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Historical materiality of performance: On the costumes of The Rite of Spring (1913)

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Abstract

By focusing on surviving costumes of the 1913 production of The Rite of Spring, this article asks how a close examination of costumes and their role in historical performance practice can change our understanding of a canonical work of art. It argues for methodological pluralism in examining material remains together with manuscript annotations, images and reviews of the production rarely considered in previous research and, consequentially, for a critical examination of all previous claims, including the so-called reconstruction (1987) of The Rite of Spring. Compared with designs and costumes of other productions by the Ballets Russes company, those of the 1913 production explain much of the contradictory ways in which the work figured in discourses relating to art and modernism in France and Russia at the time. Most importantly, the costumes exemplify a particular tradition of making theatre that has been obscured by the prevailing Orientalist view of the Ballets Russes company that is hegemonic in what is claimed to be 'known' about The Rite of Spring and its reception.

Introduction: Against the canon

Since its first performance on 29 May 1913, The Rite of Spring (Fr. Le Sacre du Printemps; Rus. Весна священная) has become a staple in the repertories of dance companies as well as symphony orchestras. Igor Stravinsky's music is now a familiar acoustic soundscape, and legends of the allegedly riotous first reception are repeated as anecdotes of the affective power of art. Although music scholars have sought to distance Stravinsky's score from both the staging and the scandalous behaviour of the audiences for over a century, and Wikipedia (2020) even claims no one called the reception a riot until the 1920s, primary sources contest these views. Reviews by Russian critics, often conspicuous by their absence in research, made much of the behaviour of the audiences; some even took the uproar as proof that the French did not

understand the novelty or its Russian authors (Levinson 1913; Minsky 1913; Lunacharsky 1913). As James H. Johnson notes, 'fighting in the theater, rather, was one of several possible responses expressing extreme divergence in taste' (1995: 4). Since paid claques were common and scandals sold tickets, journalists soon speculated whether everything had been engineered – both because the company's impresario Sergei Diaghilev had a reputation for manipulating the public, and because the choreographer, Vaslav Nijinsky, had caused an outrage the year before with his L'Après-midi d'un Faune (1912).1

There is a grain of truth in those speculations. Our perception of The Rite of Spring is distorted by the subsequent notoriety of the work as well as how that notoriety was created to serve a narrative that severed the Ballets Russes from both contemporary practices in theatre and from critical discourses in Russia. Investigating the surviving costumes of the production requires first reforging those connections, a careful consideration of how The Rite of Spring exemplified a particular manner of making theatre and a cultural context invisible to the French and British spectators on whose voices previous research has largely relied. This article argues that we can fundamentally shift our understanding of even a canonical work of art by closely examining museal and archival remains in the context of historical performance practices, but that this requires combining studies in costume with insights and methodological tools from cultural and art history, dance and performance studies, and practice-based research in the performing arts.

Planned as a future repertory staple and advertised as such for over a year in advance, The Rite of Spring was a sold-out box-office success that sharply divided critical opinion and alienated many former fans of the company.2 However, given how quickly Vaslav Nijinsky's choreography was dropped from the repertory, by 1914 even some critics who had attacked The Rite of Spring began to consider the return of Nijinsky's predecessor, Mikhail Fokine, as a sign of artistic cowardice.3 By 1919, institutionalization had cut short Nijinsky's career, and the nationalist overtones and theatricality of The Rite of Spring went increasingly against tenets of post-war modernism as abstract and allegedly universal art. The impresario Sergei Diaghilev attempted to revive the work in 1920, with a new choreography by Léonide Massine, but the production was short-lived. The Rite of Spring primarily attained fame as concert music, and Stravinsky began to increasingly distance himself from 'mere' theatrical composition. However, already before the First World War, the generally positive responses of Russian critics to Nijinsky's choreographies were embarrassing for Diaghilev and those of his associates (like Stravinsky) who had built their international renown as artists not understood in their allegedly conservative home country.4 In other words, many of the artists involved in the Ballets Russes deliberately aligned themselves with the Orientalist views of their French and British audiences whose primary interests were never in dance or choreography (Järvinen 2014: 8–16, 55–68, 75–79).

The severing of the Ballets Russes from Russia and The Rite of Spring from its theatricality has contributed to how also the sets and costumes designed by Nikolai Roerich have received little scholarly attention and less understanding as integral parts

of the whole. In part, this may be because, in the 1913 reception, surprisingly few French or British reviews paid close attention to Roerich's contribution – far fewer than was common for Ballets Russes novelties of this size.5 However, when little beyond the musical score and reminiscences remained of the first performance, Roerich's designs – or at least what were claimed as such – became visualizations of the production in books, exhibitions, album covers and the like. Many of them are preserved in Russian collections (notably the A.A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum in Moscow) and have not been easily accessible until recently.

In shifting the focus from design to extant costumes and their Russian contexts, this article contests much of what has been claimed of the 1913 production, including the so-called reconstruction by Millicent Hodson and Kenneth Archer (1987).6 At the same time, it shows how costumes were, indeed, crucial for understanding the staged spectacle. However, this understanding was culturally specific in ways previously ignored: what was obvious and familiar in the work for the Russian critics was alien and strange for their foreign colleagues.

The first distinction that should therefore be made is between costume and costume design. The epistemological significance lies not merely in how the three-dimensional costume realizes a two-dimensional plan or how costume functions in performance. Designs tend to be associated primarily with the individual designer, thus severing all-important connections to company practices and previous ways of representing similar subject matter onstage. The costumes of The Rite of Spring have to be understood in the context of how costume designs by artists other than Roerich had been realized for the stage in previous productions by the Ballets Russes, and the different ways in which 'Russia' had been manifested in scenography. The latter explicates much of the startlingly different reactions of Russian and foreign critics to The Rite of Spring.

Unfortunately, the material record of Ballets Russes productions is scarce, scattered and perplexing. For one, dance costumes that saw heavy use had to be replaced, but few publicity photographs were taken of these later revivals. When they were, the costumes were not just credited to the original designer but attributed to first performances. Thus, both earlier and later photographs of works like Les Sylphides (orig. Chopiniana 1907) have been mistakenly claimed to be of the dancers of the famous 1909 Paris production, wearing the costumes for those performances, sometimes even when they are actually photographs of the 1910 production of Giselle or from a version by another Ballet Russe (several companies used very similar names). Given the expense of costumes, items from different productions could also be jumbled together or reused for new works or revivals, and consequently misattributed or misplaced (see, e.g., Macdonald and Woodcock 1995). Some of the designers added to the confusion by deliberately misrepresenting (dating and labelling) their art. Men like Bakst, Benois and Roerich were all of a generation for whom a later re-creation of a design was as much original as the original drawing or painting and could be dated as such, even if, for collectors, the value of designs of the first famous production would have been much higher than that of later versions. In the 1920s and 1930s, Roerich even acquired a reputation as something of a con man (Williams 1980: esp. 3–5). In other words, the

design, costuming and publicity practices of the Ballets Russes are fraught with potential pitfalls for the unsuspecting researcher.

