

Brides Stripped Bare: Surrealism, the *Large Glass*, and U.S. Women's Imaginary Museums

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I. Introduction: The *Large Glass* and the Imaginary Museum

In 1949 André Malraux commented: "an Imaginary Art Museum without precedent has come into being . . . now that the [visual] arts have invented their own printing-press" (17). Thanks to technologies of reproduction, the public no longer had to visit actual art museums, but could simply look at photos of artworks, making possible the creation of personal collections or "museums without walls," a common translation of Malraux's "musée imaginaire" (23). Thus Malraux connected the reproduction of art to its democratization, noting that "a new field of art experience, vaster than any so far known, is being opened up today" (52). Surrealist poets and artists in particular aimed to open up "a new field of art experience," and the museum would become a potent symbol of all they sought to challenge and transform in modern life. As poet André Breton wrote in the first "Manifesto of Surrealism," surrealism sought to free the imagination from "a state of slavery" caused by the "absolute rationalism" and "reign of logic" in twentieth-century culture (4, 9). Public art museums exemplified this logic in that they instructed citizens in the importance of different national traditions, aesthetic forms, and stylistic schools through the rational arrangement and display of visual artifacts.¹ In contrast to the established museum's emphasis on rational, disinterested spectatorship, surrealists and those they influenced envisioned art museums and exhibitions as portals to the imagination and the unconscious, capable of altering the spectator's perspective on everyday life, objects, and habits. Taking the "museum as muse," surrealists and their admirers created collections and installations that transformed the museum into a stage for surrealist-inspired ends, including the fusion of dream and reality, disorienting perspectives on the

¹ On the history of independent museums and wings of national museums dedicated to works of modernism, see McBride; Carrier; Lynes; Kantor. On the art museum more generally, see Bennett; Duncan; McLellan.

“real,” urban wandering, the pursuit of pleasure and desire, and the merging of art with everyday life.²

Such innovative collections and exhibitions were fundamental to the reception of Dada and surrealism in the United States, and Marcel Duchamp is at the center of this history through the example of his installations and his works that invite institutional critique, with perhaps no work more central than *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even (The Large Glass)* (1915-1923).³ As Dalia Judovitz argues, the *Large Glass* builds on the logic of the readymade by serving as a display for previous readymades, and has affinities with Duchamp’s other self-curated collections such as the *Boîte-en-Valise*. Duchamp took the “museum as muse” so as to critically expose and challenge the role of art institutions in defining, evaluating, and exhibiting art as a visual commodity embedded in the art market.⁴ As a window to its surroundings, the *Large Glass* invites critical reflection on the broader context of display in which it is placed, while the abstract elements of the *Large Glass* resist its “visual allure,” seeking to activate an intellectual, verbal engagement (Judovitz, *Drawing* 8, 38-41). Judovitz argues that the readymades and *Large Glass* blurred the distinction between artist and spectator and “opened up the productive potential of [Duchamp’s] works to future play and appropriation” (*Drawing* xxiii; 219-220).

The history of engagement with the *Large Glass* is rich, long, and varied: the *Glass* can be regarded as a virtual engine of the American avant-garde, inspiring work by visual artists, curators, poets, composers, filmmakers, and performance artists interested in questioning and transforming the frames through which art is viewed, experienced, and evaluated. In the first half of the twentieth century this history includes male figures such as Man Ray, Frederick Kiesler, Julien Levy, Alfred Barr, Charles Henri Ford, and Roberto Matta Eschaurren, all of whom appear in this essay. However, the *Large Glass*’s creation of an active role for the spectator also proved generative to women who were interested in establishing

² On the museum as a muse for modern visual artists, see McShine; Bronson; Kachur; Storrie. On the museum as muse for modern poets, see Bergmann-Loizeaux; Fischer; Heffernan; Paul. On the museum and collection as a rich cultural trope and epistemology see Stewart; Crane.

³ Given his skepticism of any received idea or institution, Duchamp was involved in but maintained an ironic distance from a number of avant-garde movements, including surrealism. Lewis Kachur has emphasized Duchamp’s importance to surrealism, and particularly to surrealist exhibitions beginning in the 1930s (8, 217-219): “more than any other individual, Duchamp may be said to be the ‘inventor’ of the disorienting, obstructionist mise-en-scene that is late surrealist exhibition display” (8). Kachur stresses the role of *The Large Glass* (219) in this history, arguing that “Duchamp stretched Surrealism in an ecumenical direction, thereby contributing to the critical space for offshoots” (217).

⁴ See Judovitz, *Drawing* xvii-xix, 38, 181-193, 205; Filipovic; Kachur.

new models of producing, displaying, and consuming avant-garde art. While the surrealist movement inspired many women poets and artists, Breton and other early surrealists tended to cast women in the role of muse, aesthetic ideal, medium to irrational states, lover, patron, or spectator.⁵ Taking up the invitation of Duchamp and the *Large Glass*, certain women also used their position on the margins of both the museum and the avant-garde as an impetus to reimagine both, and in doing so, to comment variously on institutional power, the practices of surrealist display, and gendered modes of looking.

Katherine Dreier's domestic installations, Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century Gallery, Maya Deren's film *Witch's Cradle*, and Mina Loy's novel *Insel* were all innovative collections that framed and transformed works associated with Dada and surrealism, enabling critical and at times feminist perspectives to emerge.⁶ Duchamp wrote in his *Notes and Projects for the Large Glass*, "The bride reveals herself nude / in 2 appearances: the first, that of / the stripping by the bachelors, the second / appearance that voluntary-imaginative one / of the brideOn their collision, depends the whole / blossoming" (26). Each woman's collection involves both a "stripping by the bachelors" and a "voluntary-imaginative" stripping; to take on the metaphorical role of the Bride in the *Large Glass* was to acknowledge the simultaneity of being both the agent of a female vision and object of the bachelor's gaze, of being defined (or "stripped") by the readymades of gender, commerce, and an institutionalized history of art that marginalized women, but was also capable of critically altering and re-framing them. Their collections enlarged the potential meanings of museums and of surrealism, creating an art that is at once an exhibitionary frame and an independent vision, a form of critical reception and an imaginative transformation.

⁵ Penelope Rosemont argues that the early surrealist movement was male-dominated and many male surrealists were not feminists, yet they were nevertheless "the irreconcilable enemies of feminism's enemies, and thus in many ways could be considered feminism's allies. They concentrated their attacks on the apparatus of patriarchal oppression: God, church, state, family, capital, fatherland, and the military" (xliv). Breton idealized women as muse, erotic or romantic ideal, and as a child-like medium to irrational unconscious states, but also "championed the sorceress, vamp, succubus, temptress, seer, sphinx, wanton, outlaw, and dozens of other models of unconventional women" (xlvii). On women and surrealism, see also Chadwick; Caws, Kuenzli, and Raaberg; Fort and Arcq; Lusty; Hubert.

⁶ Amelia Jones observes "the tendency within surrealism to rationalize in its own fashion – by orienting its explorations toward the ultimate recontainment of femininity, flux, homosexuality, and other kinds of dangerous flows that intrigued the surrealists but which they could not bear to allow to remain unbounded" (*Irrational Modernism* 252). The history of surrealism's reception by women and other marginalized groups in the U.S. can be seen as a history of resistance to such containment; see Pawlik; Rosemont and Kelley; Rosenbaum.

In approaching the “museum as muse,” these women, like Duchamp, regarded the museum not simply as a physical space for exhibition, but also considered it as an arbiter of cultural value, a repository of cultural memory, a script for viewing modern art, an epistemology, and a malleable, hybrid form of collection and display that could include, for instance, the exhibition catalogue, the little magazine, the poetic collection, the private living space, and the gallery-based film or performance. Thus while their museums took concrete form, they were “imaginary” and at times “without walls” in their play with and transformations of the scale, materials, and aims of the museum collection, and in their efforts to engage the spectator’s imagination.⁷

Through these reflections in the *Large Glass*, then, we find a history of an American avant-garde that included women, reflecting upon the mixtures central to its genesis. These collections provide an important counterpoint to the influential history of modernism recorded at the Museum of Modern Art, which, as Griselda Pollock has commented, “systematically failed to register the intensely visible artistic participation of women in making modernism modern” (34).⁸ This was particularly true of Alfred Barr’s 1937 exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada, and Surrealism*, which serves as both a touchstone for and foil to the collections under discussion.⁹ In imaginatively entering these “museums without walls,” we find a history of Dada and surrealism in the United States as it was being democratically absorbed, contested, and transformed, inviting a rethinking of what constitutes surrealism beyond the bounds of the movement controlled by Breton and beyond the constraints of the history advanced by Barr and his successors at MoMA.

⁷ My use of the word “imaginary” is not equivalent to “unrealized,” even in the case of collections that took the form of textual or visual plans for a more permanent structure that was never built, as in the case of Kiesler’s *Endless House* or Dreier’s Country House Museum. Broadening the forms and media of collection that we consider under the rubric of the museum allows us to engage collections that are visionary, imaginative, or virtual, and that rely on the role of the verbal arts and of the audience’s imagination. My understanding of “imaginary museums” coincides with Wall-Romana’s understanding of the “cinematic imaginary” as an expansion and transformation of the poetic imagination through new media, primarily the cinema (16-18, 29-30). Elsewhere I discuss the imaginary museum as originating in the surrealist effort to expand the poetic; Breton called the activity of revealing the commingling of dream and reality “poetry,” and thus the poetic act was as central to film, photography, and painting as it was to poems proper (Rosenbaum, “Exquisite Corpse”).

⁸ Pollock notes that of the 2,052 exhibitions held at MoMA since 1929, 95, or 5%, have focused on women (42).

⁹ Barr’s show included work by Eileen Agar, Meret Oppenheim, Leonor Fini, Hannah Höch, and Valentine Hugo. Works by Katherine Dreier and Georgia O’Keeffe were included in a section titled “Artists independent of the Dada-Surrealist movements.” See Barr, *Fantastic Art*.

