

## Décor in Dialogue: Marcel Duchamp's and Salvador Dalí's Projects for the Galerie Gradiva

By Paul B. Franklin

In an interview broadcast on French radio on 29 May 1952, André Breton recounted: “Sometime around 1936–37, my financial situation had been extremely critical....Fortunately, for a few months that risked being the worst, through the generosity of a friend, I was able to operate (as best I could) a small gallery on the rue de Seine, which I opened under the name ‘Gradiva.’”<sup>1</sup> During this short-lived enterprise, Breton was assisted by his wife, Jacqueline, and several surrealist friends, including, among others, Óscar Domínguez, Wolfgang Paalen, Robert Rius, and Yves Tanguy. In addition, Marcel Duchamp designed the glass doorway for the shop. Breton had admired Duchamp for years and repeatedly attempted to recruit him, albeit unsuccessfully, as an active member of the surrealist group. Already in 1922, he wondered whether Duchamp was the artist who “reaches the *critical point* of ideas faster than anyone else” and characterized him six years later as “the most singular man alive as well as the most elusive, the most deceptive.”<sup>2</sup> A cut-out silhouette of an embracing heterosexual couple, Duchamp’s *Door for Gradiva* explored a theme that had captivated both Breton and Salvador Dalí since the early 1930s. Drawing on little-known or forgotten archival documents, I will examine the dialogue between Duchamp’s entrance for the Galerie Gradiva and Dalí’s work, and also compare the former to Dalí’s proposal for the décor of the gallery.<sup>3</sup>

Breton married Jacqueline Lamba on 14 August 1934, and their only child, Aube, was born on 20 December 1935. Proud, independent, and a compulsive collector, Breton faced recurrent financial difficulties. Jacqueline Lamba bitterly recalled this period in a letter of 27 October 1984: “Penniless years, surrounded by a priceless collection. Collecting to this extent is,

as we know, a pathological phenomenon.”<sup>4</sup> During the summer of 1936, Breton confided to Roland Penrose, the English surrealist artist and fellow collector who had descended from a wealthy Quaker family, his desperate need for money and requested aid in locating buyers for certain artworks in his possession. Penrose proposed purchasing a major *papier collé* by Pablo Picasso titled *Tête* (1913). While Breton initially resisted parting with it, he ultimately acquiesced.<sup>5</sup> In January 1937, Joseph Edmond Bomsel—a French lawyer, avid collector of modern and folk art, and a longtime friend of Breton’s—agreed to finance a gallery in Paris, which Breton would oversee in exchange for remuneration.<sup>6</sup> On 14 February 1937, Paul Éluard informed his ex-wife, Gala Dalí: “Breton is going to open a store of objects, paintings, and books. The funds are being lent to him.”<sup>7</sup>

Breton found a storefront on the left-hand ground floor of a building at 31 rue de Seine in the heart of Saint-Germain-des-Prés on the Left Bank. The modest space belonged to Raymond Duncan, the American dancer, writer, philosopher, artist, and craftsman whose younger sister, Isadora, was a pioneer of modern dance. Inspired by ancient Greek culture, he paraded around Paris donning togas and leather sandals and had launched the Akademia Raymond Duncan in 1911. Offering free classes in dance, arts, and crafts, he preached a theory known as “actionalism” in which he argued that what one did possessed more importance than what one thought or said. In 1929, Duncan consolidated his various activities under one roof at 31 rue de Seine and rented a space to Breton.

Breton named his new establishment the Galerie Gradiva after the 1903 novella *Gradiva: Ein pompejanisches Phantasiestück* by the German writer Wilhelm Jensen. He had discovered the book thanks to Sigmund Freud, who had published *Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens “Gradiva”* in May 1907 in Leipzig and Vienna. Breton—and probably Dalí as well—first