Effectively, The Rite of Spring is exceptional amongst the pre-war productions by the Ballets Russes because only two relatively short-lived productions were ever made with the same outfits; they were not auctioned off in one of Diaghilev's several bankruptcies, lost in shipping or storage, ripped apart or sold off to enthusiastic fans to be worn at costume parties. As such, both the extent of what remains of the costumes and the shape of what remains is remarkable. However, the 1920 Massine choreography did jumble various parts of the 1913 costumes and reassign their accessories. Later, enthusiastic collectors have backdated costumes from such later choreographies to 1913 despite obvious differences in style, material and methods of ornamentation.7 A critical assessment of collections of Ballets Russes costumes and other memorabilia therefore requires an heightened awareness of confirmation bias and sunk-cost fallacy.

The second epistemological distinction in the present article lies in refocusing what is claimed to be known of the Ballets Russes company and their pre-war productions as Russian ballet. This requires critical a re-examination of how we, today, remember a past performance, whose histories we repeat and what we 'see' in costumes in museums as opposed to the stage. By comparing how The Rite of Spring related to previous representations of 'Russia' onstage, I draw attention to what in the work is similar rather than different from past practices – in other words, I contest those 'masterpiece' discourses that represent the work as singular, unique and extraordinary. As material remains of these past practices, surviving costumes of the 1913 production thus prompt further critical engagement with how theatre was made: the working methods of a touring company without a permanent 'base' for their performances and performers on short-term contracts, but a company not stinting on production costs for a future repertory staple.8 As with the rehearsal or planning process of a staged event, the backstage making of a production involves putting to practice years of professional skill that critical focus on the premiere and on the most famous author-figures relegates to secondary importance. Shifting attention from critical reception to processes of making can therefore contextualize particular performances and innovations in ways perhaps more relevant to today's practices than the threadbare narratives of geniuses and masterworks.

Setting the stage: Costume in the new ballet

Contrary to how the Ballets Russes is often represented, the company was not at the cutting edge of theatrical innovation: they relied on well-tested methods of scene painting and costuming familiar to Russian audiences since the 1880s nationalist revival in opera; conventional materials and practices of working them; and a raked stage with flat scenery lit from within the proscenium arch (see, e.g., Polunin 1980). They did not cross the fourth wall in the manner of Max Reinhardt's productions, nor utilize three-dimensional stage constructs like Adolphe Appia or Edward Gordon Craig (cf. Palmer 2013: 35–36, 77–104, 125–32). In terms of costume, the Ballets Russes have been

represented as inspiring Parisian fashions and women 'freed' from corsets. This, too, is an exaggeration, as corsets remained a staple in women's underwear, whereas theatricality (even in evening dress) was generally seen as a negative characteristic in the audience, where 'subtle creatures naked to the hips' (Vuillermoz 1913: 50) were definitely improper. At the same time, public responses to the degree of display of (seemingly) naked bodies also correlated with the social prestige of the artist and the venue: in Russia, the costumes of the Ballets Russes aligned them with popular variety stages, with entertainment rather than art.9

As Rachel Fensham (2014: 45) notes, dance costume has also undergone an ideological shift towards contemporary materials and free movement of the body that, in 1913, had barely begun. This ideological shift has contributed to how, in the research on the Ballets Russes, costumes tend to be seen as individual and as separate from choreography in a manner that, as Sarah Woodcock (2010: 150) points out, neither the original designers nor costumiers could have imagined. From c.1900 onwards, dance costume, especially its faithfulness to period and culture purportedly depicted onstage, was one of the points of contestation in the Russian debate on 'old' vs. 'new' ballet. In this debate, the St Petersburg ballet master Marius Petipa stood for 'classical' and 'idealist' tradition, contrasted with the younger ballet master of the Moscow Bolshoi, Aleksandr Gorsky, with 'theatricality' and 'realist' stage setting. Both were opposed with various popular venues in which ballet featured, including touring companies (e.g. Krasovskaia 1971, esp.I: 7–57; Järvinen 2008, 2013a: 10–11). Originally, costume and mise en scène were somewhat secondary to questions about composition, the relationship of dance and music, the role of narrative and mimicry and the function of the corps de ballet. However, this was because much of the staging discussion had already taken place in Russian opera and theatre in the previous decades. The Ballets Russes changed this.

The prominence of designers in the histories of the Ballets Russes derives largely from how the company came about from the previous major enterprise of its impresario, Sergei Diaghilev: the arts magazine Mir iskusstva (The World of Art 1899–1905) and the adjoining exhibition society. Initially, many of these miriskusstniki were against the new ballet, because they thought Gorsky's adoption of staged realism took attention away from sets and costumes. As such, they naturally allied with the opponents of Gorsky's reforms, the 'ballet strikers' of 1905. By 1907, however, Mikhail Fokine, a leading striker who became Diaghilev's principal choreographer for the 1909–12 seasons, had turned from an opponent into an advocate of the new ballet.10

Like many of the paintings by the miriskusstniki, Fokine's short choreographies aimed at impressions of spontaneity and 'local colour'. Set in distant times and exotic lands, these works allowed far more exposure for stage and costume design – and costumes that also exposed far more of the dancing body – than the all-night spectacles at the Imperial Theatres. Indeed, reading Fokine's published statements, it is striking how much of his reform of ballet relies on scenography and costumes rather than choreographic principles. In a rare French interview (Chavance 1912), Fokine focused almost entirely on costumes and period art as his 'choreographic method', and this echoes in his so-

called five principles (Fokine 1914, 1961: esp. 71–73, 87–90). Although no longer interested in ethnographic otherness, Nijinsky (cited in Cahusac 1913) similarly mentions costume when discussing how he wants to illustrate contemporary people and everyday movement onstage.