II. A “New Motor”: Katherine Dreier’s Installations of the *Large Glass*

The modernist painter Katherine Dreier was a co-founder with Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray of Société Anonyme, Inc. Museum of Modern Art (1920-1940), the first institution, after Stieglitz’s “291” gallery (1905-1917), dedicated to modernism in the United States. The Société Anonyme sponsored exhibitions, readings, lectures, dance performances, and concerts, most notably the 1926 International Exhibition of Modern Art at the Brooklyn Museum, but despite Dreier’s persistent efforts, the collection was never established as a permanent, independent museum. While Dreier’s failed 1929 proposal to the Carnegie Corporation to establish a museum to be directed by Duchamp and designed by Frederick Kiesler underscored the ways in which the Société Anonyme shadowed the Museum of Modern Art (1929-), and anticipated Peggy Guggenheim’s gallery (1942-1947), her collaboration with Duchamp on the Société Anonyme makes visible another history of modernism.¹⁰ Specifically, Dreier’s alternative to an institutional museum, an innovative window-like display of the *Large Glass* in her own home, illuminates the importance of gender and the domestic space to this history of display.

Duchamp’s *Bride*, both positioned within but also resistant to the plot of heterosexual desire and feminized spectacle, could be written over by women like Dreier who redefined readymade gender roles in their own works and lives. The abstract and mechanical qualities of Duchamp’s *Bride* and *Bachelor* allow them to “defy traditional gender qualifications” (Judovitz, *Unpacking Duchamp* 71).¹¹ In describing the *Bride* both as an “apotheosis of virginity” and as a “new motor,” who is stripped nude by the bachelors but whose own “desiring” generates a “stripping voluntarily imagined” (*Notes and Projects* 22, 24), Duchamp presents conventions of masculinity and femininity as ready-made clichés that mechanize

¹⁰ Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Papers, 1.1. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

¹¹ Dalia Judovitz has argued that Duchamp’s activation of the spectator’s role “brings into focus the responsibility of the work’s reception as an act of engagement, appreciation, and interpretation that relies on judgment and debate in order to mobilize and adjudicate the cultural meanings at play in the work” (*Drawing* 221). David Hopkins has demonstrated Duchamp’s influence on a generation of queer male artists interested in challenging masculinist modernism after World War II (*Dada’s Boys*), while Amelia Jones approaches Duchamp not as an authorizing paternal origin but as a figure whose generativeness for postmodernism lies in the readymades’ deconstruction of sexual difference (*Postmodernism*). Dreier credited Duchamp with challenging conventions of gender by drawing a moustache on the *Mona Lisa*, which “revealed the hard side of *Mona Lisa*. He was no longer the soft woman, but a person of strength and determination. No one had noticed that beneath that softness lay these determined masculine qualities” (4). Katherine Dreier, “Kurt Schwitters,” drafts, 25 Dec. 1947. Katherine S. Dreier Papers/Société Anonyme Archive.

our habits, but which can also be ironized, suspended, and performatively remade. In dividing the Bride from her prospective mates by placing her in the top half of the *Glass*, Duchamp set in motion a spatialized “plot” involving desire and a frustrated romance. Duchamp implied the commercial nature of this romance: “No obstinacy, ad absurdum: of hiding the coition through a glass pane with one or many objects of the shop window. The penalty consists in cutting the pane and in feeling regret as soon as possession is consummated. q.e.d.” (*Notes and Projects* 202). If we consider the *Glass* as a shop window, then the deferral of consummation between Bride and Bachelors allegorizes and subverts the way in which desire for the “readymade” in the window or for the artwork displayed in the museum is both feminized and sexualized in commercial culture.¹² The *Glass*’s refusal of consummation coupled with its resistance to the Bride’s visual allure creates a “Delay in Glass” (*Notes and Projects* 42), inviting an intellectual, verbal engagement (Judovitz, *Drawing* 40-41). In 1934 Duchamp published *La Mariée mise à nu par ses célibataires même* (commonly known as the “Green Box”), a collection of notes (begun in 1912) about the *Glass*, and in his words, “the final product was to be a wedding of mental and visual elements” (Tomkins, *Duchamp* 296).¹³ The pun on wedding reveals that the only marriage of Bride and Bachelors would be a conceptual one, involving the play of word and image.

Dreier’s exhibitions of the *Large Glass* are a case in point. Dreier purchased the work in 1922 from the Arensbergs, and made it a centerpiece of the Société Anonyme’s 1926 Brooklyn Exhibition; Duchamp installed the *Glass* and likely hung the works one could see through it (Bohan 56).¹⁴ As Julien Levy recalled in *View*’s Duchamp issue,

[Duchamp’s] great painting on glass, which he calls a “glissière en verre,” was obviously an experiment in the dynamics of space. The composition was devised so that it might retain a constructive relation with whatever heterogeneous objects passed in back of the transparency. When I first

¹² Duchamp anticipates Andreas Huyssen’s insight that mass culture is feminized (Huyssen 44-62). Duchamp used actual store windows as a kind of popular exhibition space, as in the Gotham Book Mart window he designed for the publication of Breton’s *Arcane 17*, photographed by Maya Deren for *View* in 1945. Deren’s photograph can be read as a twist on both the *Large Glass*, and the exquisite corpse, in that it shows a headless female mannequin (alluding to the 1938 Paris surrealist exhibition) with Breton’s reflected head positioned alongside it.

¹³ Duchamp worked on the *Large Glass* from 1912 to 1923, starting the *Notes and Projects* in Paris and continuing work on the *Glass* after his move to New York in 1915 and declaring it “definitively unfinished” in 1923. A selection from the *Notes and Projects* was published in English translation in the *Surrealist Number of This Quarter* (1932) edited by Breton. On the origin of the *Large Glass* in Roussel’s verbal experiments with the pun, see Henderson.

¹⁴ The *Glass* was broken while being transported to Dreier’s home after its 1926 exhibition, and Duchamp carefully repaired it (Tomkins, *Bride and the Bachelors* 57).

saw the large glass at the Brooklyn Museum I was fascinated, not merely by the work itself, but by the numerous transformations which were lent the composition by its accidental background, by the spectators who passed through the museum behind the glass I was regarding. The "Mariée mise a nu" seemed to absorb them all partially into her own cosmogony, while at the same time she lent some of her own form indefatigably to them. There can be no doubt that this big toy was a sincere experiment with space and a successful one. ("Duchampiana")

These transformations of the *Glass* by its setting, and of the setting by the *Glass*, would prove central to Dreier's installation of the *Glass* in her home.

Following the 1926 Brooklyn Exhibition, Dreier installed the *Large Glass* in the library of her Connecticut home The Haven, along with the mural *Tu m'*, which she had initially commissioned for her New York apartment in 1917 (Gross 8, 18). This domestic display coincided with Dreier's inability to find a permanent, public home for the Société Anonyme collection.¹⁵ On one level, then, this alternate location resulted from Dreier's difficulties as a female museum director and resonated with the connotations of the home as a private space feminized by gendered inequality. On the other hand, Dreier simultaneously followed both modern artists and feminist thinkers in working to change the meanings of the home through modernist aesthetics. Dreier emphasized in her public lectures the significance of incorporating modern art in the home, as in this 1933 talk:

It is through the home that the foundation of the average man's reaction to art is laid. . . . It is therefore in the home that one must seek the why and the wherefore of a nation's culture and the response of the individual to different forms of art – and I can hardly believe that the nation which rejects the home has any depth of culture – no matter how many museums it may possess or how many collectors may be among its citizens. For it is not possession which brings culture. It is the attitude of the soul towards beauty. It is through the home that man comes into daily contact with those forms which affect his taste in after life. And taste is the foundation out of which the discrimination grows which ends in an appreciation of art.¹⁶

¹⁵ Lack of funds caused Dreier to close the Society's New York office in 1928, and as Vayzman comments, "During the 1930s and '40s, the Société Anonyme functioned as a museum without a building, sponsoring traveling exhibitions, lectures, and loans from the collection in storage" (52).

¹⁶ "The Average Man's Reaction to Various Art Forms" (16 November 1933). Katherine S. Dreier Papers/Société Anonyme Archive. See also Dreier's review of the Brooklyn Exhibition for *American Art Student* and "The Home and its Changes," a lecture delivered on 28 October 1930. Katherine S. Dreier Papers/ Société Anonyme Archive. Dreier's interest in

In arguing for the home's centrality to modern art, beauty, and national culture, Dreier made the case for the deep value of women's roles, activities, and perspectives, as she had in a 1914 letter to *The New York City Sun*, in which she (identified as a "Member of the Woman's Suffrage Party") had argued that mothers should be paid a standard wage for the care of their children and home. Dreier's effort to integrate modern art into modern domestic life originated not only in the Woman's Suffrage Movement but also in modern art and poetry and specifically in Dada and surrealism. Dreier's 1926 Brooklyn Exhibition featured four rooms furnished to resemble a middle-class parlor, library, dining room, and bedroom, each hung with works of modern art that formed a sharp contrast with the traditional furniture (Bohan 59-60, Vayzman 54). Dreier relished this contrast; she admired the assemblages of Schwitters's Merz collages¹⁷ and the "juxtaposition of reality and imagination" evident in surrealism.¹⁸ Surrealist couples Max Ernst and Dorothea Tanning, and Lee Miller and Roland Penrose, would likewise create homes as living museums in which art acquired daily, intimate meanings. Frederick Kiesler, commissioned by Dreier to design a modernist room for the Brooklyn Exhibition¹⁹, worked for decades on his plan for

democratizing modernist art was evident in her admiration for Walt Whitman and in her efforts to educate the public through exhibitions, essays, and public lectures. See "Walt Whitman," n.d. Katherine S. Dreier Papers/ Société Anonyme Archive. See also Bohan 59, Vayzman 54-55, and Kristina Wilson, "'One Big Painting': A New View of Modern Art at the Brooklyn Museum" in Gross 75-95. Florine Stettheimer's 1916 Knoedler Gallery installation, attended by Duchamp, was presented as a domestic space (David Joselit, "The Artist Readymade: Marcel Duchamp and the Société Anonyme" in Gross 33-43).

