney's log might be useful here:

August 30th 1912. The hills were bad, so in order to feed the gas I blew into the tank and then plugged the vent hole with a piece of match.

And also:

September 2nd. Had trouble getting up a hill about 20 miles out of Quebec. It was too steep for gas feed with full tank so I tried backing up.

¹³ Linda Henderson discusses an American article on the pleasures of driving at night, with the more powerful electric headlights. However these were left undeveloped in France until 1919.

¹⁴ The author is, again, grateful to Christian Monnier at the *Musée Aventure Peugeot* in Sochaux for this information.

¹⁵ Octave Mirbeau displays a high regard for his own chauffeur in *La-628-E8*, however this is not shared by the other motorists he observes who suspect their chauffeurs, often with good reason, of malpractice. (Mirbeau 1907: 82)

¹⁷ *15^e Chasseurs d'Afrique*

¹⁸ Jean-Laurent Challié signed his paintings with the simpler 'Jean Challié' and this is the way that he will be referred to in this text.

¹⁹ From a correspondence between Laurence Buffet-Challié and this author 08/11/99.

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Thus they arrived at certain postulates which soon developed into the arcana of the new plasticity and poetics such as the *calligrammes* of Apollinaire, or the readymades of Marcel Duchamp, and above all the intrusion into the plastic field of the machine, this newcomer issued from the mind of man, this veritable "daughter born without a mother" as Picabia called his book of poems which appeared in 1918.

²¹ The author is grateful to Jean Challié's daughter, Laurence Buffet-Challié, who has preserved this archive of letters, postcards and the drawings of her father for more than sixty years and has given permission to reproduce these images here.

²²

En route. Home in 14 hours.

Francis.

By train – 13 hours.

Gabrielle. (Translation by this author)

²³ Collection of Laurence Buffet-Challié.

Translated by this author as: 'Francis arrived by car, in fine style at three in the morning having got lost *en route*.'

²⁴ William Camfield at the Fondation Picabia showed me two photographs of Picabia and friends on a trip to the South of France in 1911 in a partially enclosed 'double phaeton' automobile, which is, in fact a standard Renault taxi.

²⁵ Repeated in several discussions between Laurence Buffet-Challié and this author.

²⁶ Apollinaire's mother lived in Chatou.

²⁷ Sanouillet's literal version reads: *the effective translation of powdered silex*.

²⁸

Each time Mr Sam MacVea and other coloured gentlemen came together to fight, they created an atmosphere that could only have been experienced from a journey into darkest Africa. Except that such a gathering of negroes in one place would be highly unlikely in that part of the world. Around the ring tonight we had enough of a crowd to people the Belgian Congo, the German Congo not to speak of the slums of remote Timbuktu. Translation by this author.

See also Richardson (1996:264-268) for a very good account of the attraction that these champion boxers had for the artists of Montparnasse in 1912.

²⁹ *Automobile* was masculine noun in French in 1912 and so this title was probably given much later on when the gender moved to its female state.

³⁰ The painter Henri Matisse is also credited with coining the term.

³¹ Translation by this author.

The original reads: *Cette fois, c'est Challié, ennemi des theories d'avant garde, qui éclate. Entre lui et les auteurs, l'explication dut être orageuse. Au point que ceux-ci estimèrent que seul un duel pouvait réparer l'outrage. Humiliés par Vauxcelles, les Cubistes prennent le mors aux dents. C'est une question d'honneur. ... Le procès-verbal est dressé, les témoins désignés. Pour les offensés: MM. Albert Gleizes et Barzun (autre théoricien des nouvelles tendances) – Fernand Léger, sollicité, s'étant refusé; pour l'offenseur: les peintres Carlos Raymond ... et Gaudissart.*

A second incident involving Metzinger and duelling occurred in the winter of 1917. The painter Diego Rivera and the poet Reverdy had a violent argument, which Metzinger tried to adjudicate by proposing that it should be settled in a duel. Reported on a postcard to Georges Braque (at the front) from Juan Gris. 24/03/17.

Ici il souffle un vent de discorde. Je ne sais si tu es au courant de l'incident Reverdy-Rivera.

Dans une discussion de peinture chez Lhotte Rivera a giflé Reverdy et celui-ci lui a sauté dessus. Ils fut cassé plusieurs tasses je crois et un carreau. Metzinger voulait l'interposer pour les obliger a se battre en duel mais ça n'a pas pris.

English translation by this author:

A wind of discord is blowing here. I don't know if you are aware of the Reverdy-Rivera incident. Rivera slapped Reverdy in an argument about painting and the latter jumped on him. They broke several cups and a windowpane, I think. Metzinger tried to intervene to get them to fight a duel but nothing came of it.

Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre: University of Texas. From the Carlton Lake Manuscript Collection. Box 6. 1915. For duelling in the pre-WW1 era see Berenson:1992: 169 and also Shattuck 1955: 253.

³² Associated with the emasculating effects of the Franco-Prussian war on the male population, the French aristocracy, sought to redeem its honour through duelling. This practice filtered down through the bourgeoisie. The conservative Vauxcelles, with his high public profile, obviously subscribed to these principles and applied them to his dealings with artists. Challié, whose father was a general in the elite cavalry was obviously inculcated in this ethos as well.

³³ *Ce lien va se renforcer – et par la suite se distendre – par le mariage (en 1909) de Francis avec Gabrielle, la soeur de Jean, musicienne et élève de Vincent d'Indy.* (Buffet-Challié. 2004: 113)

4

Networks and Configurations

- 4.1.0. Introduction
- 4.1.1. Two journeys
- 4.1.2. Proprioception and the ‘machine with 5 hearts’
- 4.1.3. Medicated imaginary
- 4.1.4. Sinuous deflections from the straight line
- 4.1.5. ‘Dromology’
- 4.1.6. France and Germany

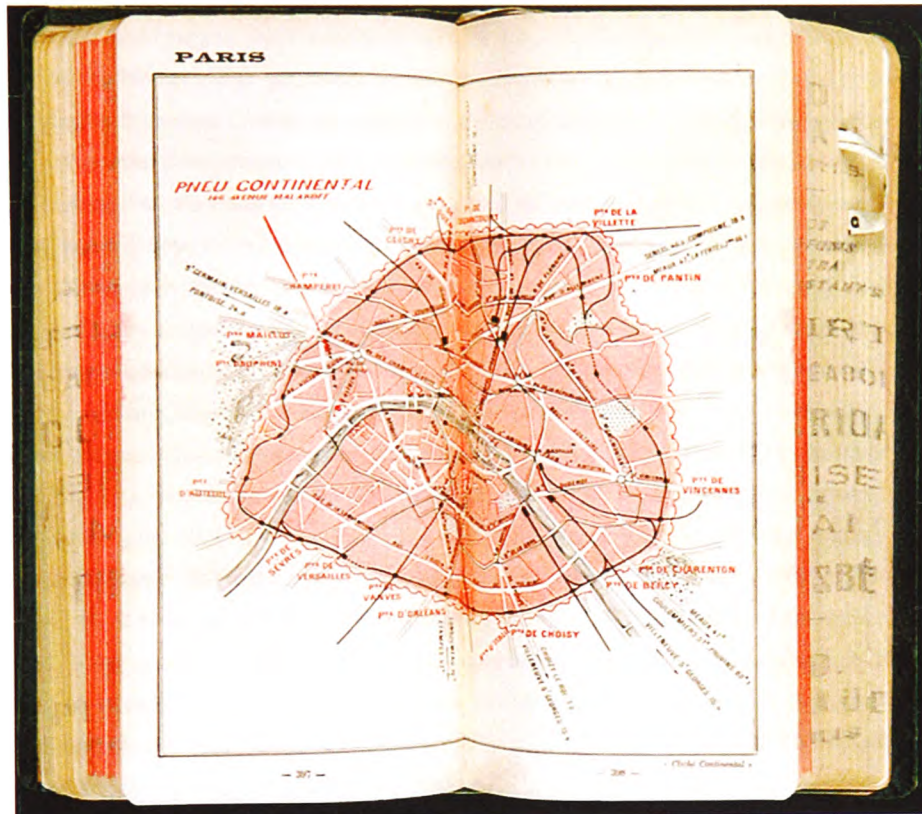


Fig. 4.0. Map of Paris.
Guide Continental 1911

4.1.0. Introduction

A summary of the themes outlined in Chapter Three would include the cramped space in the vehicle, the bad weather conditions, and the probability of multiple punctures, all of which conspired to turn the journey into an exhausting and dispiriting affair. This engendered a sense of a shared ordeal between Duchamp and his friends, resulting in a mysterious journey invoking 'primitive' Christian imagery as though its outcome needed some form of occult approval (Jura-Paris 109). Other notes, in contrast, develop a belligerent, expeditionary tone that leaves the reader wondering about their violent and aggressive purpose. (Jura-Paris 110-111) The final note (Jura-Paris GB) consolidates the idea of a shared network that advances an expedition into an unstable, visionary terrain that calls for vigilance and coordination to operate through an imaginary network that Duchamp calls the 'machine with 5 hearts'. (Jura-Paris GB) This network incorporates the other protagonists in spatial definitions of the fourth dimension, which retain vestiges of

the mystical, warrior and religious identities that went into the development of all four notes. A more prosaic reading might suggest that Duchamp developed this idea of a shared network to compensate for his own lack of confidence within the group, but also to coordinate a group response to the possibility of a hostile reception from Jean Chalié, the belligerent owner of the house at Étival, who had been provoked into a duel with other cubist painters more established and secure in their position than he was.

Chapter Four discusses the journey in a series of different dimensional interpretations of the 'Jura-Paris road' and will hope to contribute a better understanding of Duchamp's interests and preoccupations at this time. Of course, dimensionality in 1912 inevitably conjures up realms of hyperspace and advanced geometry and while concurring with the extensive research on this subject, the dimensional considerations in this section relate, more mundanely, to Marcel Duchamp's experiences in the army and the limiting world of the military imagination and regulations. The intention here is to reveal Duchamp's attempts to circumvent the prevailing military space that encroached on his activities in civilian life, while inevitably affecting him as a conscripted soldier. This was achieved in the routine manner of soldiers, through a combination of good luck and chance, which could then be applied to distorting military rules and regulations. Duchamp's interest in distorting regulations has a relationship with his project 'Three Standard Stoppages', which he began soon after the Jura journey in 1913 and the alignment of this work to the 'Jura-Paris road' is discussed. A different technological embodiment that affects the appreciation of dimensional space will be examined in the penultimate section of this chapter, where through an application of the spatial ambiguities and dislocations that occur in the theoretical formulations of Paul Virilio, the language of these notes vectors towards a contemporary reading.

4.1.1. Two journeys

The 'Jura-Paris road' is Marcel Duchamp's personal record of his journey with his four friends, but despite these documentary origins, the notes have resisted interpretation while surviving as the most compelling testament to the events that took place between October 26th and 30th 1912. The previous chapter considered the material aspects of the journey from the point of view of the infrastructure for automobile travel in 1912 and the construction of motor vehicles that were driven along these roads. Matching details were detected in the language of the notes. However they do not completely explain Duchamp's sombre, disenchanted language. His forecast of 'collision', 'battle', the 'conquest by speed' and the other forms of aggressive confrontation powerfully suggests a more troubled reading. (Duchamp 1983: Note 111) Produced soon after the event, Duchamp's notes reflect anything but a typical experience. The alarming progress of a car with failing headlamps and fallible tyres was for all its alarms, grounded in the material world. This seems to have little to do with the hallucinatory propositions that Duchamp brings to the experience except that without this context, without the lacerating silex, the notes would have no foundation and perhaps would never have been written. Therefore the material details feature as the physical substrate upon which the

problematic language in the notes was imagined and developed. This second journey, the one in Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road' is unintelligible when viewed solely from the perspective of this material point of view.

The fact that the notes refer to a specific journey can be inferred in their title; the 'Jura-Paris road' appearing as a repetitive unchanging mantra, an obsessive incantation, invoking the tangible experience that keeps at bay an unstable, visionary world where metaphor and hallucination as well as fear and paranoia seem to be taking over. These visions influence the 'second journey', the 'Jura-Paris road' that emerges from a physical relationship with the road, but the way they develop pulls them into a context that is more difficult to define. Through them runs the constant paradox of Marcel Duchamp's military preoccupation, which informs such interpretations differently in terms of the alarming and traumatising aspects of military conscription as well as its more obvious discomforts and *longeurs*.

The chief of the 5 nudes increases little by little / his power over the Jura-Paris road.

The Jura-Paris road, on one side, the 5 nudes one / the chief, on another side, are the two / terms of the collision. This collision / is the *raison d'être* of the picture. (Duchamp [Matisse] 1983: Note 111)

The conditions that Duchamp emphasises in these notes are at variance with the stereotypical view of Duchamp as the disengaged, non-aligned passenger through life and art, who on this occasion happened to be enjoying the exhilaration of life from the privileged perspective of a speeding vehicle. Other reasons have to be found to explain his troubling language. This chapter attempts to consider this 'second', hypothetical journey in six linked interpretations that are drawn from and try to come to grips with this visionary, evanescent, fugitive world. Along the way, the fanfare from the barracks can be heard calling men to arms in the national conscription that Duchamp was bent on contesting.

4.1.2. Proprioception and the 'machine with 5 hearts'

A measure of common interest and social intimacy is to be expected when travellers endure the cramped confinement of prolonged journeys in motor vehicles. Soldiers, moving in formation experience something similar as they adjust to the movements of their comrades when advancing on their military objectives. The relative conditions of ease and exhaustion might vary between touring motor-passengers and advancing infantrymen, but the awareness of the proximity of individuals and their fusion into a unifying organism is similar and resembles the phenomenon in consciousness where 'the relative position of neighbouring parts of the body' are monitored, coordinated and made to communicate¹.

This communication is responsible for spatial perception and controls the simplest daily actions such as, 'reaching for a cup' or making more urgent calculations involving momentum and velocity in order to intercept, catch or avoid the trajectory of an approaching projectile². This propensity for self-awareness in respect of the movements of objects and events surrounding them is called proprioception.

The American psychologist James Gibson as well as the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty have defined proprioception in terms of a relationship between objects in space and an interacting subject, but being born in 1904 and 1908 respectively, these authors came too late to influence Duchamp's thinking about the 'Jura-Paris road'. Nevertheless, the term is used here, perhaps anachronistically, in the absence of available definitions in France at the time.

Duchamp wrote his notes for the journey closer in time to the influential writings of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938). In 1907 Husserl had delivered his thoughts in what came to be known as the 'Thing and Space Lectures' where he began, minutely, to reason into existence the changes and relationships between 'things' at an abstract level of becoming. These changes started with the 'phantom' proposition as an imagined state that gradually evolved into the eponymous 'space' of the title. Space became, in Husserl's definition, the site of coexisting 'things' from where he went on to develop the relationship of the human subject in a dynamic interface with surrounding objects and their immediate environment. By the end of his lectures Husserl had teased these terms into a symbiosis of interconnecting propositions. Separately, in Paris, Duchamp developed a similar version of this idea to suit his particular visionary world as he described a 'proprioceptive' integration between an extraneous world and the constituent members of his organization of the 'machine with 5 hearts'. This is how Husserl describes his relationship with his world:

Let us now think of a moving object, a train car, and of my Body as placed within. If I were walking beside the train, such that I and the car were moving together, then its position relative to my Body would be constant. If I am seated in it and am no longer walking, the outer world remains unchanged in its mode of appearance, and the same flux of images is apprehended as stationary. I say that the horse is still 'running', the car is still moving, but I 'am moved'. I now have the kinaesthetic circumstances of rest and the apprehension of the car as movement, as still moving, and the surroundings as ever stationary. When I sit down in the car, a change takes place. If I have the perception of a moving Object while replicating its movements, then the Object maintains its location relative to the Ego-point and to my Body. But the background is constantly changing. (Husserl 1907 [1997]: 242)

Towards the end of his lectures, Husserl is more relaxed as he negotiates his place in a world of 'kinaesthetic' interconnections. His closing observations in the Appendix become almost buoyant:

But I experience the individual moving object: the moving train car. I jump aboard: "everything is moving," "I am stationary." I jump off: the car is moving between stationary or moving things. I run after it: it is stationary. (Husserl 1907 [1997]: 341)

Husserl was by no means a household name in France although it is, possible that something of his meticulous, process may have permeated across the border from Germany to the studios of Paris. In France however, this was the heyday of the philosopher Henri Bergson, whose theories on duration had captured the imagination of French artists and generally permeated into the national psyche (Antliff 1992: 43).

However, Husserl's precise approach seems to predict the language in Duchamp's text more closely than in the body of ideas popularized by Bergson. Duchamp's note (Jura-Paris road/GB) spanning a range of metaphysical topics, while incorporating military adventurism submits to the forms of phenomenological complexity that in its careful detail attempts to define space along lines that were adumbrated by Husserl. This is how Duchamp describes his world:

But in the beginning (in/ the chief of the 5 nudes) it will be very finite in/ width, thickness (etc), in order little by little/ to become without topographical form in coming close to this ideal straight line which/ finds its opening towards the infinite in the headlight/ child. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 26)

Duchamp had, of course recently returned from Munich, where, conceivably, he might have been aware of Husserl's theoretical work and there does seem to be a certain parallel between Duchamp's train of thought and Husserl's conceptions. In Duchamp's text as well as Husserl's lectures, objectives are achieved through the interconnections between the centre and the periphery; in the ability to navigate the 'opening towards the infinite' in Duchamp's case, or to jump on and off railway cars while centrally observing the process in Husserl. These lead to a shared agency, engendered, proprioceptively, and developed between members (or member organs) of the group in disregard of the events that are passed in transit. Whether experienced by passengers in an automobile or soldiers on patrol these peripheral elements become incidentals of context on the outer edge of the deployment.

This phenomenon of coordinated attention can be glimpsed in the automobile writing of an *avant-guerre* author such as Edith Wharton but it becomes more fully developed in the descriptions of exhausted soldiers who appear in the wartime accounts of French writers such as Henri Barbusse in *Le Feu* (1917) or Roland Dorgelès in *Les Croix de Bois* (1919). The language in the 'Jura-Paris road' suggests that Marcel Duchamp saw his protagonists in terms of a joined-up proprioceptive condition. His accounts enlarge on the enduring nature of the ordeal that takes his group of travellers, his patrol, as well as the reader, from one contested co-ordinate of the conflict, or the tourist's itinerary (or the printed page) to the next. The question here is not whether Duchamp's record of the 'Jura-Paris road' corresponds with this phenomenon, because surely it does; but to what extent does he bring, to the leisurely conventions of *avant-guerre* travel writing, the language of proprioceptive awareness while also contending with the effects of physical exhaustion:

The machine with 5 hearts, the pure / child of nickel and platinum must / dominate the Jura-Paris road. On the one hand, the chief of the 5 nudes will be / ahead of the 4 other nudes towards this Jura-Paris road. On the other hand, the headlight / child will be the instrument conquering / this Jura-Paris road. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 26)

Duchamp goes on to develop his narrative, describing it as a sort of exercise that advances across a difficult terrain while the protagonists develop a shared understanding of their position within the group as well as their place on the ground. Allowing for the speed and direction of trajectory, they unify into the conception

of the 'machine with 5 hearts' and in this way Duchamp develops the remit of travel writing, offering a new definition of what the road might represent and showing how the characters upon its surface merge with one another in order to resolve into something that has greater potential than they might as separate entities. In overcoming objectives with this unified potential, Duchamp advances his notes towards the remit of a military objective of some sort.

In this transmutation of the 'Jura-Paris road', the continuous duration of events merge into one collaborative apparatus of force. To this end 'the machine with 5 hearts' proves itself capable of adjusting to the vagaries of the route, calling in as support an enhanced understanding of extra-dimensional realities to assist in surmounting the difficulties and hazards of the terrain. The particular originality of the 'Jura-Paris road' is that it envisions this powerfully augmented network of human and manufacturing potential as being indivisible from; 'the ideal straight line which finds its opening towards the infinite in the headlight child'. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 26) These concepts merge and resolve into a supportive network of interconnecting forces, devised to impose a proprioceptively shared authority, by means of the 'machine with 5 hearts' onto the dimensional uncertainties of the terrain that it intends to subjugate.

Several commentators on the 'Jura-Paris road' have analysed the text in terms of its allusions to the individual protagonists on the journey. Accordingly, Apollinaire, Gabrielle Buffet, Duchamp and even a rather shadowy chauffeur called Victor have been identified variously within its *dramatis personae*. (Samaltanos 1984: 77, Tomkins 1996: 113, Henderson 1998: 37) The research in this thesis attempts to establish that the protagonists, as defined by Duchamp in his note, exchanged the role of discrete, passive passengers for a different, more dynamic collective which enfolds the car, the travellers and the journey itself into one integrated conception of territorial occupation. Subdividing them into recognisable persona serves only to diminish the affect of Duchamp's conception.

4.1.3. Medicated imaginary

In Marcel Duchamp's conception of the 'Jura-Paris road' (Jura-Paris GB), the road and the vehicle are incorporated into a biomechanical synthesis of organs and machine elements, which then gets funnelled towards an 'opening' at its furthest extremity in the *enfant phare*. It has been noted in the Introduction to this thesis that Duchamp was ill *en route*, and so the possibility arises that his extraordinary conception arose from a medicated imaginary, a delirium that generated powerful visions and compelled him to re-invent the experience in note form later on (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 26/10/1912). If so, the medicated imaginary might well provide an insight into the line, described in the note as:

Graphically, this road /will tend towards the pure geometrical line / without thickness
... which / finds its opening towards the infinite in the headlight / child.
(Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 26)

The 'medicated imaginary' allows for an interpretation that views the 'opening' as the end of the smoothing path to recovery that medicine would provide. In this case the proffered remedy would be ingested – entering the body conventionally through the 'opening towards the infinite in the headlight child'. Duchamp's parted lips and a proffered spoon with its meniscus of syrup comes most readily to mind; however the continental proclivity for relief in the form of anal suppositories needs to be considered and this would mean that an entrance into the body of the 'enfant phare' would be achieved through a different channel. The original translation of this note in 1960 is cautious, when addressing this point. George Heard-Hamilton, Duchamp's first translator, settles on the generic 'opening', which reduces the impact of the word. The French noun for 'opening' is *ouverture*, but Duchamp uses the far more provocative term *trou* conjuring the image of a 'hole' as the entry into the infinite. In French, as elsewhere, the noun, '*le trou*' has a sexually troubled association when it is used as a prefix in, for instance, the military slang *le trou de balle*³. (Jarry 1897: 57) There is no evidence, however, as to Duchamp's preferred method of taking medication or even, whether medical relief was applied on this occasion; questions arise nevertheless over Duchamp's sickness that ask whether it was travel related, or induced by an overzealous application of medicated relief, from no-matter which end. Perhaps, it might even have been a premonition of the 'rheumatic heart murmur' that would, allegedly, secure his discharge from active service in the army in the opening stages of the coming war. (Tomkins 1997: 140)

The discrepancy between the journey and Duchamp's reporting of it recalls the psychological distinction between hysterical behaviour and subconscious trauma that occupied contemporary medical science. This phenomenon is currently analysed in trauma literature relating to the impact of transport, warfare and the operations of psychiatry on later 19th century sensibility⁴. Whether Duchamp's response was precipitated by a crisis on the road, described as the 'gross mechanical force' that Freud would identify remains open to conjecture; (Matus 2002: 227) nevertheless, the description of the 'Jura-Paris road' is so disconnected from the realities of the journey that some form of trauma, involving 'collisions' might also be the cause. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 28/62) This expression of discomfort is important, but it gives way to other anxieties in relation to aggressive preparations that are implicit in Duchamp's choice of words and selection of characters:

Thus the interest in the picture/ results from the collision of these 2/ extremes, the 5
nudes one the chief and the/ Jura-Paris road. The result of this battle/ will be the
victory obtained little by little by the 5 nudes/ over the Jura-Paris road. (Duchamp
[Matisse] 1983: Note 111)

The uncertain duration, the extreme weather, the inevitability of mechanical failure provides some clue to the language of stress in the 'Jura-Paris road'. A preoccupation with limits and boundaries, exemplified by the road itself, can be detected and these have a relationship to preparations in the military environment and almost certainly visible from the passing car, and these might well provide another clue; however, the

impossible language, impassable geometries and dimensional passages of the 'Jura-Paris road' may also have some bearing on Duchamp's sickness at the time and that the language might owe more to action of analgesics than they do to the more complex and theoretical propositions of the fourth dimension.

4.1.4. Sinuous deflections from the straight line

An earlier narrative has already taken into account the fact that the three eldest members of the group, Francis Picabia, Gabrielle Buffet and Guillaume Apollinaire, all three in their early thirties at the time of the journey were also independent, sophisticated cosmopolitans with established reputations in their own disciplines of painting, music and literature (Chapter 3.3.1-4). Marcel Duchamp, the youngest by a margin of six years, was essentially a provincial, conventional, bourgeois, and financially as well as socially dependent on his family. Professionally, he was viewed with a mixture of condescension and suspicion by many of his associates and his fellow travellers on this journey would be well aware of his unconfirmed status in the Paris art-world, most recently exemplified in his humiliating debacle over the painting 'Nude Descending a Staircase, no.2.' Whether or not they chose to capitalise on this uncertain status is really a moot point. Inevitably, Duchamp was the group *cadet* with more to prove than the others.

The extent of Duchamp's inexperience can be determined in the measures he took, six months earlier over the transportation to the *Salon des Indépendants* of his painting, before its rejection. This was accomplished in the most extraordinarily convoluted and absurd way. Without a vehicle to deliver the painting, he hired a rowing boat to take him between Neuilly, where he lived, and the temporary housing on the water-front where the *Indépendants* had been held since the flooding in 1910⁵. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993. 17/03/1912) In order to do this, he had to first remove the painting from its stretcher and roll it up. The river route would take him away from his intended direction, going at first south, curving round the loop of the Seine and then back north again to meet up with the perfectly straight road that he would have travelled on had he brought the painting by car. Duchamp's reason for avoiding the more obviously direct route was that he wanted to avoid the ridicule his painting would have attracted from the men at the toll-gate on the way into Paris at the Porte Maillot. (*ibid*) This would be understandable if the sinuous loop of the river made a simple detour; demanding maybe an hour or so of vigorous exercise in the open air in the knowledge that the men at the gate were being cheated of their moment of fun. However, this particular bend of the river continues for approximately five kilometres before curving round and heading back the other way and eventually reaching the quayside at the *pont d'Alma* in the centre of Paris (fig. 4.1). The overall distance can only be estimated, but would be in the region of ten or eleven kilometres, before the effects of wind, current and the hazards of other shipping deflected his course even further.



Fig. 4.1
Map of Paris and environs
Guide Continental 1911

An interesting corollary emerges between Duchamp's direct journey by automobile and the circuitous journey by boat. On the direct journey (that he did not to take) the painting would have been held rigidly intact on its stretchers. On the very indirect journey (that he eventually took), the loosely furled canvas would have complemented the passage of its wandering maiden voyage upstream. Duchamp's river journey, it needs to be remembered, was taken simply as a precaution against the possibility of embarrassment at the Porte Maillot.

Two reasons might account for this strange evasion. The first of these accepts at face value that being a naïve and uncertain artist Duchamp got things out of proportion and overestimated the amount of interest and ridicule that his painting might receive.

The second reason would be that Duchamp was already absorbed with the ideas of chance, permutation and distortion that would resolve into the 'Three Standard Stoppages' of the following year. This became his major foray into the themes of regulation and transgression, where he countered the laws of precision, measurement and exactitude with the whimsy of a metre of thread floating airily downwards to create its own unit of measurement. The argument might continue that; faced with the embarrassment at Porte Maillot, he used this opportunity to develop what might have been at that time a theoretical proposition for something that needed demonstrating in a practical way. Nevertheless, in doing so he may

well have underestimated the effort involved. The physical expenditure must have required the capabilities of a physically tenacious man. It is therefore presumed that in light of the 'heart murmur' that secured his military discharge, the medical board examining him in 1915 were not aware of the physical capabilities of the candidate under review⁶.

Porte Maillot, at the zenith of this return journey is also the name of one of the northwest gateways into Paris from Neuilly where Duchamp was living. From the Porte Maillot, the road into Paris projects in an unbending line for three kilometres, along the Avenue de la Grande Armée, the Champs Élysées, the Place de la Concorde and ultimately to the long, slow bend of the River Seine, along whose reaches Duchamp was navigating his rowing-boat. His claim that he didn't want to attract the embarrassing attention at the checkpoint needs examining. The painting would certainly baffle most people but the officials at the tollgate would have been simply incredulous about Duchamp's solution to avoid them. It would have seemed to them a risible misappropriation of energy and in contravention of every lexicon on the expenditure of effort. This response would have been even more acute from the soldiers at the checkpoint. They would be on duty because this was the entrance to the *zone militaire*, the defensive terrain encircling the city that was kept clear by the army⁷. Neuilly, the village from where Duchamp embarked was just beyond the zone. Duchamp's laborious gesture in delivering his painting came to nothing when, two days later, his brothers relayed the news to him that the painting would be rejected if it were not modified. This was followed by his immediate decision to return home with it in a taxi. The cab would take him and the re-stretched 'Nude' directly along the Champs Élysées and Grande Armée and straight past the checkpoint with its soldiers and their indelicate questions about his painting. They, however, were only concerned with movement from the zone into the city — what went the other way would not hold much interest for them.

In a note, eponymously titled *Porte Maillot 1913*, Duchamp returns to this theme of the distorting line by describing the deflections from a straight path of a moving metal object attracted by magnets placed along it, presumably for this purpose. (Duchamp [Matisse] 1980: 110) In 1913 Duchamp would also carry out his experiments with the 'Three Standard Stoppages' and the twisting metre of thread. A final example where the line deflects away but then returns to the direct path occurred, three years later when he was living in New York. Then, in order to determine the position on the 'Large Glass' of the 'shots,' Duchamp released his volley of nine wooden matchsticks in an arcing trajectory across his studio floor from the toy cannon onto the sheet of glass laid out horizontally to receive them. His line of sight, on this occasion, would focus on the direct route, whereas the matchsticks would require a mathematical calculation that would propel them into the curved parabola away from, and then down onto the desiring target.

For travellers on a night journey from the Jura to Paris in 1912, finding that they had strayed onto, let us say, a cart-track north of their intended line of flight, or perhaps with a puncture in the quagmire of farmyard that sprawled across the road to Toucy or Cosne-sur-Loire some way to the south of where they intended to be; the uncertainties of driving in the dark in rural France before World War I would become an

unpleasant reality. At such times the discrepancy between the deceptive simplicity of the 'Jura-Paris road' and the endless, unravelling reality of the convoluted, miring journey that they had embarked on would become abundantly clear. When Paris was an unknown number of hours away to the northwest and Étival was away in the rain, behind them in the southeast, the 'ideal straight line' of the Champs Elysées must have seemed a remote and impossible proposition — the endless permutations and the distorting line of the rain-swept road, more of a reality.

4.1.5. 'Dromology'

Applying the filter of 'dromology' from the cultural theorist Paul Virilio may help to develop a further understanding of Marcel Duchamp's obscure definitions, descriptions and experiments with trajectory and space. Virilio's particular focus is the study of human responses to communications technology with a particular reference to its reception and prosecution in war situations. The study of communications technologies from the perspective of arms development and trade is of course not new, but Virilio's particular interest in the debate is through a discussion of the infrastructure of war and its emphasis on the speed of delivery. The term with which Virilio chooses to define this theory comes from the Greek verb '*dromos*', meaning 'to race'. (Virilio 1977: 47) In a sequence of related works Virilio has developed and sustained a theory where the distortions produced by speed, through a continuously developing technological environment, will affect the perceptions of the viewer as well as the essential nature of his encounter with this experience. As with the study of communications technologies and the arms industry, a fascination with distortions in the field of perception is not new. In the previous chapter Marcel Proust was cited for his fascinated attention, as the position of the cathedral spires in the landscape appeared to slide in relation to one another when appearing through the windscreen of his motor vehicle. The essential difference is that the sensation changes from enchantment in the case of Proust in 1907 to visual incomprehension, confusion and fear when extreme velocity is involved in Virilio in 1997. Virilio describes this in the words of a free-fall parachutist, who for the first vertical 1200 metres sees the earth laid out like a map beneath him:

But when you reach the 800 to 600 metre mark, you start to see it "coming". The sensation becomes scary pretty quickly because of ground rush, the ground rushing up at you. The apparent diameter of objects increases faster and faster and you suddenly have the feeling you are not seeing them getting closer but seeing them move apart suddenly, as though the ground were splitting open⁸. (Virilio 1995 [1997]: 29)

Speed and the speed of delivery, Virilio argues, are the defining conditions of the 20th and 21st centuries; it is what separates these centuries from the experiences of previous generations. Though this is debatable in terms of the development of weapons throughout history, Virilio's point is made to show that through the instantaneous transmission and reception of electronic information, earlier comprehension of space and time are confounded into an extended present, where past and future are relegated to immaterial

abstractions for the operators at the interface or the keyboard who create the agency that puts into action remote events with repercussions elsewhere, perhaps even at other times. This is Virilio's 'telepresence at a distance.' (Virilio 1997: 45)

Paul Virilio observes that: 'speed is not a phenomenon but a relationship between phenomena'; (Virilio 1997: 12) but what Marcel Duchamp leaves us with in the title of his work is not the exhilaration of speeding 'between phenomena', but the immutable stasis of two place names 'Paris' and 'Jura' as they might appear in the bland itineraries of the *Guides Michelin* or *Continental*. (Continental 1911: 526) Duchamp's expression 'the Jura-Paris road' occurs regularly in an unchanging form in three of the four related notes and in the most familiar of these he repeats the phrase five times in the space of the first four sentences (Jura-Paris Road GB). It seems feasible to compare the disoriented sensibilities that Paul Virilio describes in the bewildering speed of electronic communications to the routine, precautionary vigilance of Duchamp's fantastic fictional travellers. He repeats the mantra 'Jura-Paris road' over and over as if to assist in riding the dimensional changes and disorienting warps in his projection of the journey along the road between the Jura and Paris. Although this extract from Duchamp has been used once already, it is worth repeating again here:

The machine with 5 hearts, the pure / child of nickel and platinum must / dominate the Jura-Paris road. On the one hand, the chief of the 5 nudes will be / ahead of the 4 other nudes towards this Jura-Paris road. On the other hand, the headlight / child will be the instrument conquering / this Jura-Paris road. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 26)

Virilio's examples and argument do not really stretch far back into the early 20th century, but his point is that, culturally, the society he describes has defined itself in terms of its dreadful accidents and disasters and all of this occurring because of, and at bewilderingly high speed. The dreadful consequence of this continuous present, according to Virilio is that its major outcome is destruction and catastrophic accident. Virilio's forecast is for an eternal present of accidents piling up and instantaneously relayed across the networked media. This is an updating of the doomed world of Walter Benjamin's 'Angel of History', where the angel's melancholy predicament is to witness, wide-eyed, the accumulation of debris of technological disaster without the speed or power that would allow him to surge forwards and start to repair the things that have been broken. (Benjamin 1940 [1969]: 257-8) The inescapable pessimism of Virilio's thesis means that his view has inevitably run-up against the speculative optimism of leading practitioners in the science-art debate today. Virilio's relationship with contemporary art is rather like the philosopher Henri Bergson's attitude to the cubists or to Sigmund Freud's with the surrealists. Virilio's relationship with the practitioners who operate most successfully within his critical spectrum, in the sphere of network art, the augmented body and electronic communications generally – subjects that the 'Jura-Paris road' points towards – remains at long range. When coming in closer for a more detailed look, Virilio's attention can develop into a very personal commentary, as this condescension towards the artist Stelarc demonstrates:

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All of these examples illustrate this latest project, of which our Australian is clearly not the instigator, but rather a victim, a willing victim, as so often is the case with the servant corrupted by the master. (Virilio 1993 [1995]: 114)

Virilio's recent project '*Ce qui arrive/ Unknown Quantity*' (2003) at the Fondation Cartier in Paris was really a trailer for his proposed 'Museum of the Accident' and his exhibition's reference to the military/political trauma of 9/11 and its glib elision with natural catastrophe attracted a particularly focused critical response from this art-science community⁹. (Nechvatal 2002: unpaginated)

Marcel Duchamp's journey was taken in the distant pre-history of Paul Virilio's era, and yet the distortions and the implicit traumas that occur in Duchamp's text (Jura-Paris 109-111/GB) correspond, uncannily with Virilio's theory and this turns into an instance where the historical trajectory vectors forward — like Duchamp's comet with its tail streaming ahead of itself — towards a contemporary interpretation. Virilio constantly describes the difficulties of maintaining stable perceptions within temporal accelerations and spatial compressions of the electronic environment and, eighty-one years after Duchamp's journey, Virilio's formulations make a useful contribution in coming to terms with the language that Duchamp was compelled to invent for himself when describing his own sense of disorientation in Picabia's car along the Jura to Paris road. 'Dromology' does not help to interpret the Jura to Paris trip in terms of its significance to Duchamp nor does it predict its consequence for future art; it merely offers a reading of Duchamp's text in terms of a physical perception, which can then be used to further consider his reactions to the journey in technical terms of a syndrome caused by trauma and stress.