Costume thus played a crucial role in the formation of the Ballets Russes as a company, in how its choreographies were designed and even more so in its reception (on the latter, see esp. Davis 2010). As Russian critics were quick to note, the Parisian fame of Diaghilev's enterprise rested primarily on visual impressions and music for audiences ignorant of ballet, including most of the critics that researchers still cite as authorities on the company. What for Russians appeared as a continuation of an extant Russian trend in the performing arts was something of a revelation for the French, who also tended to see the use of bright colours in the scenography as indicative of the primitive minds of Russians (e.g., de Chevigné 1909; Vaudoyer 1910; Edelstein 1916). Even as Diaghilev's coterie was eager to seize international fame, this racialization definitely did not please Russian critics ('N.N'. 1909; Anon. 1909a; Minsky 1913; more in Järvinen 2008).

Until the First World War closed Europe's borders, the Ballets Russes also relied heavily on Russian stage professionals, such as the director Aleksandr Sanin and the technician Karl Valts,11 and for costumes, the workshop of Ivan (Giovanni) Caffi of St Petersburg (Nijinska 1992: 267; Pritchard 2010, 2012: 179). Although, as a touring company, the Ballets Russes depended on the staff of whatever theatre they performed in, the planning of new works took place within this close-knit world of Russian stage design. In fact, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of such existing connections between professionals who knew each other from having worked together. In this context, the costumes for The Rite of Spring are evidence of an early-twentieth-century theatrical pattern of 'making the past' for the stage, in which design indicated a general style for professional costume-makers and theatre professionals. In Russia, the aim of this making was not historical accuracy but 'artistic truth' (художественная правда): the creation of a stylized, imagined reality (Issiyeva 2016: 83–84; Haldey 2010: 57–59; also, e.g., Taruskin 1996: esp. 493). In late nineteenth-century Russian national romanticism, artistic truth had been a rallying cry against realism, especially in the arts and crafts movement that centred around kustari peasant manufactures. The 'artist-enhanced kustarnichestvo' (products of kustari designed by artists based on folk motifs for manufacture by peasants) drastically influenced ideas of Russia's past and how this was staged. In part for personal reasons, all of Diaghilev's enterprises had intimate ties to the national romantic arts and crafts movement.12

Even without Roerich's even closer ties to artist-enhanced kustarnichestvo, the distance between the staged artistic truth and ethnographic or historical fact would have been prominent in works like The Rite of Spring. The miriskusstniki took to ballet precisely for its anti-realism, and the vigorous debates and experimentation in Russian arts around the 1905 revolution could not but influence the early Ballets Russes productions. Famous as a painter of ancient Rus13 and spiritual topics, Roerich had begun a career as a theatrical designer around 1907 and attained some renown with medieval historical and spiritual topics (e.g. Bowlt 1982: 45, 116–17; Salmond 1996: esp. 132–36;

McCannon 2004). Although of Diaghilev's close associates, he was probably the logical choice for a designer of a work set in pagan Russia; it is important that he already knew the professionals executing his designs: for one, Caffi's workshop, responsible for the costumes of The Rite of Spring, had created the costumes Roerich designed for The Polovtsian Dances (an excerpt from Aleksandr Borodin's opera Prince Igor, 1880), the sensation of the first Ballets Russes season of 1909. Roerich would thus have been aware of the degree and kind of interpretation by the costumiers and stage painters of whatever designs he created, as well as what the end result might look like onstage and when worn by dancers in movement.

This familiarity may explain why Roerich's designs lack the kind of instruction on materials, colours or desired techniques that make many of his colleagues' designs so useful as sources on costuming. Certainly, Roerich may have visited Caffi's workshop in person, picking fabrics and discussing their execution just as designers sometimes supervised scene painters. But there is no record of such a visit, as we only tend to have written records of discussions between people not in the same physical location. In research, this lack of sources on how the Ballets Russes productions were actually staged has been obscured by an emphasis on the company as creating 'total works of art'. Yet, precisely because stage conventions were conventions, none of the pre-war Ballets Russes artists reminisced about how exactly they ensured the costumes or sets were sufficiently alike their designs. Since the professional workshops that actually executed the designs were far beneath the artists in the hierarchy of the productions, unless something went disastrously amiss, it was all business as usual.

Nevertheless, it is surprisingly easy to pair Roerich's designs with specific instances of surviving costumes at the Victoria and Albert Museum (henceforth V&A) and also with contemporary images of the 1913 production – the few that exist, that is. For a major production, advance publicity of The Rite of Spring included extraordinarily little visual material. There are only three extant publicity photographs, all taken during a break in the rehearsals at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées: one of the Sage, alone; another of four male dancers from different groups in the first act; and one of six women, representing three different groups in the choreography. Remarkably, the programme of the premiere (Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Saison russe 1913) had no images of the new work. None of Roerich's costume designs seem to have been circulated for the press in advance of the premiere, either, and only one was published in the lavish Comœdia illustré souvenir programme of the season in June (see Casalonga 1913). Of the sets, only the design of the first act appeared in contemporary press.14 A few magazines hired artists who drew images – including satirical cartoons – of the production; and of these, Emmanuel Barcet's (cited in Vuillermoz 1913 and 'Swift' 1913) were the most detailed and widely copied.15 In addition, some drawings by Valentine Gross (1914) based on sketches created at the Paris performances were published some months later, and three of René Bull's illustrations appeared in The Russian Ballet by Johnson (1913: 203, 205, 209).

All these published images were in black-and-white. The most comprehensive colour images of the 1913 production were a set of gouaches by Gross (1913a, 1913b, 1913c,

1913d, 1913e), commissioned to illustrate the souvenir programme of the season for Comœdia illustré but never used. Gross's impressions show what the costumes may have seemed like in movement and under the specific lighting conditions of the stage. Early-twentieth-century stages were lit from the ramp and within the proscenium arch, which creates a kind of 'magic box' effect quite unlike today's theatres. From reviews, it is clear that the Ballets Russes used a lot of coloured light, but exact records as to what and how are non-existent as no cue sheets have been preserved. Unlike some scholars (e.g. Jackson 1991) have sought to present, the regular employees of each theatre actually operated this stage machinery, and lighting may thus have varied from one location to the next. That Gross's illustrations do not specifically indicate use of coloured light (yellow for 'day', blueish white for 'night', for example) is not to say such lighting was not used – artist's impressions are not performance documentation.16