¹⁷ In 1920 Dreier and the S.A. sponsored the first American exhibition of Schwitters's Merz collages (Bohan 47-48, 219). Dreier included Schwitters in the 1926 Brooklyn Exhibition and wrote a catalogue essay for a one-man exhibition of his collages in New York in January-February 1948. Katherine S. Dreier Papers/ Société Anonyme Archive.

¹⁸ Dreier sponsored the first American exhibition of Paul Klee in 1924, and exhibited Arp, Ernst, De Chirico, Klee, and Miro in the 1926 Brooklyn Exhibition. Dreier identified Miro as a "Surrealiste" and Ernst as an artist interested in the "juxtaposition of reality and imagination" ("The Current Exhibition of International Modern Art," 28 November 1926, Katherine S. Dreier Papers/ Société Anonyme Archive). See also Bohan 54.

¹⁹ Kiesler's modern room was not completed in time for the exhibition, but included a "telemuseum" for the home that anticipated the digital reproduction of museum collections on the internet and which, as a "museum without walls," sought to democratize access to modern art. The telemuseum was later shown at the Anderson Galleries (Bohan 61-62). Kiesler stated in 1930 "Just as operas are now transmitted over the air, so picture galleries will be. From the Louvre to you, from the Prado to you, from everywhere to you. You will enjoy the prerogative of selecting pictures that are compatible with your mood or that meet the demands of any special occasion. Through the dials of your Teleset you will share in the ownership of the world's greatest art treasures" (*Store and Its Display* 121).

a surrealist-inspired *Endless House* that integrated art and everyday life with the hope that “every house will become a museum” (“Manifesto on Correalism” 99).²⁰

But Dreier’s private display, and the importance she placed on the significance of modern aesthetics in the home, was not the end of her plan to create a public display. Dreier commented that, “ever since Duchamp’s *Glass* has been placed in the Library, the House has become a museum which I must see . . . established before I die.”²¹ From 1939 to 1942 Dreier worked to transform her collection into a public Country Museum, and unsuccessfully sought funding from Yale for this effort.²² In 1941 Dreier accepted Yale’s offer to purchase the collection (Vayzman 52, 57-59, Kenney 143-47). Although the Country Museum was never built, Dreier publicized her domestic installation of the *Large Glass* through a textual collection, the Société Anonyme’s May 1944 catalogue, *Duchamp’s Glass: La Mariée mise à nu par ses célibataires, même: An Analytical Reflection*, which Dreier wrote with the Chilean surrealist Roberto Matta Eschaurren.²³ An advertisement for the book emphasized the location of the collection in the home: “four of the reproductions are of Marcel Duchamp’s *Glass* in Miss Dreier’s Library, one of which is his mural made in 1917 and which has never been exhibited.”²⁴ That Dreier publicly asserted the importance of her domestic installation in May 1944 is significant, for the *Glass* was exhibited in “Art in Progress” from May to October 1944 at the MoMA, where it remained on extended loan through April 1946 (Koch 287).

²⁰ That the *Endless House* was never built but generated exhibitions, drawings, models, and a book, testifies to its importance less as an established structure than as a formally variable “imaginary museum” capable of generating dream and imagination. On the history and various incarnations of the *Endless House*, see Bonner and Noever.

²¹ Quoted in Elise K. Kenney, “The Société Anonyme Collection Comes to Yale” in Gross 143-55; 154.

²² Gross notes that visitors to Dreier’s home collection in the 1940s included Alfred H. Barr Jr., Breton, Simone de Beauvoir, Miriam and Naum Gabo, Moholy-Nagy, Julien Levy, Matta, and the Kieslers (135).

²³ Early drafts of this work are titled “The Exploitation of the Object and an Analytical Meditation” as expressed by Matta and taken down by Katherine S. Dreier. However a later draft is titled “An Analytical Reflection by Matta Eschaurren and Katherine S. Dreier,” suggesting that Dreier was a co-author rather than simply a scribe. The catalogue’s emphasis on dynamic imagination resonates with Dreier’s lecture to the Academy of Allied Arts on this topic on 7 December 1933. Katherine S. Dreier Papers/ Société Anonyme Archive.

²⁴ Advertisement for *Analytical Reflection*. Katherine S. Dreier Papers/ Société Anonyme Archive.

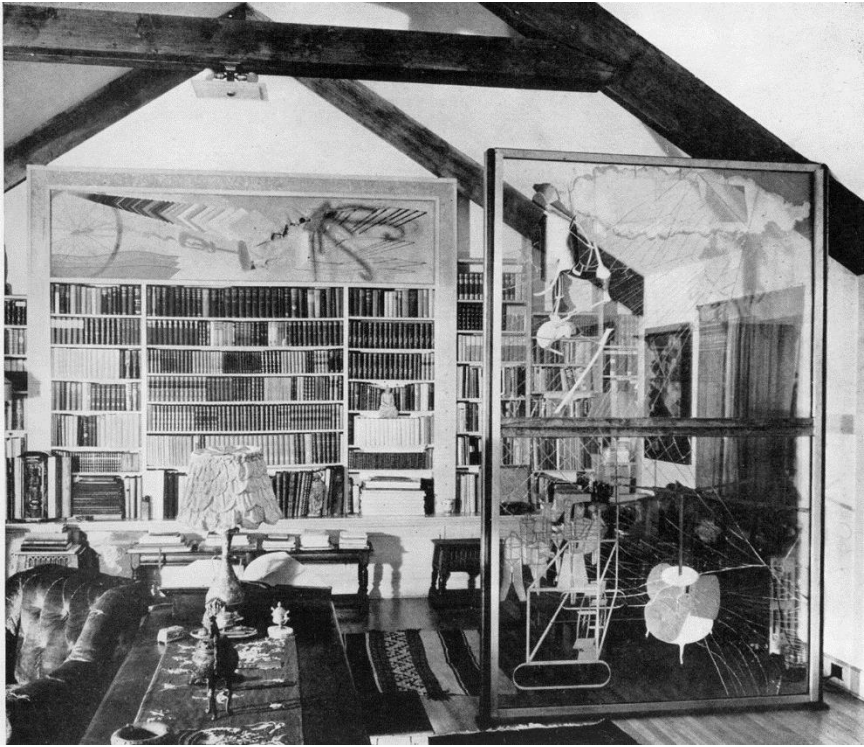


Figure 1: Marcel Duchamp, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*. Installed in Katherine Dreier's home in Westport, CT. Katherine Dreier and Matta Echaurren, *Duchamp's Glass: An Analytical Reflection*, 1944. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

The "Analytical Reflection" featured photos of the *Large Glass* interacting with the spaces of Dreier's home (fig. 1), underscoring the importance of this context to Dreier's understanding of the work's meaning. Instead of a distant, objective relationship, Dreier advocated treating artwork in the home "like a friend" (Dreier and Matta 29) and noted the ability of such art to engage and alter those who lived with it.²⁵ Dreier and Matta commented in the catalogue, "Marcel Duchamp was the first to paint the image per se, to be completed by an act in consciousness on the part of the spectator. Prior to this, the artist spoke and the on-looker listened, for he was not called upon to complete the work of art by his own conscious act. It was a statement – now it is a dialogue!" (n.pag.). They added, "painting – glass – mirror – these are the three substances in dynamic interrelation to the final image

²⁵ "Art as Pertaining to Life" n.d., lecture given at Heterodoxy Club. See also "Should Art be a Part of Everyday Life" (4), a lecture delivered on 21 December 1933 at the Academy of Allied Arts. Katherine S. Dreier Papers/Société Anonyme Archive.

of the 'Glass.' While we gaze upon the bride – there appears through the glass the image of the room wherein we stand and on the radiation of the mirror design lives the image of our own body" (n.pag.). In the photographs object and space, artwork and context, integrate and interact in a dynamic conversation. The *Large Glass* divides and frames Dreier's living space, rendering what is not overtly modernist in style distinctly so as seen through the *Glass*. The room in turn alters the *Glass*, most notably through the addition of the ceiling beams as structural elements, and through the radiator visible through the *Glass*, which becomes a part of the bachelor's machinery. Viewed through the transforming "window" of the *Glass*, the domestic space is rendered a non-realist, modernist space where new, fantastical possibilities reside: where a radiator can become – with the aid of the spectator's imagination – something new, strange, and alive, much like Meret Oppenheim's fur-lined cup and saucer, or Gertrude Stein's animation of everyday objects in *Tender Buttons* (1914).²⁶ The catalogue emphasizes that by gazing upon the bride in her home, Dreier superimposed upon it the living image of her own body: her act of curation and spectatorship conjoined with the activities of everyday life transformed the bride as a "readymade" role or object into what she termed "dynamic action," thereby turning spectator into artist.²⁷ The essay concludes that Duchamp "has broken the association between the object and the on-looker and in breaking down these limitations, frees the spirit of man" (n. pag.). As directors of the Société Anonyme, Dreier and Duchamp can be seen as an unconventional bride and bachelor, each through their art of collection and framing seeking independence and agency.²⁸

²⁶ John D. Schiff's photo "The Large Glass Installed Before a Window Overlooking the Garden at Katherine S. Dreier's Home, Milford, CT, c. 1948" suggests that Dreier was equally inventive in subsequent installations of the *Glass* (Marcoci 124). Positioned as a "window" whose abstract elements break up access to an "outside reality," Dreier's installation enacts a fundamental principle of modernism.

²⁷ For Dreier, such action would include painted portraits – indirect, abstract reflections/transformations – of Duchamp.

