bleak cove in which orange rocks, perhaps evocative of gigantic teeth, were set against a blue sky with clouds. (These elements probably existed on the backcloth). One has a glimpse of the peacock-blue Aegean and the black and orange pirate ship moored in the bay between the rocks to the left. These motifs were presumably executed on the backcloth. Bakst’s use of orange for the rock forms and blue for the sea and sky probably produced a strong colour contrast when seen on stage. Besides these motifs Bakst also included painted leaping goats, off centre right, on a cliff top ridiculously frozen in space and time which seem as inappropriate as the fluttering swan seen in the Swan Lake, Act II décor, (Figure 2). The overall impression gained from the study of the Scene II décor for Daphnis and Chloe is one of a freely painted, yet uninspired scenicographic concept at odds with the equally uninspired Scenes I and III sets. It is no wonder that Fokine objected strongly to Bakst’s scenography and even accused Bakst of re-using existing sets from Narcisse. Although, as stated, this was not the case as is evident when the Narcisse watercolour sketch, (Figure 109), is compared with the Daphnis and Chloe sketches, (Figures 142 and 143).

A discussion of the costumes used in Daphnis and Chloe is problematical. This is due to the fact that only one costume sketch by Bakst appears to remain, (Figure 144). Other than this sketch, Buckle stated...

...some of the Boetian costumes from Narcisse, not suited to the new production were used.

Buckle’s statement echoes and confirms Leven’s observation that...

...during the preparations for Daphnis and Chloe, Fokine was not given either enough time for rehearsals or the necessary new costumes.

Therefore any attempt to analyse or comment on the overall costume concept in Daphnis and Chloe is severely hampered. Various speculations could be formulated. The only remaining costume sketch, (Figure 144), is drawn in a far less
dynamic pose than those for Narcisse. (see Figures 110, 111 and 112), yet the colouring and motifs employed by Bakst would appear to harmonize with those designed for theBoeotians in Narcisse. (Figure 179). The pose itself is almost identical to that used by Bakst in his L'Aigle d'un Faune costume sketches, 1 (see Figure 140). Therefore if one assumes that the Narcisse costumes were used in Daphnis and Chloe a certain unity of concept could possibly have been apparent due to colour and motif employment. Yet the validity of re-using costumes within the same season is highly questionable. Further if one value judgement is to be made about the costumes used in this ballet it can only be Buckle's statement that: all the costumes, when seen together on stage, "... were not suited to the production". 1

They might appear similar in their respective water-colour sketch forms, but Mr. Buckle, in a reply to the query concerning their aesthetic validity, stated that

... for the particular production they were totally wrong - neither supplementing nor in keeping with the set, scenario or music. 2

Buckle also states that Daphnis was costumed in a plain white pleated skirt and wore a wig of coifed hair (also similar: if not the same costume Nijinsky wore in Narcisse) and the pirates wore, in contrast, smocks and petticoats stencilled with bold patterns (the original Boeotian peasant costumes from Narcisse). 3

Therefore the costumes used in Daphnis and Chloe cannot really be adequately discussed or criticised, yet one may assume that, since the costumes were purloined from Narcisse, no particular aesthetic was in evidence in the dressing of this ballet.

Together with the rather one-dimensional settings the costumes would probably have made no specific impact or comment on the work as a whole. A unity of concept appears to have been decidedly lacking in the scenography.
dynamic pose than those for Narcisse, (see Figures 1.0, 111 and 112), yet the colouring and motifs employed by Bakst would appear to harmonise with those designed for the Boetians in Narcisse, (Figure 111). The pose itself is almost identical to that used by Bakst in his L’Après-midi d'un Faune costume sketches, (see Figure 140). Therefore if one assumes that the Narcisse costumes were used in Daphnis and Chloé a certain unity of concept could possibly have been apparent due to colour and motif employment, yet the validity of re-using costumes within the same season is highly questionable. Further if any value judgement is to be made about the costumes used in this ballet it can only echo Buckle’s statement that all the costumes, when seen together on stage, "... were not suited to the production".