A critical examination of Roerich's sketches, the three photographs and surviving costumes reveals further gaps in what we know. In the photograph of the female dancers (Casalonga 1913), the dress worn by the first and third woman from the left is Roerich's design number 5 for a girl in the first act (Roerich 1912b, with marks 'I актъ' ['1st act'], 'N. 5', '7 кост' ['costumes']). Examples of this costume are amongst the ones in the V&A collection, but labelled as from the second act (Caffi 1913a). The only one of Gross' (1913d) gouaches that shows blue skirts is also from the first act. However, in the Roerich design, the dominant colour of the skirt is green, not blue (see Roerich 1912c). Why? Perhaps the choreographer wanted a blue costume, or perhaps someone thought green would not contrast sufficiently with the backdrop, or someone at the workshop simply made a mistake in mixing the paint. Whatever the case, the surviving costume reveals that either the light in the rehearsal space or more likely a filter used by the photographer has added a strong blue tint to the photograph, shifting its shades of grey. Like the retouched versions of these photographs in the contemporary press (see Wikimedia Commons 2020a) that placed the dancers seemingly in front of the Roerich backdrop from the first act, regardless of their costumes and utterly out of proportion, this points to how easily we mistake certain kinds of remnants of the past as 'unmediated truth'. Similarly, as with all publicity photographs from this period, the dancers' poses were selected by the choreographer as something representative of the work but not documentation – due to camera speeds, especially indoors, the dancers had to be able to hold very still for the end result to be sharp enough for reproduction in the press.

One reason for a lack of visuals in the advance publicity for The Rite of Spring was simply that the costumes arrived in Paris very late – and this was not Caffi's fault. Probably because the Ballets Russes was touring Europe, Roerich sent his designs not to Nijinsky but to Stravinsky, residing in Switzerland. For months, and despite repeated requests and threats from Diaghilev and his associates, the composer failed to forward these designs to Nijinsky, who needed to stipulate what he wanted made for the cast – how many of which designs for which dancers. Parsing the timeline from Stravinsky's correspondence, Caffi would have received the final order for the costumes at the end of March at the very earliest.17 With the premiere at the end of May, this left them just

over a month for delivery of 79 full costumes and all their accessories and props from imitation wigs and socks to weapons and jewellery – not a mean feat, even for a major workshop.18

This timeline also means that unlike what the reconstructors claim, it is highly unlikely that Nijinsky ever used Roerich's designs for his choreographic composition in any shape or form. Obviously, Nijinsky did not derive his floor patterns from costumes he would only have seen days before the premiere, but he also would have seen Roerich's designs months into the rehearsal process. Unlike Fokine, Nijinsky never showed an interest in either ethnography or using the rehearsals for working out his choreographic composition, and he also did not want Roerich in the rehearsals (Diaghilev to Stravinsky, 20 December 1912–2 January 1913 in Stravinsky 1997, I: 398). Moreover, as a professional dancer who had grown up touring rural Russia, he certainly had no need to ask a painter to explain Russian dances to him, and any similarity between the postures of the dancers and Roerich's designs is far likelier to derive from their shared cultural context than the choreographer copying costume designs.19

For anyone familiar with artist-enhanced kustarnichestvo, it is also obvious that the costume designs do not have the kind of 'ritual designs' Hodson (1985a: esp. 158; 1985b, 1986, 1986–87) insists that they have. The sole exception is what looks like a mother goddess (Mokosh) embroidery pattern (cf. Wikimedia Commons 2020b) painted on the upper sleeve of the tunics of young men whose costumes also include animal skin cloaks.20 Mokosh was the mother of the fertility god Iarilo with whose rite the two librettists had associated the work (e.g. Taruskin 1996: 860, 881–84). Characteristically, the reconstructors mistake this design for 'a prehistoric bird' (Hodson 1986–87: 12, 13), indicating the impact of unfamiliarity with the cultural context that also plagues the French reviews of the premiere. With previous productions, Russian designers had expressed unease with French costume workshops precisely because of perceived cultural differences, and this also explains why the costumes for The Rite of Spring were made in St Petersburg by Caffi, instead of in Paris, as with Nijinsky's other choreography of the season, Games (Fr. Jeux; Rus. Игры). Whereas something emulating the 'jerseys' of contemporary tennis players (Anon. 1913d; 'S.L.B.' 1913; Casalonga 1913) could be safely made by a French fashion house, a Russian theatre workshop was likelier to produce costumes that truly characterized the Russianness of The Rite of Spring.21

Making costumes à la Russe

Critical research on the concrete making of theatre can challenge both how we imagine the past to have been onstage and the manner in which productions are attributed to authors.22 Just pausing to think of the practices of Caffi's workshop – how many workers there were, what kind of machinery was used or what particular materials and methods are evident in the surviving costumes, and so on – draws attention to how little we know of all the everyday practices of making theatre a century ago: of sets, lighting, stage construction… At the beginning of the twentieth century, scenographic production methods were rapidly changing, thanks to new materials and technology, but very little

remains of this tactile and oral history in textual sources. Although much was written of stage technology, extant books outlining principles and best practices of stage production (such as Moynet 1893) say little of costumes or costuming beyond a few mentions of particular materials – like the excessive popularity of velvet. Books on costume (such as Aria 1906: esp. 225–59) tend to mix ethnographic description and the stage and often lack any detailed discussion on processes of making such as patterns or methods of ornamentation. Although some early books on free-form dance also included instructions to making costumes (e.g. Einert 1921: 93–96), observing the surviving costumes in detail helps us understand the extent of what is missing from the discourse on The Rite of Spring or the Ballets Russes more generally.

Apart from some of the women's frocks dyed bright red, the costumes of The Rite of Spring are undyed (off-white) wool. The short coats were made of heavier fabric than men's tunics, which were again a little heavier than the lightest of the women's dresses. The uniform production look thus derives from the thicknesses of yarn and thread, the warp and weft of the weave, as well as the cut, dyeing and ornamentation. Once sewn together, the costumes were painted by hand, flat on a surface. In the natural white ones, decorations follow peasant fashion, concentrating on the hem, around wrists and the collar, with occasional bands just below the shoulder. Some also have large, round designs on the chest or sleeves. For Russian critics, these patterns associated with kustari industries, and not all welcomed the connection.23 In comparison to earlier Ballets Russes 'Russian' works like The Firebird (1910), designed by Aleksandr Golovin, where the costumes of the Russian princesses were decorated with delicate vines, leaves and flowers (see Anon. 1910), The Rite of Spring is markedly sticking to geometric patterns. However, painting by hand alleviates the starkness of these patterns that recall embroidered borders of household textiles and peasant clothes, especially ones decorated with tablet weaves. But often something is a little off: a pattern recalling the centre of a tablecloth is repeated five times at the front of a red dress, for example (Caffi 1913c), or a crosshatch reminiscent of a tablet weave appears in the middle of the horizontal lines that supposedly imitate a pattern weave (Caffi 1913a).