²⁸ Apter develops this idea through a reading of Dreier's biography, specifically her marriage followed by its immediate annulment, her independent life, and her longstanding relationship to Duchamp (380-84). Bloemink reads Florine Stettheimer as sharing with Duchamp "notions of the artist as bachelor, of necessity stripped bare of the encumbrances of spouse and progeny in order to be wedded to art and to have the freedom and time to create" (504), an argument also relevant to Dreier. In *Cathedrals of Art*, Stettheimer paints herself as a "conflated bride/bachelor" (Bloemink 504).



Figure 2: Erwin Blumenfeld, cover of *Vogue*, July 1945. © Condé Nast and The Estate of Erwin Blumenfeld.

A different superimposition of the female body on Duchamp's *Bride* appeared in former Berlin dadaist Erwin Blumenfeld's July 1945 *Vogue* cover photo (fig. 2) of a model standing behind the *Large Glass* at MoMA (Koch 288).²⁹ Dreier's loan of the *Glass* to the museum had made this photo possible, and in a letter to James Johnson Sweeney, Director of Painting and Sculpture, Dreier angrily denounced

²⁹ Blumenfeld's early career creating photomontages as part of Berlin Dada would extend to his later work as a fashion photographer, suggesting Dreier's underestimation of his *Vogue* cover. Sarah James posits the influence of surrealism on Blumenfeld's 1940's fashion photos, arguing that "Blumenfeld's radical approach to image making was clearly as embedded in the transgressive politics of Surrealism's genesis as Brassai's." Blumenfeld, James argues, "could dissect the mechanisms of the culture industry via the agitational strategies of the avant-garde from the inside out." Contra Dreier's reading, Blumenfeld may echo and amplify Duchamp's irony by using the frame of the *Large Glass* as a window on to *Vogue*, troubling, rather than confirming, the visual allure of the feminized commodity. Blumenfeld frames the model's fan, belt, and bracelet as elements in the Bachelor's machinery, and uses the horizontal line separating Bachelors from Bride to bisect the model just below her neck, perhaps commenting on other cultural divisions (e.g. between mind and body, virginity and sexuality) that sustain the fashion industry.

MoMA's decision to allow the *Glass* to appear in a commercial context.³⁰ In her lectures and essays Dreier distinguished art's spiritual or moral purposes from the "arbitrary thinking" (4) that guided taste and fashion.³¹ To compound matters, *Vogue's* accompanying essay described MoMA's three female founders, but erased the role of Dreier and the Société Anonyme in furthering the cause of modern art, noting that since the 1913 Armory Show, "No others . . . had worked out a museum" (56). Blumenfeld's *Vogue* cover positions the model behind a cropped image of the *Glass*, like a fashion mannequin on display in a department store window, or a woman seen inside her home. Given her belief in an opposition between fashion and the avant-garde, Dreier read the photograph as confirming rather than troubling the visual allure of an immobilized, domesticated, and feminized commodity, establishing a fixed relationship of inside/outside or spectator/object, a reading supported by the description of where the model's outfit and accessories could be purchased on *Vogue's* "Contents" page. In contrast, Dreier's and Matta's framing of the *Glass* as an "analytical reflection" (ital. mine) combines verbal analysis of the *Glass* with multiple views of the work as a "dynamic reality" in conversation with the environment of Dreier's home, thereby drawing attention to its intellectual and critical aims: the *Glass* "causes one to realize the futility of trying to possess that which does not belong to the material world. For the moment one wants to possess and grasp at it – that moment it eludes one and like smoke, it vanishes into thin air" (n.pag.).

III. Peggy Guggenheim's and Frederick Kiesler's Art of this Century Gallery

While Katherine Dreier's 1929 plan for a permanent museum to be designed by Frederick Kiesler never came to fruition, Peggy Guggenheim temporarily realized this ideal in her Art of this Century Gallery (1942-1947).³² Like Dreier, Guggenheim

³⁰ Dreier wrote in a 13 August 1945 letter to Sweeney: "One cannot blame *Vogue* for they run true to form, but one can only be amazed and shocked that you should advise your Trustees to so flippant and devastating a presentation of important works of art in the collection and loans of the Museum for commercial purposes." James Johnson Sweeney Papers, 12. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

³¹ Dreier addressed this topic in a 25 October 1935 Lecture to the CT Art Association, "The Difference Between Fashion – Taste – and Art" (Katherine S. Dreier Papers/Société Anonyme Archive). Dreier's longstanding interest in theosophy informed her understanding of modernist art's spiritual role (Bohan 15-25).

³² Guggenheim's personal collection anchored the inaugural exhibition of the gallery, for which

benefited from Duchamp's advice about Guggenheim Jeune, her London Gallery (1938-1939), and Art of this Century (Guggenheim, *Out of This Century* 161-62, 165-67, 198-99; Dearborn 128-130). Mary Dearborn notes that "Guggenheim was, except for the aristocratic and entrenched Marie Harriman, the only female gallery owner in New York; indeed, Peggy's decision to let Kiesler build his vision in the gallery set her apart from many women of the time" (204). Guggenheim recalled that her "only condition . . . was that the pictures should be unframed" (*Out of This Century* 274).³³ In literally and figuratively breaking the frame of conventional museum display, Kiesler sought in his words to "break down the physical and mental barriers which separate people from the art they live with" ("Design-Correlation" (VVV) 76).³⁴ Kiesler's design for Guggenheim's gallery enacted his theory of "correalism," which was inspired by the *Large Glass*. In May 1937 he published a reflection on the *Large Glass* also titled "Design-Correlation" in *The Architectural Record* in which he proclaimed Duchamp's work the "masterpiece" of the first quarter of the century (54), an assertion he supported with photos of *The Glass* in Dreier's library.³⁵ Following Duchampian principles, Kiesler's correalist designs encouraged the spectator to "recognize his act of seeing – of 'receiving' as a participation in the creative process no less essential than the artist's own."³⁶

Art of This Century included Surrealist, Kinetic, and Abstract Galleries, which invited the spectator's participation. As Peggy Guggenheim described it,

The Surrealist Gallery had curved walls made of gum wood. The unframed paintings, mounted on baseball bats, which could be tilted, at any angle, protruded about a foot from the walls. Each one had its own

she produced (with Breton's help) a catalogue, including prefaces by Breton, Arp, and Mondrian on surrealist, concrete, and abstract art, as well as material on each artist, photos of each artist's eyes, surrealist poetry, and modernist manifestos.

³³ Kiesler noted Guggenheim's desire to eliminate the frame in his 1942 "Note on Designing the Gallery" (Davidson and Rylands 174-75).

³⁴ Kiesler wrote "It is the principle of unity, primordial unity, the unity between man's creative consciousness and his daily environment which governs the presentation of paintings, sculptures, furnishings and enclosures in these four galleries" ("Note on Designing the Gallery" in Davidson and Rylands 174).

³⁵ Kiesler wrote "To create such an X-ray painting of space, material and psychic, one needs as a lens (a) oneself, well focused and dusted off, (b) the subconscious as camera obscura, (c) a super-conscious as sanitizer, and (d) the clash of this trinity to illuminate the scene" (54). The article included photos of the *Large Glass* with Duchamp and Dreier, and innovative photos of sections of the *Glass* by Berenice Abbott.

³⁶ Kiesler, "Note on Designing the Gallery" in Davidson & Rylands 174. See also "Manifesto on Correalism," initially published in French in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 1949, and printed in English translation in Bogner and Noever 92-99.

spotlight. The lights went on and off every three secondsIn one corridor he placed a revolving wheel on which to show seven works of Klee. The wheel automatically went into motion when the public stepped across a beam of light. In order to view the works of Marcel Duchamp in reproduction, you looked through a hole in the wall and turned by hand a very beautiful spidery wheel. The press named this part of the gallery Coney Island. (*Out of This Century* 274-75)

On display behind the hole in the wall was the *Boîte en Valise*, Duchamp's small, portable museum that included the *Large Glass* and other works, reproduced in miniature (fig. 3). Duchamp's portable, self-curated museum – one of 300 copies – signified travel beyond the museum's walls, extending its reach by blurring boundaries between museum and suitcase, mechanical and artisanal reproduction, copy and original, commodity and art.³⁷ Kiesler's kinetic framing of the reproductions of the suitcase similarly asked spectators to engage the context of museum display, the mechanism of the gaze, and the aura of the museum "original." As Kiesler wrote in his "Manifesto on Correalism," "Drive out contemporary art from museums. Art belongs to the street, the home, the people" (Bogner and Noever 92). Duchamp's miniaturized *Large Glass*, exhibited in his portable museum, viewed through Kiesler's dynamic frame, and housed in Guggenheim's Gallery, collectively articulated an understanding of the museum as a dynamic assembly, a mobile art of framing that invites further frames, including the spectator's.³⁸

Guggenheim, in contrast to Dreier, embraced more fluid relationships between the spaces of avant-garde art and fashion, subtly transforming each while making possible a new, more dynamic role for the female spectator-consumer. Just as Duchamp's *Glass* evokes a department store window, Kiesler's designs alluded to popular display contexts such as Coney Island amusements or dime museum exhibits. Guggenheim followed suit, allowing her Gallery to become a stage for fashion shoots in popular magazines including *Vogue* and *Town and Country*. While expanding the commercial reach of the gallery, Guggenheim simultaneously considered her gallery "noncommercial" and thus a "center for all avant-garde activities" (*Out of This Century* 314). The fashion photos reveal the complexity of Guggenheim's negotiation of gender and commercial culture: on the one hand they seem to reinforce a view of the female body as an aesthetic ideal and commodified object subject to (rather than capable of unsettling) relations of power and gender. On the other hand, in letting avant-garde art become a

³⁷ On the *Boîte en Valise*, see Bonk, Filipovic, Judovitz *Unpacking Duchamp*, Hopkins *Marcel Duchamp and Max Ernst*, Tomkins.