Duchamp would eventually create his own circle of disorientated, dysfunctional male characters in the bachelors of the 'Large Glass' and it is tempting to view their impotence and isolation in light of the numbing experiences and periodic crises that lurk behind the oblique language of these notes. Duchamp elaborated this material across the constellation of his four notes. Later on, somewhat enigmatically, he re-invoked the importance of the 'Jura-Paris road GB' in the publicity given to a related stunt that saw him shaving the top of his head into the astronomical motif of the *enfant phare*. This created an interest in the note, away from the language of trauma, giving it a raffish, mischievous interpretation, which seems out of keeping with the gravity of the Matisse notes. (Jura-Paris 109-111) The 1934 publication of the 'Green Box' eliminated crucial sections of the notes from the narrative that subsequently derived its authority from the dimensional side of the experience. This note (Jura-Paris GB) submerged the references to its mystical, even religious associations, removing from view the notes that deal most obviously and almost exclusively with military trauma and conflict. However, this seems to be an intentional deflection from an original idea and Duchamp's initial responses to the journey that he scribbled into the three notes that were published in 1980, (sixty-eight years after he wrote them and forty-six years after the 'official' Green Box note) show him brooding over a much darker world. One that Paul Virilio helps to decode.

4.1.6. France and Germany

By 1912, the French response to German competition was evident in a number of ways, but most immediately in the manufacturing field, creating a reflection of a culture on the edge of war. The German, Hanover-based tyre company, *Continental Pneumatic* developed a successful subsidiary operation in Paris that began to attract *revanchiste* enmity and racism leading to serious consequences for the company in 1914. This episode has been written-up in *Pneu Continental: Le temps des pionniers*, a comprehensive if admittedly partial history of the company written by one of its senior executives¹⁰. (Dreux *et al* 1996: 39-48) *Continental* had come to prominence in France when it supplied the tyres for prestigious racing cars at major Grand Prix races, including the triumphant Peugeots in 1912 and 1913. *Continental* also manufactured the fuselage covering for the aeroplane on Louis Blériot's inaugural flight over the English Channel in 1909. *Continental's* role in these patriotic affairs — hailed as quintessentially French achievements — precipitated a bitter public dispute orchestrated by its French rival *Pneu Michelin*. In the tense international atmosphere after the German interventions in French North Africa, culminating in the military standoff at Agadir in 1911, *Michelin* began to insinuate that the operation of the *Continental* factory was a cover for more covert activities being conducted at the heart of the French capital, and that no tyres were produced there at all. The factory was at Clichy, close to where Duchamp was living in Neuilly and so this highly publicised example of a factory with an 'invisible' operation was close by when he began to formulate the problematic and largely unproductive industry of the 'Large Glass' from 1912 onwards.

A particular flashpoint for *Continental* occurred over the issue of guidebooks and whether or not the company had strayed too far by producing its own maps and guides of France. In 1900 *Michelin* had introduced the first motoring guidebook, which it began to update, giving greater detail about the roads and the services to be found along them. *Continental* had been quick to follow with guidebooks of its own and by 1912 was established as a rival in this field as well as in its other areas of conspicuous success. *Michelin* effectively focused French anxieties about national security and its efforts were ultimately successful in closing the company down in early 1914. Whether or not its 1914 guide-books turned-up in the knap-sacks of the German army is unproven, but certainly German forces were issued with better maps of northern France than were available to the French army; and so perhaps *Michelin* had a point here.

In an attempt, in 1910, to separate its French operation from the German parent company, *Continental* re-branded the French operation with a different logo, which it displayed on the outer walls of its factory and in subsequent poster campaigns (fig. 4.2). The new emblem, showing the upraised arm of a factory worker holding aloft a *Continental* tyre would have greeted the exhausted travellers from the sides of the road as they made their way towards Paris. It would appear in greater numbers along the straight trajectories of the *Avenues de Champs Élysées* and *Grande Armée*, towards the *Rue Malakoff* where *Continental*, defiantly and in 1912, still maintained their head-office. Perhaps it was not so obvious to Duchamp at the time, but looking at this poster today, reveals certain similarities with what would eventually become the composition of the 'Large Glass.' In the poster, the impulsion that bears the inflated

tyre from the bottom to the top of the image is perhaps the most easily identifiable feature, which is echoed in the efforts of the desiring Bachelors, who, from their position in the lower section of the 'Large Glass' attempt to hoist their sexual engagement into its upper regions. However, this pneumatic aspiration that issues from the uniformed bachelors is perpetually frustrated. Nevertheless, the industrialised lower section of the poster, with its horizontal division created by the factory roof also recalls the thematic division of the 'Large Glass.' The cloud in the *Continental* image and the 'Milky Way' of the 'Glass' also share a common visual relationship. It is interesting to note, in parenthesis, that Duchamp did not fit a rubber tyre — *Continental* or otherwise — onto his next work, the 'Bicycle Wheel' of 1913, an object/ readymade that bears aloft a wheel as if to receive the elevated tyre that the poster proffers. The actual poster, advertising *Continental's Rouge Ferré* tyres in 1910-1912 eventually became the target of anti-German propaganda. In a violent parody of the image, the confident hand of the industrial worker is now crudely stained with blood. It raises the tyre towards a pastiche of the *Continental* appellation with, in the background, the devastated and burning factory buildings over which broods the sombre warning *Kontinen Boche* (fig. 4.3).



Fig. 4.2
Continental: Rouge Ferré
1910-12

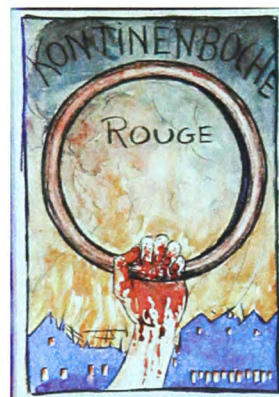


Fig. 4.3
Kontinen Boche
1910-1912

¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Proprioception>

² Wolfe, Charles. 'Proprioception'. In: *Journal of Neuro-Aesthetic Theory*. <http://www.artbrain.org/index2.html> (10/12/06).

³ The term '*trou de balle*' was the French soldier's contemptuous epithet for his enemy whom he ridiculed by reducing metonymically into an invocation of his retreating arsehole.

⁴ Baer 2002: 25-60, Darius 2001: 99-126, Higonnet 2002: 91-107, Manus 2002: 225-234)

⁵ This peculiar and laborious evasion did not come to light until Duchamp revealed it to Ulf Linde fifty years later. I am grateful to Jennifer Gough-Cooper for her help in sourcing this information and to Ulf Linde for its final verification.

⁶ In March 2004, the oarsmen at the Pont de Neuilly rowing club thought the journey possible for a fit man although none of them had done it or could be persuaded to do so.

Conflicting accounts of Duchamp's physical abilities can be gleaned from the following comments from:

Beatrice Wood: 'He was frail, with a delicately chiselled face...' 27/09/16.

Alfred Kreymbourg: Boston Evening Transcript: '... a tall, slender, athletic looking individual... He loves athletics, even to the extent of our American street games! ... he went at them like a boy of seven and soon outdistanced some of the most dyed-in the-wool natives.' 18/09/15.

⁷ Since the early 1900s the zone militaire had been progressively invaded by an underclass of rag-pickers squatting here. Their presence compromised the military integrity of the 'zone' but the army would have had few scruples about clearing or sacrificing these in an emergency. For images of the area see Eugene Atget's album 'Zoniers' 1910-1913. Also Vincent Van Gogh's 'The walls of Paris' 1877 in the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.

⁸ In this extract Virilio is quoting from M. Dufourneaux, '*Attrait du vide*'. Pris. 1967.

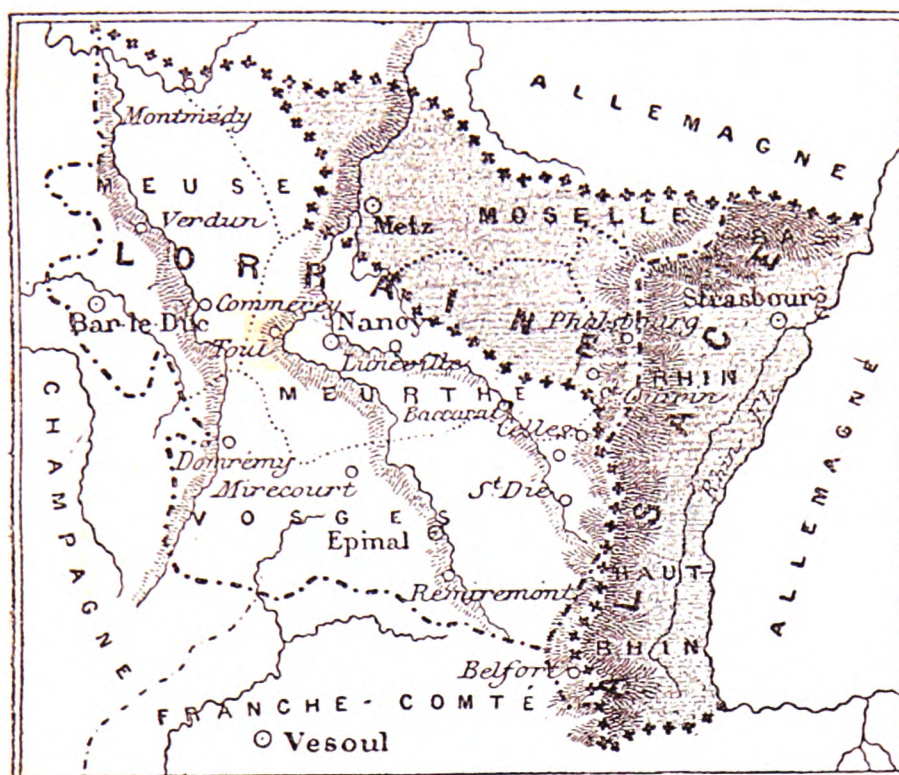
⁹ <http://www.film-philosophy.com/vol6-2002/n47nechvatal>

¹⁰ The author would like to thank Jacques Dreux, managing director at *Continental France snc*, for his permission to publish the images in figures 4.1 and 4.2 and for his generous support during the course of this thesis.

5

The Army

- 5.1.0. Developments — 1870-1914
- 5.2.0. Education and *la Patrie*
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CARTE DE LA LORRAINE ET DE L'ALSACE, ET CHAÎNE DES VOSGES. — La Lorraine, séparée de l'Alsace par la chaîne des Vosges, est une contrée montueuse, riche en forêts, en lacs, en étangs et en mines de métaux et de sel. Elle a de beaux pâturages. Outre le blé et la vigne, on y cultive le lin, le chanvre, le houblon qui sert à faire la bière : l'agriculture y est, comme l'industrie, très perfectionnée. Une partie de la Lorraine et l'Alsace entière, sauf Belfort, ont été enlevées à la France par l'Allemagne en 1870.

Fig. 5.0
Map showing the occupied region of Alsace and Lorraine.
Illustrated in *Le Tour de la France par Deux Enfants*, p. 16
G. Bruno. 1881.

5.1.0. Developments — 1870-1914

The review of French military history between 1870-1914, that follows, provides the context for Marcel Duchamp's period of conscription, and the subsequent emergence of military themes in his work. It is not a general survey and consequently refers only to themes that are raised by Duchamp's notes on the 'Jura-Paris road' or other works that come under review in this text that have a military connection. For a good outline of the French army in this period, the reader should consult Alistair Horne's 'The French Army and Politics: 1870-1970' and for a similarly objective, but more comprehensive overview of its formation, Douglas Porch's 'The March to the Marne: the French Army 1871-1914'. To balance these formal histories, a more scurrilous account of life under the colours can be got from Alfred Jarry's autobiographical 'Days and Nights: Novel of a deserter' written in 1897. Unsurprisingly, Jarry has been left out of the official histories; nevertheless he substantiates many of the features in the official story. In grainy observations such as Jarry's first encounter with a soldier who: 'smelt of shit, fever, sperm, boot-polish and rifle grease' the military environment that Duchamp

entered as a privileged and no doubt impressionable eighteen-year old boy, in October 1905, was pungently described. (Jarry 1897: 27) Jarry's conscription took place within the same period of the Three-Year Law as Duchamp and so his account of infantry life in barracks and on fatigue duty would have corresponded closely to Duchamp's experience although, one suspects, Duchamp found less confrontational ways of coping with the inflexibilities of military authority. Given its recent appearance and publication Jean-Marie Déguignet's 'Memoirs of a Breton Peasant' came too late to be cited in the two official histories that have been listed above. Déguignet died in 1905, the year of Duchamp's conscription, but his account of his military career as an infantry private and an NCO in the period just prior to the war of 1870 is instructive about the expeditionary pretensions of the army before the era of aggressive French colonialism really began.

5.2.0. Education and *Patrie*

Prussian military superiority in the war of 1870 had made three things clear to French military planners: in order to succeed in a modern war, France had to develop an armaments programme that would benefit from new manufacturing techniques and for this it would need to industrialise; it would also have to get rid of cherished regimental traditions and uniforms that by this time had become dangerously anachronistic; finally and at a fundamental level it would have to prepare and train its troops intellectually to respect the ideals of *la Patrie*. Soldiers were taught to identify emotionally with France so that they would carry out the traumatic and physically exhausting duties required of them in the discharge of their duty. Consequently, both intellectual and physical education became staples of the French teaching curriculum. It was here that the endurance and motivation, necessary to sustain the fight was developed, first at school and then in the army, for what was predicted to become an epic but ultimately successful engagement (fig. 5.1).



Fig. 5.1
Albert Bettannier. *La Tache Noir* (The Black Stain). 1887.

French children first encountered the ideals of *la Patrie* during their preliminary schooling in official textbooks such as the 1881, *Le Tour de France par Deux Enfants*, an imaginary tale of two French children who grew up in occupied Lorraine after the war under German authority (fig.5.0). (Bruno 1881: passim) They escape to France after the death of their parents, to avoid becoming wards of the German state, where if they stayed they would eventually serve in the German army. The book sees the two orphans, travelling through France, in an expeditionary journey, searching for their remaining family. It is at once a travelogue as well as a compendium full of moral and instructional examples, intended to explain to children their duties as they grew up into French citizens. It was written to accompany the schoolchild's educational programme and to this end it was divided into six sections that demonstrated the different forms that duty would take. (Bruno 1881: iii - iv) Duty was to be rendered first of all to parents, then to brothers and sisters, then to the state, then to themselves, then to others and eventually to God, although this final aspect of duty is ambiguously phrased and the book does not specify or recommend particular forms of religious observance. In fact, the children in the story do not appear to worship or attend services in the churches that they visit on their long journey; they do, however, give thanks to God, towards the beginning of the story, when they finally find themselves on French soil. Towards the end of their journey they visit the cathedral at Reims and are reminded of its historical importance by recalling the coronation of Charles VII, King of France, by Joan of Arc in 1429. Even here, the children refrain from religious expression, and it is clear that cathedrals and churches are included on their itinerary in order to sanction a history, which has nevertheless moved beyond religious identification with Catholic France. A child's duty to France began by learning its history; religious affiliations did not play a part in this and whereas teachers were instructed to explain the aims of military service, they were released from: 'expressly teaching classes on the nature and attributes of God'¹. (Bruno. 1881: iv)

Le Tour de France par Deux Enfants, as well as guiding the patriotic instincts of the child also attempted to explain the educational curriculum; why it should be taught in this way and how, eventually, this education might be applied. Some of this is put into the mouths of the other children whom they meet and while staying at a farm in the 'haute' Jura they notice a child who is learning to draw from set patterns:

He was surprised to see that (the child) was drawing and that his exercise book was filled with ornamental designs with circular and star-shaped motifs of flowers and animals and pretty decorative figures that he had copied himself.
 "You have learned to draw so well so quickly!"
 "We need to, in order to succeed," replied the child, "because drawing is an essential skill for working people."² (Bruno 1881: 83)

They also visit the manufacturing town of Saint-Étienne where they see workers pouring out of a factory at the end of their shift, and the younger boy wonders innocently about the nature of this work that occupies so many people; to which the older brother answers rhetorically:

And what about all the rifles for our French soldiers? Where are they made? Do you not think that some of these might not be made here? Not to speak of all the sabres, swords and bayonets: the majority of these are made in Saint-Étienne as well.³ (Bruno 1881: 159)

So the boys develop an understanding of the national aspirations of France, the industries that support it and the role its civilian population plays in its achievement. Later on in the story they visit the cavalry school at Saumur and the artillery range at Vincennes. They finally come to the end of their journey in the ruins of a farm that had been the site of a battle in the war of 1870. Everything is in disrepair but gradually they start to rebuild and the book ends with this prayer to infant patriotism:

“Beloved France, we are your children, and we want to become worthy of you!”
They had been true to their vow. The years passed but their devotion never changed; they grew up supporting one-another and while always striving to do good: they remained forever faithful to these fundamental beliefs that they had learned to love when they were so young: Duty and Country⁴. (Bruno 1881: 308)

To channel the physical capabilities of boys such as the two in *Le Tour de la France par Deux Enfants* so that they could take part in a national programme of conscription, French schoolboys, trained by military instructors, learned gymnastics from 1876 onwards as part of their school curriculum. To supplement pre-military training and to prepare children for careers in the army, military training on a voluntary basis was offered from 1882 onwards through an organisation called *Les Bataillons Scolaires*. Perhaps the first clouds to darken the harmony of national purpose that accompanied the military revival in the 1880's began to appear when the *Bataillons* movement extended its eligibility to eighteen year-old boys. At this point republicans began to worry that the *Bataillons* could form the basis of a private militia beyond government control and in the republican austerity between 1890-1910 when the French military came under a more jaundiced scrutiny measures were taken to curb these organisations.

5.3.0. Conscription, physical education, neurasthenia, and *surmenage*

The defeat of 1870 had led to a period of national decline leading to the crisis of a falling birth rate provoking a general sense of physical and nervous fatigue. This condition, brought on by the ‘shocks’ and ‘collisions’ of industrialised modernity had already been identified in America as neurasthenia, as early as the 1860's. In France the term *surmenage* had to be coined for this malady from the verb *surmener* meaning to overdrive. Duchamp refers to the term, when he makes a punning quip relating to a *femme de surmenage* in his notes between 1911 and 1915⁵. (Duchamp [Matisse] 1980: Note 249) Symptoms of *surmenage* veered between chronic listlessness and uncontrollable hysteria. The problem developed with the demographic shift to the cities, after the war, when manufacturing schedules were imposed on rural people more accustomed to diurnal working conditions. Fears were expressed in government circles that *surmenage* was leading the nation into a state of moral decline and in spite of a more general response to neurasthenia overseas, it was perhaps only within the body politic of France that the condition was viewed as a national emergency and linked to the humiliation and emasculating effect of the defeat of 1870. (Berenson 1992: 187) Concerns about *surmenage* provoked an inquiry into the military strength of the nation, leading to questions about the fitness of the recruits coming into the army. Having lost one war through ineptitude, the French army, feared that it might lose the next through its low birth rate and the wasting away of its forces before even the battle had begun⁶. (Horne

1984: 2 and Rabinbach 1990: 226-7) Consequently, training schemes were devised to rectify this deficiency in health. These were organised into a graduated programme that provided a preliminary training for a more arduous regime once boys had entered the army at the age of twenty – here the exercises, intended to predict battlefield situations, were inevitably more physically dangerous and exhausting than at school. However in paintings such as the 1888 *L'inspection générale des exercices physiques au Prytanée militaire*, the academician Charles Crès offers an untroubled view of cadets lounging on their five meter climbing frames (fig. 5.2); whereas the infantryman and reluctant conscript Alfred Jarry, a confident gymnast, devotes a fearful chapter avoiding orders to perform on this apparatus while under the supervision of the regimental NCOs⁷. (Jarry 1897: 51-53)



Fig. 5.2
Charles Crès
*L'inspection générale des
exercices physiques au Prytanée
militaire*
1888.

Although *surmenage* was attributed to the incapacity of conscripted men who were already in poor condition, social reformers such as Josefa Joteyko, commissioned to report on the problem, saw only a lassitude brought on by the unrelenting and brutalising process of military training. (Rabinbach 1990: 227) Joteyko submitted her report *L'Entraînement et Fatigue au point de vue militaire* in 1905, the year of Duchamp's conscription, in which she looked at the conditions of life in barracks and the length of the period of service⁸. The poor condition of garrisoned troops, Joteyko maintained, was made worse by the lack of provision to alleviate the physical extremes that they endured. Jarry offers a typically caustic view of these conditions in 'Days and Nights: The novel of a deserter'. In a chapter devoted to the brutality and boredom of military life he explains that this posed few problems for the army and that:

... the training manual demands from the soldier an unthinking obedience and allegiance at all times. It must first suppress the intelligence, and then substitute just a few animal instincts based upon that of self preservation, lesser wills subsumed into the will of the leader'. (Jarry 1897 [1989]: 40)

Alfred Jarry was conscripted into the infantry in 1894 but served only one year before receiving a medical discharge. His size affected his efficiency as an infantryman, which he exploited to expose the preposterous aspects of his conscription, but he secured his release by subjecting himself to total

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surménagement through pneumonia, which he chemically aggravated once he was in hospital so that the medical authorities discharged him within thirteen months of his original conscription. Jarry gives a hallucinatory account of this episode in his general survey of military life. His regiment is moved to Belgium on exercises during his first winter in the army, followed by other episodes in an unspecified garrison in the north of France, where away from the numbing cold of outdoor duties, soldiers measure out their time in removing streaks of black polish from equipment that should be white and white stains from gaiters that had turned black⁹. (Jarry 1897: 44)

Josefa Joteyko emphasised the length of conscription in 1905 (two years), putting forward a radical proposal of reducing it to six months and although her proposal were not accepted, she was nevertheless counted among a group of influential reformers who advocated a system of greater interdependence, initiative and self-sufficiency which was finally formulated and inaugurated in a system called *hébertism*, named after its instigator and first director Georges Hébert. In *La Methode Naturelle*, Hébert cites the greater adaptability and resilience of African troops serving in the French colonial forces. Observing the greater resilience of colonial troops Hébert commented that:

Our bodies have not had (time) to make, genetic or biological accommodations, to counter the effects of industrialisation. Nevertheless, 'modern' man would become as physically adjusted as men in primitive societies, 'if he would use the means, which normally allows him to prevail'. But in order to replace instinct with the ability to understand the potential of his own powerful motor, he will need to codify the ways in which physical exercise, naturally practiced by primitive peoples, can become naturally applied to him¹⁰. (Hébert 1914 : 8)



Fig. 5.3. Étienne-Jules Marey. *Long Jump*. 1891



Fig. 5.4. *Les Sauts en Hauteur et Longueur*. 1912

The colonial troops, photographed by Étienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904) were presumably selected with just this attuned physicality in mind (fig. 5.3). By the time that Duchamp entered the army in 1905, Marey's photographs were converted into line drawings and published in the standard infantry training manual, in which the first hundred or so pages were given over to physical exercises of different kinds (fig. 5.4). (Lavauzelle 1912[1915]: 1-95) In this manual, soldiers encountered military standards of athleticism in the form of jumping, swimming and boxing before they came across any of the other aspects of soldiering that might be expected in a manual such as weapons training, drill procedures, uniforms etc. It is intriguing therefore to see Marcel Duchamp's celebrated methodology of 'indifference', his adoption of chance and his apparently disengaged approach to life in the light of *surménagement* and the vigorous education designed to counter it.

5.4.0. Conscription laws

Conscription laws, forming the basis of military revival after the defeat of 1870 were subject to the competing ambitions of nationalist and republican administrations. They went through various changes and periodic revisions between 1872 and 1914. The Third Republic that formed out of the political wreckage of the war had to consolidate the views of these two parties who were ideologically opposed to one another. Nationalists were drawn from a federation of conservatives, royalists, catholic aristocracy, army officers and clergy favouring an elite professional *armée de métier* for expeditionary purposes with a second conscripted element forming a defensive reserve. Republicans, on the other hand, made up of liberals, socialist groups and left wing radicals were always suspicious that a professional army would develop its own autonomy while being accountable only to itself and to whatever political block it chose to support. In contrast, republicans wanted a national army to which every man of serving age would play his part by being conscripted for an equal length of time. This harked back to the old revolutionary *nation-en-arme* and conservatives viewed this with suspicion, fearing that it would make the army vulnerable to internationalist influences that went beyond the interests of the French state. The 'Five-Year Law' ratified in 1872 was seen as a compromise between the two factions. Nevertheless it went through several modifications in this period. These are reviewed below in order to put into context the background of Marcel Duchamp's relationship with the army.

5.4.1. Conscription and the Five-Year Law, 1872-1889

The realities of the Five-Year Law were that, having served an initial five years of duty, trained men following their discharge entered the reserve units for another ten years; in this way the army anticipated being able to call upon sufficient forces in readiness to realise its principal objective, which was the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine as soon as the larger German army relaxed its grip on these provinces. Thought of in terms of *la Revanche* (Revenge), the military objective was straightforward although the issue of conscription was not and the conscription law became the subject of dissatisfaction that demanded a continuing process of re-definition (Porch 1981: 24-25).

From 1872 until 1905, the practice of allowing exemptions to certain individuals created a disparity between the labourers and workmen who made up the bulk of the army, serving the full five years and forming one group of conscripts and a second, minority group consisting of the sons drawn from the professional classes who frequently managed to serve a shorter period. It was possible to avoid the full service by paying for one year's training and then joining the reserves as a junior officer. In this there was little change from the old pre-war practice of buying a commission. In 1889 the law was changed and the system of 'one year volunteers' was abolished leaving, however, certain loopholes – one of which Marcel Duchamp was able to exploit sixteen years later in 1905.

5.4.2. Conscription and the Three-Year Law, 1889-1905

The law was introduced in 1889 and devised to abolish the inconsistencies of the 'one year volunteers' and to create a more operationally functional army. Critics of the larger army, the *nation-en-arme*, pointed to the beneficial effects of the reforms in school education and how conscripts were entering

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the army better educated and therefore needing less training time at conscription. The army maintained, on the other hand, that nothing could replace the reliability of troops who had undergone longer training. When the change was finally accepted in 1889 and passed as the Three-Year Law, the mood was changing anyway. The imperatives of *Revanche* were relaxing and the army's national prestige had started to decline.

From a gradual decline the army's prestige abruptly plummeted in 1894 with the revelations of the Dreyfus case. Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935) was a Jewish captain in the French army who was wrongfully accused of selling artillery secrets. The military command, when investigated, conducted itself as though it was above the law and when challenged on its behaviour maintained that any criticism of the army amounted to a treasonable assault on France itself. In the ensuing and protracted publicity, the catholic officer class who made up the high command and the vociferous and influential religious teaching orders in the church, lead by the Jesuits and the Assumptionist Fathers revealed themselves to be vehemently anti-semitic and if not entirely self-serving, then serving of one another only. It became clear that the army's, ideals, expressed in 1872 through its conscription laws as being imbued with the aspirations of the state, now saw itself as the personification of the state. Necessarily, therefore, the army's concerns became the state's concerns and, as in the instance of the Dreyfus Affair, the army could never admit to wrongdoing because that would implicate the state itself. Émile Zola was expressing a very real Republican fear in his long open letter to president Felix Faure in 1898 when, having acknowledged the patriotic determination of French soldiers he wrote:

But it is not about the army, whose dignity we hope to preserve, in this call for justice. It is about the sabre of military repression, which is the new master, towards which we may all presently have to defer. It will expect us to worship the hilt of that sabre as if it was the new God. No! ... It is a crime to exploit patriotism in the service of hatred, and it is, finally, a crime to ensconce the sabre as the modern god, whereas all science is working to achieve the coming era of truth and justice ¹¹. (Zola 1898: 1)

In the republican backlash that followed the military disgrace of the Dreyfus Affair, the inequalities in the conscription system that allowed the maintenance of a two-tier period of service, favouring a minority of professionally educated Frenchmen over the underprivileged majority became the focus of resentment. A British military report into the condition of the French Army in 1905 was highly critical of the loophole in the 1889 conscription law and the exemption that it had seemed to sanction and it notes with incredulity that:

There can be no doubt that the 2-year's law is the direct result of a steadily increasing agitation among the masses for absolute equality as regards the amount of personal military service due from every Frenchman to his country. The popular cry has won the day, and no longer will it be possible for the sons of rich parents to escape with 1 year's service by going through the farce of taking up the *carrière libérale* of a lawyer, doctor, or artist which he has not the slightest intention of pursuing, whilst the humble peasant has to bear the burden and heat of the day in the shape of a full 3 years' service. (War Office 1905: 54)

The '2-Year Law' referred to in this report was, by this time, on the statute book but would not be effectively implemented until 1907, allowing the possibility for determined boys to brave republican

censure and enter the conscription process earlier than they normally would. Marcel Duchamp was one of these; he was due to enter the army with his fellow twenty year-old conscripts in the class of 1907 but instead joined up as an eighteen year-old volunteer in October as part of the class of 1905.

In the meantime a less flamboyant, less assertive, more integrated French army began to replace the swagger of the former organisation. The reforms that followed in the wake of Dreyfus were intended to strengthen the republican officer corps by purging out Catholic officers at all levels of the chain of command, a process of ideological victimisation that was in itself reprehensible and wasteful. More visibly, the republican administration under General André, by sacrificing cherished military rituals, its parades and its uniforms sought to integrate military routines with civilian life.

It is typical of these reforms that between 1898 and 1904 the 74th infantry regiment, based in Rouen, played at the prize-giving ceremony that Marcel Duchamp took part in at the Lycée Corneille. However, as with all units of the army, the 74th Regiment was controlled by strict regulations over its public appearances. It could play the *Marseillaise* at civic ceremonies such as these prize-giving sessions and the commanding officer could, and did on these occasions make a speech¹²; (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: unpaginated) but there were to be no more public, or church parades, no more fanfares of martial music, and most notable by their absence, no more bugle calls alerting troops to their duties in barracks. André also reformed the uniform to downplay its more ostentatious aspects, removing epaulettes and insisting that off-duty soldiers wore civilian clothes in public. These changes designed to make the military less conspicuously separate accompanied a decline in the standing of the army as a social institution and it was not really until Germany began to rattle its sabre at France in 1910 that the prestige of the army began to pick-up.

5.4.3. Conscription and the Two-Year Law, 1905-1913

Diminishing support for the army and its imperative of *la Revanche*, meant that France began to rely more on manpower that would come from colonial troops and by 1905 the period of conscription was reduced from three to two years. This time, however, there were no exemptions of any sort and the army conscription boards, already worried about the size and quality of its metropolitan as opposed to its colonial army, began to enforce the conscription regulations, putting greater emphasis on training for reservists and the older territorial troops. With conscription reduced, army law demanded further periods of service for different forms of duty for the next twenty-five years, until the soldier was forty-five. The initial two year basic training was the most intensive and time consuming, but then came specific periods over the next eleven years on the annual *manoeuvres* as reservist of the regular army; followed by six years in the territorials and a final six years in the territorial reserves. Marcel Duchamp's military papers show that he was due to be in the army as a conscript, reservist and a territorial soldier until 1930.

To compensate for reduced numbers as a consequence of the shift from three to two years the law allowed no exemptions at all. Conscripts who had initially failed medical boards were redrafted and those who failed this second medical examination and were deemed unfit for active military duty were employed in non-combat roles. With very few exceptions, all men of serving age were drawn into the army between 1905 and 1913. In 1907 alone, 35,000 men were recalled and in light of this

information it is a mystery how Marcel Duchamp was so successful in evading further military service on medical grounds. With the fall in morale of the army and its diminishing national esteem, fewer volunteer professionals were coming forward, and so conscripts were promoted in their first year of training¹³. (Porch 1981: 197) Prospective NCOs were generally selected from the boys who had previously completed a period of service in either the *Bataillons Scolaires* or one of its derivative units that flourished until 1911. After a year in service these new NCOs were then given the option of studying for a commission in the officer corps. Duchamp, himself was rapidly promoted to the rank of corporal within six months of his arrival in 1905 and was interviewed about becoming an officer before his anticipated discharge in October 1906.