The basic pattern used by Caffi (e.g. 1913c) imitated a rubakha, meaning a simple T-shaped tunic or dress of varying length, generally cut of two widths of fabric sewn together with straight sleeves attached. The costumes are far simpler than most Russian peasant garb, let alone theatre costumes: the seams are predominately straight, there is no draping, and almost no pleats or darts. The patterns and decorations have vertical symmetry, unlike in, for example, kosovorotkas (male peasants' skewed-collared shirts). Although made to create an impression of something that would, once worn, look like Russian peasant dress, the costumes were designed to be far easier to put on and take off by performers than any ethnographically accurate clothing would have been. The maidens who danced in the first act and were already onstage when the curtain rose on the second act had to be able to do a full costume change within the approximately five minutes of introductory music to the second act.24 Even with easily removed frocks, this required precision, routine and probably some dressing assistance.

Most of the frocks have gussets (wedges of fabric) under the arms, and many of the men's costumes have a similar inserted segment of material at the waist where they were bunched up using belts. These sewn-in segments are invisible in most images of the costumes and usually also when the costumes are displayed on mannequins in exhibitions. Whereas the slice in the middle of the frocks is purely a theatrical convention, gussets were used in Russian clothing patterns, perhaps for partial replacement of areas likeliest to stain as well as to add freedom to arm movement (Alyoshina n.d.: esp. 11; LaRus 2007). However, the stark difference in colour of the material in the gussets is atypical to peasant dress and indicates another convention: the colours follow the principal effect colour of the costume (bright yellow in a red costume, bright red in a natural white one: Caffi 1913c, 1913d). The same convention had been used in the costumes of the Russian princesses in The Firebird (1911) that are very similar in pattern and have gussets in bright blue (Anon. 1910).

In other words, the patterns of the production were neither original to the production nor following either archaeological evidence or ethnographic dress patterns. The accessories of the costumes also tell of a workshop accustomed to making costumes for dancing. As seen in the photograph of the women (Casalonga 1913), some women wore broad bracelets over the sleeves of their tunics, and some men had ornaments hanging on their belts. The dancers wore both wooden props painted with metal colour (such as combs and daggers) and actual metal jewellery. In reality, all 'hanging' parts were attached to the costumes with thread so as to avoid unfortunate incidents in a choreography involving a lot of jumping.

A looser fit with potentially easily replaceable parts at areas subject to more wear and tear was also more economical in the long run than something that would only fit a particular dancer, had multiple layers or difficult fastenings, or could not be quickly fixed backstage with easily available materials. Like the replaceable bits of fabric in parts of the costume most likely to stain, this can be seen as indicating practical long-term thinking in costume manufacturing; and beyond shoulder and chest width, there was also little need of fitting the costumes on dancers. Part of this economy was due to the 'prehistorical' setting, part came from Roerich's interests in kustarnichestvo and Russian prehistory, part was standard theatrical practice well known to Caffi's costumiers, and part was simply good planning on the part of a company already in financial difficulties that had these costumes made in a different country to where they were rehearsing or performing.25

The costumes thus reveal the extent of practical thinking involved in the costume shop when Roerich's designs were turned into actual costumes. Working in the reverse, matching costumes to designs, involves a different kind of thinking. Since the libretto of The Rite of Spring had no named characters and only three soloists – the Woman of 300 Years (danced by Liudmila Guliuk), the Old Sage (Vladimir Vorontsov) and the Chosen Virgin (Maria Piltz) – most of Roerich's designs are quite vaguely identified by act and the gender of the character. The designs also include costumes that were never actually made, as Roerich had little influence on which designs would be executed – it was Nijinsky who knew what his choreography required and who therefore stipulated how

many of which design were needed. Consequently, many of the designs have faint pencil markings in another hand, numbering them and indicating how many costumes were to be made of this particular design (e.g. Roerich 1912d: 'N. 6', '5 кост'; 1912e: 'N. 1[b]', '5 кост').

Together with the notes by Marie Rambert (n.d., 1967a, 1967b), Roerich's designs also reveal that the programme notes (Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Saison russe 1913) were inaccurate in naming the first act groups. The Roerich sketch published in Comœdia illustré (Casalonga 1913) shows a maiden in a (presumably) red dress, labelled 'une élégante'. The text in Russian reads 'щеголиха', literally 'little goldfinch', but actually a play on words.26 Roerich created not just one but several of these 'goldfinch' designs, which imitate traditional navershniks: long, short-sleeved tunics worn over a long shift or shirt called rubakha (Alyoshina n.d.; LaRus 2007). In addition, one of Roerich's designs for the first act shows a 'girl' wearing a red shift under a bright yellow navershnik (Roerich 1912f), but there are no pencil marks in the image, which may indicate the costume was not used or that the marks have been erased. Although some of the surviving costumes do have a strip of material at the bottom imitating an underskirt, or long sleeves attached to a bit of broader fabric at the top, none of them are actually layered in the fashion indicated in these designs. From a distance, the strip of fabric at the hem disappears in the horizontal lines of painted ornamentation and would have been even less apparent with the costumes in movement.27

From Rambert's (n.d.: 22–35) notes, we know that Nijinsky used the 'goldfinch' designs for the groups of maidens in red, prominently visible in the gouaches by Gross (1913b, 1913d). One of these sketches (Gross 1913a) seems to indicate that the design for the 'girl' in yellow (Roerich 1912f) was actually used for the Woman of 300 Years. But if the latter is the case, did the yellow costume include some kind of underwear, given that some of the French reviews complained of the old woman showing her 'petticoats'?28 Just as without the blue costume discussed above we might not know of the blue tint distorting the photograph of the female dancers, without the yellow costume, we may never know what these critics meant.