read Jensen's story, along with Freud's psychoanalytic study of it, soon after they were translated into French and published together in March 1931 in Paris under the title *Délire et rêves dans un ouvrage littéraire: la "Gradiva" de Jensen*. Breton's book *Les Vases communicants*, a philosophical and political exploration of the fluid boundaries between the dream world and the real world that was published on 26 November 1932, begins with an epigraph taken from the closing sentence of the French edition of Jensen's novella. A modern gloss on Ovid's tale of Pygmalion, *Gradiva* tells the story of Norbert Hanold, a young archaeologist who sublimates his desires for his neighbor and childhood playmate, Zoë Bertgang, into a Roman copy of a Greek relief that depicts a maiden in profile lifting her gown and exposing her sandaled feet as she walks. Entranced by this personage, Norbert hangs a plaster cast of the artwork in his office. In a gesture of identification, Freud did the same in his consulting room at Berggasse 19 in Vienna, after happening upon the original artwork in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican in September 1907.<sup>8</sup> Norbert dubs the figure Gradiva, signifying "she who advances," and his fantasies about her quickly spiral into delusions.<sup>9</sup> Dreaming that he witnesses Gradiva's death during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD and mistaking this hallucination for reality, he travels to Pompeii in search of her. Once there, Norbert encounters a woman who resembles Gradiva, and he becomes increasingly convinced that she is the incarnation of his lost beloved, who has risen from the grave. This woman, however, is actually Zoë Bertgang, who recognizes Norbert's delusion and brings him back to reality. Professing his love for her, he proposes marriage and suggests that they spend their honeymoon in Pompeii. The book closes with Zoë Bertgang imitating the movement of the Greek beauty portrayed in Norbert's treasured plaster cast: "A merry, comprehending, laughing expression lurked around his companion's mouth, and, raising her dress slightly with her left hand, Gradiva *rediviva* Zoë Bertgang, viewed by him with

dreamily observing eyes, crossed with her calmly buoyant walk, through the sunlight, over the stepping-stones, to the other side of the street.”<sup>10</sup>

Jensen’s themes of dreams, delusions, and desire—all focused on the female body—deeply resonated with Breton. On 2 February 1937, as he commenced preparations for the Galerie Gradiva, he published *L’Amour fou*, a meditation on the inextricable links between passion and delirium. Breton underscored the heterosexual male myth of Woman and the cult of femininity as the foundations of surrealism on the gallery’s façade, which read: “GRADIVA: G as in Gisèle, R as in Rosine, A as in Alice, D as in Dora, I as in Inès, V as in Violette, A as in Alice.” Gisèle referred to Gisèle Prassinos, the teenage poet who joined the surrealist group in 1934. Alice denoted either Alice Paalen, the poet and wife of Wolfgang Paalen, Lewis Carroll’s Alice in Wonderland, or Gisèle Prassinos, whom Breton would soon nickname “Alice II.”<sup>11</sup> Dora designated either the surrealist photographer Dora Maar or Freud’s famous patient who suffered from hysteria. Finally, Violette referred to Violette Nozière, the young, working-class, French woman who poisoned her parents on 21 August 1933, murdering her father, and whom the surrealists embraced and defended.

As Breton prepared the Galerie Gradiva, he solicited his artist friends for assistance and ideas. In February or early March 1937, he visited Picasso and divulged his plans. On 15 March, Breton appealed to the artist, in an attempt to persuade him to design the gallery’s logo and contribute a work to the inaugural exhibition:

I decided, as you know, to open a shop of paintings, objects, and books around 1 April at [number] 31 on the rue de Seine. You are well aware of the grounds for this decision, and I do not need to go back over the fact that this is the only possibility of material existence

that has been offered to me. At least, I would like this shop not to be as boring as so many others and to become the center of an activity that is not exclusively commercial (there are means to organize exhibitions, lectures, and even regular shows in a neighboring auditorium). I chose to call the gallery: Gradiva, in memory of a very beautiful book by the Danish [*sic*] novelist Jensen, with a commentary by Freud, a book you may know. The word “Gradiva,” by the way, means “she who advances” and refers to a figure of a woman with a raised heel in a Greek bas-relief. My dream would be for you to make a very small drawing of this Gradiva that can be reproduced at will on all the labels and letterhead of the gallery. Is this possible? I would also like, as you can well imagine, to exhibit at all costs something by you at the time of the opening, this having to my mind a value of central justification, and putting the sun on my side. I hesitated a lot as to whether to send you this last plea, but since it goes to the very sense of my undertaking, I hope that you will not mind me having put aside my great scruples towards you.<sup>12</sup>

Picasso does not appear to have responded, and Breton instead had fabricated a cast-iron blind embosser that produced a relief image of a bare female right foot poised on its ball within an oval frame along the upper exterior edge of which was centered “GRADIVA.”<sup>13</sup> Salvador Dalí, on the other hand, made a sweeping proposal for the gallery’s design and decoration, which was partly based on his paranoid-critical method and his preoccupations with putrefaction and abjection. He outlined the particulars in a letter to Breton postmarked 27 March and sent from the Hotel Berghof in Seefeld in Tirol in the Austrian Alps, where he and Gala were vacationing:

I am thinking about the shop – I think that the camouflage idea is very good and could be partially optical....My idea is to call the shop Café written just like on café fronts (if you want, it could be “café gradiva,” café in large letters and gradiva in small ones....The outside of the shop should look just like a “butcher shop”: colorful imitation marble, gilded horses’ heads, from which hang two large heads of hair (larger than usual, as in beauty parlors). The two windows should correspond one to a very precious display, lifted, clad in jeweler’s velvet..., and the other to that of a high-end clothing store with manikins,...the entrance door entirely walled with bricks, masonry floors, and one enters through an irregular hole Magritte style. I assure you that this installation, which is less expensive than any other, can offer guarantees for maximum confusion and paranoid objectivity....At the same time, I am writing to Duchamp since I think that my project fits with his concept of camouflage and might be useful. I do not have any better ideas...than Duchamp’s project, which seems to me the most lyrical and most suitable for the circumstances.<sup>14</sup>

Dalí’s scheme to deceive passersby into believing that the gallery was a horse butcher reflected his ongoing equine interest, as illustrated in paintings such as *Honey Is Sweeter than Blood* (1927), *The Rotting Donkey* (1928), *Paranoiac Woman-Horse (Invisible Sleeping Woman, Lion, Horse)* (1930), and *William Tell* (1930).

While Breton appreciated Dalí’s proposition, he sought the opinion of both his wife, who actively collaborated in setting up the gallery, and Duchamp. On 31 March 1937, Breton wrote to Jacqueline, who was in Tignes, a ski resort in the French Alps: “You must be far away from everything that is keeping me seriously busy on the Gradiva front. I am trying not to make too

many decisions before your return. What I like does not always meet with your approval and then what I might like I no longer like. As a shop sign, Dali suggests putting a gilded horse's head from horse-meat butchers, holding in its mouth a mane of hair from beauty parlors. This has general approval, and my own. But you?"<sup>15</sup>

Breton relayed Dalí's ideas to Duchamp, who replied directly to the Spaniard on 5 April:

Delighted with all your ideas for the shop. Unfortunately, Breton has to deal with Raymond Duncan (his landlord) and any idea concerning the outside of the shop is subject to his veto. \_\_\_ So much so that Breton is fed up, and I really fear that we will not be able to mount a display neither fish nor fowl (or rather neither fish nor fowl enough)[.] Furthermore, all the ideas cost a lot, and Bomsel does not want to spend excessively. \_\_\_ In any case, nothing will be finished or ready when you arrive....The only danger with the camouflage idea is resembling Montparnasse dancehalls. But that can be avoided.

He then shared his own concept for the gallery interior: "I have also thought (for the entrance of Breton's private work space inside, where he will have an office separate from the shop) of making a cut-out in the form of an individual." Duchamp initially conceived his doorway, or "hole," as he identified it in his letter to Dalí, as a single figure, perhaps even as a silhouette portrait of Breton, distinct from the gallery entrance.<sup>16</sup>

Between 5 April, when Duchamp wrote to Dalí, and the opening of the Galerie Gradiva in mid- to late May, the décor took shape. A series of photographs, perhaps taken by Dora Maar, who had known Jacqueline Lamba since the late 1920s, document its evolution. Due to budgetary constraints and conceivably because of Lamba's lack of enthusiasm, nearly all of Dalí's

suggestions were abandoned, except for the wall of bricks, an element that scholars have overlooked. In each window of the storefront, there was a low wall decorated with a brick motif. Furthermore, Duchamp's cut-out, which had evolved from a single figure into a larger-than-life, embracing heterosexual couple, had been relocated to the main entrance, perhaps an adaptation of the "irregular hole" that Dalí had suggested for the doorway. Covered on its inside surface with sheets of paper or cardboard to prevent visitors from walking into the transparent glass, *Door for Gradiva* evoked the brick pattern of the low walls. As Dalí had recommended, this ensemble resembled certain artworks by Magritte, such as his two canvases titled *La Réponse imprévue* (1933 and 1935) and his painting and gouache titled *La Perspective amoureuse* (1935 and 1936), all of which depict doors with biomorphic openings cut through them. It also foreshadowed Duchamp's *Étant donnés: 1° la chute d'eau, 2° le gaz d'éclairage...* (1946–66), with its hollowed-out brick wall.