At the end of my year, in Eu (Duchamp's garrison town), the captain in charge of those exempted questioned each soldier as to what he did in civilian life. When he learned that I was an 'art worker', he said nothing; but I understood that, for him, the corps of French officers could not have a worker earning seven francs a day in its ranks, and I had the impression that I wouldn't go very far as a soldier¹⁴. (Cabanne 1971: 20)

5.4.4. Conscription and the second Three-Year Law, 1913

The German intervention in French North and sub-Saharan Africa in 1905 and 1911, gave the army pressing reasons to lobby for more manpower. Once again concerned eyes began to turn towards the Eastern border and the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. If an invasion were to take place, German troops might attempt to breach the chain of frontier fortresses between Toul and Verdun in which case the battle would be a defensive one from prepared positions and the numbers were adequate for this purpose. If, instead the assault came through Belgium, the army would have a long border to secure for which many more troops were urgently needed. By now, France was conscripting all of its available manpower including men of limited capacity; the only method of making further increases was by prolonging the period of service and so in 1913, the period of conscription went up again from two to three years. Duchamp's response to this change in policy was unequivocal and his note *Éloignement*, probably written in 1913 when the bill was passing into law, morbidly summarises his views: 'Against compulsory military service', he declares in the opening statement. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 23) He then continues the theme more obliquely:

... a deferment of each limb, of the heart and other anatomical parts; each soldier being already unable to put his uniform on again, his heart feeding telephonically, a deferred arm, etc. (Duchamp: *ibid*)

Duchamp then obscures his sombre thoughts beneath one final passage of verbal camouflage:

Then, no more feeding; each "deferee" isolating himself. Finally a Regulation of regrets from one "deferee" to another¹⁵. (Duchamp: *ibid* see endnote)

Éloignement, has been translated as 'Deferment' by Michel Sanouillet and also as 'Removal' by Arturo Schwarz, but perhaps the term 'Disengagement' is closer to the spirit of the original'. In

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1913, Duchamp, was 'disengaging' from the military process – or at least attempting to – and in fact there was a certain amount of opposition when the law was passed, particularly from the soldiers who had been drafted for the regulation two years and who unexpectedly found themselves facing a third year in the army. However, their predicament was eclipsed, in the public eye, by the sensational events of the Caillaux trial, in July 1914, that incorporated the 'Three-Year Law' in its lurid details. Henriette Caillaux, the wife of the Finance Minister, shot and killed the editor of *Le Figaro*. He supported the law and was trying to silence Caillaux's opposition to it by threatening to publish love letters between Henriette and Caillaux. The assassination in March, leading to Henriette Caillaux's subsequent trial and her acquittal on the grounds of *un crime passionnel*, in July 1914 provided a sensational backdrop, distracting the public from the appeals of the conscripts facing an unexpected third year in barracks. (Berenson 1992: 72)

While the Caillaux scandal was breaking, Rudyard Kipling was in France on a motoring holiday between March and April and kept a diary of the things that happened to him in the course of his travels. Politically, he did not have much in common with the liberal Caillaux, and he does not mention the scandal among his cryptic motoring references about punctures and flat tyres and the people that he met along the road. However, Kipling was a Francophile and a keen observer of the French army and its reforms and while noting approvingly the performance of his Rolls Royce, noted that on March 27th:

In aft[ernoon]. Asked French General if I could see cavalry school for children of his officers which I did on most extensive scale. 2.00-4.30 in company with Commandant of School and Colonel of 29th line and two or three other officers. Gym instructor turned double somersault backward from a high scaffold. Saw kitchens, dormitories, infirmary, etc. etc. and talked for an hour afterwards with Col. of 29th. An amazing insight into a new world. (Kipling 1911-1926: 25/7 unpublished)

Kipling's positive endorsement of the military preparedness at the cavalry station at Autun, needs to be matched against Marcel Duchamp's pessimistic forecast of military potential in the *Éloignement* note, written at about the same time. They are roughly of a length and both written in a personal shorthand. Kipling's: 'An amazing insight into a new world' indicate a sense of confident purpose, a determination and fitness for the job in hand and reveals the emphasis of French political concern about its army, its wellbeing and what it needed to complete its mission. Duchamp's dismissal of French military preparation, by contrast, is summed up in his bleak observation that: 'soldiers are unable to get back into uniform'. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 23) It is not even that Duchamp disagrees or even wants to prevent soldiers from doing so. His note is more dispassionate than that — he simply reckons that they won't be able to.

5.5.0. Colonialism

In 1885, the French Premier, Jules Ferry, himself a native of Lorraine, one of the provinces affected by German occupation announced that, France had to look: 'away from the blue line of the Vosges', as a way of breaking: 'the spell which fixed French eyes on her eastern frontier.' (Porch 1981: 136) Ferry's subtext was the kudos and wealth that was accruing to France through colonial enterprise and the

advantages, perhaps even the moral obligations, of bringing French values to indigenous groups through overseas expansion. Having lost a major manufacturing area and a sizeable population through German appropriation in 1870, France, encouraged by Germany, distracted nationalist opinion from the loss of its provinces in military expeditions overseas. Germany anticipated that in so doing France would come into conflict with British imperial policy in Africa, which would strain an already uneasy peace between the two countries.

In fact, France ran into British imperial interests at Fashoda, in 1898, where French ambitions to control a strip from Sudan to the Red Sea came into conflict with Britain's intentions for a continuous land bridge between the Cape and Cairo. The threatened confrontation between the two armies and the French humiliation of having to withdraw its force before engaging marked out Britain as France's natural enemy for several years to come.

Nevertheless France continued with its colonial expansion in North Africa and in 1904 Morocco, conceded to becoming a protectorate of France. Germany intruded by sending the Kaiser to Tangiers, proclaiming to the Sultan that Germany would not recognise French authority in Morocco. This provoked a European crisis, which was followed by another, in 1908, when the German consulate intervened over the desertion of enlisted German troops of the French Foreign Legion. The most serious incursion of all came in 1911 when the German gunboat *Panther* arrived in the Moroccan port of Agadir on the Atlantic coast. Having agreed to accept France's sphere of interest in Morocco, Germany expected some sort of territorial concession in recognition. When nothing was offered, the government dispatched the *Panther*, followed by the cruiser *Berlin* to occupy the port. At this point the British, fearing that Germany was establishing a naval base south of the Mediterranean diverted its Atlantic fleet in order to be on standby for action in Moroccan waters. The crisis was finally averted in November 1911 when Germany ratified French hegemony in Morocco in exchange for land that gave access to the River Congo.

Of course the motivation for colonial expansion, the *idée de colonie* (Jura-Paris 110), was not governed by military kudos alone. Trade and religious conversion helped to sanction colonialism as well. While still at the *Lycée Cornille* Duchamp attended an address from his history professor, at a prize-giving day in 1901, on the benefits to the individual of foreign adventure and travel, where he suggested:

...you cannot find the reason for hatching the map of the world in green, pink or blue in trade treaties. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 29/07/01)

This idealism was, no doubt, genuine but ignores the brutality of colonial expansion that inflicted the conditions that allowed these 'trade treaties' to exist. His language in this short extract invokes the words of a celebrated writer who really did concern himself with the unvarnished consequences of colonial trade agreements. If Duchamp's History Professor was referring to Joseph Conrad, then he missed the awful message in *Au Coeur des Ténèbres* or 'Heart of Darkness' that had been serialised, in France, in 1899 before publication in 1901. The professor's image of the hatched-in territories in 'green, pink or blue' recalls Conrad's 'blank space' in 'Heart of Darkness' when his protagonist Marlow explains that as a child he had been fascinated by the unexplored parts of the world that were

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depicted as empty, white spaces on the maps that he looked at. Marlow goes on to say about the map, that it had:

... got filled since my boyhood with rivers and lakes and names. It had ceased to be a blank space of delightful mystery — a white patch for a boy to dream gloriously over. It had become a place of darkness. (Conrad 1902 [2005]: 21-22)

In order to travel down to the Congo, where the main action takes place, Conrad books Marlow onto a French steamer, which stays within sight of the African coastline, dropping off troops at all the French outposts along the way. The description recounts how they:

... pounded along, stopped, landed soldiers; went on, landed custom-house clerks to levy toll in what looked like a God-forsaken wilderness, with a tin shed and a flagpole lost in it; landed more soldiers — to take care of the custom-house clerks, presumably. Some, I heard, got drowned in the surf; but whether they did or not, nobody seemed particularly to care. They were just flung out there, and on we went. (Conrad 1902 [2005]: 29-30)

If the French authorities were careless about the safety of their own troops, they were pitiless when dealing with local problems that interfered with their trading objectives. They settled any opposition by using remote and massively disproportionate means to overcome the hidden adversary that they dimly imagined in the jungle but could not see. Marlow's steamer passes a battleship, sullenly firing shells into the jungle towards an invisible 'enemy' that has merged into the native wilderness. The jungle then becomes, in lieu of any other sign, the abstract, depersonalised target of colonial dissatisfaction. It is an indictment of the futile solutions of material culture, encountering the problems of unlimited, unconquerable territory.

Once, I remember, we came upon a man-of-war anchored off the coast. There wasn't even a shed there, and she was shelling the bush. It appears the French had one of their wars going on thereabouts. Her ensign dropped limp like a rag; the muzzles of the long eight-inch guns stuck out all over the low hull; the greasy, slimy swell swung her up lazily and let her down, swaying her thin masts. In the empty immensity of earth, sky, and water, there she was, incomprehensible, firing into a continent¹⁶. (Conrad 1902 [2005]: *ibid*)

Presumably, the decorative figure of speech, the 'green, pink and blue', used by Duchamp's History Professor was intended to invoke a lighter footprint than that delivered by the eight-inch guns of the French battleship. However, this was the scale of violence that colonial power could resort to and the avenues for exploration that he advocates, in his speech, were of course predicated on the maintenance of power, through force, to ease civilian negotiations and 'trade treaties'.

Conrad's main story takes place in the Belgian Congo and not within the orbit of French colonialism. It witnesses the inhuman treatment of the native population, compelled to work in the Belgian rubber industry. His generalised, perhaps stereotypical, treatment of the Africans in the Belgian labour camp is subject to criticism, nevertheless it effectively synthesises their suffering and graphically details the enormity that implicates all the colonising nations:

The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. (Conrad 1902 [2005]: 20)

The French author, Octave Mirbeau takes up the same theme of colonial exploitation in the rubber industry in his autobiographical account of a motor-tour through northern Europe. (Mirbeau 1907 [1977]: 76) Mirbeau's form of documentary writing allows him to comment, misanthropically, on the national characteristics of the people whose country he happens to be travelling through. But his disdain for the selfishness of politicians, the peccadilloes of aristocrats, the ignorance of priests, the boorishness of army officers, the complacency of a bourgeois family whose son's yellow and skinny body is: 'enfeebled by solitary practices,' and ready, it seems, to succumb to premature *surmenage*, changes abruptly to feelings of guilt, where he becomes morally indictable in a chapter called *Le Caoutchouc Rouge* or 'Red Rubber.' (Mirbeau 1907[1977]: 146-50) In *Le Caoutchouc Rouge* he finds himself gazing into a Brussels shop window piled high with a material that he does not immediately recognise. By degrees he becomes aware of the origins and the human consequences of rubber production. He becomes aware of the tragedy in the Congo and imagines the flayed skin and torn flesh of the workers, their abused and terrified children, their mutilated and degraded women and he realises that:

These are the images that come with practically every inner tube in its protective sheath and every tyre that rolls by. But we haven't always known where the rubber comes from. Here [in Belgium] we know: because it comes from the Congo. This is really 'caoutchouc rouge', red rubber. In Antwerp, everything they unload is soaked in blood. (Mirbeau 1907[1977]: 148)

Up till now he has accepted the industry that has been anonymously manufacturing components that allow his automobile to function so smoothly. Of course, being the polemicist that he is, he is not prevented by this revelation from continuing on his way in the 628-E8, the eponymous subject of his book, whose virtues he blithely extols until the end of the journey.

5.6.0. Civil interventions, 1905-1906

During the period of civil unrest in 1905-1906, when Marcel Duchamp was serving in the army, conscripted soldiers were deployed in strikebreaking duties in the northern coal mining areas and other industrial and agricultural regions of France. This brought troops into problematic contact with the civilian population. Strikebreaking was inevitably unpopular with conscripted soldiers many of whom were drawn from the social groups and communities where industrial action was taking place and so their sympathies lay with the strikers. (Porch 1981: 106) Troops were also deployed in the enforcement of the controversial Law of Separation; legislation that was introduced by the Third Republic to curb the influence of the Catholic Church, following the abuses of the Dreyfus scandal. This effectively separated the church from symbols of the French State including the army itself. Effectively, churches and religious teaching-orders attached to schools and other civic establishments were closed down and an audit made of their contents, which were then sold off. Soldiers were drafted in to enforce the operation of this law, in much the way they were used to break strikes, which in many cases they

would have found unpalatable. For once, the cadre of officers profoundly shared this sense of abuse. Coming from conservatively catholic backgrounds, frequently with family members already in holy-orders, the officer corps were deeply affected by these regulations and on occasion responded by failing to turn up for duty.

By the time of Duchamp's conscription the military purge against catholic officers was largely completed and officers with obvious republican credentials had replaced the hierarchy at the head of the regiment. The younger officers coming out of the training academy at Saint-Cyr, were now selected for ideological reasons and although these were less affected by the rupture with the church, they would have been equally dissatisfied with the way that the army was used to carry out this controversial law. It is conceivable that Duchamp's 39th Regiment was despatched to police the strikes that were being called across northern France. Many regiments were used in this way and Duchamp, as a corporal, would have formed part of the chain of command that carried out these orders. Whereas a commanding officer might report sick on these occasions and perhaps get away with it — an N.C.O would not. As has been suggested above, Marcel Duchamp survived in the army through a non-confrontational approach that was prone to twist rules rather than disobey them.

5.7.0. Regimental duties

The records that detail the activities of Marcel Duchamp's 39th Infantry Regiment, while it was stationed at the barracks at Eu in Normandy during the years of his conscription are absent from the archives at the *Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre* (SHAT) and have probably disappeared. However, a regimental history between 1870 and 1889 is available on microfiche in the archive¹⁷. This gives the dates and the location of all the exercises and combined operations in this period. Manoeuvres were held, from 1879-89 in the Rouen vicinity and in 1885 they incorporated the village of Blainville-Crevon, where Duchamp grew up as a boy. These manoeuvres probably continued as an annual event, and that the adolescent Duchamp would have witnessed them in the 1890s. The Duchamp archives contain a selection of little pictures of soldiers, dating from this period that reveal a boyish enthusiasm for military subjects. No doubt the arrival, into the district, of large numbers of soldiers on their autumn manoeuvres would have fired his imagination even further. It is even more certain that Duchamp's father, as mayor of Blainville, was involved with the preparations and even the civic receptions that would have accompanied these operations. The army, while on manoeuvres, billeted troops with local inhabitants and the liaison for this was done through the mayor.

The military records at SHAT also show that the regiment moved to Paris between 1885 and 1887 and was garrisoned at Fort Mont-Valérien. Towards the end of this period, the academician Eugène Chaperon (1857-1938) painted *La Douche au Régiment*, detailing the bracing reforms in regimental hygiene that accompanied the emphasis on physical and moral training, instituted by the army in the 1880s. Mont-Valérien, close to Paris was no doubt leading the effort to dispel the unsavoury accounts of life in barracks that trouble-makers such as Alfred Jarry were able to circulate, ten years later. (Jarry 1897 [1981]: 73-75) Jarry was conscripted into the infantry in 1894 but his description of the regimental ablutions, where he is forced to wash in a tub of fetid water, previously used by his corporals in unspeakable ways, conveys an attitude to personal hygiene that the military

reformers were keen to leave behind. Jarry concludes that the only way to get clean, after this ordeal, is by renting a warm bath in town. Obviously the reforms at Mont-Valérien with the 39th Regiment had not spread to the provinces by Jarry's time and one can only hope that by the time that Duchamp was conscripted as an impressionable teenager, nine years after Jarry, things would have changed for the better. Nevertheless, Chaperon's painting of the 39th regiment at its ablutions was thought to have sufficient political and artistic merit to be featured prominently in the lavish catalogue of the *Salon d'Automne* for 1887 (fig. 5.5).

La Douche au Régiment is informative in a number of ways and, parenthetically, it shows a similar barracks architecture to the *caserne* where Duchamp completed his national service in 1906 at Eu in Normandy (fig. 5.6). The barracks at Mont-Valérien, where Chaperon made his painting, was built in 1841 at the orders of Louis-Philippe, who commissioned the barracks at Eu at about the same time to house his personal bodyguard, a regiment of mounted dragoons, known somewhat disparagingly, because of their haughty demeanour, as *les pompiers de Versailles*. Rather incongruously for the barracks of an infantry regiment, it retained and retains to this day the ornamental motif in stone of a helmet of dragoons over the front door that is high enough to allow a soldier, wearing just such a helmet to pass through (fig. 5.7).

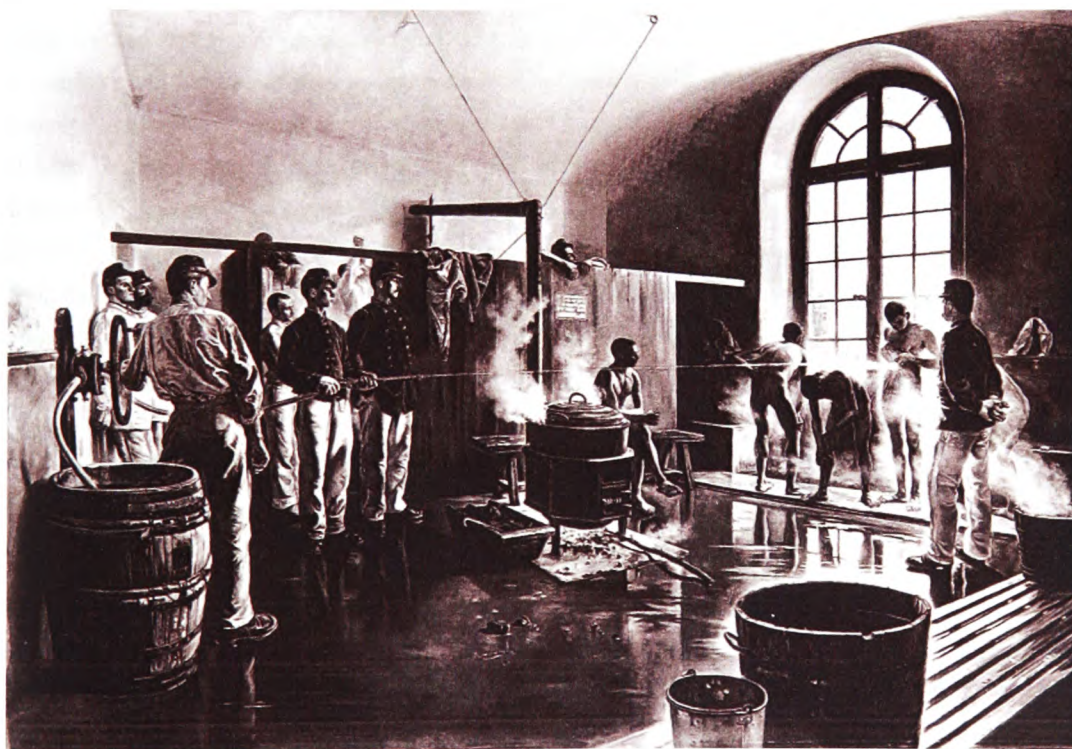


Fig. 5.5
Eugène Chaperon *La Douche au Régiment*
1887



Fig. 5.6
Barracks Facade. Morris/ Drouet Barracks at Eu,
Normandy. 2001



Fig. 5.7
Doorway at Barracks with Dragoon
Helmet. Morris/ Drouet Barracks at
Eu, Normandy. 2001

Records for the 39th Regiment disappear after 1889. Duchamp reported to barracks at Rouen in October 1905 and so the regiment was in residence then and in April 1906, he was sent to join the 2nd Battalion at Eu. This much is known from Duchamp's own personal record. The regiment however does not appear again in the archive until the beginning of the 1914-18 war. Living in Paris at the time, while his discharge was being considered, Duchamp will have known that the regiment had moved out of barracks, but because of the censorship he may not have known where it went after that. A more complete regimental diary takes over at this point and it explains how the regiment marched up to the Belgian frontier to the northeast of Paris where it was caught in the retreat from Charleroi. It then withdrew to Esternay to take up positions on the 4th of September where it engaged with German forces at the Battle of the Marne between 5th and 7th September 1914. This was no more than fifty kilometres from the Paris *arrondissement*, where Duchamp was living and from where he could probably hear the guns. On the 6th of September the colonel of the regiment was wounded and evacuated from the front. His letter from the field hospital, later that day is rather generic as though it was written ahead of time:

6th Sept 1914. Regimental Order No. 75. Officers, NCO's, corporals and men! In the midst of repelling the enemy with our bayonets in the woods at Esternay, at the moment when, true to its glorious past, the 39th advances with the utmost bravery, a stray bullet has come to tear me from the ranks and from the flag I love. With infinite sorrow I must disengage from the action, from my officers, from my dear soldiers, but my heart remains with you¹⁸. (SHAT. *ibid*)

The letter continues in a more prosaic, professional way addressing itself to the alterations in the chain of command that have been made necessary by the casualties of the day; these necessitated the reorganisation of the *équipe téléphonique*, the service that Duchamp in his *Éloignement* note, also of 1914, suggests might reconnect disengaged elements on the battlefield. No doubt the colonel's last assignment of the day would be to dictate his own 'regulation of regrets', that would travel to the wives and mothers of those 'disengaged' soldiers who were left on the battlefield. No doubt the formal tone would take over again at this point.

5.8.0. Tactics, uniforms, weapons — a list of grievances

By 1905, when Marcel Duchamp reported for duty, the army's reputation was probably at its lowest since the defeat of 1870. The ten-year Dreyfus Affair had undermined the popularity of the army, but other factors diminished this even further. *Revanche* was no longer the burning issue in home affairs and public dissatisfaction dipped further when the army that was deployed to meet this challenge was used instead to suppress industrial strikes. Purges, during the Dreyfus Affair, had removed catholic officers from influential positions at all levels and this was seen to be unjust. A British force under general Kitchener had forced French troops to withdraw from the Nile at Fashoda in 1898, and the grievances over this humiliation were still felt. All of these contributed to a decline in prestige and a sense of being out of touch with the mood of the Republic, which in its turn sought to downplay the army's elite status and its professional isolation. Finally, the army was unsuccessful in persuading the government to enshrine the Three-Year Law and in consequence it was facing further cuts to the entire regimental system. With insufficient conscripts, prestigious regiments were facing closure and critics of conscription were lobbying to further reduce its length, its *durée*, to use the expression of the time.

Élan militaire

Equating Henri Bergson's concept of the *durée* to the time spent in the ranks was of course wrong, nevertheless, the army picked up on another popular formulation of Bergson's when it began to define itself in terms of his *élan vital*, the hypothetical 'life force' that influenced human motivation as well as generating change and evolutionary development in nature. The army turned this idea into the catchphrase *élan militaire*, which was interpreted as the eternal, almost mystical spirit that flowed from the successful Revolutionary army of the 1790s into the French army of the 20th century. French soldiers achieved *élan* by studying their history and by appreciating French cultural superiority. *Élan* became the defining term for French military imagination and the army began to visualise itself — in the midst of this crisis — as an instinctive, forward-flowing, attacking force; although there were disagreements over the direction that this *élan* should flow towards. There were scores to settle with Germany and Britain, although the Vatican States came into the frame as well, when in 1905 Pius X released an encyclical castigating the 'Law of Separation' that instructed the clergy to comply with conscription regulations¹⁹. (Cobban 1965: 62 and Horne 1984: 24) However Germany's numerical superiority and Britain's navy reduced the prospect of a successful clash with either of these. Successful attacking armies rely on a numerical superiority in order to sustain the casualties that they inevitably incur and the French army, which was fifty percent smaller than the German army did not have the manpower to spare.

The Uniform

The Boer War, ending in 1902, demonstrated this defensive fact clearly enough. It also pointed up other features about uniforms and weapons that the army would or could not develop. There was a discrepancy between the jaunty, French uniform and the dour khaki and field-grey of its rivals after 1907 (figs 5.8 & 5.9). A War Office publication for the British army in 1912 reporting on French army

developments was scathing about the uniforms, writing that they: 'have hardly anything to recommend them' and the report continues:

The infantry uniform with its red trousers, dark-blue overcoat and red képi, is painfully visible and stands out clearly against most backgrounds, and the knapsack with its various packages, prevents the soldier from firing easily in a lying position, while in any case he is overloaded. The breastplate of the *cuirassiers* is almost ridiculous, and the uniforms of many of the other units are better adapted to the theatre than the field. (War Office 1912: 30)

The army, to give it its due, had attempted to redesign the uniform on a number of occasions between 1902 and 1914, but the uniform and particularly the red trousers, or *garance* of its infantry, had become a sticking point of patriotic fervour for everyone, it seems, except the men who had to fight in them. Trials, in 1902 and 1903 for a blue-grey *tenue-Böer* and then a *beige-bleu* one in 1903, failed because they were too easily confused with German uniforms. After 1903, trials were affected by republican reforms to tone-down the uniform into a garment that would blend more unobtrusively with civilian life.



Fig. 5.8. 1st Cuirassier, 2nd Squadron, 1st and 2nd Companies. 1902

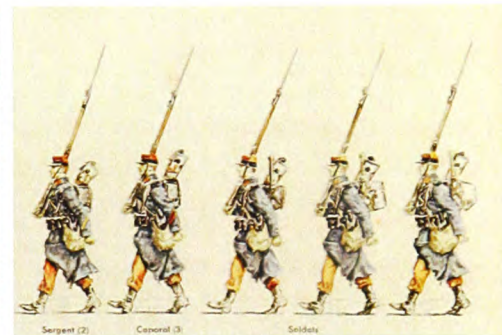


Fig. 5.9. Jean Augé. 1935. *Infantry of the Line in August 1914*.

The Agadir Crisis with Germany in 1911 transformed the national complacency to a mood of urgency, but this upsurge in nationalism was predicated on traditional values and retaining the *garance* featured prominently among these. When the army tried to implement a new *réséda* uniform proposed by the distinguished military artist Édouard Dédaille it was rejected yet again for being too Italian²⁰. A final attempt to create a less visible uniform in 1912 with a woven tricolore cloth of blue, red and white thread foundered when the only suppliers of the new red alizarin dye turned out to be German. (Embleton & Sumner 1995: 13-15)

Rifle and Bayonet

The weapons needed to enable the spirit of the offensive, the all-out attack or *offensive à outrance* as it was called, did not necessarily match the equipment that the ordinary infantryman of the line had at his disposal. The standard Lebel 1886 rifle held eight rounds of ammunition in a tubular magazine under the barrel with a ninth, already held in the chamber. This made for a very long rifle with a balance that

changed each time it was fired as the ammunition was drawn towards the firing mechanism. The Lebel was equipped with a regulation bayonet and when both were assembled they measured 1.85 metres, which meant that at 1.68 metres in height, Duchamp on manoeuvres, would be expected to advance over contested terrain with a rifle at fixed-bayonet that was longer than he was tall.

In fact the bayonet was rarely used successfully for its intended purpose and was not particularly effective for less orthodox applications either:

... although it looked impressive, it had a tendency to snap when being used for useful things such as opening tin cans. (Embleton & Sumner 1995: 21)

For reasons that are difficult to establish other than the fact that *la baïonnette* is a feminine noun, the bayonet was styled *Rosalie* and a contemporary marching song of the same name lists *Rosalie's* virtues in a succession of sexual double-entendres that effectively turns the enemy soldier at its receiving end into an object of erotic envy. In her unsheathed state, *Rosalie* is presented as one of the salacious, perhaps 'lubricious' attractions of army life (figs 5.10).

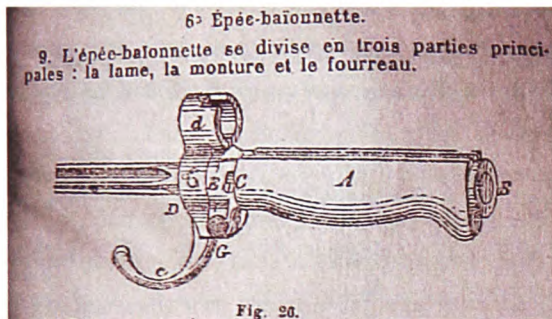


Fig. 5.10
Charles Lavauzelle
Épée-Baïonnette
1912

Puteaux and Saint-Étienne Machine Guns

Further evidence of inadequate equipment and preparation came with attempts to develop a machine gun that would complement the military *offensive à outrance*. Viewed as defensive weapons, machine guns were relegated to an inferior role in the overall strategy. Initially manufactured by the French firm Hotchkiss, and then by the arsenals at Puteaux and Saint-Étienne they were unreliable and their potential never properly appreciated until it was too late (fig. 5.11).

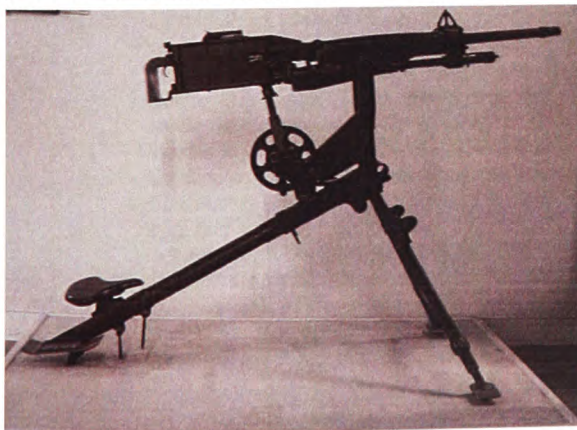


Fig. 5.11
Saint-Étienne Heavy Machine Gun
1907-1915



Fig. 5.12
C.W.R. Nevinson
La Mitrailleuse. 1915.

During Duchamp's period of service, the garrison at Eu would have been equipped with the 1905 Puteaux heavy machine-gun. Its performance was so erratic that it was replaced in 1907 by another government weapon, developed by the arsenal at Saint-Étienne, in an attempt to improve matters. However, the 1907 Saint-Étienne, which was the most commonly used machine-gun in the French army at the beginning of the war, was withdrawn from service in 1915 (fig 5.12)²¹. (Embleton & Sumner 1995: 21) This failure might be thought of as a mechanical form of *surménage* and it is a bleak thought that Duchamp's flippant *femme de surménage* is immediately followed with his: *sang frais et français/ sang frais*²². (Duchamp [Matisse] 1983: Note 249)

Artillery

A further consequence of the spirit of the offensive was that the army neglected and in places decommissioned the impressive system of fortifications along its eastern border that it had gradually built up, since 1872. Rather than stay in these fortresses at Toul, Verdun and Vesoul, where the heavy guns could stop an invasion before it built-up momentum; the French army planned to deploy waves of infantry with supporting field artillery across the entire front of the invasion. It would then manoeuvre rapidly, encircle the offensive and drive it back *à trou de balle*, to develop a phrase from Alfred Jarry. (Jarry 1897: 71) French artillery relied almost exclusively on the 75 or *soixante-quinze* field gun (fig. 5.13). This, by general consent was an excellent weapon, renowned for its manoeuvrability, its accuracy and its rate of fire. It was designed for mobile warfare and to offer instant support across a rapidly moving battlefield. In 1909 it inspired the French nationalist poet Charles Péguy to exclaim epigrammatically that: *c'est tout le temps le soldat français et c'est le canon de 75 qui mesurent à chaque instant la quantité de terre où on parle français*²³. Problems with Péguy's system of measurement came when the German artillery, brought heavier weapons to bear, which although inferior, could destroy the 75s and their crews before the more limited range of these lighter guns allowed them to fire. The Nobel writer Claude Simon describes this in one immensely long sentence that echoes the relentless progress of the German guns. He is, here, describing the effect of a German barrage in August 1914, at the beginning of the war:

... something had just begun to bother them, to disturb the diagrams studied a hundred times on the blackboard, just as when they encountered the first remnants of retreating troops, the glum-faced officers and the exhausted, dazed-looking dusty men, it was merely with that same attentive but reserved if not severe expression, scarcely concealing their professional disdain, that they listened to the officers' reports, disguising as best they could their irritation, their impatience, until the last wounded man had moved off, dragging his leg... and then almost immediately, without trumpets or shouting, something confronted them that bore no resemblance to a charge or to anything they could have learned in books or in the field, whether that had been in a cement blockhouse, on the dikes of the ricefields, or under the ramparts of some imperial palace; that is, simply a wall of fire slowly, even calmly, but inexorably advancing with only brief halts, if it encountered some obstacle, pausing for the time necessary to annihilate and digest it, then resuming its advance. (Simon 1989[1991]: 36-37)



Fig. 5.13
Artillerie. Nettoyage de l'âme du canon de 75
 1912-1914.

Cuirassier

The 1905 cut in recruitment, with the two-year law provoked a reassessment of the more costly units of the army and some of the historic cavalry regiments such as the cuirassiers, mentioned in the British army report came under new scrutiny. Cuirassiers were heavy shock troops trained for massed mounted operations that were intended to break up infantry formations. However, infantry rifles with a longer range and rapid reloading mechanisms meant that the once formidable cuirassiers were vulnerable in modern conditions. The uniform they wore, with its heavy polished cuirass on the front and back paid tribute to an esteemed military past but made no concessions to the realities of modern warfare. The cuirassier helmet, normally a highly polished ornament on the parade ground with, no doubt, some rationale on battlefields in the Napoleonic era, had nothing to recommend it now and had to be protected on active service by a canvas cover. Nevertheless, the cuirassier regiments were still closely associated with the prestige and the *élan* of the French army and in 1911, the painter, Roger de la Fresnaye (1885-1925), himself the son of an army officer, painted a dismounted cuirassier in the thick of battle alongside modern French infantry; both of them complete with their distinctive *garance* outfits (fig. 5.14). Following the Agadir Crisis, which occurred in the same year that de la Fresnaye's painted his 'Cuirassier', when the German navy threatened French positions in the port, patriotic display took precedence over operational commonsense, and the cuirassier regiments were reprieved.



Fig. 5.14
Roger de La Fresnaye
The Cuirassier
1910.



Fig. 5.15
Postcard
French Cuirassiers Helping a Wounded Comrade at St. Quentin.
1914

De la Fresnaye's painting draws heavily on an earlier painting in the Louvre by Theodore Gericault (1791 – 1824) called 'Wounded Cuirassier' and in a way that echoes this theme of military vulnerability. Another wounded cuirassier appears on an American postcard of 1914. The photograph was apparently taken during the battle at St Quentin and it reads: 'French Cuirassiers Helping Wounded Comrade at St. Quentin' (fig. 5.15). Perhaps the soldier in the postcard made a sufficient recovery from his wounds to fight again, it might even be the same wounded cuirassier who appears again in a children's storybook, published in 1915 called *La Classe de 25*. This was aimed at the cohort of ten-year old boys who would be eligible for conscription in 1925, when they become twenty (fig. 5.16). The cuirassier is about to return to the front, but before doing so he explains to the children how the modern battle is changing:

Can you believe, Lélé, that the modern cuirassier no longer wears a cuirass – it is too visible! – he never uses his horse either: horses get in the way! In this cursed underground war, reconnaissance is done with aeroplanes and armoured cars. (Le Cordier 1915: 21)

The story implies that these machines will be the ones used by these children to fight for France in the future. Although the cuirassier looks forward to a time when, reunited with his horse, he will hunt down the fleeing enemy until he is out of France, the implication is that France will inevitably be calling on the class of 1925 to help him do it, when its time comes. Whether or not the cuirassiers, with their outmoded costumes and tactics, will be around to assist in the action is left as a moot point²⁴.



Fig. 5.16
G. le Cordier
La Classe de 1925
1915

¹ 'L'instituteur n'est pas chargé de faire un cours "ex professo" sur la nature et les attributs de Dieu. Il apprend aux enfants à ne pas prononcer légèrement le nom de Dieu' (English translation by the author)

² 'Julien, tout en réfléchissant ainsi, s'approcha du jeune enfant qui travaillait à ses devoirs. Il fut surpris de voir qu'il dessinait, et que son cahier était couvert de rosaces et d'étoiles, de fleurs, d'animaux, de jolies figures d'ornementation qu'il avait tracé lui-même. ... vous avez appris le dessin déjà? ... Il faut bien dit l'enfant: le dessin est si utile aux ouvriers!' (English translation by the author)

This description coincides with the thrust of Molly Nesbit's essay 'Ready-Made Originals' where she discusses the outcomes of this programme in the following way: 'In practice, the language base was hardly neutral; it cheerfully ratified the means of industrial production; insofar as it was a language for everyday use, it was a language of work, a language of industry, p59. Nesbit, Molly. 1986. 'Ready-Made Originals: The Duchamp Model.' *October*. Vol37, Summer, pp53-64. The theme is also addressed more fully in: Nesbit, Molly. 1984. 'The Language of Industry'. In: *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*. Cambridge (Mass). MIT Press.