Caffi's workshop was familiar enough with how to stage 'Russia' to turn Roerich's often vague designs into hand-painted 'pattern weaves' and 'embroideries' à la kustari art industries. However, the hand-painted, at times stencilled, patterns on the wool fabric create a very particular aesthetic in the costumes that sets them apart from costumes representing similar 'Russian' dress using, for example, tablet woven ribbons for the purpose. The distinction is best seen in photographs of plays or operas set in the Kievan Rus, like Serov's opera Rogneda (1865), or versions of the story of the Snow Maiden.29 As Joanna Weckman (2019: 62) notes, printing, painting, stencilling or appliqué were not just techniques for the cheap imitation of more complex weaves, ornamentation or elaborately cut fabrics, but an aesthetic choice integral to the overall effect of the spectacle. The choice to paint the fabric by hand was not made for the sake of expediency let alone to imitate 'primitive' dress.30 It was as integral to the desired overall effect as the chosen fabric. Lines drawn by hand created a rustic individuality in the costumes, a kind of chosen aesthetic of crudeness characteristic of the artist-

enhanced kustarnichestvo in Talashkino near Smolensk that, as also evinced by the Russian reception, was a point of contestation in the Russian discourse at the time.31

Importantly, none of this was apparent for French or British spectators, for whom 'Russia' connoted costumes that Russian productions reserved for princes and boyars: richly embroidered materials, caftans with wide sleeves and hems, furs, precious metals and pearls, opulent collars and head-dresses (especially the rigid, semi-circular kokoshniks worn with sarafans). In Russia, costumes for lower classes had always tended towards simpler patterns and unadorned fabrics.32 The previous Ballets Russes spectacles had also led audiences to expect more bling from the actual costumes, as evinced by how Adolphe Boschot (1913), who disliked everything in the novelty, called them 'bathrobes' ('peignoirs de bains'). Other critics, presuming 'pagan' in the title connoted the Stone Age, reverted to the claim that the costumes were, in fact, incongruous for being too modern. For example, Eugène Belville (1913), writing for the design magazine Art et industrie, claimed: '[t]hese prehistorical people are dressed in embroidered fabrics, adorned with metal ornaments, shod without elegance but with care that indicates an advanced civilization'.33

In contrast, for Russian critics, there was nothing incongruous in the costumes. In his long review in Teatr i iskusstvo, Lunacharsky (1913), the future People's Commissar of Enlightenment in the Soviet Union, associated the 'primitivism' of the work with a fashion for Gauguin:

> At the same time, 'Spring Sacrifice' was something completely extraordinary. […] Going in the direction of that primitivism which in painting received recognition with Gauguin, and now has become a misfortune for art by acquiring too large a following, including many Russian admirers and representatives, amongst them the ballet decorator Nikolai Roerich, Stravinsky and Nijinsky decided to present the sacred dances of our Slavic ancestors during the times of primeval savagery.
>
> (1913: 486-487)

Remarkably, Lunacharsky portrays Gauguin and post-impressionism as passé at a time when foreign critics were accusing The Rite of Spring as dangerous in its adoption of this excessively novel aesthetic (e.g. Johnson 1913: 202; also Vuillermoz 1913). Nor was Lunacharsky alone. The former director of the Imperial Theatres, Prince Sergei Volkonsky (1913: 72), cited the words of a colleague to describe the choreography as inherently contemporary but also inherently Russian: 'One of our critics in all amity favourably described it as 'cubist icon-painting' where the archaic angularity of the movement unravels itself in front of us to the pipes of Slavonic Pan.'

The choreographer had declared his style a kind of Cubism already the previous year (Tenroc 1912). His radical departure from the conformist salon aesthetics of the Ballets Russes fans (as outlined by Camille Mauclair 1912) had outraged many critics to an extent that the audiences clearly expected The Rite of Spring to be a scandal – some critics (such as Victor Débay 1913) even stated this in their reviews. At the same time, as

Truman Bullard (1971: esp. 88–91) has noted, by 1913 the Ballets Russes had become a repeating event at the end of the regular season that had lost much of its original novelty. For better or worse, The Rite of Spring thus culminated a longer debate of how the Russian company fit – or rather did not fit – the cultural norms of its foreign audiences.

In contrast, in Russia, the Ballets Russes was seen as a well-publicized touring company that was riding on the reputation of the Imperial Theatres years after that connection had been severed, and presenting an image of Russia by no means all critics welcomed. Even though most Russian reviews were quite critical of The Rite of Spring, they still tended to represent it as an outstanding piece, something that 'must show as a great event in the so-far short history of the Diaghilevian enterprise', to cite Eduard Pann.34 Unlike their French and British colleagues, Russian critics did not see the work as foreign, but as 'our' art – to the extent that the cat-calling audiences at the premiere became proof that Russian art was now paramount in Europe, too vanguard even for the refined Parisians.35 Since the Russians also analysed the choreography in far more detail, their reviews illustrate how exactly the costumes mediated the choreography and imbued the work with the spirit of ancient Rus.36 With few exceptions, how The Rite of Spring participated in an existing debate about representation of Russia onstage is almost entirely absent in the foreign responses, and consequently from research on the work.

More questions than conclusions

In this article, I have focused on a number of issues around what the remaining costumes from the 1913 production of The Rite of Spring are like and how they exemplify a broader cultural context of not only the Ballets Russes company but also early-twentieth-century Russian stage design. Working in an arts school, my interest was originally piqued by how scholars writing on the performing arts focus on specific author figures that, from a practical perspective of making, tend to emphasize ideas over output – how, in dance, the choreographer is credited with a kind of Platonian ideal that dancers are always doomed to perform imperfectly. Although I have since found that Nijinsky and some of his Russian colleagues really were to blame for much of this kind of thinking in dance, the same power hierarchy also exists between designer and costume-maker. But costumes are not their designs, and surely it matters who actually executes a design, what their professional skills brought to the end result?

The other side of the coin lies in how – in arts of the stage where many professionals from different disciplines come together to create what the audience experiences as a singular performance at a given time – scholarship tends to fracture at those disciplinary boundaries. When combined with expectations founded on prejudices – such as the racist ideas of French critics regarding Russians as a kind of a magical hive mind ('J.R'. 1913: 310–11) – this kind of fragmentation too often results in spurious 'expertise' on canonized works of art that only seeks to confirm what is already known. In conducting this research on the costumes of 1913 The Rite of Spring, I have therefore begun to pick

at this other side of the issue: how do we actually use these material remains of past performances? Do we let the materiality itself affect us and how? The 1987 'reconstruction' by Millicent Hodson and Kenneth Archer, which offered one suggestion, has since acquired a hegemonic status in representations of the 1913 production, most notably of Nijinsky's choreography – but it does not actually respect the materiality of the materials it claims to use. To address these issues requires a second article, forthcoming in this journal in 2021.37

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Notes

1. See Svetlov (1913), ‘Peterburgskii Obozrevatel’ (1913); cf. Anon. (1913a) implicating Diaghilev; also ‘Sharl Maka’ (1912). Also Bullard (1971: esp. 128–31, 157–60). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from French and Russian in the text are mine.