To fabricate *Door for Gradiva*, Duchamp turned to his friend Georges Hugnet, the artist, poet, and publisher closely associated with the surrealists during the 1930s. This important detail also has eluded scholars. In an unpublished letter to Hugnet, Duchamp confirmed that they created the construction in the courtyard of Hugnet's bookbinding workshop at 31 rue du Buci, just around the corner from the Galerie Gradiva. Louis Christy, Hugnet's bookbinder and a "first-class handyman," probably assisted with the complex undertaking, and he later posed with Duchamp in front of the completed artwork.<sup>17</sup> As Duchamp remembered, the individual panes of glass were "like a chessboard...the squares glued together from behind."<sup>18</sup> He installed the doorway assisted by Yves Tanguy, who, with Óscar Domínguez, also painted the façade. Wolfgang Paalen painted two decorative friezes placed vertically in front of the windows at the extremities of the shopfront.



Duchamp contributed two other fundamental design elements to the Galerie Gradiva, both of which scholars have ignored. On 8 November 1937, the French writer Raymond Queneau asked readers in his column “Connaissez-vous Paris?” which appeared daily in the newspaper *L’Intransigeant*: “In what shop does one enter through a railway bellows?” The answer: Galerie Gradiva.<sup>19</sup> In fact, Duchamp had incorporated into his entryway this found object, an accordion-like, rubber walkway between train cars that protected passengers as they moved from wagon to wagon. Breton alluded to Duchamp’s assemblage in the four-page promotional brochure printed for the inauguration of the gallery: “Like the bellows that connects two train cars, these shadows that you love await you to lead you to the threshold of **Gradiva**.” In certain photos of the Galerie Gradiva, one can discern the slatted flooring of the railway bellows before its rubber enclosure had been installed.

In early 1968, when Duchamp decided to construct a replica of *Door for Gradiva* for the group exhibition *Doors* (19 March–20 April) at the New York gallery Cordier & Ekstrom, Inc., he wrote to Georges Hugnet. In this unpublished letter of 17 February, Duchamp mentioned the railway bellows and also acknowledged installing a photographic device, transforming the doorway into a monumental glass-plate camera that appears to have immortalized visitors as they entered the gallery.<sup>20</sup> Such a set-up also suggested that the silhouette of Duchamp’s embracing couple functioned as a huge, glass-plate photographic negative. On 20 June 1937, in the French newspaper *Le Petit Journal*, Maurice Henry—a poet, painter, and illustrator who had joined the surrealists in the early 1930s and also knew Duchamp—reviewed the new gallery, which he described as a “palace of illusions” that one accessed by walking “through the frosted glass of a camera.”<sup>21</sup> A drawing of the façade, perhaps in Henry’s hand and with *Door for Gradiva* as its centerpiece, enabled readers to conceptualize the apparatus. In a second article,

published three weeks later in the newspaper *Marianne*, Henry further elaborated on Duchamp's spectacular *mise-en-scène*, which an unidentified couple, arm-in-arm and seen from behind, reenacted in an accompanying photograph: "To go inside, one must agree to pass through the frosted glass of a giant camera, where lovers have cut out their silhouette. In fact, we find there the photographic *positives* of our dreams: images that we can touch, grasp, that we even have the pressing need to grasp in order to be certain not to awaken too quickly with a bitter taste in our mouth and empty hands."<sup>22</sup> As the flash bulb of Duchamp's outsized camera exploded, temporarily blinding and disorienting visitors, it also announced the phantasmagoria lurking inside the Galerie Gradiva, where surrealist objects and artworks, including contributions by Dalí, were featured among books as well as African, Oceanic, Native American, and Inuit masks, sculptures, and other assorted objects. Emphasizing the filmic and optical effects of Duchamp's décor, Breton placed *Specter of the Gardenia* (1936) by Marcel Jean directly opposite *Door for Gradiva*.<sup>23</sup> This plaster human head covered with painted black fabric and displaying closed zippers for eyes and a strip of photographic film around its neck was the first thing that visitors encountered inside the gallery.