³⁸ The spectator's active engagement with the art was also invited in the Daylight Gallery, where changing exhibitions were displayed and where spectators could sit on stools and examine art stacked on easels (Altshuler 151, Davidson and Rylands 198).

backdrop to and ornament for the female body, Guggenheim, like Duchamp and Kiesler, rejected the gallery as an abstract, morally pure or “spiritual” space opposed to the commercial and conventionally feminized frame of the fashion magazine. From this perspective, the models in the fashion photos, and the model gazing through the *Glass* on Erwin Blumenfeld’s 1945 *Vogue* cover, can be regarded not simply as objectified “brides” but as female spectators engaged in transforming the meaning of art and gallery, akin to the women in Berenice Abbott’s Art of This Century Gallery photos (fig. 3). Guggenheim’s treatment of the “Bride” as both desired commodity and as agent of her own gaze anticipates later works that consider this duality, including Grace Hartigan’s painting *Grand Street Brides* (1954), Daisy Aldan’s film *Once Upon an El* (1955), Hannah Wilke’s performance and video *Hannah Wilke Through the Large Glass* (1976, no. 10), and Laura Moriarty’s *Nude Memoir* (2000).³⁹

Guggenheim exhibited many women artists at Art of this Century, both in one-woman and two-person shows including *Exhibition by 31 Women* (January-February 1943) and *The Women* (June-July 1945) (Davidson and Rylands, 291, 324).⁴⁰ Many of these artists did not appear in other exhibitions at the time, nor were they included in early histories of Dada, surrealism, or the New York School

³⁹ Grace Hartigan’s 1954 painting “Grand Street Brides,” based on Walter Silver’s photograph of a bridal shop window on Grand Street, continued the dialogue with *The Large Glass* as a kind of department store window. In choosing to paint mannequins, ready-made brides wearing ready-made gowns captured in a readymade photo, Hartigan presents an altered readymade. Hartigan commented “I’m painting myself actually in the painting as well as standing outside, painting the painting . . . I have been accused that all of my women are another aspect of myself. So it is with a sense of belonging to art history that I put myself in there” (Hirsh 35). Hartigan occupies the position of both spectator and spectacle, artist and bride: she exposes the cultural codes that manufacture the bride and its gendered ideal, but also transforms that ideal by turning the bride into the figure of the artist.

Hannah Wilke, in her 1976 performance “Hannah Wilke, through the Large Glass as the Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even” at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, also presents herself as both artist and spectacle. The performance involved Wilke dressed in a white suit and fedora, flamboyantly striking poses like a fashion model, and then stripping, a performance visible through Duchamp’s *Glass*. She recalled, “In that video-film-performance, I was the bride stripped bare but also the bride as artist making the artwork, so that Duchamp’s *Large Glass* became, all of a sudden, just a dead symbol, a prop for a moving, live woman. It didn’t matter if I was a work of art or not. I moved and didn’t allow the cameraman to move. He stayed still (still life). The filmstrip was a pun; I stripped myself bare, but I stripped myself of the veil of woman being just the model for the man. I was now the model of the creative spirit, as the artist of my own ideology” (Montano 138).

⁴⁰ The content rather than display of these shows was novel: “Exhibition by 31 Women” was shown in the Daylight Gallery (Jewell 23), which was a conventional rectangular room with white walls (Davidson and Rylands 261-62).

(Pollock 45). *31 Women*, an exhibition suggested by Duchamp (Guggenheim, *Out of this Century* 279), featured work by Leonora Carrington, Leonor Fini, Meret Oppenheim, Djuna Barnes, Frida Kahlo, Gypsy Rose Lee, Louise Nevelson, Kay Sage, Xenia Cage, Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven, and Dorothea Tanning (Dearborn 204), and can be seen as a critical response to Barr's 1937 *Fantastic Art, Dada, and Surrealism* exhibition. As the press release stated, "any doubt that there might only be a limited number of works by women that could come under the heading of 'fantastic' was soon dispelled. The paintings and sculptures finally selected show extraordinary imagination and . . . a meticulous technique. Here then is testimony to the fact that the creative ability of women is by no means restricted to the decorative vein. . ." (Davidson and Rylands 292).⁴¹

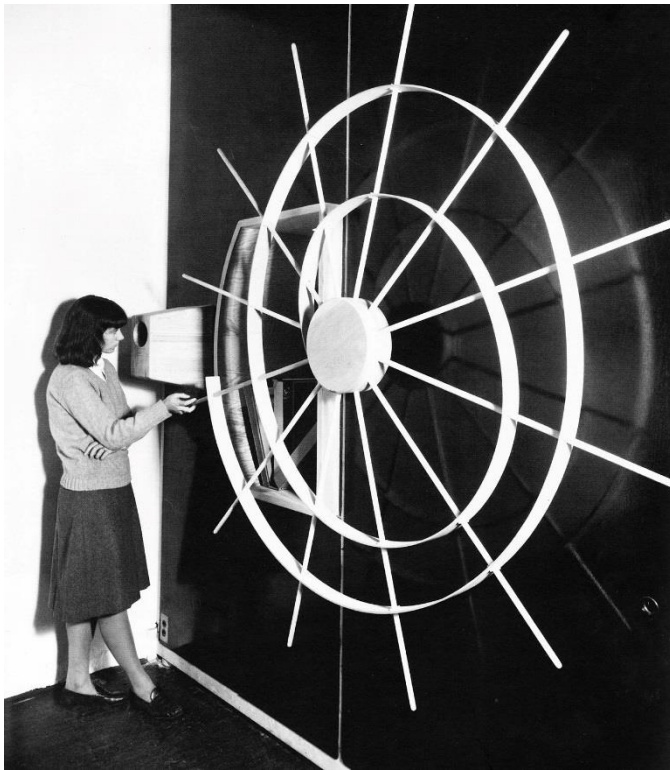


Figure 3: *Viewing Mechanism* for Duchamp's *Boite-en-valise* (1935-41), Kinetic Gallery, Art of This Century Gallery. 1942. Photograph Berenice Abbott. © Getty Images.

⁴¹ The subsequent inclusion of many of these women in the surrealist magazine *VVV* in March 1943 can be attributed, Davidson and Rylands argue, to Guggenheim's exhibition (292).

Although Guggenheim admired Barr, acknowledging him in her 1942 Gallery catalogue (*Art of This Century* 9) and consulting him on *31 Women* (Pollock 45), in her support for female artists, reliance on Duchamp's ideas, and use of Kiesler's designs, she charted a different path.⁴²

Barr's 1937 *Fantastic Art, Dada, and Surrealism* exhibition was innovative in its inclusion of art by children and the insane, folk art, and commercial and journalistic art. But Barr's effort to treat Dada and surrealism "in an objective and historical manner" (*Fantastic Art* 7) resulted in an emphasis on historical and formal changes in aesthetic style and an erasure of surrealism's leftist political commitments, dedication to poetry, and many of its female participants. Barr's rational, didactic exhibition style and mission was at odds with surrealism's irrational, interdisciplinary spirit; his ultimate refusal to cede control of the show to the surrealist poets André Breton and Paul Éluard underscored this difference (Kachur 14-15).⁴³ In contrast to the surrealists' innovative installations of their work, Barr's use of "neutral-colored walls, with paintings hung at a standardized height and with sculptures placed on white or natural-colored pedestals" (Staniszewski 70) did not encourage active, engaged spectatorship. The MoMA's staid exhibition fueled the perception that surrealism was part of art history's past rather than a living, changing movement. Katherine Dreier had loaned two of Duchamp's works to the MoMA show, but her letters to Barr and her comments in *Art Digest* were scathing: "The weakness, in my opinion, is that the Museum of Modern Art which is supposed to foster living art, is trying to make its exhibitions

⁴² Guggenheim formed a jury that included herself, Breton, Duchamp, Max Ernst, Jimmy Ernst, Howard Putzel, James Thrall Soby, and James Johnson Sweeney (Davidson and Rylands 291). Guggenheim's husband Max Ernst chose the specific works by each artist for the exhibition. By Guggenheim's own account Ernst considered the marriage one of convenience rather than love, an extension of her patronage (*Out of This Century* 216, 228-29, 235-40, 245-47, 264-66, 283-84). While choosing selections for the "31 Women" exhibition Ernst met his next wife, the surrealist-influenced poet-painter Dorothea Tanning (*Out of This Century* 279-80). Mary Dearborn writes, "Despite having established herself on her own terms as a force in the art world, [Guggenheim] still seemed to define herself in terms of men" (242). However, Guggenheim's productive collaborations with Kiesler and Duchamp provide an important counterpoint to conventional roles. In his *New York Times* review of "31 Women," Edward Alden Jewell singled out Meret Oppenheim's "fur-lined teacup and saucer" made famous in the MoMA show (23); in choosing to exhibit this work Guggenheim invited a comparison with Barr.

⁴³ See the letters of 18 July 1936 and 29 November 1936 from Barr to Breton; see also the letter of 13 July 1936 from Éluard to Barr, and the reply from Barr to Eluard of 18 July 1936. Curatorial Exhibition Files, Exh. #55. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY.

historical . . . It is like holding an official funeral when the corpse is still alive" ("Bad Companions").⁴⁴

Both Dreier's and Guggenheim's exhibitions sought to foster surrealism as a "living art." While Guggenheim championed Pollock and other abstract painters, her ongoing exhibition of women artists involved in both surrealism and abstraction complicates the history of the New York School promoted by MoMA and critics such as Clement Greenberg, a history that asserted surrealism's demise while privileging American painting, abstraction, and a largely male cast of characters.⁴⁵ Far from dead, surrealism was extending its influence through unconventional, poetic forms of collection and display.