³ 'Et tout les fusils dont la France a besoin pour ses soldats', lui dit André, "ne crois-tu pas qu'il y ait là de quoi donner de la besogne? Sans compter les sabres, les épées, les baïonnettes: la plus grande partie de tout cela se fait à Saint-Étienne.' (English translation by the author)

⁴ 'France aimée, nous sommes tes enfants, et nous voulons devenir digne de toi!' Ils ont tenu parole. Les années ont passé, mais leur coeur n'a point changé; ils ont grandi en s'appuyant l'un sur l'autre et en encourageant sans cesse à faire de bien: ils resteront toujours fidèles à ces grandes choses qu'ils ont appris si jeunes à aimer: Devoir et Patrie.' (English translation by the author)

⁵ Note 249: *fossettes d'aisance / femme de surménagement / sang frais et français / sang frais.*

⁶ The charge of 'ineptitude' comes when Horne asks how the French army fought as it did 'with complete ineptitude' in 1870 and then with 'heroic fortitude' in 1914.

⁷ Charles Crès' paintings can be found in: Robichon, François. 1998. *L'armée française vue par les peintres: 1870 – 1914*. Paris. Ministère de la Défense, p88-91.

See also Alfred Jarry. 1897: 51-53 for the antithesis of Crès' painting.

⁸ 'Training and Exhaustion with Reference to the Army'. (Translation by this author).

⁹ 'Je m'en f..., dirait un caporal. Et ils sont noirs en effet. Or, le dedans des jambs du pantalon est double de toie blanche qui doit rester immaculée, malgré le contact des cirages et dégras. Il faut donc noircir toujours le brodequin qui blanchit toujours et blanchir sans cesse les bandes du pantaloon tachées de noir indéfiniment.'

¹⁰ 'Notre organisme n'ayant pas connu de mutation au sens génétique et biologique du terme, du moins en rapport avec l'évolution industrielle, l'homme 'moderne' reste capable du meme rendement physique que l'être primitif, "s'il emploie les moyens qui lui réussissent si bien". Mais pour remplacer l'instinct et le besoin qui constituent un guide sûr et un moteur puissant de notre comportement, il s'avère indispensable de codifier l'emploi des activités naturelles du primitif, de les adapter et de les rendre attrayantes.' (English translation by this author)

¹¹ 'J'Accuse...' in 'L'Aurore' 13th January.

Mais il ne s'agit pas d'elle, dont nous voulons justement la dignité, dans notre besoin de justice. Il s'agit du sabre, le maître qu'on nous donnera demain peut-être. Et baiser dévotement la poignée du sabre, le dieu, non ! ... C'est un crime que d'exploiter le patriotisme pour des œuvres de haine, et c'est un crime, enfin, que de faire du sabre le dieu moderne, lorsque toute la science humaine est au travail pour l'œuvre prochaine de vérité et de justice. (English translation by this author)

¹² Unpaginated, dated 30/07/1898, 28/07/1900, 29/07/1901 and 30/07/1904. The editors note that: 'the velvet draped platform, trimmed with clusters of tricoloured flags, is bedecked with a variety of uniforms, notable for their increasing scarcity.

¹³ Professional NCO's were disparagingly labelled *les vendus*, a slang expression for prostitutes.

¹⁴ Duchamp was, perhaps, being disingenuous here. By 1905-6, the French army accepted that officers might no longer have had private incomes. It is more probable that three years after the André purge of catholic officers, the captain interviewing Duchamp would have been a republican, career officer, who simply did not approve of Duchamp's evasion of conscription duty.

¹⁵ Also in Schwarz (2000. 603)

The original Sanouillet version reads as follows:

ÉLOIGNEMENT: Contre le service militaire obligatoire: / un éloignement de chaque membre, / du coeur et ^{des} autres unités anatomiques; chaque soldat ne pouvant déjà plus revêtir un uniforme, son / coeur alimentant téléphoniquement / un bras éloigné, etc. / Puis, plus d'alimentation; chaque "éloigné" s'isolant. / Enfin une Réglementation / des regrets d'éloigné à éloigné.

Also in Duchamp 1958: 36

This authors preferred translation would read:

'DISENGAGEMENT: Against compulsory military service: a *disengagement* of limbs, of hearts and other anatomical parts; soldiers are unable to get back into uniform, the heart will (have to) provide a telephonic supply to *disengaged* limbs etc.

Then no further supply; each "disengaged" limb being isolated. Finally a regulation of regrets going between the *disengaged* units'. (English translation by the author)

¹⁶ For pertinent information on the particular war that Marlow was referring to, see the section on the Dahomey Wars in: Antliff & Leighton 2001: 40-43.

¹⁷ *Historique du 39^{ème} Régiment D'Infanterie par Un Officier du Régiment*. Micro: 9M320 (bobine 1). SHAT (Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre). (23 April 2005).

¹⁸ 6. Sept 1914. *Ordre du Regiment No.75: Officiers, sous officiers, caporaux et soldats! Au moment où nous rejetons l'ennemi à la baïonnette sous les bois d'Esternay, au moment où, fidèle toujours son passé glorieux, le 39^{ème} poussait de l'avant avec la plus grande bravoure, une balle stupide est venue m'arracher à vos rangs et m'allonger a me séparer quelques jours de notre cher Drapeau. Je m'éloigne plein de tristesse, de mes officiers, de mes soldats bien aimés, mon Coeur restera près d'eux.*

¹⁹ http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Vehementer_Nos

Pope Pius X. 'Vehementer Nos'. 02/11/05: You have seen the sanctity and the inviolability of Christian marriage outraged by legislative acts in formal contradiction with them; the schools and hospitals laicised; clerics torn from their studies and from ecclesiastical discipline to be subjected to military service; the religious congregations dispersed and despoiled, and their members for the most part reduced to the last stage of destitution.

²⁰ The article and illustrations are to be found in the journal, *l'Illustration*, March 30th 1912. The term 'réséda' comes from the yellowish dye that comes from the mignonette plant.

²¹ The machine gun in C.W.R. Nevinson's (1889-1946) painting *La Mitrailleuse* is being used by French troops in 1915, (wearing the *garance*). The make of this weapon is unclear; it is neither a Hotchkiss nor a Saint-Étienne and looks more like the 1889 prototype Maxim. Most likely it is none of these and simply a generic pattern. This research has uncovered no French paintings of machine guns before the war, attesting to their devalued status in the semiotics of military preparation.

²² No translation appears for this in the 1983 Matisse translation, Notes 244-250 are missing. However it translates directly as: 'fresh blood and French / fresh blood.'

²³ *invariably, it is the French soldier and the 75 field-gun that measures the extent of territory where French is spoken.* Charles Péguy.

²⁴ Two cuirassier regiments still form part of the French Army - the *1er-11ème Régiment de cuirassiers* based at Carpiagne and the *6-12ème Régiment de cuirassiers* based at Olivet.

6

Military Preoccupation

6.0.0. Introduction

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Military exegesis of the 'Jura-Paris road'

- 6.2.1. The 'Jura-Paris road' — military experience
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- 6.3.1. 1909 — *Expérience* (cartoon)
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- 6.3.7. 1917 — toy cannon
1915-1923 — *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*
- 6.4.0. 1945 — *Cover for 'View' Magazine* 1945



Fig. 6.1
Répartition et emplacement des troupes de l'armée française (Troop Dispositions of the French Army), 1905. Detail.

6.0.0. Introduction

This chapter completes the study of Marcel Duchamp's military service and the outcomes in his practice that followed – furthermore it informs the obscure references in the 1912 'Jura-Paris road', giving them a military provenance in a nexus of concerns that continued to preoccupy him for several years. Having identified these military works, they form a discernable group around the dispirited bachelors who serve the misfiring ordnance, provided by Duchamp, in the lower section of the 'Bride Stripped Bare by the Bachelors, Even.' Military references continue in Duchamp's work creating a strand that is described here as his 'military preoccupation.' The early context of this preoccupation can be brought into focus by looking at the 1905 map of troop distribution (fig. 6.1). The dense military presence it reveals is more saturated in the north east, an area forming that part of the *hexagone* of France between Alsace/ Lorraine and the path of the Jura to Paris road, which follows a schematic diagonal from bottom right to top left of the map. In order to discuss this material, the first section of this chapter (6.1.0 – 6.1.5) establishes Duchamp's military associations from his early childhood predilections to the period where he actively 'distanced' himself from immediate contact with the army. Section two (6.2.1 – 6.2.3) situates the 'Jura-

Paris road' in the context of key works that are drawn-up for inspection in such a way that the travelling beam of light from the journey helps to illuminate their 'military' qualities. The final section considers the individual works that support the claim of the 'military preoccupation' emanating from the 'Jura-Paris road' but appearing on either side of its dates — the 26th and 30th October 1912. (6.3.1 – 6.3.8).

6.1.1. Impatience with cubism

The notes for the 'Jura-Paris road' appear at a time that Duchamp had become disheartened with cubism and had exhausted the patience of its chief practitioners and theorists with whom he had an uneasy professional connection. The journey consolidated his friendship with Picabia and Apollinaire who were similarly impatient with the constraints of cubism. Perhaps suspicious of its links with forms of nationalism, both Francis and Gabrielle were defining a creative strategy that would lead to less affiliated, less officially 'French' affinities; although Apollinaire's identification with France meant that following the same route would be accomplished for different reasons¹. Duchamp looked elsewhere, probably towards Gabrielle Buffet who had studied music in Germany. Duchamp, probably on her prompting, had spent the summer in Munich from where he had just returned and in a delicate distancing process away from French painting, had circumvented its traditions by systematically using German oil paints.

After the journey to the Jura, Duchamp would re-address himself to a theme he had begun in 1911 with his small painting 'Coffee Mill' (fig. 6.16), where the repetitive working of this mechanical apparatus would be militarily considered. A series of mass-produced objects followed that eventually found their place within the automated logic of 'The Large Glass.' Thus his 'toy-cannon', 'bayonet' and '*cuirassier*' as well as the other conscripted members of the 'cemetery of uniforms' form up in the lower section of the 'Large Glass' and are all conditional upon Duchamp's examination of military relationships, in the period of his medical appeal against the army in 1909.

6.1.2. Military role models

Following the defeat in 1870, the army had retrained and burgeoning national confidence had begun to support an optimistic and expansionist world-view with the army at the centre and Marcel Duchamp was born into this era of military ascendancy. This self-belief affected him in the way that it did many small boys growing up in the 1880s and 1890s and his drawings and pictures reflect the confident swagger and *élan* of the French military imagination. This suddenly changed with the Dreyfus case, when a rupture occurred in French life, causing suspicion and at times, outright hostility towards the army in its institutional form, which really only began to change after the Moroccan crisis at Agadir in 1911. Importantly, the Dreyfus affair coincided with the beginning of Duchamp's military enthusiasms at school, while its endgame was played out during the final months of his conscription in 1906. Duchamp's exposure to the self-serving behaviour of the military command, during the Dreyfus case, affected his attitude to the

army while growing up with his brothers. They, respectively eleven and twelve years his senior, were nurtured into its mystique in the positive environment before the *Affair*. Gaston and Raymond remained attached to its codes and discharged their military responsibilities without any evident wavering of duty, whereas Marcel's responses were formed in the hostile atmosphere that it unleashed. It would not be surprising if the close relationship between Duchamp and his two brothers did not begin to unravel at this time².

6.1.3. Early influences and military incompetence



Fig. 6.2
Marcel Duchamp
Soldier on a Horse
1894



Fig. 6.3
Marcel Duchamp
French Flag, French Soldier
1894

Duchamp's childhood drawings of French soldiers are no doubt similar to the generic productions of other children whose imagination is caught by the appeal of the army and the fascination of its paraphernalia (figs. 6.2 & 6.3). Although the little pictures reveal a good eye for detail, two of them contain curious anomalies in their representation of soldiers and uniforms. These might be genuine mistakes but could alternatively show a less conventional side to the young boy's view of his subject. In the picture of a French infantry bugler — a *fanfariste* — the emblematic French *tricolore*, the flag that every schoolchild learned to draw has been incorrectly represented with horizontal stripes instead of vertical ones; it is therefore not the *Drapeau Français* that the drawing confidently proclaims. Another picture shows a cavalryman, a *chasseur*, carefully drawn again, this time in the absurd situation of helplessly following his runaway horse (fig. 6.4). Caumont and Gough-Cooper, in their compendium of Duchamp's life, refer to this drawing in the following way:

In remembrance of his family, Marcel (who is eight years old) makes a drawing of a cavalryman, unmounted, his horse galloping away. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 08/03/1896)

If this inference is correct it creates a professionally embarrassing situation for the soldier, rendering him vulnerable to the charge of incompetence. It suggests, furthermore, that something was adrift in the national

psyche for a French child to render an officer of *chasseurs*, the most glamorous soldier in the army in this unprofessional predicament. A French cavalryman must achieve mastery over his horse, as well as his enemy, but Duchamp's officer cannot do either of these. It would be wrong to attribute too much prescience here and the sense of slapstick should not be overplayed but a concern with military inadequacy and incompetence would become a resonant theme in Duchamp's work, and so the drawing hints at this later preoccupation with non-committal accuracy. Duchamp does not say if these pictures were modelled on his two older brothers, one in the 21st Infantry the other in the *Chasseurs*. Nevertheless he drew them at the time that they were both doing their national service.



Fig. 6.4
Marcel Duchamp
Cavalry
1895



Fig. 6.5
Unknown photographer
Marcel Duchamp in uniform
1895



Fig. 6.6
Jacques Villon
Marcel in Soldier's Disguise. c. 1894-5

Two years later, in 1895, in spite of the Dreyfus affair and the consequent decline in the popularity of the army, Duchamp was photographed in a uniform where his martial appearance was augmented by a military *kepi*, a campaign service medal and a short sword (fig. 6.5). This costume may well have come from the army wardrobe of his brothers, but just as easily from his father Émile Duchamp, who had served as an officer in the war of 1870. Notwithstanding its provenance, it is clear that the adults of his family were sympathetic to the army and provided the influential background to Marcel Duchamp's early years. The question of whether the costume came from his school uniform, or from the remnants of the children's *bataillons scolaires*, or was merely fancy dress, remains un-answered, but so also does Duchamp's choice in wearing it³. As a little boy he had been accustomed to being dressed-up by grown-ups and so it is possible that the family tradition prevailed here. (Tomkins 1997: 19) However, as a sketch of Jacques Villon's demonstrates, he was not averse to dressing as a soldier on other occasions in a similarly makeshift fashion (fig. 6.6). In Villon's drawing the rudimentary helmet, breastplate and *latte* or straight sword of the French *cuirassier* became his military stereotypes. Once again, it is clear that Duchamp's family was

amused by, and probably endorsed, the boy's martial enthusiasms at a time when the army itself was coming under increasing public pressure.

Although his *képi* in the photograph (fig. 6.5) appears too big for him it does not diminish his air of military confidence. He relaxes, one hand casually in his pocket the other resting lightly on the hilt of the sword, conveying the easy command of an eight-year-old, emulating the manner of older men. Raymond's long cavalry sword would have been too awkward for him to carry, and so Marcel's weapon was drawn, in all probability, from Gaston's issue of infantry equipment. The standard infantry rifle, the 1886 Lebel came with its own *épée-baïonnette* and it was this menacing, but actually rather impractical weapon that bolstered his military appearance (fig. 6.7). Almost twenty years later the standard *épée-baïonnette* would appear in a second incarnation of Duchamp's, when he adapted the distinctive blade to form the locating spindle for the revolving 'Chocolate Grinder', the emblematic central mechanism of the *Large Glass* (fig. 6.8). The blade is truncated by the picture and may even have snapped off, and if so, seven years after his military conscription, this example of rudimentary *bricolage* probably owes more to the soldier's ability to adapt defective military equipment than it did to the military aspirations of a play-acting boy at the time of Dreyfus.

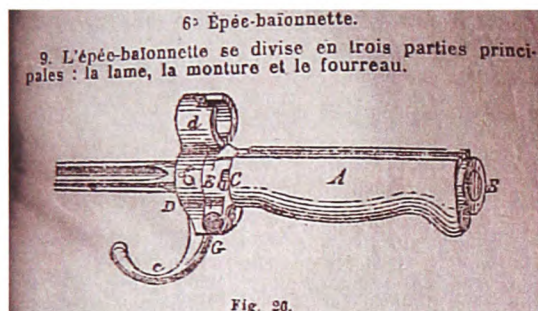


Fig. 6.7
Épée-Baïonnette.
1912

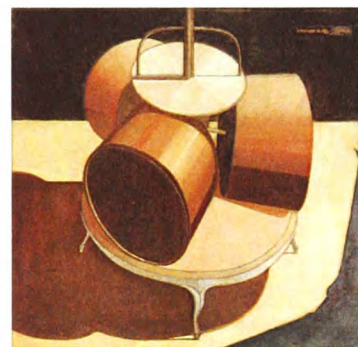


Fig. 6.8
Marcel Duchamp
Chocolate Grinder No. 1
1913

The Dreyfus scandal had affected the army's reputation to such an extent that in spite of his upbringing and his early enthusiasm Duchamp went to exceptional lengths to avoid military service. Later, he would be celebrated for the detachment that would inform his methodology of indifference, but at seventeen, he brought a committed zeal to the task of evading conscription. The gulf between Duchamp and the army is emphasised by the fact that, unlike his brothers, who were photographed in uniform on a number of occasions, the photographs that exist from this period show Duchamp in civilian clothes only (fig. 6.9). In light of the separation he was establishing between himself and the army, it is not surprising that a picture, drawn as a juvenile, of a soldier with a gratuitously incorrect French flag would survive among his possessions whereas photographs of the artist as a corporal of infantry would not.



Fig. 6.9

Unknown photographer

Marcel Duchamp (front row) photographed with, from l. to r., Raymond Duchamp-Villon (in uniform), Yvonne Duchamp-Villon, Raymond's mother-in-law and Gaby Villon, on the steps at Puteaux, Autumn 1914 or Spring 1915.

6.1.4. *Carrière Libérale*

Marcel Duchamp volunteered for the infantry two years earlier than he was expected to in order to avoid new regulations that would have prolonged his period of service, had he reported for duty in 1907, as expected. Duchamp's conscription has attracted attention because in order to be eligible for this shorter period of service, he had to qualify as an engraver. From this distance it is difficult to see how the credentials of an 'art worker' could have exempted him from military service, but they did, and it was obviously a matter of concern to the army authorities who were already campaigning for the law to change. A British military report into the condition of the French army in 1905 notes with approval that:

... no longer will it be possible for the sons of rich parents to escape with one year's service by going through the farce of taking up the *carrière libérale* of a lawyer, doctor, or artist which he has not the slightest intention of pursuing, whilst the humble

peasant has to bear the burden and heat of the day in the shape of a full 3 years' service. (PRO.WO.33.363 1905: 54)

The means by which Duchamp reduced his period of service has deflected interest away from the consequences of his conscription. This attention has shifted to his facility with forms of mechanical reproduction. It skews the narrative and ignores the problematic relationship that he would develop with authoritarian groups throughout his career. Duchamp's attitude to the conscription-boards seems to have influenced his responses to many formal associations, exemplified by his dealings with exhibition hanging committees. This was to be seen in his response to the group of artists, six years after his initial conscription dictated the acceptable parameters of cubist painting, rejecting in the process his 'Nude Descending a Staircase, no.2'. In their different ways, being a conscript soldier and a cubist painter imposed onerous demands upon him to which he had to submit.

The military assessment boards that Duchamp attended, do not seem to have been particularly concerned with his engraver's credentials after 1906, and this aptitude seems to have been ignored while he was in the infantry – no examples exist of Duchamp as a regimental engraver. He embarked on this enforced course of study, purely, to qualify for his exemption and it is conceivable therefore that the production of his major works that employed printing techniques, the 'Green Box' of 1934 for instance, in which the 'Jura-Paris road' was first published, could have been achieved without these additional qualifications. He would have learned all that he needed with his brothers at home. The 'Box of 1914', which is equally germane to the current thesis because of its commentary on the military situation in France, was produced through photographic means and not with printmaking skills. His continuing 'military preoccupation', which was generic and not merely methodological in nature, continued after 1905 irrespective of whether he had become a printer or not.

6.1.5. Obligations and tensions

The Dreyfus affair left intact the military outlook of the two older brothers, but it broke a spell for Marcel Duchamp, and a gap began to widen between them. This was not only evident in their attitudes to military service but in artistic matters as well. Committed to their peers, the older brothers were developing an international reputation and cubism was being successfully exported in the manner of other French colonial enterprises⁴. Although foreign artists were evidently crucial in developing the principles of cubism, as well as its continuing reputation, the doors were nevertheless closed to non-French ideologies. Being a cubist meant aligning with a grander patriotic identity. In spite of this intention of representing a national aspiration critics, such as Vauxcelles, depicted the cubists as emasculating the ideals of French painting⁵. (Brooke 2001: 26) The crisis between Duchamp and his brothers became apparent in 1912 when they judged that his 'Nude' went too close to contaminating foreign influences and the references they detected compromised Duchamp's cubist credentials. (Cabanne 1971:28)

The conscription laws created further tensions between them. Military service was generally accepted as a national obligation and the threat of a German invasion made active service a patriotic duty. The sense of national disgrace over the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, made hostilities increasingly likely and the election to the Presidency in 1912 of Raymond Poincaré, a native of Lorraine, brought a violent settlement closer. Duchamp's lack of enthusiasm for serving with the colours, either in the army, or as an artist in step with Parisian aesthetic theory meant that friction was inevitable with his brothers and their colleagues. A rapid survey of cubist works between 1910-1914 shows military themes in Roger de La Fresnaye (1885-1925) *Cuirassier* 1910 and *L'Attilerie* 1911, Jean Marchand (1883-1941) *Les Cavaliers* 1912, Jacques Villon (1875-1963) *Soldats en Route* 1913, Raymond Duchamp-Villon (1876-1918) *Grand Cheval* 1914, Gino Severeni (1883-1966) *La Guerre* 1914. These works contributed a cubist *élan* to subjects that were at times nothing more than standard military representations⁶. In comparison with these, the listless men who were assembled in Duchamp's 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries' fail to respond to the call and operate at the nadir of pessimistic military representation.

Duchamp's exemption from further military service must have confused his friends and dismayed his family in 1915. The extent to which the patriotic atmosphere prevailed in Duchamp's family circle can be seen in the way that his siblings volunteered for war duties in 1914. The two brothers immediately returned to their regiments and his closest sister Suzanne, along with his two sisters-in-law volunteered as nurses in Paris hospitals. Duchamp's letters to Walter Pach describe his isolation where to be seen in public out of uniform attracted immediate suspicion. John Richardson describes the atmosphere very well and particularly the attitude of serving soldiers to non-combatants:

...Braque continued to send Picasso affectionate messages and never included him in his vehement castigations of *fainéants* (shirkers), like Delaunay. 'You remember how (Delaunay) went on about patriotism', Serge Férat wrote Soffici. 'Well the bastard ran off to Biarritz the day mobilization was ordered and profited from some previous heart problems to get invalidated out'. Another despised *fainéant* was Gleizes, who joined up and then, after marrying Juliette Roche in 1915, arranged for her politically powerful father to have him demobilised so that they could go off to New York together. (Richardson 1996: 345)

This would apply, no doubt, to Duchamp as well. With both of his brothers at the front, Duchamp's conspicuous un-military demeanour while he remained in France drew this comment from him in a letter to Walter Pach in 1915:

I'm doing some work, pretty well interrupted by a bunch of people one never sees in peacetime but whom one is forced to see by the war. (Duchamp [Naumann] 2000: 35)

Even in New York, in October 1915 Duchamp makes sure that the newspaper reporter understands the reason for his demobilisation.

I came over here, not because I couldn't paint at home, but because I hadn't anyone to talk with. I was frightfully lonely. I am excused from service on account of my heart. So I roamed about all alone. *New York Herald Tribune*.
(CAUMONT & GOUGH-COOPER 1993: unpaginated 24/10/15)

An insight into Duchamp's particular situation can be seen in his 'hospital' sketches of 1915, where he made pen and ink drawings of nurses and doctors at the hospital where his sister Suzanne worked (fig. 6.10). These unflattering, scratchy images are in contrast to the orthographic poise of his previous portrait studies. By comparison his sketch of Apollinaire while on the Jura journey in 1912, has an simplified, untroubled air (fig. 6.11). Perhaps, the nervous application captures the strain of medical staff witnessing the exponential rise of the casualty figures in 1915; however Duchamp's obduracy over the war suggests that the drawings of doctors and nurses might have given him a pretext for being out of uniform while contributing to the war effort as one of its artists. Although he may not have been formally commissioned they might appear as the productions of an artist who sheltered under the anonymity of being an 'art worker'.



Fig. 6.10
Marcel Duchamp. *Suzanne Duchamp as a nurse*
1915



Fig. 6.11
Marcel Duchamp. *Guillaume Apollinaire*
Étival 1912

6.1.6. Medical notes

Few records remain of Duchamp's military career and the central *Archive Nationale de l'Armée de la Terre* at Vincennes has disposed of the individual transcripts of ordinary soldiers from the pre-war conscript army. Paradoxically, Duchamp kept his own military service record, his *Livree*, which is now preserved in

the Philadelphia Museum of Art but no reference to a medical condition or an early discharge appears on it. In the interview with the New York Herald Tribune in 1915 (quoted in Section 6.1.5), he gives his 'heart' as a reason for his discharge. A 'heart murmur' or *insufficences cardiaque* is occasionally referred to in the Duchamp literature but his ready appropriation of the 'heart' as a metaphor for larger interconnecting systems, such as *la machine à 5 coeurs* of the 'Jura-Paris road' suggests that the distress caused by this 'heart murmur' may not have been entirely physiological⁷. The problem, if he had one, would seem to lie elsewhere and in 1914 he has to remind himself in one of the more elliptical notes in the 'Box of 1914' that:

... ; if I suppose that I am suffering a lot. (Duchamp[Sanouillet] 1973: 23)

With this unexplained 'supposition' of perhaps a phantom illness in the 'Box of 1914', he sailed for New York, setting himself on a course that would contradict his family's patriotic sense of duty. Fifty years later in his interviews with Pierre Cabanne, Duchamp remarked:

... I consider myself to be very happy. I've never had a serious illness, or melancholy or neurasthenia. (Cabanne 1971: 5)

In the event, there was no obvious deterioration of this 'heart condition' that was so serious that it influenced the outcome of his medical assessment. No other record of his malady seems to exist and, for that matter, no particular recovery seems to have been celebrated either. Duchamp's 'heart condition' does not tally with the description, published in the 'Boston Evening Transcript', four months after his arrival in New York in 1915 where.

'... a tall, slender, athletic-looking individual of twenty-eight arrived in New York ... He loves athletics, even to the extent of our American street games! He was taught some of these games during the first week of his arrival: he went at them like a boy of seven and soon out-distanced some of the most dyed-in-the-wool natives. Alfred Kreymborg. Boston Evening Transcript. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 18/07/15)

Whatever these 'street games' might have been, they were surely unsuited to a medical condition that had relieved its sufferer from the pressing concerns of his beleaguered country and furthermore – had been accepted by a board of sceptical and unsympathetic officers with a recruiting quota to fill. The French army lost a trained corporal; the question remains whether it gained anything or not in exchange. In spite of these apparent contradictions, Duchamp's word is all that there is to go on and for the time being the 'heart murmur' must stand, problematically, as the condition of his discharge.

Military exegesis of the 'Jura-Paris road'

6.2.1. The 'Jura-Paris road' — military experience

Tensions existed between the protagonists on the Jura journey that can be appreciated by looking at the service records of the three men in the automobile. Their attitudes to military service are quite distinct and it would be surprising if their contrasting views did not appear during the course of the long drive. Marcel Duchamp's description of Apollinaire as 'ordinarily a ham' makes this clear (2.3.0.)

Of the three men, Marcel Duchamp was the only one who had direct military experience although he was currently appealing against its continuation. The army remained in contact with him after 1915, and in fact required him to submit to another medical examination in New York in 1917. At one point in 1918, Duchamp even worked for the French military mission and commemorated this with the readymade 'French Military Paper'. (Schwarz 1969[2000]: 657) When *maréchal* Joffre came to New York, Duchamp went to hear him speak and scrawled the elliptical comment: *Joffre et l'allemande* into his notes⁸. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 11/05/17) He appeared as a wounded French infantryman in the propaganda film, 'Lafayette! We Come!' (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 08/07/18) and after his departure for Buenos Aires in 1918 he wrote that similarities between the Argentinean and German uniforms made him feel like a prisoner of war. (Duchamp [Naumann] 2000. 75) In spite of his rather dubious exemption, a military influence seems to have remained as a rather shadowy presence in his life.

Military records do not survive for Francis Picabia but it can be assumed that his influential contacts had kept him out of conscription before the war. Writing about him in 1914 in *Le Petit Messager des Arts et des Industries d'Arts*, Apollinaire had noted that: 'Francis Picabia must now be at the front as a painter; there is no doubt that he will capture unforgettably the authentic face of the war.' (Apollinaire 1972: 440) But Apollinaire was mistaken. Picabia avoided action with his infantry regiment by using his wife's military connections to get seconded to the general staff as a driver in Bordeaux. He can be seen in Marius de Zayas' 1915 caricature, slouching, hands in pockets with the 'A' designation of the transport corps displayed on his armband. (Camfield 1979: *illustration*. 12) Perhaps this casual appearance suggests why Picabia did not succeed as a military driver since he was recalled to his regiment in 1915. Family connections saved him again and his reprieve was in the form of a military mission that would take him overseas. He absconded in New York, spending the remainder of the war in America, Spain and finally a Swiss sanatorium. It took his wife's persuasive influence to have the consequences of his actions overlooked by the military authorities although he had to wait until 1917 before the return of his French passport. Quite how he avoided the full penalty of a court-martial is unclear.

By contrast, Guillaume Apollinaire's determination to enlist in the army in August 1914 was frustrated by repeated rejection. As an alien citizen with a criminal record, he had to wait until 1915 before

being sent to the 38th Artillery Regiment. He served with his regiment, extolling the virtues of his *canon de 75* in highly sexual poems:

*Nos fanfares éclatent dans la nuit comme ta voix
Quand je suis à cheval tu trottes près de moi
Nos 75 sont gracieux comme ton corps
Et tes cheveux sont fauves comme le feu d'un obus
qui éclate au nord^P (Apollinaire 1915: 4)*

He volunteered for the infantry where he served in the trenches until evacuated with shrapnel wounds to the head. He continued to write reviews and articles on art but never referred to Picabia, or Duchamp, again in his criticism.

6.2.2. The 'Jura-Paris road' — military dimensions

Dimensional space resonates in Marcel Duchamp's work in the period before WWI. His attendance at the Sunday gatherings at Puteaux, where the permutations of the fourth dimension were regularly debated, confirms this interest. However, his views on how it should be represented were at variance with those of his brothers or the other Puteaux cubists. (Cabanne 1971: 23-24) Duchamp's provocative correlation between sexual fulfilment and the fourth dimension was unlikely to be given much credence at these Sunday meetings. His relationship with his brothers pulled him between the bonds of family loyalty and his own desire for artistic autonomy. As has been seen, these tensions appeared in their contrasting attitudes to patriotic duty. The rupture this caused appeared in a nexus of concerns that might be defined as Duchamp's attitude to 'military space.' His two older brothers were susceptible to the call of military space — whereas Marcel was not and this ambivalence is clearly stated in his letters to Walter Pach in America. (Duchamp [Naumann] 2000: 29) Duchamp's interest in the formulations of dimensional space has been the subject of a distinguished literature and inevitably attracts the dominant share of attention today. (Henderson 1983: 116-183 & Adcock 1991: 311-350) This chapter considers a different form of dimensional space through Duchamp's 'military' definitions of it that suggest other paths of investigation leading back to his period of infantry training in 1905-06. These are first formulated in the military references that appear in his 'Jura-Paris road/109-111', and in the military details, the weapons and procedures appearing in his work that have been overlooked in the literature on Duchamp to date.

From 1911 onwards, Duchamp's cubist paintings moved beyond domestic references towards themes of automation, measurement, mapping, and the incremental division of territory that lay beyond the dimensional remit and comfortable enclosures of Puteaux. The works in which these themes emerge develop ideas about the occupation of space that, in the 'Jura-Paris road', becomes a sustained preoccupation with territory and territorial advantage. These themes reflect the military escalation along the north-eastern *hexagone* of France. This escalation was evident in a chain of strongholds and military encampments that went from the Belgian border in the north, shadowing the contested provinces of Alsace

and Lorraine and then down to the Swiss border in the east. Duchamp's journey followed a parallel below this militarised diagonal and the notes for it became the most inclusive, if obliquely stated of Duchamp's interventions that define his preoccupation with this slanting, critically important 'military space.' (fig. 6.12)

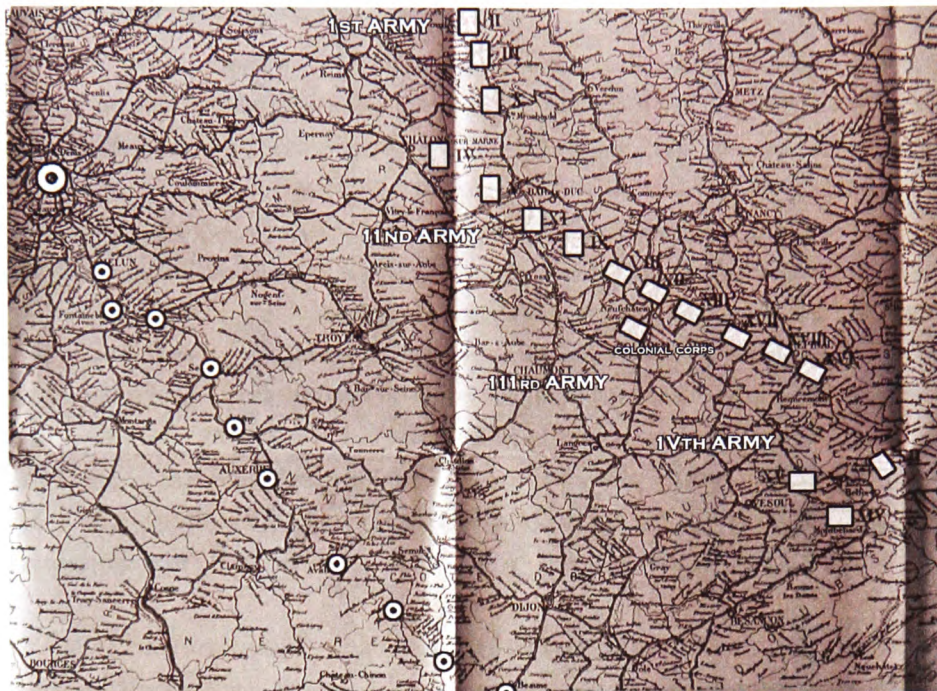


Fig. 6.12
'Strategic Deployment of the French Armies on the German and Italian Frontiers'. (Secret Map 4). Detail.

The British Army originally adapted this map from a 1900, *Carte des Chemins de Fer Français* in 1905. The French positions were plotted in a series of red rectangles. The image on the original is faint and so this author has graphically enhanced them. At the same time Duchamp's 1912 route was also plotted using this symbol, ⊙.