Of his many collaborations with Breton and the surrealists, Duchamp observed: "I had been borrowed from the ordinary world by the Surrealists. They liked me a lot; Breton liked me a lot; we were very good together. They had a lot of confidence in the ideas I could bring to them, ideas which weren't anti-surrealist, but which weren't always Surrealist, either."<sup>24</sup> *Door for Gradiva* perfectly encapsulates this duality. On the one hand, the artwork fits seamlessly into Duchamp's aesthetic project. As an entryway with no actual door, *Door for Gradiva* is the pendant to another door that Duchamp designed in 1927 for his studio. Hung in the corner of the bedroom, *Door, 11 rue Larrey* closed off either the front room or the bathroom, thus refuting

the French proverb that a door must be either open or closed. Furthermore, Duchamp's choice of glass for the entryway harkened back to *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (1915–23) commonly known as the *Large Glass*. This abstract love machine undoubtedly was on Duchamp's mind as he designed *Door for Gradiva*. In summer 1936, he had spent two months restoring it at Katherine S. Dreier's Connecticut home. In the *Large Glass*, the nine Bachelors in the lower half futilely strive to consummate their desire for the elusive Bride in the upper half. In *Door for Gradiva*, however, one of the Bachelors has succeeded in seducing the Bride. Moreover, the *Large Glass*, like *Door for Gradiva*, can be understood as an immense photographic plate, and Duchamp referred to photography repeatedly in his preparatory notes for it. In one, he alluded to the magic of the dark room: "Given (in the dark): 1<sup>st</sup> the waterfall / If, given 2<sup>nd</sup> the illuminating gas, in the dark, we shall determine (the conditions for) the extra rapid exposition (= allegorical appearance) of several collisions seeming strictly to succeed each other according to certain laws."<sup>25</sup> In another note, he envisioned using photography for an inscription in the Bride's Domain: "Photographic method....take a snapshot. Have it enlarged to the final dimensions.—With the negative of the enlargement: Have prepared with silver bromide—the ~~glass~~ large plate glass and make a print, directly on the back (ask photographer for information)."<sup>26</sup> Finally, *Door for Gradiva* embodied Duchamp's interest in cast shadows and the fourth dimension. In a note that could double as a description of this entryway, he proclaimed: "The shadow cast by a 4-dimensional figure on our space is a 3-dimensional shadow."<sup>27</sup>

While *Door for Gradiva* resonated with Breton's *L'Amour fou*, it also echoed his *Rêve-objet* (1935), or *Dream-Object*, an assemblage featuring a hotel corridor with five miniature doors that was reproduced in *Cahiers d'art* in 1935 along with a text by the writer.<sup>28</sup> In dreams, Freud had argued: "Many symbols represent the womb of the mother rather than the female

genital, as *wardrobes*, *stoves*, and primarily a *room*. The room-symbolism is related to the house-symbolism, *doors* and *entrances* again become symbolic of the genital opening.”<sup>29</sup> That said, *Door for Gradiva* far more directly echoes Dalí’s work. The Spaniard was the first surrealist to represent the figure of Gradiva, as illustrated in *Gradiva* (1931), an intricately detailed small painting on copper derived from an equally elaborate but little-known preparatory drawing executed the same year.<sup>30</sup> His drawing *Andromeda* (1930) includes the same individual juxtaposed with an embracing couple, similar to the one in *Door for Gradiva*. Standing on a ledge, Gradiva casts a clearly delineated shadow, which, in its precision, closely resembles Duchamp’s cut-out. She reappears in *Gradiva Rediscovered the Anthropomorphic Ruins (Retrospective Fantasy)* (1931–32), which Breton owned. The reference to archeology in the title calls to mind Jensen’s novella, whereas the veiled female figure hugging her spectral male companion, whose body exhibits gaping holes, offers a compelling precedent for *Door for Gradiva*. Finally, Dalí’s *Man with His Head Full of Clouds* (c. 1936) and his two pairs of human-shaped panels titled *Couple with Their Heads Full of Clouds* (1936 and 1937) form powerful silhouettes comparable to Duchamp’s cut-out.