IV. Maya Deren's *Witch's Cradle*

In their unconventional galleries Katherine Dreier and Peggy Guggenheim simultaneously framed and drew inspiration from the *Large Glass* and in doing so made possible a critical perspective on conventional ways of looking at "the Bride" in commercial culture, the museum, and the avant-garde, while they defined new, active roles for the female spectator. This effort included forms of textual mediation (the gallery catalogue, the fashion magazine) that extended and transformed their existing gallery spaces. Maya Deren and Mina Loy also practiced an art of curation and framing. But lacking their own collections and physical galleries, they presented surrealist art through other media (film and fictional text) to create another new, hybrid space of art exhibition. Their "virtual museums" assert the value of visionary, imaginatively-realized archives as alternatives to traditional architectural sites of collection; critical commentary and transformational potential reside in their deliberate mixtures of media. A way of "breaking the frame" of conventional exhibitions, their imagined museums were

⁴⁴ Dreier, who had loaned Barr Duchamp's *The Bachelors* and *The Stoppage* for the exhibition, responded critically to the exhibition in February 1937 letters. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY. In a 1935 lecture on "The Difference Between Fashion – Taste – and Art" Dreier took to task "museum directors who show everything from school children's work to fine examples of art – giving no indication to the public who have come to learn as to what is what" (6). Dreier felt that such directors behaved in an anti-democratic fashion by mystifying rather than clarifying art for the masses (6) (Katherine S. Dreier Papers/ Société Anonyme Archive).

Surrealism's reception in the U.S. was marked by the repeated pronouncement of its death, from its 1926 appearance in the *Little Review*, to its exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1937, to the exile of European surrealists in New York during World War Two, to William Rubin's 1968 MoMA retrospective for surrealism as a dead movement.

⁴⁵ See Barr's Preface to Guggenheim, *Out of this Century*, xvii-xviii; MoMA's 1959 catalogue *The New American Painting*; Geldzahler; Guilbaut; Sawin. On the importance of Greenberg's dismissal of surrealism to its subsequent history in the U.S., see Kavky.

inspired by the *Large Glass's* citations of diverse media such as film and photography, its “wedding” of verbal and visual elements, and its “window” on to variable surroundings.

Kiesler’s innovative design of Guggenheim’s gallery invited spectators to interact with the artwork on display, and Maya Deren’s unfinished film *Witch’s Cradle* was a direct response to this invitation. Inspired by Duchamp’s art and Kiesler’s designs, Deren made her film at the Guggenheim Gallery in August 1943 with the help of Duchamp and Pajarito Matta.⁴⁶ Deren wrote a shooting script, but never finished the film; while “she made a rough cut which she showed to a small group of people, including Frederick Kiesler” (Clark, Hodson, and Neiman 150), the only remaining footage consists of out-takes. In a 1945 “Program Note” Deren wrote,

This film, which was never completed, was inspired by the architectural structure and paintings and objects in the gallery. I was concerned with the impression that surrealist objects were, in a sense, the cabalistic symbols of the 20th century; for the surrealist artists, like the feudal magicians and witches, were motivated by a desire to deal with the real forces underlying events (the feudal evil spirits are similar to the modern sub-conscious drives) and to discard the validity of surface and apparent causation. The magicians were also concerned with the defiance of normal time... and with normal space . . . so also the surrealist painters and poets. And it seemed to me that the camera was peculiarly suited to delineate this form of magic. (Clark, Hodson, and Neiman 149)

Witch’s Cradle takes the Guggenheim gallery as muse and specifically considers a female viewer’s relationship to the surrealist and abstract works on display. In the film the spectator (Pajarito Matta) both encounters the artwork and herself becomes an object of the camera’s gaze. Pajarito Matta, married to surrealist Roberto Matta Eschaurren, had exhibited her sculpture in the 1938 Paris *International Surrealist Exhibition* (152); she was not only an exhibition viewer, she was also an artist deeply interested in surrealism, much like Dreier and Deren.

Deren uses illusion to animate the artwork on display: several art objects, moved by strings, appear to move independently, rendering both the gallery and film an environment in which the latent energies of objects become realized. As Alan Jewell described the gallery in the *New York Times*, “it looks faintly menacing – as if in the end it might prove that the spectator would be fixed to the wall and the art might stroll around making comments, sweet or sour as the case might be” (qtd. in Guggenheim, *Out of This Century* 280). Deren also brings this vision to life

⁴⁶ Deren was briefly part of the Los Angeles émigré scene, marrying Czech filmmaker Alexander Hammid in 1942 and filming *Meshes of the Afternoon* there (1943). As Lauren Rabinovitz demonstrates, Deren was a formidable influence on postwar New York avant-garde cinema, but her work was often marginalized in discussions of the New York scene.

through camera technique; she recalled that she “treated the paintings and the works of art so much as realities, as alive and immediate as the personages who appear in the film, and this is often achieved by traveling close-ups of the paintings, a technique which is used so much in art films in recent years” (Clark, Hodson, and Neiman 151). Like the *Large Glass* installed in Dreier’s Library, *Witch’s Cradle* provides a window onto the gallery and its surrealist art while simultaneously transforming the view from that window, bringing the artwork’s fantastical and surreal qualities to vivid life.

The animation of the art compels a variety of responses from Matta in the gallery. At one moment the phallic pendulum hanging from Alberto Giacometti’s *Women with a Cut Throat* (1931) moves aggressively towards her, trapping her underneath it while touching her breast; the script indicates that Matta turns and calls feebly for aid from Leonor Fini’s painted sphinxes (Clark, Hodson, and Neiman 164). Similarly, the script notes that Matta “tries to get past Calder but it sort of tangles her for a while” (165). On the other hand, looking through Antoine Pevsner’s geometric sculpture *Surface Developing a Tangency with a Left Curve* (1938-1939), Matta makes it an ornament or frame for her face, or perhaps treats it as a geometrical hat, subjecting it to her figure, much like the fashion photos taken in the gallery. Just as the gallery’s objects at times threaten the spectator and at other times invite play and transformation, so Deren’s filming of Matta is at times violent in its rapid cuts and fragmentation of her body, while at other times gentle, lingering on her entire figure as she moves through the gallery. The mobility of filmic spectatorship, in other words, enables Deren to dramatize the violence a female spectator (Matta) may feel in gazing at the objectified female body in art such as Giacometti’s, while also permitting a critical gaze to emerge from Matta and in turn the film, a gaze that not only reacts to male surrealist art, but ultimately transforms it.

Deren’s use of string in the film may signify such transformation in its engagement with Duchamp as a muse and collaborator. In his installation of the *First Papers of Surrealism* exhibition at the Whitelaw Reid Mansion in New York in 1942, Duchamp covered the gallery walls and paintings with string such that the gallery resembled a giant cobweb, blocking a view of many of the artworks (Altshuler 152, Kachur 179-81). The string Deren hung in web-like fashion in Guggenheim’s gallery alludes to Duchamp’s installation, but also to the children’s string game “cat’s cradle” which Duchamp is seen playing in the footage and which suggests the name of the film. In addition, William Seabrook owned a witch’s cradle that Deren had viewed and described in a letter: “a narrow sort of seat which apprentice witches were supposed to straddle for hours to eventually be able to ride on a broomstick” (Clark, Hodson, and Neiman 152). Finally, a witch’s cradle is also “a torture device used in ceremonial magic” involving a wax figure placed in a string web in the ground, with the victim suspended above; the victim is meant to experience what the wax figure does (152). This magical connection between wax representation and person connotes the latent yet

aggressive energies of the art to which Matta responds, as well as the “magical” ability of film to replicate and transform objects and offer new experiences of the exhibition. The gallery as a location for “apprentice witches” implies that Deren as manipulator of the string has assumed this powerful role. The footage shows string that “comes alive” (163), moving up Duchamp’s leg and then circling around his neck like a noose. In the next scene the camera “starts traveling back along string” while the “Man looks back, camera turns upside down” (163); the scene ends when the camera “rounds top corner bringing mesh below into view (including caught man)” (164). In this sequence, Duchamp is caught both by the string noose and by the camera’s lens, suggesting that he is not simply the generator of the web, but also its muse and object, now framed by Deren. The Bride figuratively catches the Bachelor, extending and transforming Duchamp’s collaborative invitation: as Duchamp wrote in his *Notes and Projects*, the Bride experiences a “cinematic blossoming which expresses / the moment of the stripping” (24).⁴⁷

Subsequent footage develops the analogy between the gallery and the web as a figure of magical, transformative art. Deren juxtaposes a shot of Matta holding the string with shots of a “heart . . . which seems to be beating hard.” This is followed by shots of Matta’s face “in greater agony” (Clark, Hodson, and Neiman 164). Deren commented “There are times when an artist who may ordinarily work by different principles, will use some aspect of sur-realism – like the simultaneous presentation of exteriors and interiors – for a specific problem. Look, how . . . the portrait becomes an X ray also. And how else could one have said, without speaking, that the strings of the mesh in which the girl holds the universe are no more and no less than the projection of her blood – that there is danger in the traffic of veins and arteries” (150). Footage of the beating heart, the web of string, and string that stitches together the gallery walls, “projects” Matta’s veins and arteries on to the gallery itself. In offering a portrait of Matta as well as a surrealist x-ray, the film implies that Matta’s actions are not simply a response to the surrealist art, but also express her own unconscious drives and desires. Deren’s “interior” views of Matta and the gallery reveals her own “witchery,” the female filmmaker’s “magical” art of transmuting subjects and objects, and of animating the relationships between spectator and artwork. Her feminist critique of surrealism’s latent aggression towards women, *Witch’s Cradle* simultaneously conjures up a new vision of the marvelous.

Midcentury readers caught a ghost-like glimpse of Deren’s film in the reflections emanating from Duchamp’s *Large Glass* in *View* magazine’s March 1945 Duchamp issue (Ford 34). Edited by poets Charles Henri Ford and Parker Tyler, *View* was inspired by Guggenheim’s gallery and Duchamp’s installation design to explore the magazine as an innovative exhibition space. A fold-out “triptych” of

⁴⁷ On more recent women artists’ uses of string in ways that engage Duchamp see Kachur 213-14.