Even if Duchamp's negative response to militarism contradicted the national mood, military themes preoccupied him nevertheless. Following the 1870 defeat, successive governments had deflected volatile attention away from the territorial losses at home by engaging in a vigorous period of expansion abroad. The objects that appeared in Paris museums as trophies of French colonialism attested to the success of these strategies. The seminal position of African figuration within the cubist achievement was directly connected to the artefacts that appeared as a result of this expansionist policy. However, Duchamp, in his search to find ways beyond the prohibitive restrictions of cubism, appears to be concerned more with the methods rather than the trophies of French military adventurism. Unlike the cubists who drew formal solutions from plundered artefacts, Duchamp in the 'Jura-Paris road' drew from the operational procedures

of military intervention and occupation; in one of these he combines themes of colonialism with territorial expansion:

... the chief of the 5 nudes manages little by little the annexation / of the Jura-Paris road. The chief of the 5 nudes annexes to his estates, a battle / (idea of colony).
(Duchamp [Matisse] 1983: note 110)

The density and regularity of the military installations that the travellers passed *en route* provided the backdrop for their conflicting attitudes to patriotism, nationalism and ultimately conscription. Their journey was broken at Avallon, fixing it at the mid-point, which then restricts the more elastic possibilities of the itinerary to the garrison towns along *Route Nationale 6*. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 26/10/1912) They travelled through: Lons-le-Saunier, Chalons-sur-Saone, Autun, Avallon, Auxerre, Joigny, Sens, Fontainebleau, Melun, Vincennes and finally into the regimental showcase of Paris itself¹⁰.

Duchamp's description of an aggressive occupation of terrain by a detachment of co-ordinated individuals makes them all participants in an extended manoeuvre that can be interpreted as a military exercise along this road. The objective, according to the title of the note authorises an advance onto Paris from the French border. Military exercises such as this had recently taken place across a broad sweep of northeast France as part of the annual military *manoeuvres d'automne*. Large sections of the army were involved in these combined operations, intended to test equipment and tactics, and to give the previous year's recruits a taste of field experience.

6.2.3. The 'Jura-Paris road' — military/ mystical experience

The 'Jura-Paris road' has now become, in part, at least, the description of an aggressive occupation of terrain by a military force. Where it leaves any resemblance to the operations of the French army of October 1912 is in Duchamp's emphasis on a process that synthesised human potential and mechanical systems into one networking whole called the 'machine with 5 hearts' (4.1.2.) The operational success of the 'machine with 5 hearts' is achieved by absorbing the terrain, the road, the vehicle and its human affiliates into one combinatory, flowing, and timeless system. In contrast, the French army in 1912; recognised as a supremely effective marching army with remarkable powers of endurance could, according to British army reports complete the operation, marching the equivalent distance, in twenty-one days. (PRO.WO. 33.68. 1912. 24) Unaware of the advantages of Duchamp's fantastic conception, the army relied instead upon its boots and the resilience of the feet inside them to overcome the terrain. The 'machine with 5 hearts', in contrast proposes a timeless synthesis of man and machine in a balance of vital organs and reciprocating parts. The car they actually drove brought its travellers to their Paris destination in one sustained, if rain-soaked and disorientating, twelve-hour period. (Janis 1953: unpaginated)

As well as relating to military adventurism, the personnel of Duchamp's 'Jura-Paris road' derive their authority from the spiritual relationship between the army and the Catholic Church. This relationship linked the army to the politics of a conservative nationalist/ monarchist constituency while offering, at the

same time, the moral justification for expansionist and colonialist activities abroad. (Cobban 1965: 16) Military identity formed around the catholic society of the Sacred Heart, which found its material expression in the colossal basilica of the *Sacré Coeur*, now approaching completion above Montmartre and rising like a beacon for the travellers at the end of their long journey:

*Entourée de flammes ferventes Notre-Dame m'a regardé à Chartres
Le sang de votre Sacré-Coeur m'a inondé à Montmartre*¹¹ (Apollinaire 1913: 10)

The mystical dynamism of the 'machine with 5 hearts,' originates in the living organism of the basilica, already a place of vigil and prayer, before its completion and consecration in 1919. Here the artist Luc Olivier Merson (1846-1920) dedicated his ceiling mosaic to the central figure of the Sacred Heart supported by the saints of France (fig. 6.13). His frieze includes two French generals who, in 1870, fought the Germans with the *sacré coeur* emblazoned onto their regimental standard. Facing them is a frieze depicting the 'gratitude' of colonised races. Duchamp uses related themes, linked to formal religious observance of the sacred heart, in the first of his notes for the 'Jura-Paris road.'

The machine of 5 hearts will have to/ give birth to the headlight./ This headlight will be the child-God, rather/ like the primitives' Jesus./ He will be the divine blossoming of/ this machine mother.

In graphic form, I see/ him as pure machine compared to the/ more human machine-mother. He will have to be **radiant with glory**. (Duchamp [Matisse] 1983: Note 109)

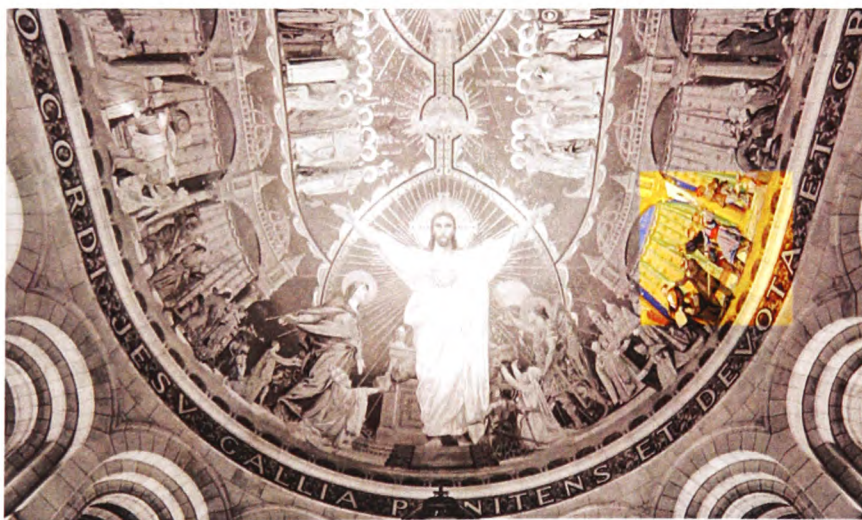


Fig. 6.13
Luc Olivier Merson. *Ceiling Mosaic*
Basilique du Sacré Coeur, Paris. 1912

The coloured inset shows two French generals with the *sacré coeur* emblazoned on their regimental standard.

In the same note, Duchamp began to develop his conception of its chief protagonist, the 'headlight-child', and although not yet fully developed, he described him simply as:

Conscripting the 'Jura-Paris road': military themes in the work of Marcel Duchamp
Kieran Lyons. University of Wales, Newport. June 2007.

This machine of 5 hearts will have to give birth to the headlight. This headlight will be the child-God, rather like the primitives' Jesus.
(Duchamp [Matisse] 1983: Note 109)

This reference to the central figure of Christian mythology refers again to the Church and its role in giving a justification that soothed the conscience of French colonial expansion. The connivance of the Catholic Church with the officer cadres, helped to mask and then deny latent anti-Semitism, resulting in the persecution of Dreyfus. This divided France politically and precipitated the decline in popularity of the army until 1911. Duchamp developed his conception of the *enfant-phare*, in 1912 in the context of this incendiary mix of militarism and religion. His incandescent, illuminated child, is in the original French, also a punning reference to the same military-mystical aura. The rhythms and regular repetitions of the phrase '*enfant-phare*' in the 'Jura-Paris road' echo the military term *le fanfare* that alludes to the position and purpose of the infantry band¹². Marching infantry columns were headed by formations of buglers or *fanfaristes* who, when attached to regimental drummers, formed a unit known as *la clique* going ahead of the main marching columns, their music fanning out ahead of them like the tail of a reversing comet (fig. 6.14):

This headlight child could graphically, be a comet, which would have its/ tail in front, this tail being an/ appendage of the headlight child.
(Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 23)



Fig. 6.14
Planche 7: Chasseurs à pied (la fanfare) (Plate 7: Light Infantry) [composition of the regimental fanfare]
1935

The phonic slippage between *enfant-phare* and the French *fanfare* does not readily translate into English. Nevertheless, it suggests a reference to the mystical aura that arises from the combinatory form of the two nouns *enfant* and *phare*. *Enfant-phare* has been mechanistically translated into English as the 'headlight-child', taking its lead from the automotive experience of the journey. This technical reading denies a more illusive implication, investing the term with an ethereal, frankly religious sense that goes closer to the idea of *phare* in its original meaning of a glowing beacon and perhaps transmitted from a lighthouse as André Breton suggests in the title of his seminal essay *Phare de la Mariée* before the English translation

established the meaning as a 'headlight' (2.1.2). The English translation, quoted in the extract above, misses the power of the more profound French original.

*Cette machine à 5 cœurs devra/ enfanter le phare. Ce phare sera l'enfant-Dieu.
Rappelant / assez le Jésus des primitifs. / Il sera l'épanouissement divin de / cette
machine-mère. (Duchamp [Matisse] 1983: Note 109)*

The military preoccupation — eight works

6.3.1. 1909 — *Éxpérience* (cartoon)



Fig. 6.15
Marcel Duchamp
Éxpérience
1909

The caption reads:
Éxpérience/

- *Je t'en ficherais, des p'tits lieutenants ... ton père est capitaine, ça suffit.*

The voice of experience/

- *I'm fed up with your little lieutenants ... your father's the captain here, that's enough¹³.*

In 1909 Marcel Duchamp published drawings illustrating a variety of subjects, several of which offer an insight into the relationship between the civil and military world. The discrepancy between the army's arrogant self-image and a public who viewed it with suspicion gradually comes to the fore at this time. Duchamp's drawings reflect this unease and on occasion his attention is directed towards a specific military target where the interplay between the civilian world and military authority, following the Dreyfus case comes into view.

The earliest of these works is the 1909 *Éxpérience*, an anecdotal drawing, where a mother and her daughter are discussing the prospect of the daughter's marriage to an army subaltern (fig. 6.15). It comments unfavourably on a stipulation over the financial status of future army brides and the repeal of a military law regulating the size of the dowry. (Porch 1981: 79) Officers in the French army were badly paid in comparison to their German and English counterparts and the army insisted on financially independent wives who would contribute towards the maintenance and life-style that the position demanded. Until the relaxation of this regulation, underpaid French junior officers like the importunate *lieutenant* in Duchamp's cartoon, who failed to attract financially suitable partners, simply remained unmarried until promoted¹⁴.

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With the relaxation of the standing order, the number of married officers began to rise whereas their material wealth and social standing declined under the burden of supporting less wealthy wives. The parents of eligible daughters, as the cartoon suggests, treated the repeal of military law with disdain, viewing it as a cynical piece of rapprochement at a time when the army needed to re-integrate with the civilian population.

Duchamp's cartoon, therefore, comments on this change in the marriage regulations for officers and his commentary on this change in legislation provides an early indication of his interest in the social contract in marriage. It predicts a line of inquiry that would find its ultimate form in the complex and very unequal relationship between the Bachelors and the insatiable Bride in the 'Large Glass.' In the instance of Duchamp's cartoon, the situation is even more critical since the female protagonist comes from a military family and so the army is therefore rejecting itself.

6.3.2. 1911 — *Coffee Mill*

Duchamp's interest in military subject matter began to focus on failure, inadequacy and inefficiency and of course in a large organization like the army, evidence was relatively easy to find. However Duchamp's pessimistic speculations dealt with his subject with regard to endemic failure as well as its relations with the civil population as demonstrated in his cartoon *Expérience*. Evidence of this problematic is to be found in his 'Coffee Mill' of 1911, ostensibly his contribution to a joint project to decorate his brother's kitchen in Puteaux (fig. 6.17). His painting, famously, dismantles the mechanism, displaying its workings in plan and elevation with an arrow to indicate the moving parts; this was a severely functional choice for a kitchen ornament; but a very different association might explain that Duchamp's choice was even more perverse and based on the fact that coffee grinders, or *moulins à café* had become, in the dismissive vernacular of the day, the derogatory term for the cumbersome, badly made, unreliable machine-guns that were being unsuccessfully introduced to infantry units of the French army.

The fact that these machine guns were manufactured at the state run *Atelier de Construction de Puteaux* provides a contextual resonance and an extra twist to the painting's morbid specificity. In fact the *Puteaux* weapons were withdrawn in 1907 in favour of *Saint Étienne* machine guns, which proved to be little better and were withdrawn in 1915 (fig. 6.18). This failure to appreciate the potential of machine guns had dreadful consequences when the French army advanced into the path of automatic fire in August 1914. A measure of the low esteem in which these weapons were held, before the war, can be demonstrated by the fact that they do not appear in French military painting of the period. The fact that Duchamp's painting was made from German paint, makes it even more problematic. That it would go to his brother, the dutiful military reservist, makes it a morbid and sinister kitchen decoration. Thus the title of Duchamp's sombre little painting reverberates with the low esteem of the army for its ineffectual machine-guns, while it disparages, by association, Puteaux, their place of manufacture and where his brothers lead their creative lives¹⁵. Infantrymen also carried real coffee mills as part of their regulation *batterie de cuisine*. Aside from

the purely domestic association of *le moulin à café*, the meaning of Duchamp's painting incorporates the social tensions of the Puteaux kitchen, the bivouac equipment that formed part of the infantryman's burden and finally the frustrations associated with the discredited infantry weapon.

In an unexpected twist to the history of this painting that Duchamp could not have predicted in 1911, the Swedish artist Olaf Gulbranson made a cartoon in 1916 and published it in the German satirical magazine *Simplicimus*. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 16/05/16) It shows a convalescing German soldier, looking at paintings in a gallery of modern art (6.16). He is in front of a picture that shows a devastated battlefield. A dreadful machine is hurling out fragments of limbs and body parts. Mesmerised by the scene, Gulbranson wounded soldier remarks that:

'The War they call this picture? Well, it's not as dreadful as that!'
(Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 16/05/16)



Fig. 6.16
Olaf Gulbransson
'The War they call this picture? Well, it's not as dreadful as that!'
1916

The machine that is throwing out the body parts is Marcel Duchamp's *Moulin à Café*. It was probably seen and then copied from Apollinaire's 'The Cubist Painters' (1913). The inclusion of Duchamp's paintings within Apollinaire's selection would have been under discussion on the Jura journey in 1912.



Fig. 6.17
Marcel Duchamp
Coffee Mill 1911



Fig. 6.18
Raoul Trémolières
Mitrailleuse de la Manufacture de Saint Étienne
1915

6.3.3. 1912 — *Nude Descending a Staircase, no.2* — Duchamp's *démultiplication*

French government attitudes to conscription were discussed in terms of *surmenage*, a national condition of lassitude and exhaustion that was viewed seriously as an epidemic afflicting French youth, and affecting therefore the abilities of conscripts to perform their military duties (5.3.0). New training directives were issued to combat the problem from 1900, emphasising moral and physical education, and hygiene. A graduated programme of exercises was adopted that replaced a previous approach whereby troops would become inured to exhaustion, simply by exposure to it. By the time of Marcel Duchamp's national service these reforms were being implemented throughout the regimental system; his own 39th Infantry Regiment had been involved with hygiene reforms that were initiated when it was stationed at Fort Mont Valérien in 1887. The academician Eugène Chaperon had been on hand to watch the 39th at their ablutions and painted the mandatory toilette where it was performed under regimental supervision (see fig. 5.5). As well as the hygiene reforms in the regiment, Duchamp, was obviously aware of the current version of the army's training *Manuel d'Infanterie* for non-commissioned officers, which began with over one hundred pages of illustrated exercises designed to bring troops to battle-ready fitness. These began by concentrating on balance and muscle flexion and continued with more complex movements for leaping and climbing

obstacles. Within ten pages the exercises begin to incorporate the rifle and bayonet (fig. 6.19). Illustration in this manual are reminiscent of the photographs created by the scientist and chronophotographer Étienne-Jules Marey, whose studies in movement and balance were commissioned by the French army after 1883. Marey's 1889, 'Soldier in Preparation of an Experiment' in which his subject, naked except for his *kepi*, haversack and bayonet stands with extended arms, as if to receive an invisible rifle resting in the shadow area of the photograph (fig. 6.20).

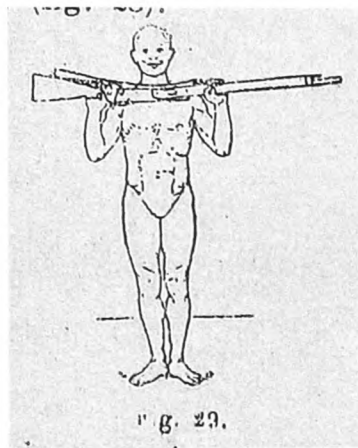


Fig. 6.19
Illustration: *Mouvements Simples des Bras*
Manuel d'Infanterie
1910

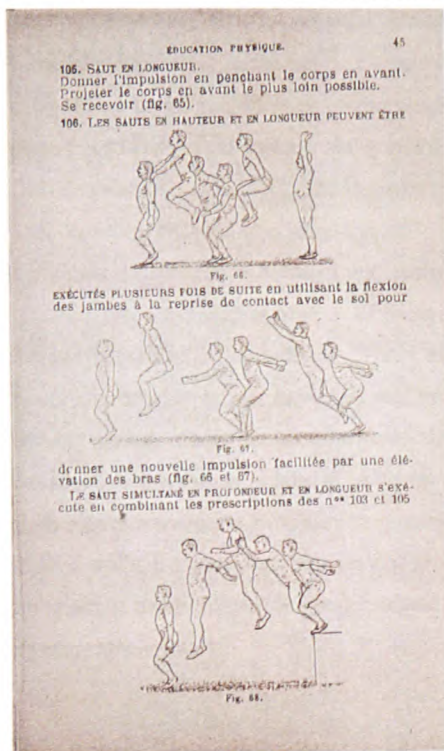


Fig. 6.20
Étienne-Jules Marey
Soldier in Preparation of an Experiment
1889

Marey's chronophotographic studies of human movement, have become a regularly cited reference for Duchamp's 1911-12 series of paintings 'Nude Descending a Staircase' and certain formal similarities in Duchamp's painting have been linked to the results of Marey's photographic experiments (Cabanne 1971: 34, Golding 1973: 41). What is perhaps less well known is that in commissioning these photographs, the army transcribed them into line drawings, for use in their infantry training manual: *Manuel d'Infanterie à l'usage des sous-officiers, caporaux, et élèves caporaux*. It is intriguing to see that some of the more complex movements in the manual, such as jumping over hurdles, are sequentially depicted and are also strikingly similar to Marey's photographs such as the soldier performing a long jump of 1891. When the image in the 1910 Infantry Manual is laid over the 1891 chronophotograph the similarity between the images is clear and explicit (figs. 6.21-6.22a).

Commentators have pondered on the gender and the prurience of Duchamp's 'Nude', but if the military connection is maintained, the grim, all-male arcana of a military barracks, between 1905-1912,

makes a compelling context for what may turn out to be a naked soldier descending; but descending to what? To his enforced ablution under the casual inspection of an NCO on hose-pipe duty? Perhaps more critically to yet another medical inspection that would determine the gravity of an *insufficiencies cardiaque* and his continuing service in the army? This is conjecture, and yet it is intriguing that at the age of eighteen Duchamp was made aware of Marey's sequential photographs, provoking his interest in the *démultiplifications* of the body through the illustrations in this infantry manual.



reprise de contact avec le sol pou



Fig. 67.

Fig. 6.21 (left)
Illustration: *Education Physique.*
Manuel d'Infanterie
1910

Fig. 6.22
Étienne-Jules Marey.
'Soldier Performing a Long Jump.' 1889.

Fig. 6.22a Composite Image

6.3.4. 1913 — *Three Standard Stoppages*

1914 — *Network of Stoppages*

From 1911 onwards, Marcel Duchamp's paintings speculated on movement: 'Sad Young Man on a Train' (1911), 'Nude Descending a Staircase' (1912) and the generic swift nudes in the 'King and Queen' paintings and studies from later on in 1912. All these point towards ideas that, despite their place within cubist debates, advance themes of measurement, mapping and the incremental division of territory that lay beyond the interests of the Puteaux group. The occupation of space that Duchamp addresses here is part of a sustained preoccupation with territory and territorial advantage that he continued to develop in the 'Jura-Paris road.' Duchamp's disquiet over, what may be called, 'military space', is indicated, in the period after 1912, returning to his military experience that began in 1905. At this time the rigid authority, the procedures and regulations of military life that soldiers endure, while routinely attempting to twist to their

own advantage would begin to inform his conception of 'military space.' Duchamp's exposure to covert patterns of insubordinate behaviour, at the age of eighteen, preceded his explorations into the distortions of chance by several years.

Defined here as a choice between direct and indirect pathways through a given set of military instructions, Duchamp's ideas on chance were conditional on his relationship with the army in 1905-1906, which in turn was dominated by his determination to gain a military discharge on medical grounds after 1909. The process that he adopted would no doubt benefit from the lessons he learned in military subversiveness while in the ranks. Chance and distortion become important themes after 1912, which get exemplified in his major work of the period, 'Three Standard Stoppages' (1913). Here a comparison is played out between the tension along a taught line of thread, and its relaxation as the thread is released to float down onto a blue cloth. The thread, landing by chance, becomes a distorted version of a metric truth. This meeting between the unrestrained tracery of a free falling thread and the regular cloth beneath highlights the difference between regulation and disorder, between tension and relaxation, of being held at attention and remaining at ease — of being restrained by conscription and eventually being allowed to sail beyond its reach. In parenthesis, 'Three Standard Stoppages' raises questions over whether the sons of bourgeois families would have had any familiarity at all with the materials of menial servitude, such as darning thread, where the family *domestiques* would have done this work for them. With this military connection, provisional repairs to uniforms and other articles of kit would suddenly become necessary and furthermore it suggests a military provenance for the blue cloth forming the ground for Duchamp's work. Cutting strips from his dark blue service greatcoat and adapting them for this impractical experiment would be an act of insubordinate *bricolage*, which would certainly make a fitting end to an unwelcome episode as an army conscript.

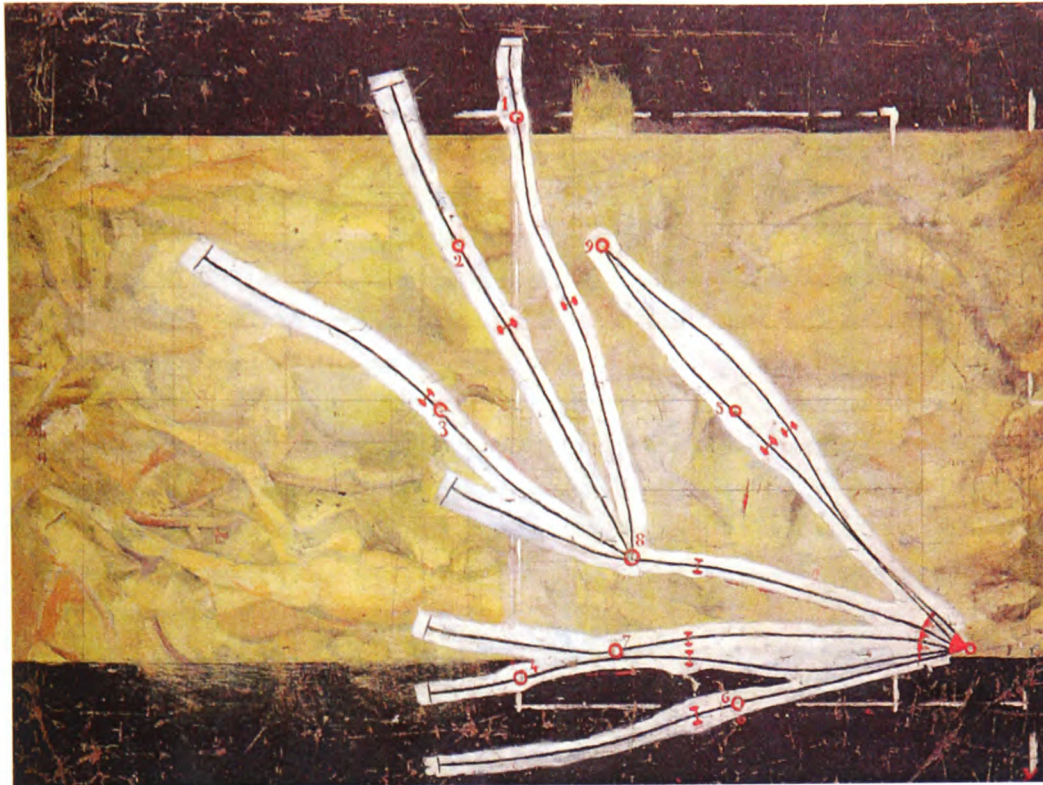


Fig. 6.23
Marcel Duchamp. *Network of Stoppages*.
1913.

This casually noncompliant process was exchanged in 1914 for a more deliberate one in a painting called, 'Network of Stoppages' (fig. 6.23). In this painting a set of diagrammatic lines fan out into nine possible routes in an extensive traverse of what looks like the map of a terrain. A second glance reveals that what at first appeared to be a relief map of an unspecified territory, is in fact the copy of an earlier painting, which Duchamp had abandoned, which he then rotated onto its side to deny its pictorial logic. He subdued the colour balance of the original and then added the coordinates of an unrelated work in white paint, which is also laid on its side. Within the nine routes or 'stoppages', routes five and nine meet at an emphatically ringed terminal node, which returns the signal, or perhaps the advance to its original point of departure. Route eight, as if to compensate for this, bifurcates into a deployment of three additional trajectories. This forms a palimpsest over which he reproduced the curving direction lines that were determined as a result of his experiments with thread in the 'Three Standard Stoppages' producing the affect of a topographical map that has been subsequently adjusted with this emphatic sketch-plan and deployment of an unspecified invasion of territory.

6.3.5. 1914 — *Cuirassier (Cemetery of Uniforms)*

Although Duchamp was away from the fighting in the opening stages of WWI his non-combatant status attracted attention in ways that he would not be able to avoid. He hinted at this in letters to Walter Pach in New York. At the outbreak of war, his brothers rejoined their regiments as infantry and cavalry reservists while Marcel, eleven years younger, avoided military service altogether. Life out of uniform would complicate his social life as well as his relationships with his family and this estrangement suggests a crisis in family outlook, which stretches back to the rejection of the 'Nude Descending a Staircase, no.2' at the *Salon des Indépendants* in 1912. It can be traced to their differing attitude to the army and conscription at the time of the Dreyfus affair. The difference was underlined even more forcefully when Suzanne, Marcel's closest sister followed the example of the elder brothers by volunteering for nursing duties. The prospect of his siblings getting back into uniform, or trying new ones on, creates the back-drop to his preparatory work on the 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries' in what was to become the dispirited huddle of conscripted males in the lower sector of the 'Large Glass'. This group included the trooper of a regiment of heavy cavalry known as les *Cuirassiers*.

It is consistent with the argument of this thesis that amongst all of the regiments of the French army, the one that Duchamp would select for inclusion in his disconsolate and inept 'Cemetery of Uniforms' would be a *cuirassier*. As the previous chapter shows, new weapons had undermined the effectiveness of this unit, which now became vulnerable in modern warfare, while at the same time retaining its misplaced and vainglorious appeal (5.8.0.) An illustration of this disparity between a regiment that enshrines a national mystique of heroic determination and its antiquated, outmoded reality could be seen in the *salle des mariages* at the *hôtel de ville* in Neuilly. Here, in 1913, the academician Albert Aublet (1851-1938) had unveiled his frieze on the stages of life, in which *Jeunesse* was epitomised by a young *cuirassier* steadying his rearing charger while his beloved clings to him in a final appeal before he turns away to obey the call of duty (fig. 6.24). The competing themes of marital and national obligation to which Aublet refers were the ones that Duchamp, working in Neuilly at the same time, began to problematise with his own *cuirassier* within the formation of the other conscripted Bachelors of the 'Bride stripped Bare by her Bachelors, Even.' However, the nobility of Aublet's gesture gets diverted towards less wholesome conclusions in Duchamp.

This emblematic idea of the *cuirassier* might also be exemplified in Raymond Duchamp-Villon's series of sculptures that culminate in the rearing, *Grand Cheval* of 1912-14 (fig. 6.25). Duchamp-Villon, a cavalry reservist himself conveys, what could be, the turbulent dynamism of the charging *cuirassier*¹⁶. In this sculpture he synthesises the swagger and armoured confidence that would be consistent with a cavalry theme and conveys the illusionary *élan* that sustained the *cuirassier* regiments in the popular imagination. In consequence of the national emergency during the Agadir crisis, the regiments gained a reprieve at the

military review in March 1912. (Robichon 1998: 133) Duchamp-Villon began his series of sculptures in the same year.



Fig. 6.24
Albert Aublet
Jeunesse
1913



Fig. 6.25
Raymond Duchamp-Villon
Grand Cheval
1914

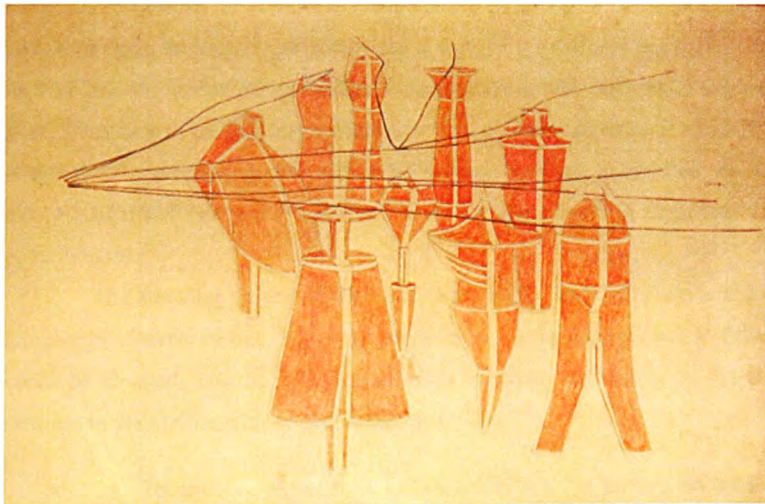


Fig. 6.26
Marcel Duchamp. *Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries, no.2*. 1914

Marcel Duchamp, on the other hand, buries his cavalryman along with the other Malic Moulds within his 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries.' His *cuirassier* cuts a doleful figure compared to the stereotypical model (6.26). In Duchamp, the headless, horse-less, hopeless *cuirassier* becomes the military representative of professional inadequacy. The pathetically small, toy cannon that the Bachelors bring to

bear fails to make contact with the desiring *Bride*, splashing short of her target area and inadequately responding to the force of her erotic behaviour. This technological failure caused by the range and capacity of the bachelors' apparatus would coincide with a military reality. In 1914, during the month-long retreat of the French army back towards Paris, *cuirassiers* suffered as badly as other units of the retreating army, but when the advantage turned in favour of the French 1st army, the *cuirassiers* were unable to use their exhausted horses to exploit the turn of events. It was left to the remaining artillery and infantry at the Battle of the Marne to prevent Paris, with Duchamp in it, from being overrun. For the remainder of the war, the *cuirassiers* with their antiquated uniforms were reduced to the status of foot soldiers, in the trenches alongside the infantry whom they traditionally despised.

6.3.6. 1914 *Box of 1914* and *Éloignement* — note

The clearest indications of Marcel Duchamp's views on the French military preparations are summarised in a single note called *Éloignement*, officially translated by Sanouillet as 'Deferment', but argued in this thesis as 'Disengagement' (see Chapter 5.4.4). He carefully photographed this note and duplicated the copies into five different photographic boxes in what became known as the 'Box of 1914'. Each box contains fifteen other photographs of hand-written notes and aphorisms, which he assembled in the secretive atmosphere before his departure for America. These sixteen notes had a particular resonance for Duchamp, which he gave to friends, perhaps for safe keeping, in light of the national emergency. One of these collections found its way into the hands of his brother Jacques Villon, who apparently neglected it for the next forty-nine years. This lack of interest bears witness to their different aspirations and Villon's disapproval of Duchamp at this time of emergency. For Villon his brother, now out of sight on the other side of the Atlantic, was also out of mind. His numerous letters from the front mention Raymond with reasonable regularity, but never Marcel.

The opening stages of the war went badly and the French army had to retreat across 450 kilometres of territory that they were supposed to be defending, back to Paris before the German advance could be stopped. On the 29th August, after a month of fighting, a French military communiqué was released to the civilian authorities stating that:

The situation on our front, from the Somme to the Vosges, has remained unchanged during the past twenty-four hours. The speed of the German advance seems to have slackened. (Blond 1962: 13)

The German army with its heavier artillery had simply overwhelmed the French forces. It was now moving on Paris and this caused the government to evacuate to Bordeaux. Duchamp's reaction to this fighting, which brought the battle to the river Marne and demonstrably a mere taxi ride away from his Paris suburb, can only be surmised¹⁷. He was about to slip away to America, which meant that he was already prepared to abandon his parents, while leaving his older brothers to fight with their regiments and his sisters to tend to

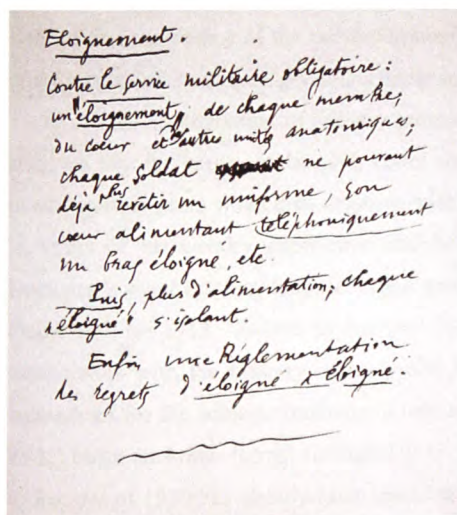
the wounded in Paris hospitals. The 'Box of 1914' and the photographed notes within them were created at this time of private crisis when he would discard family and national loyalties. Perhaps by turning the notes into photographic reproductions, he invested them with greater authority than they might otherwise have had; in fact the 'Box of 1914' becomes the repository for future projects and should be seen as the distillation of his creative intentions, beyond the 'Large Glass'. Within Duchamp's larger body of notes for the 'Green Box', he makes frequent reference to the idea of a precious container for devotional objects, but in the uncertain circumstances of August 1914, he packaged his notes in a functional way that would allow them to adapt and not draw attention to themselves in changing emergencies. (Duchamp [Matisse] 1980: unpaginated note 178) Duchamp could, of course, simply have copied out the notes five times and then given them to friends for safe keeping, but the photographic process would enhance their importance, reducing the likelihood of accidental loss — although in Villon's case this strategy seems barely to have worked.

Within the 'Box of 1914', the *Éloignement* note stands out from the others because of its relationship to the international crisis and it summarises Duchamp's preoccupations with the military and political agendas of the time (6.27). It begins with Duchamp's announcement of his opposition to compulsory military service and it was probably provoked by the re-instatement, in 1913, of the 'Three-Year Law' extending the period of compulsory military service and thus overturning the legislation that allowed his own military 'disengagement' in 1905. This was one of President Poincaré's early political initiatives and in this statement Duchamp reveals his opposition to the Poincaré agenda, which was single-minded in its devotion to dislodging the much larger German army, stationed in 1913, on the French side of the Rhine in Alsace and Lorraine. The three-year law would bolster the French army with more troops by providing reserve regiments made available by this longer conscription period.