While these comparisons are far from exhaustive, they nonetheless demonstrate the remarkable extent to which Duchamp’s *Door for Gradiva* emanated from his own artistic concerns and *simultaneously* engaged in a direct dialogue with surrealist aesthetics of the 1930s, especially those of Dalí. As Georges Hugnet perceptively noted: “Duchamp’s experiments, the introduction into painting of readymade objects borrowed from everyday life, rescued painting from the aestheticism into which it again threatened to fall. But as far from one another as they appear to be, Duchamp’s unshakeable mathematical work relates to the realistic-delusional work and the paranoid-critical method of Dalí. And this *in a surrealist light*.”<sup>31</sup>

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Notes

*Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own. In conducting research for this text, I benefitted from the generosity of Marcel Fleiss and Monique Fong, as well as Montse Aguer Teixidor and Bea Crespo of the Centre for Dalinian Studies at the Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation in Figueres, Spain.*

<sup>1</sup> André Breton, *Entretiens: 1913–1952*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition ([Paris]: NRF, 1952), 182.

<sup>2</sup> André Breton, “Marcel Duchamp,” *Littérature*, n.s., no. 5 (1 October 1922): 8, emphasis in the original; and André Breton, *Nadja*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Grove Press, 1960), 31.

<sup>3</sup> Despite the importance of the Galeria Gradiva in the history of surrealism and *Door for Gradiva* in Duchamp’s oeuvre, few scholars have focused more than passing attention on either the gallery or the artwork. One of the best overviews of the gallery’s history is Renée Mabin, “La galerie Gradiva,” [http://melusine-surrealisme.fr/site/astu/Mabin\\_Gradiva.pdf](http://melusine-surrealisme.fr/site/astu/Mabin_Gradiva.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Jacqueline Lamba, quoted in Jean-Claude Blachère, *Les Totems d’André Breton* (Paris: Éditions L’Harmattan, 1996), 138.

<sup>5</sup> See the letter from André Breton to Roland Penrose of 6 July 1936 cited in *André Breton: la beauté convulsive*, ed. Agnès Angliviel de la Beaumelle, Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, and Claude Schweisguth (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1991), 230.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Edmond Bomsel was born in Belfort in northeastern France on 3 March 1889 and died in Neuilly-sur-Seine on 10 August 1967. In early 1929, he was appointed to the board of a limited liability company in Paris, which Simon Kra, a native of Frankfurt am Mein, his son, Lucien, and their associate Léon Pierre-Quint recently had established, by separating the Kras’ publishing and bookselling ventures. Beginning in 1924, Simon Kra became the principal publisher of the French surrealists. Numerous scholars have claimed erroneously that a *notaire* from Versailles by the name of Louis Bomsel financed the Galerie Gradiva. No such individual is listed in professional directories of the period. From at least the mid-1920s and into 1937, however, Joseph Edmond Bomsel practiced law in Versailles at 4 rue Sainte-

Victoire and resided nearby at 12 rue Georges Ville (now rue René Aubert) in a spacious modern villa designed by André Lurçat. For scholars who mistakenly have cited Louis Bomsel as the underwriter of the Galerie Gradiva, see, among others, *André Breton: la beauté convulsive*, 235; Marguerite Bonnet, “Chronologie,” in André Breton, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Marguerite Bonnet, Philippe Bernier, Étienne-Alain Hubert, and José Pierre (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1992), 2:lii; Jennifer Gough-Cooper and Jacques Caumont, “Ephemerides on and about Marcel Duchamp and Rose Sélavy 1887–1968,” in *Marcel Duchamp: Work and Life*, ed. Pontus Hultén (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), n.p., entry for 18 April 1940; Mark Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind: The Life of André Breton* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1995), 442;

Gérard Durozoi, *Histoire du mouvement surréaliste* (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 1997), 329; Emmanuel Guigon, “Gradiva, une galería surrealista,” in *Dalí: Gradiva* (Madrid: Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2002), 78; Renée Mabin, “La galerie À l'étoile scellée,” *Mélusine*, no. 28 (2008): 295; and Montse Aguer Teixidor and Carme Ruiz González, “Chronology,” in *Dalí/Duchamp* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2017), 199. I fell victim to the same error in my introduction to Marcel Duchamp, “‘Chers enfant de la paix’: quatre lettres de Duchamp aux Dalí,” *Étant donné Marcel Duchamp*, no. 5 (2003): 101.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Éluard, *Lettres à Gala (1924–1948)*, ed. Pierre Dreyfus (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1984), 275.