Duchamp's 14th Street studio by Kiesler could be assembled to construct the studio in three dimensions, thereby transforming the pages of the magazine into the artist's "gallery." On the back of the studio appeared a photo of the *First Papers of Surrealism* exhibition, while the interior of the studio featured a photograph of Duchamp sitting at his desk, superimposed over a photo of the *Large Glass*, with cut-out flaps that interlocked to form the shape of the Bachelors (24).⁴⁸ Kiesler's Triptych (titled "Poème Espace/Space Poem") is at once an exhibition and transformation of the *Large Glass*, much like his installation of the miniature *Glass* in the Guggenheim Gallery, a framing which blurs the lines between curator and artist, and invites the spectator to further play. *View* printed the stills from *Witch's Cradle* of the noose-like string around Duchamp's neck followed by his gaze up at the camera: Deren's film's dynamic engagement with Duchamp and the Kiesler-designed Guggenheim gallery is an eloquent realization of the invitation to create new scripts for displaying and engaging avant-garde art, yet remains on the cusp of invisibility. As an ephemeral, visionary archive, it is ironic yet fitting that Deren's surreal film footage is also a key *documentary* record of the Guggenheim Gallery.

V. Mina Loy's *Insel*, the Julien Levy Gallery, and Surrealism's Trans-Atlantic Crossing

Also appearing in the pages of *View's* Duchamp issue was Mina Loy's "O Marcel: or I Too Have Been to Louise's" reprinted from *The Blind Man* (1917), a "transcription" of Duchamp's conversation with Loy and others at a *Blind Man* ball (Burke 245-46, Januzzi 583). A poet, painter, designer, sculptor, New York Dada participant, and widow of avant-garde icon Arthur Cravan, Mina Loy was held in high esteem by the French surrealists (Burke 328). Loy's association with Duchamp began in 1916 in New York's Arensberg circle, and would continue into the late 1950s when he helped arrange a 1959 exhibition of her dadaist "constructions" built from discarded materials found in the Bowery (Burke 214-18, 433-33). Like Duchamp, Loy cultivated an engaged but ironic distance from a number of avant-garde movements over the course of her career – futurism, Dada, and surrealism – and her importance as an interpreter of Dada and surrealism resonated well beyond her slight appearance in *View*.⁴⁹ But Loy's feminism

⁴⁸ *View's* Duchamp issue indicated the growing recognition of the *Large Glass's* centrality to modern art: Breton commented that "No work of art seems to me, up to this day, to have given as equitable scope to the rational and the irrational" and deemed it "one of the most significant works of the twentieth century" ("Lighthouse of the Bride" 13).

⁴⁹ On Loy's connections to New York Dada and Duchamp, see Januzzi. Although Loy did not exhibit her visual art with the Société Anonyme, she participated in a 1921 reading of Gertrude Stein's poetry sponsored by the society (Greenberg 102, Januzzi 580).

provided an additional layer of irony, one that she would even direct at Duchamp.⁵⁰

In the early 1930s, following her daughter Joella's marriage to Julien Levy, Loy served as the Paris agent for the Levy Gallery (1931-1949), which not only held the first surrealist exhibition in New York in 1932, but throughout the 1930s and 1940s served as the premier American gallery for surrealist work of all kinds.⁵¹ Although the MoMA's 1937 exhibition brought surrealism to wide public prominence, Levy's gallery had provided the blueprint and some of the art for the exhibition. In its innovative layout (the gallery had curved walls) and embrace of literature as well as painting, film, and photography, Levy's gallery had much in common with surrealist-curated exhibitions (Schaffner and Jacobs 21, 33). As the agent in Paris who arranged the purchase and transportation of surrealist art to Levy, Mina Loy was a central figure in surrealism's reception in the United States, but she was also involved as an artist who exhibited her paintings at the Levy Gallery in 1933 (a solo show) and 1937 (a group exhibition). Moreover, as a writer, she engaged the museum economy and surrealist exhibition practices through her poetry and in her novel *Insel*, completed in 1937 when she moved permanently to New York.⁵² As a work that precedes Guggenheim's Gallery, *Insel* provides a window onto surrealism's trans-Atlantic crossings in the 1930s and may be understood as a mobile exhibition.

Insel is based on Loy's role as an agent for the Levy Gallery and chronicles her relationship to German surrealist painter Richard Oelze.⁵³ Loy's Paris apartment

⁵⁰ For instance, Januzzi argues that Loy's short "documentary" piece "O Marcel: or I Too Have Been to Louise's" may constitute, through its framing/selection of Duchamp's conversation, "the first bit of feminist criticism on Duchamp" (583).

⁵¹ Barr, Levy, and Arthur Everett Austin Jr (head of the Wadsworth Atheneum) were all students of Paul Sachs at Harvard, who taught museum administration, part of a group of influential interpreters of modernism that Steven Watson calls the "Harvard modernists" (Schaffner and Jacobs, "Introduction" 12; Steven Watson, "Julien Levy: Exhibitionist and Harvard Modernist" in Schaffner and Jacobs 80-83). MoMA acquired many works through the Levy Gallery, including its collection of Atget photos (Schaffner, "Alchemy of the Gallery" in Schaffner and Jacobs 29; Watson, "Julien Levy" in Schaffner and Jacobs 89).

⁵² On the exhibitions of Loy's artwork at the Levy Gallery, see Carolyn Burke, "Loy-alism: Julien Levy's Kinship with Mina Loy" in Schaffner and Jacobs 70-71; "Chronology of Exhibitions" in Schaffner and Jacobs 175, 180; Burke, *Becoming Modern* 379.

⁵³ On Loy's role as Levy's agent see Burke "Loy-Alism" 67-74 and *Becoming Modern* 377, and Arnold "Afterword" to *Insel* (182). Loy negotiated acquisitions with the Bermans, Giacometti, Tchelitchew, De Chirico, and Massimo Campigli, and commissioned work from Ernst, Dali, and Magritte. On Levy's instructions Loy contacted the German surrealist painter Richard Oelze who had lived in Paris since 1933; Levy instructed Loy to "draw him out, offer moral and financial support, and select those canvases that seemed suited to America" (Burke "Loy-Alism" in Schaffner and Jacobs 73). In October 1936 following the

often served as a transient gallery for works awaiting shipment to New York: Dali's *Persistence of Memory* (1931) and Oelze's painting *Expectation* (1935-1936) hung in this space before transport to Levy's gallery and finally to MoMA's permanent collection (Burke 385, Schaffner 72).⁵⁴ Loy approached her apartment as a space of both creation and display. She exhibited works of art next to original designs and flea market finds, and it is likely that she painted many of her surrealist-inflected works of the early 1930s there, including *Surreal Scene* (1930).⁵⁵ While her apartment served as both her studio and ephemeral gallery space, in the novel *Insel* Loy produced an innovative text-based gallery at once inspired by and critical of Oelze and his paintings.⁵⁶ The novel, like Deren's film, is both a framing of surrealist art and an "x-ray" of Oelze. And like *Witch's Cradle*, *Insel* animates the scene of surrealist art's reception by a female spectator to create a critical, feminist twist on surrealist exhibitionary practices. Loy's poetry explicitly challenged the bourgeois institution of marriage and the gendered roles of Bride, Wife, Mother, and Widow, and in her 1914 "Feminist Manifesto" she called for the "surgical destruction of virginity."⁵⁷ While Loy's poem "Lunar Baedeker" (1923) can be read as a response to the *Large Glass* and specifically to Man Ray's photo of the *Glass*, "Dust Breeding" (1920)⁵⁸, *Insel* takes its less direct but no less important inspiration

failure of his friendship with Loy, Oelze sent his paintings to Levy and left for Switzerland (Burke *Becoming Modern* 381-383, Burke "Loy-Alism" in Schaffner and Jacobs 72-74).

⁵⁴ Oelze's *Expectation* was purchased from the Levy Gallery in April 1940 (MoMA website) and was shipped to the U.S. in Fall of 1936 (Burke, "Loy-Alism" in Schaffner and Jacobs 74).

⁵⁵ On Loy's Paris apartment, see Burke *Becoming Modern* 377-78 and "Loy-Alism" in Schaffner and Jacobs 67-68.

⁵⁶ Arnold proposes that *Insel* is at once "an experiment in surrealist narrative" and a "satire on the whole surrealist endeavor," with Breton's *Nadja* in its sights ("Afterword," *Insel* 186). Miller and Bronstein concur, arguing that *Insel* inverts *Nadja* by positioning the male surrealist painter as the muse to the female narrator's quest for self-definition.

⁵⁷ Januzzi points out the connection between Loy's call to surgically destroy virginity and Duchamp's call to open "the vulva of the nude" (597).

⁵⁸ Like Man Ray's close-up of dust on a section of the *Glass*, which transforms the glass into a strange new landscape, Loy's "Lunar Baedeker" transforms the *Glass* into the surface of the moon: "Cyclones / of ecstatic dust / and ashes whirl / crusaders / from hallucinatory citadels / of shattered glass / into evacuate craters" (*Lost Lunar Baedeker* 82). Like the *Glass*, Loy's poem reflects on the museum ("And 'Immortality' / mildews... / in the museums of the moon") and on failed romance or "Eros obsolete," specifically meditating on the clichéd figure of the bride as rendered in the poetic tradition: "'Crystal Concubine' / — — — — — / Pocked with personification / the fossil virgin of the skies / waxes and wanes — — — —" (82). Berenice Abbott's photos in *Architectural Digest of The Large Glass* at Dreier's house similarly transformed it through a detailed close-up of the Bride (see note 36). A second photo turns the "oculist witnesses" and "scissors" portion of the Bachelor section on its side and incorporates the background of the room to create an abstract composition, reminiscent of a cityscape with sky and stars.

from the *Large Glass* as a hybrid collection that blurs the roles of collector, spectator, and artist, and of visual and verbal art.