Éloignement (fig. 6.27) begins outspokenly with the statement: 'Against compulsory military service' (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 23), followed by a range of oblique observations in a list of contentious military subjects. The list includes the uniform in which soldiers fought and their inability to return to it after the trauma of fighting. Duchamp's condemnation necessarily embraces the failed experiments conducted by the army from the early 1900's to design a uniform that would achieve the contradiction of proclaiming itself as French while being less conspicuously visible on the battlefield. He then describes the consequences of this warfare in terms of a catastrophic dispersal of ruptured organs and limbs. The rendering of the 'military' body to this abject state is because of the failure of the 'uniform' to prevent this. Duchamp uses the term 'uniform' in its metonymic sense to convey a larger, more abstract concept, than the garment of the individual soldier. He uses no such abstraction for the wounded soldiers when he caustically suggests that their dismembered organs might be revitalised *téléphoniquement*, via a network that, so far, the army had not invested in¹⁸. Telephonically, the army might reconnect its scattered remains for re-use — if only for a limited period. This note, suggests Duchamp's pessimistic concerns about the lack of provision for an interconnected conception of military space, he demonstrates an interest

in remote communication, or 'communication at a distance', and so *Éloignement*, provides an inventory of Duchamp's preoccupations at the start of the war. More immediately, the inclusion of *Éloignement* within the 'Box of 1914' testifies to his concern about the issue of conscription in advance of his own uncertain release from service. More generally, it describes a lack of fit between the army and its aspirations to sustain a war across battlefronts where new forms of communication would be needed.

Duchamp seems to register his unease about the army's resistance to strategies that proposed an alternative to the *élan* of the infantry assault. The army had developed a theory of war that devalued the importance of defensive weapons; however, unstoppable momentum depended on both the head and the heart operating as one. Lacking a communications system that would function across the fluctuating terrain of total warfare, the point in *Éloignement* is made. The communication systems that function at the heart of both the 'Jura-Paris road' and *Éloignement* rely upon the interconnectivity of dispersed units, systematically dispersed in the case of the '5 nudes' of the 'Jura-Paris road' but chaotically in the case of the limbs and hearts of *Éloignement*. The 'Jura-Paris road' advances, confidently, towards its objective in a sequence of complex spatial manoeuvres, switching between modes of amplitude and the simple reduction to a straight line. In contrast *Éloignement* imagines the exhausted aftermath of an operation and the cynical manipulation of seriously disabled troops. Whereas the 1912 'Jura-Paris road' projected a metaphysical speculation, the bleak positivism of *Éloignement* is conveyed in the language of perverse army *guignol* and anticipates the gallows humour of the front line in 1914. It is unlikely that Duchamp's protest went any further nevertheless the note gives a bleak indication of his outlook. The casualties of 1914-1915 would remain *téléphoniquement* disengaged as dispersed fragments in a tragic field of figures in permanent *éloignement*. Duchamp's note closes with a *Réglementation de regrets*.



Disengagement

Against compulsory military service:

a 'disengagement' of limbs, of hearts and other anatomical parts; each soldier is unable to get back into uniform, hearts supply disengaged limbs *téléphoniquement* etc.

Then no further supply; each 'disengaged' limb is isolated. Finally a Regulation of regrets from one "disengagement" to another

Fig. 6.27
Marcel Duchamp. *Éloignement*. 1914

Translation by the author.

6.3.7. 1917 — toy cannon

1915-1923 — *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*

Although the dates for the 'Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even' are listed as 1915-1923, they do not take proper account of the fact that Marcel Duchamp began the preparatory notes and preliminary sketches in 1913. If this additional period is taken into account, then the years that he was involved with the project span the period of the 1914-1918 war. Duchamp developed its thematic urgency, perhaps even its defining characteristic, in the build-up of military tension and then gradually lost this momentum in the aftermath of the war. It is unsurprising therefore, to find Duchamp's military preoccupation and more specifically his pessimistic interpretation of them reflected here. Duchamp seems to be emphasising a failure or at least a lack of fit between the military aspirations of the time and the procedures that were put in place to achieve them. Much of this was centred on conscription and equipment and various examples have been discussed in this survey. The bayonet for the 1886 Lebel standard issue rifle has already been identified. Duchamp's bayonet in the 'Glass' is unusually truncated, perhaps even broken; nevertheless he uses this defective implement to secure the rollers of the 'Chocolate Grinder' in the expedient *bricolage* of soldiers who have to make do with damaged or faulty equipment¹⁹. The precarious future of the *cuirassiers* has also been discussed. The 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries' has been considered in the context of the prevailing obligation to military duty within Duchamp's own family and the 'Malic Moulds' have been discussed as a unit of conscripted men, making up a typical squad in wartime. All of these men, including the *curé* were eligible for conscription²⁰. Perhaps the only exemption might have been the stationmaster in light of the importance of the railway system in the French battle plan of 1914. The stationmaster was an afterthought and must have given Duchamp some difficulties over his incorporation.

This accumulation of military paraphernalia and equipment in the lower half of the 'Large Glass' suggests that the entire mechanical, lower section might be Duchamp's response to the bombastic cubist practice of his peers when they engaged with the military subject. Duchamp-Villon has already been cited in terms of his cavalry experience and how this became the inspiration behind the *Grand Cheval*. Duchamp's other brother, Jacques Villon made preparatory sketches for his cubist treatment of a familiar theme with his 1913, '*Soldats en Marche*'. The studies were made in 1912, the same year that he was on manoeuvres with the infantry reserves and it is clear that this routine training had not diminished his enthusiasm for the subject. Duchamp's own elusive drawing for the 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries, no.1,' bears an ironic formal relationship to the preparatory drawing by Villon. Roger de La Fresnaye's *Cuirassier* of 1910 has already been cited, but his flag waving '*L'Artillerie*' of 1912 further entrenches the misplaced confidence of an army in denial over its archaic uniform and inappropriate strategies (fig. 6.28). '*L'Artillerie*' shows mounted artillery passing in front of an infantry *fanfare* as it gallops into battle. The

details of the gun have been simplified into a toy but it is clearly modelled on the *Materiel de 75mm Mle 1897*, better known as the *soixante-quinze* or 75mm field gun. This was the most successful field artillery weapon of its day (fig. 6.29). Erotically anthropomorphised by Apollinaire, the *soixante-quinze* had a reputation for rapid fire and accuracy based on a hydraulic recoil mechanism and had become by 1914 the defining weapon of the army's attacking strategy. Attention should have been given, however, to the fact that it had only seen action in colonial wars, such as the Boxer Rebellion (1901) and never against an industrial nation with a larger army and bigger guns at its disposal. In the early battles of 1914 the larger German weapons annihilated the French 75's and their crews, and it was not until the German advance, had outstripped the capacity of their heavy artillery to keep up that the remaining French 75s could be deployed to full effect at the Battle of the Marne. Nevertheless the artillery strategists had not predicted the ensuing trench war and the 75s could not deliver the deep penetration shells that were necessary for trench warfare after the Marne. The entry in Wikipedia for the 75 closes with this sobering remark:

The excessive reliance on the 75mm field gun, a doctrine developed by the General Staff during the pre-war years, cost hundreds of thousands of French lives that were lost during the unsuccessful Joffre offensives (Artois/Champagne) that took place during the year 1915²¹.



Fig. 6.28
Roger de La Fresnaye
L'Artillerie
1911

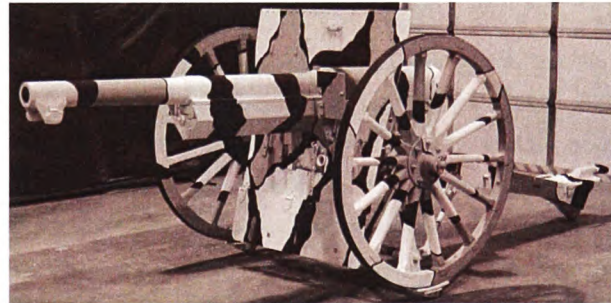


Fig. 6.29
Canon de Soixante-Quinze (camouflage design circa 1917)
1897

Duchamp refers to a *canon* in his notes, which was brought into service within the narrative of the 'Large Glass'. (Duchamp [Sanouillet] 1973: 35) The weapon must have been deployed at the limit of its range because the accuracy was poor with the nine shots landing in three salvos in a pattern that failed to land on target. Duchamp's gun fired matchsticks, primed with fresh paint from which it can be determined that this was a toy, but Duchamp's use of French does not distinguish between a real gun and a toy cannon (there is no equivalent in French) and the type of gun is identified by its projectile only. Nevertheless, the reputation of the 75 was established long before its failures on the Western front, and was no doubt the model for a stock of representations in the toyshops of both Paris and New York ²² (figs 30 & 30a.) Duchamp's 'toy

cannon', bought perhaps for the infant son of his friend Walter Pach²³, was in all probability, modelled on the gun that was designed, but failed, to stop the oncoming waves of German infantry until the Battle of the Marne permitted a temporary change in tactics



Fig. 6.30
Postcard. *Bonne Année*
1915



Fig. 6.30a
Detail of postcard showing French 75mm toy cannon
1915

Duchamp's 'toy cannon' is the final example of the prevailing military associations in the 'Large Glass' that furthermore reveal a continuing pessimism about the war and France's flight towards it fuelled by a desire for revenge over the losses in Alsace and Lorraine. Duchamp's pessimism was perhaps first displayed in the seminal 'Jura-Paris road' of 1912, where the journey shadows the boundary of this area of military preparation. The automobile-ride would permit a survey of this saturated military presence and Duchamp invokes this in his reinterpretation of the journey as a military exercise, first in terms of a colonial conquest, then a battle in 'Jura-Paris 110/111' and finally as an advance across a problematic terrain in 'Jura-Paris/GB'. The latent disquiet of this theme becomes amplified into the pessimism of the *Éloignement* note, in 1914, and its tragic accumulation of fragmented bodies with Duchamp's bitterly ironic *téléphonique* re-connection of these bodies. This grim forecast of human fragmentation is picked up again in the note on the 'Large Glass' that deals with the toy cannon and his euphemistic *corps démultiplié* that nevertheless, shockingly, interprets the intended affects of the *canon de 75*. (Duchamp 1994: 54) Consequently, military associations permeate the lower section of the 'Glass', which through the toy cannon detonate (ineffectively) into the top panel drawing both sections of the 'Glass' into an overall military orbit. In fact, viewed this way the whole of the Bride's section might be viewed as a terrifying, and hostile sky above the 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries'.

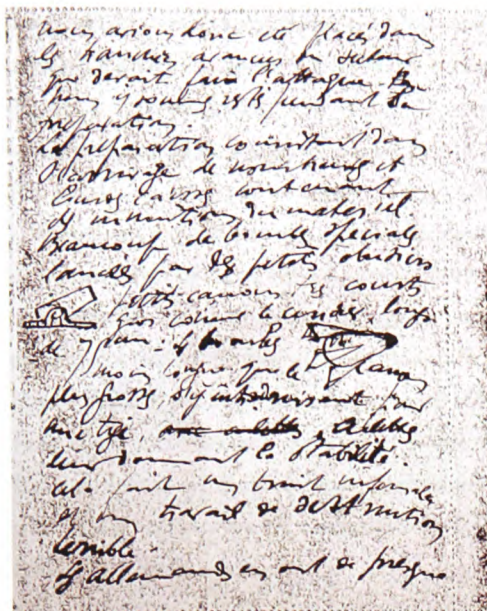


Fig. 6.31
Jacques Villon
Letter from the front 1915-1917

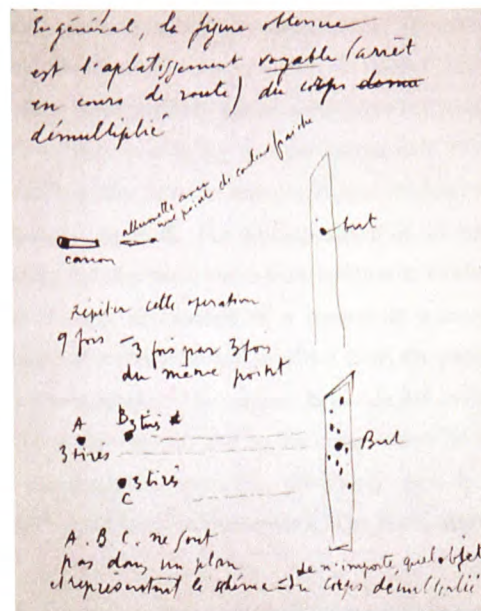


Fig. 6.32
Marcel Duchamp
Note: Tirés 1915-1917

During the first two years of the war, Marcel's brother Jacques Villon served in the trenches with the 21st infantry regiment and from here he sent letters describing the hostile bombardments back to his wife. These letters were frequently written under difficult conditions. Amidst indecipherable passages can be found details and little diagrams and sketches of the guns and ordnance that he saw that profoundly affected his senses and his surroundings. In the earlier stages of the war, while still in France, Duchamp would report on the movements of his brothers to interested friends in America and it is conceivable therefore that similar information from subsequent letters, from Villon and others would be relayed to him in New York, before the submarine war began to disrupt American communications with Europe (fig. 6.31) By the end of the war Duchamp would have to admit that he had lost contact with his brothers and did not know about Raymond's death until long after the fact (Duchamp [Naumann] 2000: 31). Whether or not these descriptions continued to reach Duchamp, to trouble him in the dust and grime of his New York studio where the 'Large Glass' was gradually emerging is uncertain. It is more certain, nevertheless, that the impulse to deploy a toy cannon, in a futile bid to contend with the fury of the bride, could be anything other than an informed gesture that was familiar with the operational status of the ordnance, deployed overseas, in the war to which the rest of his family was committed (fig. 6.32.)

6.4.0. 1945 — Cover for 'View' Magazine 1945

Thirty years later, military themes appeared again with Marcel Duchamp's design for the title page of the journal *View*; this magazine had dedicated its March 1945 issue to Duchamp (fig. 6.33), and Duchamp,

being asked to create a design for the cover returned, once again, to his military thematic. On the cover he arranged a photomontage of a wine bottle bearing his old *Certificat de bonne conduit*, his military service record of forty years earlier (fig. 6.34). The evidence from these military papers re-invokes his struggle with the conscription boards and shows that Duchamp's military availability was due to last until 1930²⁴. His decision to use his army papers, so long after the fact suggests how the military themes lingered with Duchamp and how these were elided with personal aspect of his work. The military aspect of the image illustrated on the cover of *View*, is emphasised by the horizontal alignment of the wine bottle with an abrupt and vertically rising discharge of smoke escaping as if from the muzzle of a cannon in a cubistic realignment that recalls the vertically descending discharge of coffee from his *Moulin à Café*, the painting that he made at the beginning of this period of military preoccupation. The cannon/ bottle on the cover of *View* menaces a backdrop made up of points of light on a blue ground and so the composition invokes familiar themes of technological determination and dimensional uncertainty, previously seen in the relationship between the toy cannon and the 'Milky Way' of his wartime masterwork 'The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even'.



Fig. 6.33
Marcel Duchamp
'View' (Cover)
1945



Fig.6.34
Marcel Duchamp
Certificat de Bonne Conduite
Valid. 19051930

¹ For the particular forms of northern French nationalism to which the cubists affiliated themselves see: Antliff. 1992: 106-134.

² The two older brothers will be referred to by their professional names. Gaston, the older brother, became Jacques Villon and the younger brother took on the name Raymond Duchamp-Villon.

³ The *bataillon scolaire* movement, in which boys were taught military skills was still an active force in Nationalist politics at the time. However, the uniform of the *bataillon* was different to the one that Marcel Duchamp wears in this photograph.

⁴ Duchamp comments on seeing cubist paintings in Berlin in 1912 in: Naumann. 2000: 25.

⁵ See Vauxcelles' language in his riposte to Metzinger as reported by Apollinaire in 1912. This also relates to the sensitivities of Frenchmen in relation to duelling. (Berenson 1992: 169-207) After the same Salon d'Automne, cubist painters came under attack from Nationalist politicians in the Assembly. Albert Gleizes mounted a defence in terms of their robust patriotism. For further material on the patriotic intentions of the cubist avant garde see: Silver.1989: 10-27, Cottington.1998:20-36, Brooke. 2001.

⁶ Academic military painting, between 1870 -1912 tended to be less bombastic, more culturally integrated, than these declamatory cubist examples. For military painting between 1870-1914 see Robichon. 1998.

⁷ I am grateful to Jennifer Gough-Cooper for the term *insufficences cardiaque*, from an e-mail correspondence 11/04/05.

⁸ Suggesting a problematic relationship between the French *generalissimo* and a German girl; *Joffre et l'allemande* shifts the emphasis from the portly Joffre — to a more courtly Joffre— dancing the German *allemande* with the enemy.

⁹ Our bugles pierce the night like your voice/ when I ride my horse you are beside me/ Our 75's are as elegant as your body/ And your hair is as vivid as the flash of an exploding shell in the North. (Author's translation) *In: Je Pense à Toi* (I Think of You). 1915.

10

Lons-le-Saunier 25th, 44th Infantry, 53rd Territorial Infantry.

Chalons sur Saone 56th, 59th Infantry.

Autun 29th Infantry, 63rd, Territorial Infantry, Cavalry Training School

Auxerre 4th, 17th Infantry, 37th Territorial Infantry.

Joigny 1st Dragoons (2nd & 3rd Brigades).

Sens 33rd Infantry, 89th Territorial Infantry.

Fontainebleau 1st Dragoons (1st Brigade), 5th Transport, 34th Territorial Infantry, Engineers Training School.

Melun 31st Infantry, 35th Territorial Infantry, 18th Dragoons.

Vincennes 1st, 2nd, 13th Artillery, 6th Territorial Artillery 5th Territorial Infantry, 23rd Chasseurs, Administrative Training School

Paris 5th, 7th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 19th, 20th, 24th, 28th, 31st, 46th, 76th, 89th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 119th Infantry. 1st Cavalry Division, 1st, 2nd Cuirassiers, 1st, 4th Zouaves, 19th Transport.

The Dutch theorist Bert Jansen has questioned whether the route actually went through Autun, and not several kilometres to the north. This may be so, although the guide-books referred to, suggest the route through Autun as the better road. (From a letter dated 26/08/06). Jansen's research has uncovered material that is pertinent to the 'Bottlerack'

readymade based on the waterfalls in the Jura called *Hérisson*. Published in the journal *'Jong Holland'* as *'Eine Woche im Jura'*.

¹¹ From *Zone* by Guillaume Apollinaire 1912. 'Surrounded by fervent flames Notre Dame looked at me at Chartres The Blood of your Sacré-Coeur flooded me at Montmartre'

¹² Although the word-play between 'enfant-phare' and 'le fanfare' is frequently cited in the literature, starting with Golding 1973:47; the important link with military bands has not been made sufficiently clear.

¹³ Translation by this author.

¹⁴ This regulation had regimental consequences as well as social ones, changing the character of military life from a barracks and mess-room culture to one where the majority of officers lived away from the base and at home with their wives.

¹⁵ In its turn, the Saint Étienne took its place in the list of hardware that continued to link with Duchamp's preoccupation over military failure. He described the 'Green Box' of 1934, as serving in the manner of a 'Saint Etienne Catalogue' for the 'Large Glass', which, is pessimistically predicated on failure. For the Saint Etienne Catalogue see: Cabanne.1971:42

¹⁶ Although not a *cuirassier*, Raymond Duchamp-Villon's cavalry status is supported by the Tate Gallery where he is described as: 'an expert horseman, serving as an auxiliary doctor in a cavalry regiment during the war.'

(<http://www.tate.org.uk>) However, Caumont & Gough-Cooper note that at the time of his death he was serving in a medical unit of the 68th Heavy Artillery. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 07/10/18) Presumably he was transferred from the cavalry to the artillery when the exigencies of trench-warfare changed the military requirement.

¹⁷ On the 6th September the Paris taxi fleet ferried the 103rd and 104th Regiments of Infantry (6,000 men approximately) to the battlefield 13km to the east of where Charles de Gaulle Airport is today.

¹⁸ At the time of this note, the army was without field telephones. The money was only voted for them in July 1914. For the French army in this period of Duchamp's military preoccupation see: Porch 1981: 235.

¹⁹ Henri Barbusse's contemporary account of life in the French trenches *Le Feu*, is particularly useful. Chapter 14 deals with the minutiae of regulation equipment and how to personalise it, ending in a discussion of the eighteen pockets in the regulation tunic, what they are intended for, where they are located and how they can be adapted and modified. (Barbusse.1917[1929]. 173-4)

²⁰ See Pope Pius X's encyclical *Vehementer Nos*, where he inveighs against the French 'Law of Separation' in 1905 when priests were drafted into the army. See also: Dorgelès 1919: 137.

²¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canon_de_75_modèle_1897

²² The American army was also issued with the French 75.

²³ Duchamp ends one of his letters to Raymond in 1915:

... mille amitiés pour vous et un salut militaire pour le jeune Raymond. M.Duchamp.
(Naumann.2000:36)

²⁴ Philadelphia Museum of Art, Alexina and Marcel Duchamp Papers, box 1, folder 6, 1905-6.

7

Conclusion

- 7.1.0. Nine Topics
 - 7.1.1. Chapter 1: The Notes. Painting and Construction
 - 7.1.2. Chapter 1: The Notes. Location and Context
 - 7.1.3. Chapter 1: The Notes. Marginal to Metropolitan
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Fig. 7.0.

The German *Guide-Routier et Aérien Continental: France* 1911 and the French *Michelin Führer Deutschland* 1914

7.1.0. Nine Topics

This conclusion examines the evidence delivered in Chapters 1 to 6 of this dissertation and estimates its impact on the central topic of Marcel Duchamp's relationship to the military authorities. Furthermore, it considers how this relationship became explicit in the 'Jura-Paris road'; the notes Duchamp wrote soon after his trip to the Jura. Accordingly the material is summarised chapter by chapter, starting with the analysis of the Notes in Chapter 1 and revisited in some detail in sections 7.1.0 - 7.1.8 below. This is followed by succeeding chapters of the thesis reviewed in sections 7.2.0 - 7.6.0.

Nine key topics emerged from the examination of the 'Jura-Paris road' appearing in the initial summary in Chapter 1. Although all were relevant to this thesis, not all were considered to have equal importance and so the level of attention devoted to each topic varied. The examination of the notes in Chapter One was restricted to the existing interpretations in the Duchamp literature, while new material emerging from the research — for instance, the military themes — was developed in subsequent chapters and so appeared later in the text. The following section advances this new research as part of a revised exegesis of Duchamp's original material.

The nine topics considered in Chapter One were:

1. **Lexical and Translation**, 2. **Character Development**, 3. **Transformation**, 4. **Religious and Mystical**, 5. **Hierarchy, Order and Dimension**, 6. **Agency and Occupation** 7. **Marginal to Metropolitan**, 8. **Location and Context**, 9. **Painting and Construction**. It will be worth re-considering these briefly in light of the new material advanced in this thesis.

7.1.1. Conclusion to Chapter 1: Painting and Construction

References to **Painting and Construction** in the 'Jura-Paris road' appear, primarily, in the earliest note, 'Jura-Paris 109', which is more informative on the material aspects of the projected work than the other Matisse notes that followed (Jura-Paris 110 & 111). In 'Jura-Paris 109' Duchamp imagines the work as a sort of machine: 'a more important gear train' (Line 4) and then as an 'endless screw' (Line 9), suggesting that some sort of mechanism would be needed to represent and sustain it as a work of art. However, Duchamp's description of these practical details gets deflected in the narrative and little more is learned about the method and process that he thought he might use. Later on in 'Jura-Paris GB' he declares that drawing will play an important part in this process and that: 'Graphically, this road will tend towards the pure geometrical line' (Line 8), but since the line is 'without thickness' its viability within the real world of objects is then cast into doubt.

Michel Sanouillet, given the difficult task of cataloguing the notes into a linear publication in 1957, separated the 'Jura-Paris road' from the main body of notes that deal with the 'Large Glass.' Nevertheless the closest relationship that can be made is to the 'Large Glass' itself, although the final, physical realisation of the 'Glass', eleven years after the Jura journey, bears little formal relationship to the ideas that Duchamp develops in the 'Jura-Paris road.' Perhaps the final lines of 'Jura-Paris 111', (lines 7, 8 & 9) offer the best clue when Duchamp remarks that:

To paint 5 nudes statically seems to me without interest, no more for that matter than to paint the Jura-Paris road even by raising the pictorial interpretation of this entity to a state entirely devoid of impressionism. Thus the interest in the picture results from the collision of these 2 extremes, the 5 nudes one the chief and the Jura-Paris road. The result of this battle will be the victory obtained little by little by the 5 nudes over the Jura-Paris road.
(Duchamp [Matisse] 1983: unpaginated)

In this outline for a future work, Duchamp's attention is drawn towards a formal painterly method. He hints that the projected work in the notes might become a divided structure, which foreshadows the twin plates of

the 'Large Glass' but whereas, the 'Bride Stripped Bare by her Bachelors, Even' resolves into two fixed panes of glass, the protagonists along the 'Jura-Paris road' play out their narrative in a contest (*une bataille*) between opposing forces with fluctuating coordinates.

7.1.2. Conclusion to Chapter 1: Location and Context

Details of **Location and Context**, (topic 8) are scarce. Presumably the journey took place on the trajectory between Étival (Jura) in the east of France and Neuilly, a villag-suburb to the immediate north-east of Paris. 'Jura-Paris GB' develops its identity through Duchamp's obsessive repetition of his title. This draws attention to the trajectory of travel and possibly indicates the duration for the journey itself. Duchamp addressed himself to the material details of the journey in his interview with Harriet and Sidney Janis in 1951. However he, mistakenly, attributed the calendar date of the journey to one month later in the season; and so doubts about Duchamp's powers of recollection (forty years later) lead to other misgivings about his capacity to recall other basic details such as the actual duration of the event. Field-work conducted along the original route, on four successive occasions at the same time of year have suggested that the 1912 transit would have taken longer — perhaps twice as long — as the twelve hours that Duchamp recalled in the Janis interview. The protracted duration of the journey, contributes to the sense that it turned, by degrees, into a major ordeal of physical stamina and perseverance; qualities that Duchamp may not have possessed.

7.1.3. Conclusion to Chapter 1: Marginal to Metropolitan

The military connections, that form the main thrust of this thesis appear subliminally in Chapter One (topic 7) with the **Marginal to Metropolitan** aspect of the Jura to Paris trajectory. Here the sheer density of military establishments and installations that were passed on their journey encourages speculation on the effect on the travellers of the military landscape through which they were passing. Chapter 3 suggests that although these would have been evident to them on the outward journey the travellers had other pressing issues to discuss that would have occupied them and it was not till the return journey that the implications of this militarised landscape became more evident to Duchamp. This suggests why the return trajectory became the emphasis in his title, the 'Jura-Paris road.' The journey directed the travellers from a marginal region of France towards its capital city. Duchamp's choice of title for these notes, as well as the spatial descriptions in 'Jura-Paris/ GB' develop this process of territorial refinement. For the traveller, the Jura evoked a place with a network of uncertain and hazardous roads, eventually getting lost in liminal areas and an undefined border that shaded into unfamiliar, perhaps alien territory to the north-east in the German occupied territories of Alsace/ Lorraine. In comparison, Paris invokes a metonymic hierarchy into which the dispersed regions are assimilated into one expression of nationhood:

Graphically, this road will tend towards the pure geometrical line without thickness (the meeting of 2 planes seems to me the only pictorial means to achieve purity) / But in the beginning (in the chief of the 5 nudes) it will be very finite in width, thickness

(etc), in order little by little, to become without topographical form in coming close to this ideal straight line which finds its opening towards the infinite in the headlight child.
(Jura-Paris road GB lines 8-9)

Paris is signified by its ideal, straight avenues and its image turns on emblematic monuments; the Eiffel Tower, the gothic cathedral of Notre Dame or the nineteenth century Romanesque basilica of the Sacré Cœur. Images of the Jura disappear into a generic one of remote mountains and pine forests, where alien forces might gradually emerge and begin to move forwards:

On the one hand, the chief of the 5 nudes will be / ahead of the 4 other nudes towards this Jura-Paris road. (Jura-Paris GB line 3).

7.1.4. Conclusion to Chapter 1: Agency and Occupation of Territory

Topic (6) considered issues of **Agency and Occupation of Territory**. It demonstrates the first real evidence of Duchamp's military preoccupation appearing first of all and most clearly in 'Jura-Paris 110/111' where the language develops an aggressive tone. It prepares for a military-style operation towards an unpredictable terrain along the trajectory between marginal and metropolitan signifiers of the 'Jura-Paris road':

The chief of the 5 nudes annexes to his estates, a battle / (idea of colony)
(Jura-Paris 110 line 2-3)

The result of this battle / will be the victory obtained little by little by the 5 nudes / over the Jura-Paris road. – (Jura-Paris 111 line 8)

These allusions invoke a military ordering in a hierarchy that places a section leader ahead of his file of subordinates, in the deployment of a military operation. Given Duchamp's conscription in 1905-06 and in spite of his attempts to achieve his own *éloignement* from the army at this time (1909-1915); a military model for this advance of 'nudes' seems to be the most probable of the limited interpretations available. Once read, Duchamp's menacing index of conflict conveyed in the belligerent expressions: 'battle', 'conquest', 'collision', 'colony' and 'victory' impact into the text in rapid succession to disperse and confuse less troubled forms associated with travel writing. (Jura-Paris 110/ 111) Having established this bridgehead they take shelter behind the dimensional interventions and more temperate language of the 'Jura-Paris GB.'

The 'Jura-Paris road' was probably never completed and events rapidly overtook Marcel Duchamp soon after his return to Paris. Although gearing-up for war, France was abruptly propelled into a conflict that it could not control. The army was caught in a sequence of catastrophic battles and exhausting retreats across the heartland it was commissioned to defend. German objectives were to encircle the capital and then drive the remaining army southeast back to the Jura where for geopolitical reasons it would be impossible to retreat further. In the event the ultimate catastrophe was averted and Paris was reprieved in what came to be known as the 'miracle of the Marne', where an unexpected success was commonly

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attributed to military prowess as well as mystical intervention. This view does not give sufficient credit to the army which, exhausted and retreating managed to outmanoeuvre the German advance and was finally able to deploy its superb artillery in the way it had been trained. The German army was forced to retreat to positions further north, where it dug in permanently for the duration of the war.

It is difficult to gauge accurately Duchamp's response to these events although the reductive nature of his work, encapsulated in his notes of 1913-1914 seems to be a response to these tense, critical circumstances. In doing so he abandoned the aggressive synthesis of mystical, religious and military speculation that he had advanced in the notes for the 'Jura-Paris roads 109-111.'

7.1.5. Conclusion to Chapter 1: Hierarchy, Order and Dimension

References to **Hierarchy, Order and Dimension** (topic 5) appear in the 'Jura-Paris GB' version of the notes. These references divert the narrative away from the mystical (and the military) themes of 'Jura-Paris 109' towards interventions in a complex dimensional reality, hitherto unseen in these notes. In 'Jura-Paris GB' this interest in higher dimensions replaces the military interventionism of 'Jura-Paris 109, 110 and 111.' It begins by coordinating the positions of the protagonists (the 'chief of the 5 nudes, etc.), plotting their positions either 'ahead' of, or 'towards' the Jura-Paris road ('Jura-Paris GB' line 2). These references give way to a more speculative environment in lines 5 & 6, dealing with concepts of infinity and a conditional state of being that Duchamp describes as 'indefinite' that allows the dimensional transformations in 'Jura-Paris GB' (lines 8 & 9). The problem of navigating this complex topology calls for order and discipline, which is assured and maintained through the dominating 'chief of the 5 nudes' (Jura Paris 111 line 2). By the time of 'Jura-Paris GB', these procedures have moved from the aggressive language and outlook of the Matisse notes and have adopted a more ambiguous tone that is not only 'devoid of impressionism', but military mysticism also. (Duchamp [Matisse] 1983: unpaginated)

7.1.6. Chapter 1: Religious and Mystical

Religious and Mystical themes (topic 4) originate, in 'Jura-Paris 109', appearing in a series of overt references to Christian mythology. In earlier paintings between 1910 and 1911, Duchamp had painted a series of nude figures in ritual situations with religious titles. These are not as explicit as his references in 'Jura-Paris 109', but in a development that is singular within the secularism of the Puteaux group, Duchamp specifically invokes the Christian trinity as well as the Virgin Mary. These might be linked to another note in the Matisse collection where Duchamp places the sketchy diagram of a crucifix at the head of a note on brown manila paper in red ink that reads:

Wall decorated with parish laziness/ (in gothic letters) the Christ glued/ on an automobile/ carriage window with the/ paw serving for lifting/ the glass. The whole in a flat valise/ or a large jewel case.
(Duchamp [Matisse]. 1980: unpaginated, note 178)

Religious associations inform the key personnel of 'Jura-Paris GB'; the 'headlight child' is perhaps the most obvious of these. However the mystical references that emerge from the 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 1, 4, 5), are first encountered in 'Jura-Paris 109', published fifty years later, and so the Christian associations could only be verified retrospectively. This retrospective re-evaluation allows a new assessment of the strictly automotive translation of the term '*phare*'. The accepted understanding of '*l'enfant phare*' is now redirected towards a more numinous persona. The tone of this comes closer to Duchamp's wonderful aside in Note 178, quoted above in English but here again in the original French:

Paroi parée de paresses de paroisse (en lettres gothiques) / le christ collée sur une vitre de voiture automobile avec la patte qui sert à monter le vitre. Le tout dans une valise plate ou un grand écrin.
(Duchamp [Matisse].1980:108, note 178)

The teasing '*Paroi/ parée/ paresses/ paroisse*', playing around the proper name 'Paris', as well as the automobile windscreen reference with its sketchy caricature of a crucifix and other Christian imagery seems to associate this text with 'Jura-Paris 109'; whereas the image of the Christ figure, ascending the windscreen, unites it with the powerfully elevated '*enfant phare*' of 'Jura-Paris GB'. Previous interpretations from Ulf Linde and others have shown how the '*enfant phare*' might plausibly be interpreted in the musical homonym '*en fanfare*.' This thesis then extended the musical term into its military interpretation that refers to the detachment of bugles and drums, marching at the head of the regiment. As well as being known as *la clique* this was also called '*le fanfare*.' The mystical associations that swirl around the expression '*l'enfant phare*' provoked an examination of the problematic relationship of Catholicism within the French army, most particularly in its *cadre* of officers. Catholic alliance with the army recalled troubling associations with the Dreyfus scandal, which delivered its very public conclusion in the final year of Duchamp's conscription. At this time the Church was charged with colluding with the military high command in the suppression and falsification of information.

These references in 'Jura-Paris 109' do not explain Duchamp's intentions for the extraordinary accumulation of religious imagery that was tangential to the affiliations of the other cubist painters at the time. However, the Celtic Nationalism of his peers may account for some of this. Duchamp's: '*en lettres gothique*', written in parenthesis in the *Paroi/ parée* ... note, as well as his announcement that; '*Ce phare sera l'enfant-Dieu. Rappelant/ assez le Jésus des primitifs*' in 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 6) relates his ideas to the politico-mystical identification with Celtic France that the cubists were drawn towards on account of its essentially Gallic and therefore northern inspiration. This found expression in an association with gothic France and was exemplified in the neo-Romanesque of the unconsecrated *basilique du Sacré-Cœur*, nearing completion in Montmartre.

7.1.7. Conclusion to Chapter 1: Transformation

The theme of **Transformation** (3) was introduced in the heading of 'Jura-Paris 109', (line 1) where Duchamp introduces the methodological '*Traduction Picturale*.' Aspects of transformation are elaborated again in 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 8) where technological notions of the headlight turn into metaphors for mystical transcendence. However the theme is most thoroughly developed along non-religious lines, when it is described in 'Jura-Paris GB', (line 9) where a topographical landscape is transformed into a straight line through the agency of the enigmatic *enfant-phare*. At this point the *enfant-phare* becomes the essential medium through which material has to pass to achieve this transformation.