<sup>8</sup> See Edmund Engelman’s photographs in *Berggasse 19: Sigmund Freud’s Home and Offices, Vienna 1938*, intro. Peter Gay (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

<sup>9</sup> Wilhelm Jensen, *Gradiva: Ein pompejanisches Phantasiestück* (Dresden and Leipzig: Carl Reissner, 1903), 4.

<sup>10</sup> Wilhelm Jensen, *Gradiva: A Pompeian Fancy*, trans. Helen M. Downey (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1918), 117–18.

<sup>11</sup> In early 1938, Breton would nickname Gisèle Prassinos “Alice II.” See *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme* (Paris: Galerie Beaux-Arts, 1938), 22.

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- <sup>12</sup> André Breton, letter to Pablo Picasso, 15 March 1937, call no. MP 3649, Archives Picasso, Musée national Picasso–Paris.
- <sup>13</sup> The embosser is now in the Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.
- <sup>14</sup> Salvador Dalí, letter to André Breton, postmarked 27 March 1937, Centre for Dalinian Studies, Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation, Figueres, Spain. In order to ensure the readability of Dalí’s hybrid penmanship, which consists of phonetic French imbued with Spanish and Catalan, I have altered slightly the formatting and inserted punctuation.
- <sup>15</sup> André Breton, postcard to Jacqueline Lamba, postmarked 31 March 1937, call no. Ms 21196 1/2, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.
- <sup>16</sup> Marcel Duchamp, letter to Salvador Dalí, 5 April 1937, Centre for Dalinian Studies, Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation, Figueres, Spain; first published in *Étant donné Marcel Duchamp*, no. 5 (2003): 99–100.
- <sup>17</sup> Georges Hugnet, *Pleins et déliés: souvenirs et témoignages 1926–1972* (La Chapelle-sur-Loire: Éditions Guy Authier, 1972), 330.
- <sup>18</sup> Marcel Duchamp, letter to Georges Hugnet, 11 January 1968, private collection, Paris.
- <sup>19</sup> [Raymond Queneau], “Connaissez-vous Paris?” *L’Intransigeant*, 8 November 1937, 2 and 8. This source has gone totally unnoticed in the literature on the Galeria Gradiva.
- <sup>20</sup> Marcel Duchamp, letter to Georges Hugnet, 17 February 1968, private collection, Paris.
- <sup>21</sup> Maurice Henry, “Visite au magasin des rêves: le surréalisme vient d’ouvrir une boutique à Paris,” *Le Petit Journal*, 20 June 1937, 6.
- <sup>22</sup> Maurice Henry, “Gradiva, magasin surréaliste: sur le pont qui relie le rêve à la réalité,” *Marianne: grand hebdomadaire littéraire illustré*, 11 August 1937, 6, emphasis in the original. This article and the one cited in the previous note also have gone totally unnoticed in the literature on the Galeria Gradiva. The unidentified man and woman in the photograph published in *Marianne* appear to be the same individuals (in a group of four) whom Dora Maar photographed lying in front of the Galerie Gradiva during a surrealist action.

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- <sup>23</sup> Marcel Jean, *Au galop dans le vent* (Paris: Éditions Jean-Pierre de Monza, 1991), 69.
- <sup>24</sup> Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, trans. Ron Padgett (New York: Viking, 1971), 81.
- <sup>25</sup> Marcel Duchamp, *Duchamp du signe, suivi de Notes*, ed. Michel Sanouillet and Paul Matisse, revised edition corrected with the collaboration of Anne Sanouillet and Paul B. Franklin (Paris: Flammarion, 2008), 65.
- <sup>26</sup> Duchamp, *Duchamp du signe*, 74.
- <sup>27</sup> Duchamp, *Duchamp du signe*, 127.
- <sup>28</sup> Andre Breton, “Rêve-objet,” *Cahiers d’art* 10, nos. 5–6 (1936): 125.
- <sup>29</sup> Sigmund Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (1920), trans. G. Stanley Hall, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1921), 128, emphasis in the original.
- <sup>30</sup> While its location long has been reported as unknown, this painting was recently rediscovered and auctioned at Sotheby’s in London on 28 February 2018. According to the sale catalogue, María Adela de las Mercedes Apolonia Atucha Llavallol, Condesa de Cuevas de Vera, who went by the nickname “Tota” and who divided her time between her native Buenos Aires and Europe, acquired it and the little-known preparatory drawing on which it was based (also sold in the same Sotheby’s auction) directly from the artist.
- <sup>31</sup> Hugnet, 138.



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