More pointedly, Loy's treatment of her protagonist Mrs. Jones, based on her own experience as Levy's agent, allowed her to explore the difficulty of being slotted into the category of spectator, collector, or "patroness" rather than painter or writer, and to subtly merge these often-oppositional roles. Like Loy, Mrs. Jones is a writer who arranges not only to serve as an artist's agent, but also to write his biography (32). She meets Insel (based on Oelze) on the "unexplored frontiers of consciousness" (159) and finds him to be a "congenital surrealist" who "had no need to portray. His pictures grew, out of him, seeding through the interatomic spaces in his digital substance to urge tenacious roots into a plane surface" (103). Insel possesses a "conjunctive power of projecting images" (53) but Jones learns that "he suffered . . . from the incredible handicap of only being able to mature in the imagination of another. His empty obsession somehow taking form in obsessing the furnished mind of a spectator" (156). Mrs. Jones must also supply the literal furnishings for Insel's art: while she sometimes feels that Insel "has found a short cut to consummation in defiance of the concrete. That he is filling the galleries of the increate" (125), at other times she sees him in her role as gallery agent as a blocked artist whom she must urge to finish work for New York. To do so, she allows the destitute Insel to stay in her apartment, and undertakes housework that distracts her from her own art. She comments that, "the effort to concentrate on something in which one takes no interest . . . is the major degradation of women" (39). In preparation for Insel's stay, Jones stuffs her own "scribbles" into a "corpse-like sack" which she locks in a room (40), an allusion to Man Ray's *Enigma of Isidore Ducasse* (1920), a sewing machine wrapped and tied up in an army blanket. Loy transforms Man Ray's homage to Lautreamont's famous description of beauty as "the chance meeting on a dissecting table of a sewing machine and an umbrella" into the gendered economic realities that shaped women's engagement with surrealism; Mrs. Jones sews to support herself, and in this instance stitches her own art into a sack to make room for Insel's.

As a collector and spectator of Insel's projected images, Mrs. Jones not only allows Insel to "mature in [her] imagination," but in writing down her diverse encounters with him and his art, creates her own visionary gallery of surrealism, rendering spectatorship an artistic, transformative, and feminist act. Key scenes in the novel that involve the framing and display of Insel include: Mrs. Jones's transformation of her apartment into a surrealist installation featuring Insel as a sleeping sea creature; Mrs. Jones's critical response to his painting *Die Irma*; and her use of analogies to surrealist film and photography to "develop" her images of Insel as they stroll around Paris. Loy employs these popular, commercial contexts of display in her portrayals of Insel as a means of undercutting his spiritual, ascetic pretensions: Mrs. Jones describes him as an exhibit in a wax museum, as the walking dead star of a horror film, as an actor "playing" Kafka to eke out his meager living, and as a Broadway showman or a circus freak. Thus the

novel offers itself as a hybrid exhibition, one that subjects Oelze's surrealist ideals to feminist critique, gothic humor, and an American popular culture keen for Dali-style "extravagant publicities" (27).

Mrs. Jones's visit to Insel's studio exemplifies Loy's critical framing of surrealism's depictions of women. Insel shows Jones his painting *Die Irma*, which resembles Oelze's *Frieda*, a work inspired by a character in Kafka's unfinished novel *The Castle* (fig. 4).⁵⁹ Mrs. Jones implies that *Die Irma* is Insel: her eyes are "flat disks of smoked mirror" that reflect her "creator" (131), and she has "male hands that hardly made a pair" (132). "Die Irma, he repeated lovingly to introduce her to me, and the magnetic bond uniting her painted body to his emaciated stature – as if she were of an ectoplasm proceeding from him – was so apparent one felt as if one were surprising an insane liaison at almost too intimate a moment" (131). Mrs. Jones raises up the sexual subtext to Insel's painting when she observes, "He hung over *Die Irma* like a tall insect and outside the window in the rotten rose of an asphyxiated sunset the skeleton phallus of the Eiffel Tower reared in the distance as slim as himself" (132). Creating her own surrealist painting in this description, Mrs. Jones reveals the phallic aggression expressed by Insel towards his female muse and echoed by the culture through its revered symbols. Mrs. Jones objects to Insel's use of the female form as a thinly-veiled medium for his own narcissistic preoccupations; *Die Irma* is mere "material" for Insel's self-expression, the "bride" a projection of the "bachelor," just as Insel feeds parasitically off of female prostitutes and patrons.⁶⁰ She comments, "You have formed her of pus. Her body has already melted" and adds "I don't care for it" (132-33). As Insel grows angry and threatens to destroy the painting, she quips ironically, "What does my opinion matter? I'm not the museum" (133). However, by articulating the sexual subtext of Insel's portrait, Mrs. Jones refuses Irma's role as a silent, sexually, and formally pliable muse.

⁵⁹ Christina Walter has argued for this connection between "Die Irma" and "Frieda" (682-83).

⁶⁰ Mrs. Jones exposes Insel's appetite for "beefsteak" and for prostitutes as a means of undercutting his romantic and aesthetic pretensions. Thus the double meaning in Insel's comment that "Die Irma is wet" and Jones' reply "She isn't, she's bone dry, I felt her" (133-34). Insel is impotent as both a man and artist, Mrs. Jones implies, and vampirically draws his power from the female form. Thus when Jones refuses the metaphorical role of "bride," Insel behaves like an "alienated husband" (167) and tries to strangle Mrs. Jones to make her "give in" (158).



Figure 4: Richard Oelze, *Frieda*, 1936. Conté crayon on paper, 24 7/8 x 17 1/4" (63.2 x 43.8cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY, U.S.A. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art / Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

Oelze claimed in a letter to Alfred Barr that he destroyed the painting *Frieda*, but a charcoal sketch (1936) – likely mailed by Loy – was included in Barr’s 1937 surrealist exhibition, along with Oelze’s painting *Daily Torments* (1934).⁶¹ In

⁶¹ In a 24 January 1937 letter to Alfred Barr, Oelze states, “I was in such a bad condition this last month in Paris – especially psychically – so that I could not finish the picture, *Frieda*, and at the end destroyed it. I am very sorry for it – because I promised it to you – but I do hope you understand and will forgive me.” Burke notes that when Oelze traveled to Switzerland in October 1936, his paintings were shipped to Levy (“Loy-Alism” in Schaffner and Jacobs 74). Barr included the sketch of *Frieda* in the 1937 *Fantastic Art, Dada, and*

contrast, despite James Laughlin's early interest in publishing the novel, *Insel* would remain unpublished until Elizabeth Arnold's 1991 edition. Yet the novel transforms Mrs. Jones's "I'm not the museum" into a badge of honor, a sign of her creation of independent avant-garde work that critically absorbs but is not obligated to surrealism. Although Jones in her role as patron and spectator risked a paralyzing "disintegration" and "dematerialization" (150-51), it is Insel who remains blocked and fragmented. Mrs. Jones advises Insel to "pull yourself together . . . you've got to finish this for the museum" (134), while she "had reached the stage . . . for creation, when all that one has *collected* rolls out with the facility of the song of a bird" (177, italics mine).

Although economically bound to the role of agent, patron, and spectator, Jones merges these roles with those of creator and curator of her own textual exhibition. Jones rather than Insel proves to be the master of surrealism's "magical" techniques in her writing, using surrealist imagery culled from various media to animate Insel, even as she debunks his "black magic" as showmanship, trickery, and the effect of morphine addiction. Peggy Guggenheim's appearance in *Insel* as Mlle Alpha, a patron of surrealist art who had been similarly "duped" by Oelze (124-26), suggests the connections between Loy's and Guggenheim's galleries.⁶² Ultimately it is Loy, not Oelze, who presents us with a gallery of the "increate," which in its very marginality both to the surrealist movement and to the gallery-museum network Loy served, makes the subtle claim that avant-garde ideals were most powerfully realized on these margins, in "museums without walls."

VI. In Ghostlier Demarcations, Keener Sounds: The U.S. Avant-garde seen through the *Large Glass*

Katherine Dreier had designated Duchamp as the director of an imagined but never-realized permanent museum for the Société Anonyme collection, and as tempting as it might be to mourn the lost possibility of a Museum of Modern Art directed by Duchamp, I have suggested that it exists. If we follow the fluidly changing reflections of the *Large Glass* in the variety of collections it stimulated, we enter an imaginary museum with Duchamp as instigator of new conceptions of the avant-garde. Eschewing permanence and stability, these ephemeral, hybrid collections relied for their longevity not on institutions built of stone, but on mixtures of media and the transformative power of the spectator's thought and imagination. Dreier, Guggenheim, Loy, Deren, and a number of other women

Surrealism exhibition and catalogue; the catalogue mentions the Kafka connection (228) and that the sketch was "given anonymously," although MoMA's provenance research suggests that the museum purchased the painting. In his correspondence with Oelze about the exhibition, Barr refers to Mina Loy's role as agent.

⁶² Guggenheim served as an informal patron to several female writers in her circle, helping Loy to establish her lampshade business in Paris in the 1920s (Burke 340-44).

found in the *Glass* an opportunity to rethink the museum, surrealism, and the readymade role of Bride.

Theirs is but one history opened up by the *Large Glass*. As a portal to the imagination, the *Glass* is open to animation and transformation of its various "plots" (whether involving the museum, the bride and the bachelors, the history of art, vision and spectatorship, the readymade, science and technology, consumer culture, photography and film), changing shape through the context in which it is placed and the dialogue and responses it sets in motion, potentially becoming a window, a shop display, a film screen, a looking glass, a mirror, a photographic negative, an x-ray, a door, or something yet to be imagined. The *Glass* is at once structure and opening, or as Kiesler put it: "Normally one looks through a translucent plate glass from one area into another, but in painting an opaque picture (like this) one also accentuates the space division optically. The painting then seems suspended in midair negating the actual transparency of the glass. It floats. It is in a state of eternal readiness or action, motion and radiation" ("Design-Correlation" 55). Malraux foresaw that the "museum without walls" would open up "a new field of art experience, vaster than any so far known" (52). As it helps us to see this new field, the *Large Glass* changes, too: its democratizing legacies are still being written.

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