7.1.8. Conclusion to Chapter 1: Character Development and Lexical and Translation

The details that affect the **Character Development** of the personalities in the 'Jura-Paris road' offer a chronological way of ordering the notes which reveal Duchamp's probable intentions for his cast of characters. It can be argued, now, that a development of some kind has occurred and this change is seen most clearly in the designation of the 'headlight child.' The 'headlight child' undergoes a personality shift away from Duchamp's putative 'child-God', in 'Jura-Paris 109' (line 5) and towards the later and more numinous '*enfant-phare*' in 'Jura-Paris GB' (line 3). He establishes this final identity by repeating the title '*enfant-phare*' six times in the next ten lines of text. It is reasonable to assume that 'Jura-Paris GB' followed from the '*enfant-Dieu*' of 'Jura-Paris 109', which although indicating the transcendental role that Duchamp had in mind for his character became less emphatically sacred in the mind of its author.

The conclusion to be drawn from this waning religious emphasis, is that 'Jura-Paris GB' was written later than the other Matisse notes, possibly in a resurgence of interest that coincided with the *Tonsure* photograph in 1919, or perhaps that *Tonsure* was created in response to a renewed interest in the *enfant phare*. The transposition of the *enfant phare* into its final form might have taken place even later again when Duchamp was selecting (and perhaps re-editing) the 'Jura-Paris road' for the 'Green Box'. The evidence is based on thematic and stylistic differences between 'Jura-Paris GB' and the three Matisse notes. Much later again, this time in the 1950s George Heard Hamilton translated *l'enfant phare* into the 'headlight-child' and this translation has become the accepted reading.

In a second example that suggests how a chronology might be established it will be necessary to consider line two of 'Jura-Paris GB' where Duchamp says:

On the one hand, the chief of the 5 nudes will be ahead of the 4 other nudes towards
this Jura-Paris road.
(Jura-Paris GB, line 2)¹

The author's underlined emphasise above, shows Duchamp's use of the definite article when referring to his nudes. Use of this grammatical form suggests prior knowledge of Duchamp's characters, which in this case the reader would not have had been party to. Presumably if Duchamp had been introducing these protagonists for the first time he would have written his description without using the definite article. In

writing it in the way that he did, Duchamp reveals that a precedent existed for his characters that presumably he had been working on, perhaps in other jotted notes that have disappeared.

7.2.0. Conclusion to Chapter 2: Literature Survey

The survey in chapter two of 'Key Texts' on the 'Jura-Paris road', while acknowledging the influence of Lebel, Schwarz, Tomkins, Caumont & Gough-Cooper and Ades recognises, also, that their contribution to a better understanding of the 'Jura-Paris road' and the motivations for converting the journey into this almost mythological flight from its rational meaning is more limited. The literature of Breton, Sanouillet, Samaltanos, Henderson and the interviews by Harriett and Carroll Janis, also the later and more familiar interviews by Pierre Cabanne have been more useful here.

The section on André Breton showed how Breton detected an ominous quality in Duchamp's outlook, revealed in the 'Large Glass', and intimating its presence in 'the penumbra on the shadow side of his eponymous 'lighthouse.' This involved an examination of the word *phare*, which suggested that the current interpretation ignored its ambiguous use in 1912. At this point a different hypothesis was advanced where a military connotation began to replace the standard automobile interpretation.

Michel Sanouillet's arrangement places the 'Jura-Paris road' outside the accepted notes for the 'Large Glass'. Nevertheless the format of Sanouillet's text with the notes sharing adjacent pages with the 'Jura-Paris road' allows an examination of these notes in relation to their disturbing and aggressive character, that also helps to argue against the idea of the journey as an event, provoking the light-hearted wordplay that has been advanced by many authors including several in this survey.

Katia Samaltanos, in spite of ignoring the publication of the Matisse Notes in 1980, supplies a variety of informative insights on a range of themes. This is the only study of Apollinaire that addresses the details of the 'Jura-Paris road' and in order to understand the group dynamic it was important to examine the journey from the perspective of the different protagonists. Samaltanos' address to the politics of colonialism, and its corresponding relationship to primitivism for artists was also pertinent.

With regard to Linda Henderson's 'Duchamp in Context' it was stated above that: 'any reappraisal of Duchamp's work will have to contend with the compelling evidence in her detailed examination.' In addition, the unprecedented research that Henderson has undertaken opened up the debate on the 'Jura-Paris road' to include, not only the scientific exegesis, which is the thrust of her own work but also the mystical aspects that the note in 'Jura-Paris 109' so obviously reflect. Henderson also describes the 'Jura-Paris road' — in passing — in terms of a military advance.

Of the two interviews, the first of the two, the Janis interview is the more substantial in terms of hard facts about the Jura journey (Duchamp does not refer to his note, the 'Jura-Paris road', at any point in either the Janis or Cabanne interviews) nevertheless both are significant for what they leave out. The Cabanne interview suffers from an unwillingness to probe too far when Duchamp deflects or avoids answering questions put to him about the 'Jura-Paris road':

CABANNE... you stayed in Munich, where you made the drawings for the *Virgin* and *The Passage from the Virgin to the Bride*. Then when you returned, you and Picabia and Gabrielle Buffet drove to see her mother in the Juras (sic).
 MD. The idea of the *Bride* preoccupied me. So I made a first drawing in pencil...
 (Cabanne 1973: 36)

With that Duchamp moved the discussion away from the problematic episode. Duchamp's language, in these interviews, is interesting in light of his references to the army and to military life, to its culture and expectations. This was unexpected but revealed that Duchamp was alert to military themes throughout his life, continuing after his medical discharge in 1909 and for several years to come

7.3.0. Conclusion to Chapter 3: The Journey

Before embarking on a military exegesis of the 'Jura-Paris road' the journey was considered as a physical event in contrast to its literary version that was represented in the Jura-Paris note. This balance between its status as a piece of imaginative writing and as a piece of motor-tourism was worked out in Chapter Three. A technical inquiry into the material realities of motor travel was conducted in the archives of manufacturers and museums of transport, particularly at *Pneu Michelin* in Paris, *Pneu Continental* near Compiègne and at the *Musée Peugeot* at Sochaux in the Jura. Discussions were held with conservators and curators, at each of these locations, and the recommended technical literature was also consulted. A study of the authors writing at the time about automobiles and the experience of driving them became important to understanding Marcel Duchamp's Jura journey and a dedicated literature review was compiled appearing early in Chapter Three.

Although not offering a single outlook within the theme of motor travel, the experiences of authors such as Octave Mirbeau, Maurice Maeterlinck, Edith Wharton, Rudyard Kipling, Marcel Proust, Alfred Jarry, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti provided a sufficiently consistent response to being in motor-cars for a broad picture of touring in October 1912 to emerge. Guillaume Apollinaire became an important reference; his poetry and prose reflects the inspiration of automobiles and the environment of technological change generally. His poem *Zone* was supercharged with motoring references, and he recited this to Duchamp and other members of the party during the course of the journey. Apollinaire's recital has become one of very few agreed details of the journey although the evidence for it is only circumstantial. This serves to point-up the difficulty of researching the 'Jura-Paris road', where very few facts actually exist and where a prevailing mythology has arisen around the ones that do. The slippage between the note, a work of imaginative fiction and the event that Chapter Three attempts to verify as 'the journey' placed a heavy emphasis on contextual research, and so the journey was retraced several times.

An examination of the material realities of motor travel helped to establish the mode and style of vehicle in order to gain a picture of the travelling experience. The conditions of the road and the effect of the weather on the spirits of the participants also became an important aspect of this research. The journey, took place partially after dark and along some very rough roads and therefore a review of vehicle lighting

in 1912 was undertaken as well as other aspects of motor-car manufacture. In turn this led to an examination of how these featured within Marcel Duchamp's work and how they would be used to refer, metaphorically, to a problematic environment based on nationalism and colonialism, supported by religion. The discussion at the end of Chapter Four provides a graphic example of the febrile atmosphere in which these influences competed and towards which Duchamp would point in his 'Jura-Paris road'.

Efforts were made to establish the make and even the model of the automobile that Picabia drove and a compelling reason for determining these details as closely as possible lay in the origins of the narrative and the fictional form that Duchamp subjected it to. This, it is believed led Marcel Duchamp to his major work 'The Bride Stripped Bare by the Bachelors, Even.' According to monographs from Robert Label onwards, this arose out of Duchamp's interest in the 'mechanomorphic' fusion of machines and human potential. The 'Large Glass', it is thought followed from this experience, and emerged in America after an elaborate planning and laborious production. It was only judged to be complete by Duchamp when the glass plates upon which the work had been created fragmented, irreparably, while in transit following its inaugural exhibition in 1926. If therefore, the 'Large Glass' owed its conception to a motor journey to Paris in 1912 and endured its final rite of passage across the flatbed of a truck out of New York, the work would seem to derive some of its character from this vehicular parentage.

In transcribing the return journey into the text of the 'Jura-Paris GB', Marcel Duchamp created the impression that it had been an arduous and challenging event that was overcome through an application of complex geometry, religious mysticism and teamwork. The journey was assessed in this chapter in terms of the inter-relationships of the four protagonists as they fused into one matrix. This matrix incorporated the vehicle, the road and the relative ability of the individuals on the journey to sustain one another through the vicissitudes of wind and rain in an open car. The examination of the interpersonal relationship between the four people in the vehicle, showed how their interests coincided in a manner that might allow the text of the 'Jura-Paris road' to be conceived, (by Duchamp at least) as a work with collective agency. Duchamp brought this agency into commission to compensate for his lack of experience in the company of his more worldly friends. An argument was made to support the fact that it was created also as a response to a threatening confrontation with Jean Chailié, the truculent owner of the property where they were heading. Chailié's belligerent opposition to the artists of the Parisian *avant-garde*, was underscored by his impending duel with two of its spokesmen. Chailié's furious response to the imperatives of cubism as propounded by Gleizes and Metzinger, following their treatment of his friend, the critic Louis Vauxcelles, accounts for the context that caused the expeditionary quality and advance of the 'machine with 5 hearts' along the 'Jura-Paris road.'

7.4.0. Conclusion to Chapter 4: Networks and Configurations

The chapter identified five categories that would affect Marcel Duchamp's perceptions of this journey between Paris, the Jura and back again. Having established the importance of maintaining a distinction between the actual and virtual journey, the second interpretation considered how the protagonists might

have combined 'proprioceptively' into a more efficient system that became Duchamp's 'machine with 5 hearts', in the final note (Jura-Paris road GB). Proprioception is predicated on forms of networking and its structures are implicit in Duchamp's language and certain precedents for his thinking were drawn from contemporary sources such as Edmund Husserl's lectures in 1907 on phenomenology. Problems arose over the probability of Duchamp's exposure to these theories, particularly in light of France's animosity to Germany. However the likelihood of an appreciation of some of Husserl's meticulous methodologies increases after Duchamp spent several months in Germany in the summer of 1912. The 'Jura-Paris road' was also considered as the description of an hallucinatory experience provoked by Duchamp's 'medicated imaginary.'

The nominal journey, the 'Jura-Paris road' of the note manifests itself in a relationship and a direct path that ran from the Jura to Paris as indicated by its hyphenated title, and this is contrasted with the spatially bewildering, distorting actuality of the journey that would be neither straight nor direct. Driving the road in October 1912 invited accident and loss of direction, which would confuse the clarity of Duchamp's simple proposition enclosed in the title. Paul Virilio's 'dromology' was outlined to define these hallucinatory visions as the natural consequences of a syndrome brought on by the disorienting effects of speed.

Duchamp's military preoccupations can be seen in the combative language, particularly in the three earlier texts (Jura-Paris 109, 110, 111). Duchamp buried their origins, when he withdrew these notes replacing them with the later and thematically different 'Jura-Paris GB.' The latter note emphasised a set of concerns that were less grounded in the political or religious issues of their day. The journey, consequently developed a less problematic character under this new and politically neutral atmosphere of dimensional speculations in the note in the 'Green Box.' Nevertheless, once established as the earliest notes and the foundation upon which the note for the 'Jura-Paris GB' was created, a residue of the problematic terrain that Duchamp witnessed and hallucinated about from the speeding car lingers on. The mystical and military precursors of the *enfant phare*, the *5 nus* and the emergencies of the *la machine à 5 cœurs* can be deduced in the first lines of 'Jura-Paris GB' such as *doivent domineer la route Jura-Paris* and also *De l'autre côté, l'enfant-phare sera l'instrument vainqueur de cette route Jura-Paris.*

7.5.0. Conclusion to Chapter 5: The Army

The military context in Chapter 5 has drawn together the incidences in Marcel Duchamp's career where he came into contact with the army in order to determine its influence. Given that he referred to weapons and other features relating to the military concerns of the day it was necessary to devote space to these details before developing their relationship to Duchamp's practice in the final chapter. The French uniform with its highly visible *garance*, or red dye, used in battledress trousers gave the French uniform its popular and distinctive character was nevertheless recognised as a liability in modern warfare and soldiers began to appreciate the importance of invisibility on the battlefield. Successive governments failed to modernise the uniform and this failure became the subject of a more general concern for Duchamp. The infantry bayonet,

and the role of the cuirassier trooper are further examples of this failure and appear accordingly in Duchamp's work of the period. This selection is partial and for a more comprehensive view the reader should turn to either Douglas Porch or Alistair Horn for the socio-political and technological background of the French army.

Before Marcel Duchamp became aware of these deficiencies in the military procurement for troops in the army, he succumbed, like many small boys do to the appeal of soldiers. His early enthusiasms were probably stimulated by the annual *manoeuvres d'automne* that took place in the vicinity of his home village, where his father, as the mayor would have been involved in liaising with military commanders. At school, Duchamp would have been instructed in civic and national duty, using the standard text of the day, *Le Tour de la France par Deux Enfants*, by G. Bruno, the *nom de plume* of Augustine Fouillée. First published in 1877, *Le Tour de la France par Deux Enfants* was then re-edited to conform to Republican *laïciste* ideals, where public institutions were separated from religious institutions between 1881 and 1906. The nature of this *éloignement* from state religion was intensified by the revelations of the Dreyfus scandal, which came to a close in 1906, the final year of Duchamp's conscription and coincided with the republication of *Le Tour de la France* into its final *laïciste* version. In these later publications all references to God and Christianity were removed. Although written seven years later, Duchamp's jotted definitions of his own journey along the Jura to Paris road go through something of the same process, whereby the Christian references in his first note (Jura-Paris 109) all but disappeared on revising the note into its final version (Jura-Paris GB).

School was also where Duchamp would have first encountered the programme of physical training and hygiene that was arranged by the state to combat the alarming decline in health of Frenchmen of military age. Reforms in hygiene and exercise continued into his training with the 39th regiment of infantry, which had already introduced its own robust attitude to hygienic practice some years earlier. This can be seen in Eugène Chaperon's painting featuring the regiment at its ablutions in *La Douche au Régiment* (1887). The writer Alfred Jarry was brought into the argument at this stage to provide an alternative account of these measures by the time that the sanitation directives had filtered down to the regimental level. This repulsive state of affairs may well have been closer to Duchamp's experience in 1905. Duchamp, who later, developed an attitude of almost complete detachment from the things and issues that exercised his peers, may well have developed this extreme position in response to the enforced engagement with routine military training and the regulations surrounding sanitary protocols. The lassitude that was labelled *surmenage* did not start and end with Duchamp and sociologists and physiologists were brought in at a governmental level to propose schemes and methods to counter this problem. By the time that Duchamp was doing his year of service, Étienne-Jules Marey's photographic studies of soldiers exercising had been transcribed into line drawings and transferred to the infantry training manual. The sociologist Josefa Joteyko had also recommended that military training be drastically reduced to prevent the deleterious affects of overtraining. In this context, Duchamp's note, *Éloignement*, appearing in 1914 shows the topical awareness in his work at this time.

The military conscription issue had polarised opinion in France since its inception and went through four sets of reforms between 1871 and 1914, which turned on the political aspirations of *la Revanche* of both Republican and Nationalist groups. Duchamp's own uncompromising attitude to *Revanche* politics has been dismissed too easily in the canon of his life and work. Duchamp's attitude to conscription was absolutely singular and it was sure to create tensions with his family as well as his friends. This set him at odds with popular French sentiment, as well as distancing himself from the family support that no doubt he chafed under at the time, but felt keenly when this companionship was no longer available:

I came over here, not because I couldn't paint at home, but because I hadn't anyone to talk with. I was frightfully lonely. I am excused from service on account of my heart. So I roamed about all alone. *New York Herald Tribune*.
(CAUMONT & GOUGH-COOPER 1993: unpaginated 24/10/15)

The assassination by Henriette Caillaux of the *Figaro* editor, Gaston Calmette and the subsequent trial in July 1914 focused attention on the conscription issue through the spring and summer of 1914. By this time the law had reverted to its 1905 level of three years service. This increased the size of the army and, importantly for this thesis, would again put Duchamp's military exemption, not finally resolved in 1914, into jeopardy. In fact, Duchamp had to go through subsequent examinations in 1915 and 1917, and finally in 1918 for conscription into the American Army. Duchamp's problematic relationship with the conscription-boards lasted, at a conservative estimate for thirteen years, with the armies of two continents and this suggests that military issues became an abiding preoccupation in his work over this extended period. The emergence of all manner of military paraphernalia in his work at this time strongly suggests a commitment to this subject that needless to say was more devious than straightforward.

Duchamp's elliptic references to: *une lutte (idée de colonie)* in 'Jura Paris 110' as well as other references to struggle, battle, and the annexation of territory through violence, inevitably conjures issues of French colonialism and attitudes to colonial adventurism through Joseph Conrad's *Au Cœur des Ténèbres* (Heart of Darkness) and also Octave Mirbeau's *La 628-E8*, both of which consider colonialism from the point of view of a journey travelled and, in Mirbeau, with the motor industry's complicity in colonial exploitation. Colonialism also brought France into aggressive contact with other major powers; Britain and then Germany, causing a return of popular support for the army, rescuing it from its decline in public esteem and support since the Dreyfus affair.

The effects of the Dreyfus affair were exacerbated by Pope Pius X's encyclical that inveighed against the 1905 French Law of Separation that closed down religious schools and institutions, and required French priests to be conscripted into the armed forces. The chapter considered the role of the Catholic Church and political moves, in France, to distance French political philosophy away from the manoeuvrings of the church. This brought government and through it, the army into collision with the church. Duchamp as a corporal was automatically implicated into the chain of command that would have found itself in confrontation with these unpopular directives as well as the equally problematic issue of strike-breaking activities. The French military archives do not say whether or not Duchamp's regiment was

involved with these public duties, they would certainly have contributed to the general distaste for conscription — or in Duchamp's case in volunteering for conscription, two years early in 1905. This was the year when the relationship between the military and the general public had descended to its nadir, when sections of the volatile public were calling for military intervention against the Vatican States and the implications of the first colonial emergency with Germany in 1904 were just becoming apparent. Army morale was at rock bottom.

7.6.0. Conclusion to Chapter 6: Military Preoccupations

Marcel Duchamp sailed for New York in June 1915. His letters to his friend Walter Pach in America show that he had been secretly planning this journey for six months, probably even further back than that (Naumann 2000:33). The military board had ratified his medical clearance after delaying it until January 1915, when he was finally given permission to go (Naumann 2000:29). He might have thought that in New York he would be beyond the attention of the military authorities as well as being out of range of colleagues, who together with his brothers were placing limits on his creative autonomy and he therefore kept his plans for his departure away from interested parties in France. He explained the secretive nature of his preparations to Pach on April 2nd 1915 when he wrote:

I have told nobody about this plan. Could you please, therefore, reply to these questions on a separate sheet of paper in your letter so that my brothers don't find out until my plans have been finalized. About the war, no important news.
(Duchamp[Naumann] 2000:34)

Duchamp did not inform his family until it was too late to do anything other than voice their objections. From this time on, he was free to do as he chose. Nevertheless, the influence of the war continued to shadow his thoughts during these early days in America to the extent that he would speculate, in interviews, on how the preparations for war had affected European art and so, presumably, by inference his own practice. Four months after his arrival in 1915, he would say to the 'New York Tribune' that:

Cubism could almost be called a prophet of the war, as Rousseau was of the French Revolution, for the war will produce a severe, direct art. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: 12/09/15)

In this unblinking appraisal he adumbrates the context for the denatured Readymades that were starting to congregate, like lonely bachelors, in his New York studio. More personally he reveals that he was caught-up in a national crisis that threatened to engulf individual suffering, where suffering was on such an enormous scale that individual expressions of grief would be absorbed into one agreed manifestation of distress. This statement evokes the elegiac theme of the *Éloignement* note, from the 'Box of 1914', where Duchamp prescribes his formulaic 'Regulation of regrets' in response to the scattered limbs and organs that even *téléphonique* communication cannot reconnect on the battlefield. Towards the end of this, otherwise,

confident and untroubled interview he allows a glimpse into a different state of mind that must have surprised his New York readers when he acknowledges that:

One readily understands this when one realizes the growing hardness of feeling in Europe, one might say the utter callousness with which people are learning to receive the news of the death of those nearest and dearest to them. Before the war the death of a son in a family was received with utter, abject woe, but today it is merely part of a huge universal grief, which hardly seems to concern any one individual. (Caumont & Gough-Cooper 1993: *ibid*)

In spite of his medical clearance and his distance from the fighting, military accountability continued to affect him in America and in 1917 he reported again to a French military assessment board, this time in New York City. Apparently he was cleared again although, from this time, Duchamp seemed inexorably drawn into activities that underscored America's common purpose with France after America declared war. He went with friends to hear *Maréchal* Joffre speak in New York in May 1917 and in October he reported for work in a military procurement mission. (Naumann & Obalk 2000: 52) Duchamp claimed that: 'I too am to be of service to my country. I don't know exactly what I will do as yet', a statement that is difficult to credit if Duchamp's attitude to service and duty are to be believed. Later, he claimed not to have enjoyed the experience and abruptly abandoned this work and took a ship, in August 1918, to Buenos Aires; (Cabanne 1967 [1971]: 52) even here, military associations affected his responses and the German style uniforms of the Argentine soldiers, gave him the illusion of being a prisoner of war. Just before leaving for Buenos Aires, he worked on a propaganda film by Leonce Perret entitled 'Lafayette! We Come!' playing the part of a wounded French soldier. This simply might have been a bit of fun, perhaps even the chance to earn some easy money; but the knowledge that his brother had been evacuated from the war, suffering from typhoid that he had contracted while treating wounded soldiers in the unsanitary conditions of a field hospital, may well have given Duchamp some cause for thought.

Before leaving for Argentina Duchamp created a work with an absolutely explicit, military provenance. This was the readymade entitled 'French Military Paper' (1918). Little has been written about this work although it is illustrated in Schwarz's *catalogue raisonné* where he says:

Duchamp made this list while working as a secretary to a captain in the French Purchasing Commission in New York. Earning \$25 a week, Duchamp worked there six months, until a couple of weeks before leaving for Buenos Aires on August 13, 1918. (Schwarz 1997: 657)

The single page of typescript dates from his period of work in the Military Procurement Office and shows a list of four army personnel, new arrivals, whom according to the document, have been seconded to the office of the Military Attaché. Each name has been individually typed out in a column and later crossed out,

and then deliberately re-crossed out again in a single act of indifferent accounting. Listed first by rank, these soldiers are senior cavalry NCOs or *Maréchal des Logis*, on diplomatic assignment and probably reprieved from the fighting in France. The opinion that they would hold of this compatriot of theirs — a subordinate corporal with no combat experience in an undemanding job away from his proper regimental duties — are likely to have been trenchantly expressed and may well have influenced Duchamp's sudden decision to move on again. His emphatic statement to Cabanne that working in this atmosphere was not pleasant and may well reflect the attitude of fighting troops to those men, labelled *embusqués*, who managed to evade the war.

The text itself, reads as follows:

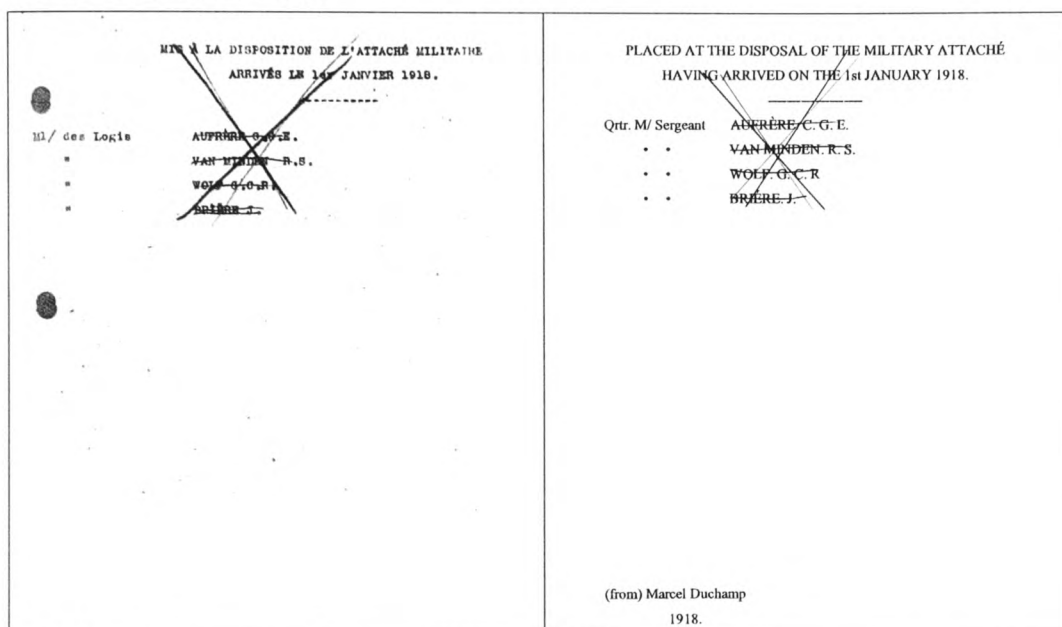


Fig. 7.1

Marcel Duchamp. *French Military Paper*
1918

Fig. 7.1a

Kieran Lyons. Translated *French Military Paper*
(typographic version) 2007

7.7.0 Summary of Conclusions

This thesis and particularly the evidence in Chapter Six has revealed how French military experience provided Duchamp with a set of insights that were so compelling that they would impose themselves on his imagination to influence his choice of subject matter at a particular stage in his career. By the time he left New York, Duchamp's military preoccupation had informed a constellation of works of which his 'French Military Paper', represents perhaps the clearest example. The works that preceded 'French Military Paper' in this agenda of military subjects can be detected in the covert infantry language where the *moulins à café* becomes the slang term for the despised Puteaux machine gun in Duchamp's painting 'Coffee Mill', given to his brother, the dutiful cavalry reservist. This trail from a military-based imagination can be seen in the

notes 'Jura-Paris 109, 110, 111', where themes of conflict, aggression and moving in formation towards the a territorial objective are presented in the language of a journey described in the more typical form (for artists in the cubist circle) of a journey into the fourth dimension. Duchamp's preliminary notes for this journey, which remained unpublished in his life time display these aggressive military themes quite explicitly. His 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries' (1914-15) was made while France was mobilising for war. In this climate Duchamp's very particular squad of dispirited conscripts, including the redundant cuirassier contributes to the thesis that Marcel Duchamp, at this point was working to a persuasive military agenda. This paralleled his own protracted appeal against compulsory military service, his objection to which is seen in the first line of the *Éloignement* note.

Such, perhaps minor, interventions contribute to a military thematic that continues into the period of the war when he was living in New York and as an émigré Frenchman found himself being drawn into activities and even occupations that, on the face of it, would appear to contradict the image that has gradually built-up around him of an artist who preferred to confront war (as well as duty, family obligation and social expectation) 'with folded arms.' The final salvos of his toy-cannon, fired-off to determine the positioning of the 'shots' in the 'Large Glass' may well have signalled the closing moves of this military agenda and seems to finally disappear amidst the final, cataclysmic, shattering of the 'Glass' in 1926. Perhaps his developing interest in optical phenomenology in the 1920s and 1930s might be shown to parallel a similar preoccupation in lens-based range-finding mechanisms, although the shadow from these and further military influences becomes less distinct. His illustration for 'View' (1945) the American magazine containing on its cover the reproduction of a wine bottle with his wartime *certificat de bonne conduit*, the military papers that presumably he would have to keep by him in order to submit to the military authorities in New York throughout the 1915-18 period, briefly lengthens the disappearing shadow, but by this time Marcel Duchamp's sphere of interest has shifted to a new project where the 'Large Glass' is re-contextualised into his extraordinary '*Étant Donnée*', his final statement where references to the military environment that absorbed his thoughts between 1911 and 1918 become pretty well excised from his vocabulary.

This thesis contends that among the themes that support the narrative structure of Duchamp's work, for example its erotic and aggressive intentionality in writers from Lebel onwards, its alchemical exegesis in Schwarz and Jack Burnham, its identification with science and speculative realities in Henderson and Adcock, its linguistic structures in De Duve, there lies another powerful motivation that derives from French military preparations leading to the war in Europe. It has been the purpose of this dissertation to show how Duchamp's work, reaching back to his period of military training, followed a line of thinking about the ways that a military awareness inflected the lives of Frenchmen at the time. This theme appears to be particularly prevalent between the years 1911 and 1918, but which may have stayed with him even longer.

Like many small boys, Marcel Duchamp was caught up in the infectious enthusiasm for military paraphernalia, but he soon left these enthusiasms behind when the realities of conscription bore down upon

him in early 1905. From this time onwards his attempts to distance himself, from the army appear to have been matched by the army's apparent determination to keep in touch with him. The facility with which Duchamp evaded his military duties after his initial conscription has not been satisfactorily answered. Perhaps it cannot without straying too far into speculation; nevertheless, the thesis that in a crucial period, probably the most crucial period of his development, Marcel Duchamp was haunted by the realities of the military structure around him to the extent that his thoughts on the subject permeated into his work of the time is by now, I hope, conclusively shown. Of course this adds complexity to an already densely worked story with many layers and strands to it, but it is surely the measure of the works of great artists that they will attract to them a permanent interweaving that encourages an ongoing process of redefinition. The claim here is not that the military interpretation replaces existing interpretations but that it serves to lengthen the focus and recalibrate the settings.

This conclusion ends with a glimpse of Marcel Duchamp waiting at the pier-head in New York in June 1915, effectively an asylum-seeker from the European situation. His arrival would have attracted interest if only for the journey that he had just undertaken. In the month before his arrival, on a voyage between New York and Liverpool, the passenger liner the *RMS Mauritania* had been sunk in a German submarine attack off the Irish coast. This caused considerable loss of life including 128 American nationals and turned the north Atlantic into the war zone that impinged dangerously close to the continent of America. Asylum-seekers, inescapably, bring their past and their preoccupations with them. Marcel Duchamp's asylum was no exception to this and in his baggage would be included envelopes and packages containing the disturbing representations and problematic paraphernalia that he had created and salvaged from the build-up to the European war. The watchful eye of the New York Port Authority, had its attentions focused elsewhere on that day and showed no concern or curiosity over the package of photographs, taken of incoherent scribbles in a foreign language, or even the shrouded figures on glass that Duchamp was bringing into the country. The paradox of bringing the 'Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries' and the 'Box of 1914' to America with him, was that while escaping from the war in France, Duchamp was nevertheless importing the troubling attitudes and representations of the war that would not leave him.

¹ *D'un côté, le chef des 5 nus sera en avant des 4 autres nus vers cette route Jura-Paris.*

Emphasis by the author

8

Coda

Coda



Fig. 8.1
Marcel Duchamp
Editions de et Sur Marcel Duchamp
1967



Fig. 8.2
French Atomic Explosion
Television footage 27 December 1960
1960

At the end of his life, Marcel Duchamp produced a poster for the Galerie Givaudan. It displays his outstretched palm, pressing against the picture plane with a cigar provocatively inserted between his fingers. An ejaculatory plume of smoke, emanating from this cigar, mushrooms upwards in a voluptuous parody of an atomic cloud (fig.7.4)¹. The image resembles the television footage of France's third nuclear test, conducted in French colonial Africa on 27 December 1960². Here the contaminated debris drifts upwards with the same insouciant grace as the smoke from Duchamp's cigar. The image is disarmingly sexual, but it also conveys an isolating gesture of non-interference by someone at the end of his life. If the salacious intention is forgotten for a moment it will be noted that Marcel Duchamp's creative career, from this final poster to his earliest juvenile drawing, was bracketed at either end by images that reflected on military technology, equipment and power, not to mention the additional liberties with good taste that his mordant imagination was capable of developing in relation to the sobering realities of military culture.

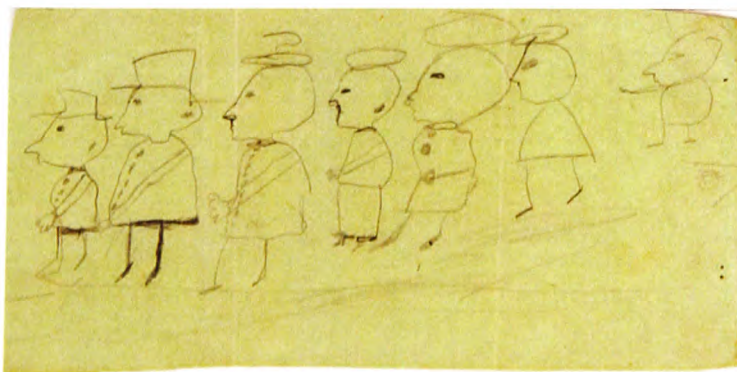


Fig. 8.3 Marcel Duchamp. *Parade: Seven People in Profile with Hats*.1892

¹ I am grateful for Jacqueline Matisse Monnier's insight here.

² For the French Nuclear testing see:

news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/december/27/newsid_2985000/2985200.stm

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Appendix

Time line of military events and related art works in Marcel Duchamp's career

Art Works Timeline		MILITARY Timeline	MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline	
1870		Franco-Prussian War	1870	
1871		Franco-Prussian War – Paris Commune Establishment of Paris Militia <i>The gymnast and the soldier must everywhere stand side by side with the teacher.</i> Gambetta		
1872		Five-Year Conscription Law based on drawn lots providing the professional army with a large conscript army. Ideological difference between republican <i>Nation Under Arms</i> and nationalist <i>Armée de Mérit</i> .		
1874		Natural rose madder dies for <i>garance</i> (military uniform trousers) gives way to alizarin crimson chemical dyes.		
1875		Law setting strict numbers on the number of professionals versus conscripts. Republican fears of a large independent, professional army.	1875	Birth of Gaston Duchamp (later Jacques Villon)
1876		Physical (gymnastics) exercise starts in the army and extends to school curriculum. Frequently taught by ex-soldiers.	1876	Birth of Raymond Duchamp (later Raymond Duchamp-Villon)
1879			1879	Birth of Francis Picabia
1880			1880	Birth of Jean-Louis Chailié 20/02/80 Birth of Guillaume Apollinaire 26/08/80
1881	Alexandre Protais. 1881. Painting. <i>Le Drapeau et L'Armée.</i> (painting)			Birth of Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia Birth of Albert Gleizes
1882	Pierre-Georges Jeannot. 1882. <i>Les Réservistes.</i> (painting)	<i>Bataillons scolaires</i> (24 battalions in Paris)		

Art Works Timeline		MILITARY Timeline		MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline	
				1883	Birth of Jean Metzinger
1884		Berlin Conference on the partition of Africa. 1884. Hiram Maxwell (U.S) invents the first automatic machine gun.			
1885		1885. Jules Ferry distilled 3 basic elements of French Colonialism: <i>The need to break the spell, which fixed French eyes on her Eastern frontier.</i>			
1886		1886. Introduction of the Lebel 86 Service Rifle			
1887	Eugène Chaperon. 1887. <i>La Douche au Régiment.</i> (painting)			1887	28/07/87. Birth of Marcel Duchamp
1888	MD age 1				
1889	MD age 2	Three-year conscription law introduced.		1889	20/10/89. Birth of Suzanne Duchamp
1891	MD age 4 Eugene Chaperon. 1891. <i>Long Etape.</i> (painting)	(01/05/91) Strike breaking by 145 th RI. <i>Fusillade de Fourmies.</i> Infamous first action with the 1886 rifle. 9 miners killed.			
1892	MD age 5. <i>Parade: seven people in profile with hats</i> (picture)			1892	MD age 5.
1894	MD age 7 <i>Soldier on a Horse</i> (picture) <i>French Flag, French Soldier</i> (picture)	1894. Dreyfus Affair. Capt. Alfred Dreyfus accused of selling military secrets to Germany. • The <i>bordereau</i> containing artillery secrets found in the German embassy with similar handwriting to Dreyfus. • False documents by Esterhazy to convict Dreyfus.		1894	00/11/94. Alfred Jarry conscripted 00/11/94 - 97. Jacques Villon conscripted 21 st Regiment, Infantry of the Line.