2. Krasovskaia (1971, I: 429); also Bullard (1971: 132). Especially French music critics (e.g. Vuillermoz 1912; Laloy 1912) built expectation of Stravinsky’s score in ways that even reviews after the premiere later commented: Vuillemin (1913). See also Järvinen (2013a: 7–8).

3. Before the Ballets Russes had even moved from Paris to London in July, Russian newspapers were reporting a break between Nijinsky and Diaghilev, attributed to the former's daring aesthetic (Anon. 1913b; see also Anon. 1913c) cartoon of Diaghilev as an angry hen roosting in Europe whilst Nijinsky flies 'to peck American gold'. Nijinsky's marriage thus was not the primary cause of the break, even if it did influence Diaghilev's decision to dismiss his former lover. See Stravinsky to Benois, 20 September–3 October 1913; and Nijinsky to Stravinsky, 26 November–9 December 1913 (Stravinsky 1997, II: 146–47, 181). On critical reception of the 1914 season, see Järvinen (2010: 79).

4. See, for example, Stravinsky (1913, 1969: 35); Stravinsky and Craft (1978: 522–26); and Taruskin (1996: esp. 978–88) on Stravinsky's hauteur turning Russian critics against him. However, Taruskin clearly dislikes Nijinsky's prominence in the Russian reception.

5. According to Bullard (1971: 179–90), 32 of the 47 reviews did not mention the décor and costumes. Bullard's thesis is the main source of reviews Hodson (e.g. 1985a, 1996) uses. It includes no reviews or other materials in Russian.

6. Unlike Wikipedia (2020) currently claims, the reconstruction (Calozzi 2009) is not 'Nijinsky's original choreography, long believed lost'. Yet, scholars all too readily use it as if it were: Berg (1988: esp. 52–58); Jones (2009); Oke (2017: 207); and Jordan (2007: 423–43). The latter even arrives at the incredible conclusion that Hodson's choreography indicates some of Rambert's annotations 'stem from a later period' (Jordan 2007: 440) because they do not bear out Hodson's claims. Since the reconstructors also make spurious claims of Roerich's importance to Nijinsky's choreography, I shall return to how they misrepresent both his designs and the costumes themselves in their practice in a forthcoming article for this journal. See, for example, Craft (1988); Acocella (1991) for insightful early criticisms of Hodson's claims.

7. See, for example, Purvis et al. (2009: 132–33) claiming that new costumes from Roerich's 1912 designs were made for the 1920 production. There is no evidence of this, and the costume shown in this book likely dates to Massine's 1930 Metropolitan Opera version.

8. Comparisons of listed names in programmes and contracts in the Astruc Papers (n.d.) show that although many dancers stayed with Diaghilev for years, their contracts were renewed each season. Diaghilev was also sued several times for unpaid salaries (Järvinen 2010: esp. 101–102n40).

9. On this difference between stage and real life, see, for example, Sennett (1993: passim, esp. 191–93). On the Ballets Russes as variety stage entertainment, see Järvinen (2008). In Russia, Ida Rubinstein in particular was criticized for 'nudity' in her roles (e.g. Anon. 1909b), whilst Nijinsky got fired from wearing his Parisian costume for Giselle on the stage of the Mariinsky (Järvinen 2014: 71–73 on the dress reform, 126–27 on Nijinsky's 'nude' costumes, 219–21 on his dismissal).

10. The 'ballet strike' at the Imperial Theatres was part of the uproar of the 1905 Russian Revolution. It involved improvements in the position of the artists but also

opposed the replacement of the ageing Petipa with Gorsky (Krasovskaia 1971, I: esp. 22–36, 110–11, 116–28, 164–215, 220; Järvinen 2014: esp. 212–18). Fokine later took credit for single-handedly reforming the entire art form, and never mentions Gorsky in his memoirs (Fokine 1961).

11. On the power of régisseurs and on Sanin and Valts, see Frame (2000: 56–59, 91); on Sanin and Roerich, see McCannon (2004: 451–52); on Valts, see Rodionov (2016).

12. Diaghilev was both aesthetically drawn to kustarnichestvo and had family ties to the movement via his stepbrother Yuri's family. Mir iskusstva and its exhibition society were originally funded by the railroad tycoon Sava Mamontov and Princess Maria Tenisheva, the founders of two of the most prominent colonies of artist-enhanced kustarnichestvo – Abramtsevo (near Moscow) and Talashkino (near Smolensk). Mamontov also founded the so-called Private Opera, influential in bringing the artists of these colonies to stagecraft. See, for example, Bowlt (1982: 28–46, 62–63); Salmond (1996: 15–45, 70–79, 115–43); also Haldey (2010); Järvinen (2014: 202–12).

13. The archaic Роуськаѧ землѧ, or (Kievan) Rus, connotes the land of Slavic and Finnic peoples formally united under the Rurik dynasty in the ninth century. Still crucial to the cultural imagination of Russians, in the nineteenth-century national romanticism, Rus was the first, semi-mythical Russian empire, not least through the introduction of the Orthodox faith.

14. The illustration of Roerich (1912a) in Casalonga (1913) is called a 'maquette' for the second act, but it is one of at least three paintings, all titled Великая жертва (The Great Sacrifice), the original title of the work that became the title of the second act. Cf. Roerich 1910a, 1910b). None of these designs is for the second act, where contemporary accounts describe a scene painting with large skulls and night fowl (e.g. Paul Souday in L´Éclair, 31 May 1913, quoted in Bullard 1971: 58). Gross (1913e) shows banners of some kind, likely painted on the backdrop, on both sides of the dancers.

15. For example, Maski (see Pann 1913) employed an artist to redraw images from the French papers to accompany the review. Conversely, some of Barcet's (see Vuillermoz 1913) seventeen drawings, largely of individual figures, follow the photographs. The details of the costumes are likely inaccurate, despite his additional satirical drawing of the costumes (in 'Swift' 1913), presented as for sale for the audience under labels 'pour soinge' ('for the baby'), 'fourrures' ('furs') and 'postiches' ('hairpieces').