Art Works Timeline		MILITARY Timeline		MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline	
1895	MD age 8 <i>La Cavalerie</i> (picture) Jacques Villon <i>Marcel in Soldiers Disguise</i> (drawing) <i>Marcel Duchamp in uniform.</i> (photograph)	1895, Dreyfus Affair: Lt. Picquart takes over the brief and suspects Esterhazy. Picquart transferred to the southern Sahara. Major Henry takes over and forges more papers.	1895	00/02/05. Jarry's medical discharge. 00/11/95-98. Raymond D-Villon conscripted, cavalry. 14/03/95. Birth of Magdeleine 07/11/95 Eugene Duchamp elected mayor of Blainville-Crevon.	
1896			1896	17/05/96. Eugène Duchamp re-elected mayor.	
1897	MD age 10. Alfred JARRY. <i>Les Jours et les Nuits: roman d'un déserteur.</i> (novel)	1897. Dreyfus Affair: Clemenceau is persuaded of Dreyfus' innocence. Production of the 75mm rapid fire field-gun at Puteaux	1897	MD age 10.	
1898		1898. Dreyfus Affair: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Esterhazy accused and acquitted of Dreyfus' crime. This implicates the High Command who insists on the veracity of the <i>faux Henry</i>. Zola's <i>J'Accuse</i> published. Suicide of Henry Political power transferred to political left in consequence. Army morale declines. Fashoda Incident. France's intentions of controlling territory between the Sudan and the Red Sea conflict with British 'Cape to Cairo' land route.		22/07/98. Madeleine born. 22/07/98. Villon on Military service 22/07/98. Raymond at École de Médecine 22/07/98. Marcel at Lycée Corneille Rouen 30/07/98. 74 th Regimental band plays at Lycée Corneille prize-giving.	
1899		'Republicanism' of army during the post-Dreyfus suspicion of the military. Manifested in discussions on camouflaged uniforms. 14/07/99. Public introduction of the 75mm rapid-fire field-gun at Longchamps. 1899. Dreyfus Affair. Retrial. Treason (with extenuating circumstances).	1899	22/07/99. Duchamp-Villon military service.	

Art Works Timeline		MILITARY Timeline		MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline	
1900		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1900. Two-year conscription is discussed. Army Reforms under Gallifet Sale of alcohol forbidden in barracks canteen 1200 franc dowry regulations from wives of officers is repealed. Doctrine of all out offensive strategy; <i>à outrance</i> French pre-eminence in (wireless) communication intelligence. Witness French success in 1914. Hotchkiss 8mm heavy machine-gun. Limited to 30 rounds. This defensive weapon counters army strategy of <i>outrance</i>. 	1900	06/05/00. Eugène Duchamp is re-elected Mayor of Blainville.	
1901			1901	74 th <i>Regt Infanterie</i> band plays at the prize-giving at the Lycée Corneille.	
1902	28/07/02. MD age 15.	<p>1902. End of 2nd Boer War.</p> <p>1902. Trials for blue-grey <i>Tenue-Böer</i> — too German.</p>	1902	28/07/02. MD age 15. 31/07/00 at Prize –Giving. No mention of 74 th <i>Regt Infanterie</i> . Albert Gleizes military service (Abbeville)	
1903		1903. Trials for <i>Beige-Bleu</i> uniform — too German.	1903	31/07/03. Municipal band, not the military band this year at the Lycée Corneille.	
1904	1904-05. MD <i>The Sacré Coeur</i> (drawing)	<p>00/02/04 Russo-Japanese War: GB allied to Japan, France allied to Russia. Germany intent on exploiting this opposition.</p> <p><i>Entente Cordiale</i> France, England and Russia.</p> <p>Tacit understanding to honour interests in Morocco (France) and Egypt (GB). Provoking German concern over French power in Morocco.</p> <p>1904 Army used for industrial strike breaking duties</p> <p>1904 Suppression of the catholic teaching orders</p>	1904	02/05/04. Blainville-Crevon. Eugène Duchamp re-elected onto Municipal Council. 15/05/04. Blainville-Crevon. Eugène Duchamp elected mayor 30/07/00 Final Prize –Giving. 74 th play, but fewer uniforms on the podium. 12/11/104. MD at Académie Julian	
1905	1904-05. MD Assorted drawings and watercolours including: <i>Messenger with an umbrella</i>	<p>21/03/05. 1889 Repeal of the Three Year Law that selected conscripts by drawing lots, (exempting doctors etc. and art workers to one year).</p> <p>Two-year service law. Due for implementation in 1907.</p>	1905	21/03/05. Montmartre. MD is officially in the military conscription “Class of 1907”. 27/03/05. Eugene Duchamp retires and moves to Rouen.	

Art Works Timeline		MILITARY Timeline	MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline
	<p><i>Gasman</i> <i>Policeman - back view</i> <i>The Knife Grinder</i> <i>The Reservist</i> <i>Funeral Coachman.</i></p> <p>Albert Lartreau. 1905. <i>Tambours et Clairons</i> (painting)</p>	<p>Plans to employ soldiers deemed unfit for military duty in non-combat roles.</p> <p>Puteaux 8mm heavy machine-gun. Army used for industrial strike breaking duties</p> <p>'Law of Separation' between Church and State. Crisis in the army over its implementation.</p> <p>Josefa. JOTEYKO. <i>L'Entraînement et Fatigue au point de vue militaire.</i> (Government Report)</p> <p>On a visit to Tangiers, Kaiser Wilhelm II denounces French occupation of Morocco Development of German military <i>Schiefflen Plan</i> for the invasion of France.</p>	<p>15/05/05. Enrols as an engraver 03/10/05. MD volunteers for military service. 04/10/05. 39th. Infantry of the Line.</p> <p><i>Dates de passage de libération</i> 03/10/08 Dans le reserve de l'armée active. 03/10/18 Dans l'armée territoriale. 03/10/28 Dans le reserve de l'armée territoriale 03/10/30 Libération définitive du service militaire. 3/11/05. Eugène Duchamp retires</p>
1906	<p>Octave Mirbeau. <i>Les Animaux sur la Route.</i> (Motoring account)</p>	<p>Dreyfus Affair: Dreyfus acquitted Algeiras Conference supports French interest in Morocco against German claims.</p> <p>Army used for industrial strike breaking duties in the northern coal-mines.</p> <p>Minister of War abolishes drums and bugles in military drill (along with excessive military regalia in order to 'Republicanize' the army)</p>	<p>11/04/06. MD promoted to corporal.</p> <p>18/09/06. Completion of Military Service. Discharged with good conduct and held on reserve.</p> <p>5/11/06. Académie Julian</p>
1907	<p>28/07/07. MD age 20 25/05/07. (exhibition) First Salon des Artistes Humoristes: <i>Femme Cocher</i> <i>Le Lapin</i></p> <p>Pierre Petit-Gerard <i>Pendant la Grève</i> (painting)</p>	<p>1907 Industrial strike breaking duties. 1907 Army review plans to disband <i>Cuirassier</i> units. 1907. General Sarrail announces that: 'the machine gun will never have a place on the battlefield.' Chauchat 8mm assault (offensive) machine gun. Poorly made and unreliable. Modified 1915. Saint Étienne 8mm heavy machine-gun to replace the Puteaux. Southern regiments revolt in order to defend their own</p>	<p>28/07/07. MD age 20</p>

Art Works Timeline		MILITARY Timeline	MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline
	Octave Mirbeau. <i>La 628-E8</i> . (novel)	relatives against strike breaking troops. British Army adopts khaki	
1908	Edith Wharton. <i>A Motor-Flight through France</i> . (novel)	Professional army seen as an attacking force. Reservists seen as the defence force. Casablanca Affair over German nationals deserting from the French Foreign Legion	<p>07/03/08. (Exhibition) Rouen. Soc. Artistes Rouennais. <i>Scène de Ménage</i> <i>Femme Cocher</i></p> <p>MD plays in Veules-les-Roses tennis championships.</p> <p>Reserve de l'armée active.</p> <p>Salon d'Automne <i>Portrait, Cerister en fleurs, Vieux Cimetière</i> 01/10/08 Rue Amiral-de-Joinville</p>
1909	<i>MD</i> . 18/12/09 <i>Expérience</i> . Le Courrier de France.		<p>17/02/09 Rouen. 74th Regt plays at opening of Soc. des Artistes Rouennais.</p> <p>01/03/09. Max Bergman (German Painter) in Paris with MD</p> <p>25/03/09. Puteaux. <i>Indépendents</i> opens MD exhibiting 4 canvases.</p> <p>01/09/09. MD's military medical examination pronounces him to be physically unfit. Military discharge.</p> <p>01/10/09. Salon d'Automne MD exhibits: <i>Étude à Nu, Veules (l'église), Sur la Falaise</i>.</p>

Art Works Timeline		MILITARY Timeline		MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline
1910	MD. Published cartoons: 05/02/10. <i>Musique de Chambre</i> Roger de la Fresnaye. <i>Le Cuirassier</i> (painting)	German army adopts <i>field grey</i> <i>Bases générales de l'instruction de l'infanterie</i> : including sequential drawings from Marey's chronophotography.	1910	01/03/10. Neuilly. MD/Bergman in Paris. 07/03/10. Neuilly. MD/Bergman in Paris. (Bonnard Exhibition) 18/03/10. Neuilly. <i>Les Indépendents</i> 4 works by MD. 16/04/10. Neuilly. MD/Bergman and in Paris. (with Jeanne Serre) 26/04/10. Neuilly. MD/ Bergman and in Paris. (Jeanne Serre, Versailles) 01/10/10. Salon d'Automne MD exhibits: <i>La Partie d'Échecs</i> , <i>L'Armoire à Glace</i> , <i>Nu couché</i> , <i>Toile de Jony</i> .
1911	MD. <i>Moulin à Café</i> (painting) <i>Nude Descending a Staircase No.1</i> (painting)	00/06/11 – 00/10/11. Agadir crisis. French outrage over German gunboat <i>Panther</i> and cruiser <i>Berlin</i> . Seen as bullying. Franco-German compromise over Morocco and the Congo. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Messimy (Minister of War) reintroduces the wearing of epaulettes. Weekly military parades in garrison towns. Military Preparation Societies (<i>Bataillon Scolaires</i>) continue to flourish in spite of Republican party opposition. Trials of grey-green <i>Tenue Réséda</i> — too Italian <i>This blind, stupid attachment to the most visible of colours will have cruel consequences.</i> Adolphe Messimy. Minister of War. 	1911	06/02/11. Birth of Yvonne Marguerite Marthe Jeanne (Serre). 21/04/11. (Exhibition) Indépendents: <i>Le Buisson</i> . Jeanne Serre models for the kneeling figure. 06/05/11. 2 nd Exhibition of Société Normande. 23/08/11 Theft of the <i>Mona Lisa</i> from the Louvres. Apollinaire arrested. Held in the <i>Santé</i> (1 week). 23/08/11 Suzanne Duchamp marries pharmacien Charles Desmarest. 30/09/11. (Exhibition) <i>Fantasio (et Spirou?)</i> at Salon d'Automne. MD meets Picabia at Salon d'Automne 19/11/11. Société Normande de Peinture Moderne at <i>Galerie d'Art Ancien et Art Contemporain</i> . Apollinaire promotes exhibition.
1912	28/07/12. MD age 25.	00/01/12. Poincaré (Conservative Republican from	1912	Apollinaire editor of <i>Les Soirées de Paris</i>

Art Works Timeline	MILITARY Timeline	MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline
<p><i>Nude Descending a Staircase No. 2.</i></p> <p><i>2 Personnages et une Auto</i></p> <p><i>Nus: un fort et un vite.</i></p> <p><i>King and Queen series</i> (Neuilly).</p> <p><i>Bride and Virgin series</i> (Munich)</p> <p>00/09/12. <i>Aeroplane</i></p> <p>20/10/12 Gleizes et Metzinger publish <i>Du Cubisme</i>: MD <i>Moulin à Café.</i></p> <p>26/10/12. (samedi) MD. <i>Jura-Paris Trip.</i></p> <p>26/10/12. MD. <i>Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire.</i></p> <p><i>Édouard Debat Ponson.</i> 1912. <i>Ceux qui Veillent.</i> (painting)</p> <p><i>Jacques Villon.</i> 1912. <i>Étude pour Soldats en Marche.</i> (drawing)</p> <p><i>Jean Marchand.</i> 1912. <i>Painting. Les Cavaliers.</i></p>	<p>Lorraine) elected prime minister.</p> <p>09/03/12. Édouard Détaillé's new uniform designs featured in <i>l'Illustration</i>. Grey-green uniforms. Rejected.</p> <p>10/03/12. Reprieve of outmoded cuirassier regiments in order to bolster patriotic links with Napoleonic era.</p> <p>00/05/12. Poincaré elected President.</p> <p>00/06/12 drums and bugles re-introduced.</p> <p>Uniform Trials</p> <p>'A fifth attempt used 'tricolore' cloth of blue (60%), red (30%) and white (10%) threads, until it was found that the appropriate red alizarin dye was produced only in Germany. It was decided instead to proceed without the red.</p> <p><i>L'année 1912... Edouard Detaille... de tenues pour l'armée française qui concurrencent la tenue réséda essayée au grandes manoeuvres de 1911. Une compagnie portant la tenue Detaille défile le 14 juillet 1912. Le même jour, 'le petit Journal publie son supplément illustré sous-titré' Les sonneries sont rétablies au casernes"; "Tous les bons Français remercieront le ministre d'avoir rendu la voix à nos régiments... Ce n'est pas seulement le réveil des troupiers que somme le clairon dans le matin lumineux... (ROBICHON:98:131)</i></p> <p>LAVAUZELLE, Charles. 1912. <i>Manuel d'Infanterie à l'usage des sous-officiers, caporaux, et élèves caporaux.</i> Paris/Limoges. Éditeur Militaire. 349° Édition 1915.</p>	<p>with the help of friends in an attempt to alleviate his depression.</p> <p>17/03/12. Neuilly. MD delivers <i>Nude</i> to the <i>Independents</i> by rowing boat.</p> <p>18/03/12. Neuilly. <i>Nude</i> rejected by hanging committee. Taxi home.</p> <p>20/04/12 <i>Exposicion de Arte Cubista.</i> Galerie Josep Dalmau, Barcelona.</p> <p>Spring: 1912</p> <p>15/06/12. 3rd Exhibition of <i>Société Normande de Peinture Moderne</i></p> <p>19/06/12. Visits Basel, Constance</p> <p>28/07/12. MD age 25.</p> <p>21-25/09/12. Leaves Munich and visits Vienna, Leipzig, Prague Dresden.</p> <p>26/09/12</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In accordance with the law MD registers his address in Munich • rendezvous with Gabrielle at Andelots-les-Montagnes <p>30/09/12 (Exhibition) MD left out of <i>Maison Cubiste</i> but exhibits '<i>Vierge No.1</i>' drawing.</p> <p>09/04/12. (Exhibition) <i>Section d'Or.</i> MD exhibits: <i>Nude Descending No.2, King and Queen</i> (watercolour), <i>King and Queen</i> (oil), <i>Joueurs d'Echecs.</i></p> <p>11/10/12 Apollinaire lectures at <i>Section d'Or.</i> G.A's gives definitions of cubism.</p> <p>04/11/12 Ecole de Chartes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bibliothèque Sainte Genevieve • <i>Jura-Paris Road Note</i>

Art Works Timeline		MILITARY Timeline	MARCEL DUCHAMP Timeline
1913	<p>Roger de la Fresnaye. <i>L'Artillerie</i>. (painting)</p> <p>'Jura-Paris road'. Green Box Note</p> <p><i>Chocolate Grinder No. 1</i>. (Painting)</p> <p><i>Cemetery of Uniforms and Liveries, No.1</i> (Drawing)</p> <p>1. Prêtre 2. <i>Livreur des grandes magasins</i></p> <p>3. <i>Gendarme</i> 4. <i>Cuirassier</i></p> <p>5. <i>Agent de la paix</i> 6. <i>Croque mort</i>, 7. <i>Larbin</i>, 8. <i>Chasseur de café</i>. Added later. 9. <i>Station Master</i>.</p> <p><i>Bicycle Wheel</i> (readymade)</p> <p>Jacques Villon. 1913. <i>Soldats en Marche</i>. (painting)</p> <p>Guillaume Apollinaire: <i>Alcools</i> (poetry)</p>	<p>Three-year law re-introduced. Starting with the current intake of 1910. (rioting)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Important reasons in favour included a better and more experienced cadre of NCO. <p>Military Preparation Societies under the control of the War Ministry – this satisfied republican anxieties over an independent army e.g the National Guard of the commune.</p> <p>General Grandmaison's battle regulations designating an all-out offensive strategy</p> <p>1913. <i>Abolish red trousers? Never! Red trousers are France</i>. Eugène Étienne. Minister of War.</p> <p>Charles Peguy: <i>C'est le soldat français et c'est le canon de 75 qui mesurent à chaque instant la quantité de terre où on parle français</i>.</p>	<p>17/02/13. ARMORY SHOW: <i>Le Roi et la Reine entourés de Nus vites. Portrait de joueurs d'Échecs, Nu Descendant un Escalier No.2 and Jeune Homme triste dans un Train</i>. Show goes from New York to Chicago and Boston</p> <p>01/03/13. Torrey buys <i>Nude Descending</i></p> <p>02/03/13 Eddy purchases <i>Joueurs d'Échecs and King and Queen</i>.</p> <p>17/03/13. Publication: <i>Les Peintres Cubiste: Méditations Estétiques</i> illustrating: <i>Moulin à Café</i></p> <p>20/03/13. <i>New York Evening Star</i> (cartoon) <i>The Rude Descending a Staircase: Rush hour at the Subway</i> by J.T. Griswold</p> <p>03/04/13. Sale of <i>Jeune Homme Triste...</i></p> <p>01/09/13. In London with Yvonne.</p> <p>22/10/13. Moves from 23 Rue Saint-Hypolite to Rue Amiral-de-Joinville.</p> <p>20/11/13. Gabrielle "is full of life and gaiety, <i>Picabia, dark and lively</i>"; Marcel looks like "a young Norman crusader". Gertrude Stein.</p>
1914	<p>00/02/14. <i>Chocolate Grinder No. 1</i> (painting)</p> <p>00/04/14. Robert Delaunay <i>Political Drama</i>. (Print)</p> <p>19/05/14. MD. <i>Network of Stoppages</i></p>	<p>16/03/14. Assassination of Gaston Calmette, editor of 'Le Figaro', by Mme Caillaux wife of Finance minister Joseph Caillaux. For either: Calmette's vilification of Caillaux for his opposition to the 3-Year Law — OR — for his vilification of Caillaux for colluding with Germany over the Agadir.</p> <p>00/03/14. General Gallieni reported: <i>the képi and red trousers are too conspicuous, we must put the troops into khaki.</i>" The report had a poor reception.</p>	<p>06/03/14. Birth of Laurence Buffet-Challié</p> <p>05/05/14. Neuilly. <i>Paris Journal</i>. article. Apollinaire singles out Villon and MD as being influenced by Picabia.</p> <p>19/07/14 (Sunday) Albert Gleizes and Henri-Martin Barzun at Puteaux.</p>

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	Box of 1914 (x 5.) MD. <i>Éloignement Box of 1914</i>	27/03/14. (Autun) Kipling Diaries. Gym instructor etc. Hotchkiss 8mm heavy machine-gun. Redeveloped. Air-cooled. Dissatisfaction continues. Money for field telephones was voted in July. 02/08/14 General mobilization in France 03/08/14 Germany Declares war on France. 01/09/14 Government moves to Bordeaux. • Battle of the Marne August / Sept 1914 • 06/09/14. Paris Taxis <i>The powerful French station (off Eiffel Tower) could swamp or jam the feeble, portable German transmitters.</i> PORCH. 85.	1914. Kupka mobilized.
1915	‘... si je suppose que je sois souffrant beaucoup.’ <i>Box of 1914.</i> MD. 06/06/15. • Portraits of Medical staff <i>Suzanne Duchamp as a nurse</i> MD. Nine Malic Moulds	Albert Gleizes was mobilized in a barracks in Toul (Lorraine), where he was put in charge of troop recreation time. 00/05/15. Sinking of the <i>Lusitania</i> . 06/06/15 ... with the intention of retaining neutrality of the United States after the sinking of the ‘ <i>Lusitania</i> ’, today Kaiser Wilhelm II has forbidden any further submarine attacks on either enemy or neutral passenger ships... 1915 - 18. Kupka helps to form the Czech Legion.	06/01/15. After examination by military doctors Duchamp is again declared unfit to serve in the army. 19/01/15. Letter to Walter Pach: <i>Yvonne (D-Villon) is a nurse at the hospital and “wouldn’t give her place for an empire (of Germany)”</i> . 08/03/15. Neully. Shows at Carroll Galleries NYC: <i>Portrait</i> 30/09/11, <i>La Partie d’Échecs</i> (01/10/10), <i>A propos de jeune Soeur, Broyeuse de Chocolat Nos 1 & 2.</i> 12/03/15. Letter to Walter Pach: “ <i>I remember too well the same confidence in the month of August and all I see is a badly regulated civilian imagination...</i> ” 12/03/15. Visits American consulate with Raymond to send papers to Pach about sending works: <i>Nude No.1, Vierge.</i> 02/04/15. Letter to Walter Pach (secret details on a separate sheet) 27/04/15. Letter to Walter Pach (continuing secrecy requested) — <i>Je vais pas a New York, je quite Paris.</i>

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				<p>21/05/15. Books ticket on <i>Rochambeau</i></p> <p>21/05/15. Informs brothers of imminent departure for NY. Leaves <i>Glider</i> with Raymond.</p> <p>06/06/15 Sails from Bordeaux on <i>Rochambeau</i>.</p> <p>08/06/15. p/c to G. D-Villon & Y. Villon (mentioning submarines)</p> <p>15/06/15 Arrives in New York: U.S immigration judges him to be: <i>of sound mind, in good physical health</i>.</p> <p>24/07/15. Discussions about war and art.</p> <p>01/09/15. <i>Vanity Fair</i> article.</p> <p>01/09/15. <i>Arts and Decoration</i> article: <i>A Complete Reversal of Art Opinions by MD Iconoclast</i>.</p> <p>02/09/15. <i>I am in the best of health</i> (CAUMONT).</p> <p>12/09/15 <i>New York Tribune</i> article: <i>"Cubism could almost be called a prophet of the war ... for the war will produce a severe direct art</i>.</p> <p>18/09/15. <i>Boston Evening Transcript</i> article: <i>'street sports'</i>.</p> <p>18/10/15. 34 Beekman Place: visited by the Gleizes.</p> <p>24/10/15. <i>New York Herald Tribune</i>. Article: <i>French artists spur on American art. (HEART CONDITION)</i></p> <p>15/11/15. Part-time work Museum of French Art. 597 Fifth Ave. NYC</p> <p>27/11/15. <i>Literary Digest</i>. Article: <i>The European Art Invasion</i>.</p>
		05/12/15. Sinking of the <i>Lusitania</i> , 1,200 passengers. 128 Americans.		
1916	MD. 17/02/16. <i>Peigne</i> . 3 OU 4 GOUTTE DE HAUTEUR N'ONT RIEN À FAIRE AVEC	21/02/16 – 27/06/16 Battle of Verdun 01/07/16 <i>Deutschland</i> 315 surfaces off Atlantic City.	1916	<p>01/01/16. 246 West 73rd Street</p> <p>01/01/16. MD to Quinn. <i>I have good news from my brothers. They are still on the</i></p>

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	LA SAUVAGERIE 1916. Raymond Duchamp-Villon. <i>Le Coq</i> . (Relief Plaque)	(With a cargo of high quality dyestuffs; alizarin crimson?) St. Etienne heavy machine-gun withdrawn.		front both of them; Raymond D-V is a surgeon in the 'artillerie lourde' He is safer than J. Villon who is now on the first trenches line. 17/03/16. Apollinaire wounded. 01/04/16. NYC. Group exhibition at Stéphane Bourgeois Galleries NYC: <i>Broyeuses de Chocolat x 2, Le Roi et la Reine</i> drawing, <i>Combat de Boxe</i> , <i>...Pliant... de Voyage</i> . 04/04/16. NYC. <i>Montross Gallery</i> (The Four Musketeers) with: Duchamp, Crotti, Gleizes and Metzinger. (Picabia refers to G&M as) the <i>Bouvard and Pecuchet Cubists</i> . Greely-Smith's question about the gender of the <i>Nude</i> . 16/05/16. NYC. <i>Simplicissimus</i> (cartoon) Olaf Gulbransson's uses the <i>Moulin à Café</i> in a cartoon about the war. Echoes of <i>Éloignement</i> note. 26/07/16. MD delivers Villon's paintings to Quinn. As Villon is on active service MD suggests that Quinn sends the money to Gaby. 17/10/16: 33 West 67 th Street (Arensberg). 24/10/16. Meets Florine Stettheimer. MD 'looks thin poor boy'. 05/12/16. MD agrees to become Director of Society of Independent Artists.
1917	, Henri Barbusse 1917. <i>Le Feu & Carnet de Guerre</i> MD. 09/04/17 <i>The Blind Man</i>		1917	19/03/17. NYC. Planning <i>Independent Artists</i> with Gleizes and Arensberg. 27/03/17. NYC. After further examination by French military doctors, MD is again considered unfit for active service. 01/04/17. Varèse conducts Berlioz

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<p>1917</p> <p>MD, 05/05/17. <i>The Blind Man</i> 2. Marcel Douxami?</p>	<p>02/04/17. Congress votes to join the allies against Germany.</p> <p>11/05/17. Maréchal Joffre on an a public awareness mission to America</p> <p>14/08/17. Certificate of Exemption from Military Service (U.S. Army) in respect of, the person named herein, on the ground that such a person was "an alien".</p>	<p>Requiem in a memorial to all fallen soldiers.</p> <p>02/04/15. NYC. <i>Everyweek</i>. Article. <i>Sometimes we Dread the Future</i>.</p> <p>04/04/17. Gabrielle and Picabia return to NYC from Barcelona.</p> <p>06/04/17 NYC. MD elected head of Independants Hanging Committee</p> <p>07/04/17. NYC MD hanging the <i>Independants</i>. <i>The Blindman</i> in production by Roché and Beatrice Wood</p> <p>09/04/17. <i>Independants</i> opening. MD's resignation over R.Mutt.</p> <p>19/04/17. NYC. Arthur Cravan 'lectures' at <i>Inependants</i>. <i>The Independent Artists in France and America</i>.</p> <p>19/04/17. NYC. Steiglitz photographs the rejected <i>Fountain</i>.</p> <p>27/04/17. NYC. 33W 67th Preparation for <i>Blind Man</i> 2.</p> <p>11/05/17. NYC. 33W 67th. Joffre in NYC watched by MD and Stetheimmers see: <i>Joffre et l'Allemande</i>. Matisse.252.</p> <p>25/05/17. NYC. 33W 67th. <i>The Blind Man's Ball</i>. MD on the flagpole (in spite of medical).</p> <p>25/08/17. Walter Stetheimer in uniform.</p> <p>28/07/17. MD age 30.</p> <p>20/09/17. Francis Picabia leaves for Spain.</p> <p>16/09/17 Before Gaby Picabia leaves for France they go motoring and breakdown.</p> <p>05/10/17. Interviewed by French officials and is likely to become a secretary to a French captain in NYC.</p> <p>08/10/17 claims to want to 'do something for his country.'</p>

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1918	MD. French Military Paper: <i>Mis à la disposition de l'attaché militaire.</i>	09/04/18. Paris bombarded by Big Bertha	1918	24/02/18. 33 West 67 th . Quinn purchases Raymond's <i>Le Coq Gaulois</i> . MD reports that Raymond is in hospital for a year. Jacques in a camouflage unit near Paris. 16/03/18. 33 West 67 th . MD working on <i>Tu m'</i> 02-03/07/18 33 West 67 th . Roché on 48-hour leave from military service meets MD and Barzun in NYC. 07/07/18 Takes part in the film <i>Lafayette!</i> <i>We Come</i> , dir. Léonce Perret. 08/07/18. Letter to Crotti (secrecy) 23/07/18. Reveals plans to leave for BA to Ettie Stettheimer 11/08/18 MD moves the <i>Large Glass</i> to the Arensberg's apartment for safekeeping. 14/08/18 Sails in the <i>SS Crofton Hall</i> for Buenos Aires with Yvonne Chastel 21/08/18 (c). Letter to Arensbergs about submarines. 21/08/18 p/c to Stettheimers mentioning submarines. 19/09/18. <i>SS Crofton Hall</i> arrives in BA 03/10/18 MD Anticipated military service: <i>L'armée territoriale.</i> 07/10/18. Raymond dies after two-year blood poisoning. 68 th Artillery
1919	MD. 04.04.19. <i>A regarder d'un Oeil, de près, pendant presque une heure.</i>	12/09/18 German Collapse on the Western Front. 11/11/18 Retreat of the German armies. Abdication of William II. Republic declared. 14/07/19 Pars Victory Parade 28/06/19: Treaty of Versailles	1919	13/01/19. BA to F. Stettheimer writes: "A toutes les trois j'envoie mes meilleurs souhaits pour l'année 19... que nous

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1919	<p>MD. 04.04.19. <i>Stéréoscopie à la Main</i></p> <p>MD. <i>Tonsure de 1919-Paris</i>. administered by Georges de Zayas. Photograph by Man Ray.</p> <p>MD. <i>L.H.O.O.Q</i></p>			<p><i>appellerons l'année de délivrance par les Américains." Ceci dit (pour qu'au moins vous ne me rapprochiez pas mon indifférence vis à vis du temps). ... Les soldats ici sont habillés à l'Allemande, de sorte qu'une de mes premières impressions ici à été de me croire prisonnier de guerre...more follows about the League of Nations and Britain's procrastinations.</i></p> <p>09/03/19. MD shaves his head (lice)</p> <p>11/03/19. BA. Yvonne Chastel leaves MD and Buenos Aires for France.</p> <p>04/04/19. K. Dreier leaves Buenos Aires for NYC.</p> <p>20/07/19 Leaving BA (22/06) SS <i>Highland Pride</i> arrives at London for 3 days.</p> <p>09/08/19. MD stays with Gabrielle (8 months pregnant) at 32 Ave Charles-Floquet.</p> <p>12/08/19. Assists K. Dreier in obtaining German passport to visit her relatives.</p> <p>03/09/19 Visits Yvonne D-Villon (still on active service) at Laon.</p> <p>15/09/19. MD present at Gabrielle Buffet's delivery</p> <p>01/11/19 Salon d'Automne tribute to Raymond D-V. MD does not exhibit.</p> <p>16/11/19. Eugène Duchamp votes for the right wing Clemenceau. With K Dreier.</p> <p>06/12/19. K. Dreier sails back to NYC</p> <p>19/11/19. At Gabrielle's party MD tells Roché that he has had his lungs X-rayed.</p> <p>27/12/19. Leaves on the <i>Touraine</i>. Le Havre – New York.</p>
1920	25/04/20. <i>Marcel Duchamp</i>		1920	26/02/20. NYC. Gabrielle arrives and stays

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	is better, he drink's cod's liver oil; there are lots of women in America and little whisky.			with MD 25/04/20. Picabia publishes <i>Canibale</i> with <i>Chèque Tranck</i> and the statement <i>Marcel Duchamp is better...</i> (See opposite). 29/05/20. Gabrielle returns to France. 10/07/20. <i>Rose Sélavy</i> accidentally (?) becomes <i>Rose Sélavy</i> . 15/07/20. Living at Lincoln Arcade Bldg.
1921	MD. <i>Tonsure: Voici Rose Sélavy 1921. NYC?</i> (Philadelphia Museum) MD. <i>Marcel Duchamp as Belle Haleine</i> MD. <i>Marcel Duchamp as Rose Sélavy</i> MD. <i>La Bagarre d'Austerlitz</i> MD. 01/06/21. <i>PODE BAL + DUCHAMP (NOTHING DOING)</i>		1921	29/01/21. <i>New York Journal</i> (article.) <i>Dada will get you if you don't watch out; it is on the way here.</i> Margery Rex. 22/07/21. Man Ray arrives in Paris. 28/07/21. At Puteaux with Villon where MD's bicycle wheel is being used to film Duchamp's spiral drawings.
1922	28/07/22. MD age 35.		1922	28/07/22. MD age 35. 01/10/22: Breton publishes: <i>Rose Sélavy trouve qu'un insecticide doit coucher avec sa mère avant de la tuer; les punaises (bedbugs) sont de rigueur.</i> 25/11/22. Dying business between Léon Hartl and Rose Sélavy. 1/12/22. Transatlantic and Telepathic transmissions between MD (in NYC) and R. Desnos (Paris) including: <i>O mon crâne Étoile de nacre qui s'étoile.</i> (Oh my star head in disappearing mother of pearl.)
1922			1922	
1923	MD. <i>The Large Glass. (Termination)</i>		1923	05/02/23. Dreier buys <i>Large Glass</i> off Arensbergs for \$2,000

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					23/02/23. <i>Noordam</i> arrives in Rotterdam from NYC – moves to Belgium. 4/03/23. Brussels. In Paris meets up with Breton and Picabia – also Lucie Duchamp finds MD ‘in better health’ (see 15/03/23.) 01/10/23. MD serves on the jury of the Salon d’Automne.
1924				1924	27/11/24. <i>Relâche</i> , opening postponed. <i>Relâche</i> (In Remission.)
1927	28/07/27. MD age 40.			1927	28/07/27. MD age 40. 16/09/27 Motor-vehicle breaks-down at Saulieu and Auxerre on the JP Road (from Chamonix.)
				1928	03/10/28. Anticipated military duty <i>Reserve de l’armée territoriale</i>
1930				1930	03/10/30 Anticipated military duty: <i>Liberation définitive du service militaire.</i>
1945	28/07/45. MD age 58. MD. 11.01.45. <i>View Magazine: Special Issue</i> featuring <i>Certificat de bonne Conduite.</i>			1945	28/07/45. MD age 58.