16. For his later notation of his first choreography, Nijinsky stipulated what kind of lighting was to be used for optimum effect: Guest and Jeschke (1991: 13); also Nijinsky to Stravinsky, 12–25 January 1913 in Stravinsky (1997, II: 13); see also Moynet (1893: esp. 239–56); Polunin (1980: esp. 2) on lighting.

17. See Järvinen (2013a: 2n2) for this timeline from Sergei Grigoriev's letter, 5–18 December 1912 (Stravinsky 1997, I: 390) to Diaghilev's letter of 10–23 March 1913 (Stravinsky 1997, II: 42) demanding the composer send the designs. However, despite the ultimatums by Grigoriev and Diaghilev, the rehearsals proceeded as scheduled and

the choreographer sent an enthusiastic update on 12–25 January 1913 (Stravinsky 1997, II: 13) never mentioning Roerich or his designs.

18. Due to the present global pandemic, I was unable to access the 1913 receipts from Caffi held at the V&A collections to calculate exactly what was delivered. The first-night programme (Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Saison russe 1913) lists, for the first act, ten female and six male Adolescents, ten Women, eight Old Men, five Young People, five Young Men, the Sage and the Woman of 300 Years (46 costumes); for the second act, twelve Maidens and twenty Elders in addition to the Chosen Virgin (33 costumes). These groups do not correspond with the terms or numbers used in Rambert (n.d.), in Roerich's designs or contemporary visual sources.

19. Russian peasant dances had been part of the larger ethnographic interest across Europe; see, for example, Grove (1907: 236–40) for some common Russian dance types that Nijinsky would definitely have known. See also note 17, above. Hodson's claims effectively reduce Nijinsky's thinking to her own methods of imitation: Hodson (1985a: passim); Hodson (1986–87); Hodson (1996: esp. 40, 106) on costumes as 'Nijinsky's' floor patterns.

20. See Roerich (1912d), with pencil markings 'N. 6', '5 кост'; cf. the costume in the V&A collections (Caffi 1913b) (although the hat is a wrong one). This costume is also visible in a photograph in Casalonga (1913) and in Barcet's drawings (Vuillermoz 1913: 52).

21. Léon Bakst wrote to his wife on 31 May 1910 (Bakst 2012, II: 157–58) that he was afraid the French dressmaker was trying to smooth out the all-important sharpness of detail in his designs for Schéhérazade.

22. Baugh (2013: esp. 5–8); Monks (2010: esp. 6–11); Barbieri (2013, 2017); Pantouvaki (2016); also Pritchard's (2018) interview.

23. Levinson (1913) (the first of three versions of this review) mentions the 'naïve kustarnost' of the choreography; cf. Lunacharsky (1913) for a more positive interpretation.

24. The introduction to the second act functioned as the intermission for the set change, and there was apparently no pause after the first act in the 1913 performances. Rambert (n.d.: 43–44, 53) has herself dancing in the cortege of the Sage at the end of the first act, and the maidens (including herself) already onstage when the curtain rises for the second. A dresser of the City Theatre of Helsinki interested in historical costumes estimated that even a century ago five minutes was 'plenty of time' for a full costume change – today, with zippers and Velcro, this takes under twenty seconds.

25. Due to their intimate relationship, Diaghilev borrowed large sums from Nijinsky and, after his dismissal, the choreographer went in pursuit of debts and pay still due (see Nijinsky to Stravinsky, 26 November–9 December 1913 in Stravinsky 1997, II: 181–82). This contributed to the final break between him and Diaghilev: see Järvinen (2010).

26. The Russian for ‘dandy’, щёголь (m.), is a bird (spotted redshank), and the quite similar feminine word for ‘goldfinch’ is щегол (f.). Especially in diminutive (i.e. щеголиха), the latter could be used of a ‘girl-dandy’ – as indicated by the French translation. See Rambert (n.d.: passim, esp. 23, 1967a: 2, 1967b: 2).

27. For the other ‘goldfinch’ designs, see Roerich (1912g: ‘N. 15’, ‘7 кост’), which is Caffi (1913c); Roerich (1912h) (‘N. 8’, no visible indication for the number of costumes); also Caffi (1913e), for which I have not located a corresponding Roerich design online.

28. Rambert (n.d.: 19); cf. Rambert (1967: 1): ‘the hag moves her body right and left and falls with her little feet in the air’. Cf. Boschot (1913) on ‘her third petticoat’; also Capus (1913).

29. For versions of ancient Russians in the Imperial Theatres, see, for example, Wikimedia Commons (2020c, for Sariotti as Vladimir in Rogneda; 2020d for Zbrueva as Lel in Rimsky-Korsakov’s The Snow Maiden). In 1900, Stanislavsky directed a different Snow Maiden for the Moscow Arts Theatre that shows another version of the costuming theme (Anon. 1900).

30. Alyoshina (n.d.); LaRus (2007) on how no archaeological examples of dress in Kievan Rus or earlier have been found, even if surviving visual materials can indicate some trends in the first millennium CE.

31. Salmond (1996: esp. 15–21, on the politics of kustari revival and the use of kustarnichestvo as a derogatory term; 144–86, on the polarization of the debate after 1905 and the subsequent export campaigns of ‘primitive’ Russian art).

32. See Aria (1906: 225–59); or the 1908 Opéra-Comique production of Rimsky-Korsakov’s The Snow Maiden (1880–81) with Félix Fournery’s designs: Bert (1908); also Anon. (1909c) for the Boris Godunov costume, possibly from Diaghilev’s 1908 production, possibly slightly later; for Chaliapin wearing said costume, see Golovin (1912). Cf. Wikimedia Commons (2020e) for Chaliapin as Ivan Susanin in Glinka’s A Life for the Tsar.

33. Despite the dating of the issue, the critic was obviously writing after the May premiere of the work, but the review is not included in Bullard (1971). Both Vuillermoz (1913) and Johnson (1913: 208) used a similar argument.

34. Pann (1913–14: 64). At times, Pann’s description paraphrases Stravinsky’s text in Montjoie!, 29 May 1913 (quoted in Bullard 1971, III: 3–6), that, in turn, likely cites the rehearsals he witnessed.

35. For example, Minsky (1913); Karatygin in Russkaia molva, 24 May–6 June 1913 quoted in Taruskin (1996: 1010).

36. Taruskin (1996: 1024) quotes a Peterburgskii listok 14–27 February 1914 review of the first Russian concert performance of The Rite of Spring where the critic praises the work by alluding to Pushkin’s Ruslan and Ludmila as having the spirit and smell of Rus.

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