They might appear similar in their respective watercolour sketch forms, but Mr. Buckle, in a reply to the query concerning their aesthetic validity, stated that

... for the particular production they were totally wrong - neither complementing nor in keeping with the sets, scenario or music.

Buckle also states that Daphnis was costumed in a plain white pleated kilt and wore a wig of bobbed hair (also similar, if not the same costume Nijinsky wore in Narcisse) and the pirates wore, in contrast, smocks and ponchos stencilled with bold patterns (the original Boetian peasant costumes from Narcisse).

Therefore the costumes used in Daphnis and Chloé cannot really be adequately discussed or criticised, yet one may assume that, since the costumes were purloined from Narcisse, no particular aesthetic was in evidence in the dressing of this ballet.

Together with the rather unsuccessful settings the costumes would probably have made no specific impact or comment on the work as a whole. A unity of concept appears to have been decidedly lacking in the scenography.
Thus it may be stated that the 1912 season with all the works designed by Bakst only succeeded in presenting one work which would appear to have been entirely successful in presenting an absolutely unified and innovative concept - the ballet "Après-midi d'un Faune."
CHAPTER SIX - FOOTNOTES


2 Fokine, A. Memories, page 78. Fokine was to return after Nijinsky’s dismissal from the Ballet Russe in 1913.

3 Korovina, T. Theatre Street, page 107.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Grigoriev, S. The Diaghilev Ballet, page 81. It is of interest that BALCRONE and APPIA had worked together - Appia having designed BALCRONE’s studio (1911-1912). Thus Diaghilev and his designer must have, at this stage, been aware of the arrival of the plastic school of designers.

p.237:1 Ibid.

2 Ibid. These dance notations were combined with a plastic form in the scenography - the faune’s rocks.

3 Fuller and Duncan’s contributions to dance are discussed in Chapter Two.

4 Fokine often employed alternative dance notation in his works as discussed when dealing with both Schedrin and Cleopatre.


6 Ibid.


8 Ibid.

5 The part of DAPHNIS and CHLOE, now known as the First Suite, was first played by the Cologne Concert Orchestra on 2nd April 1918.


11 Fokine, A. Ibid., page 79.

p.238:1 As will be illustrated when discussing the Ballet DAPHNIS and CHLOE.


3 Levison, A. The Story of Bakst’s Life, page 93.

4 Levison, A. Ibid.
The scenario summarized from Fokine's account of 
the story line.
6  Buckle, R.  Diaghilev, page 233.
7  Caroe, A.  The History of Orchestration, page 344.
8  Buckle, R.  Diaghilev, page 234.

p.239:1  Spencer, C.  Bakst, page 96.
2  Ibid, page 97.
3  Ibid.

2  Ibid.
4  Ibid.
5  Sotheby Catalogues, 18 June 1962, page 14.  The 
costume was sold by Sotheby's and I have seen it 
on display at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden.  
The finished product is very faithful to Bakst's 
sketch and the description is accurate.

p.241c1  Ibid.
2  Illustrated and discussed when analysing Schehera-
dzade.

2  Spencer, C.  Bakst, page 81 - scenario summarized 
from Spencer's account.
3  Fokine, A.  Memoirs of a Ballet Master, page 127.
4  The others were destroyed during the First World 
War (according to correspondence with Spencer - 
August 1981).
5  Spencer, C.  Bakst, page 92.
6  Ibid.
7  Mayer, C.  Bakst, page 39.

p.243c1  Ibid.
2  Ibid.
3  Spencer, C.  Bakst, page 45.
4  Ibid, as cited by Bakst.

p.244b:1  Lieven, P.  The Birth of the Ballet Russe, pages 
171-172.
Ibid. This aspect creates a certain incongruity, namely, if Thamar retained its place in the repertoire there should be more photographic material available, yet it seems that once Goncharova redesigned the work all previous illustrated material for this ballet disappeared.

As will be shown in the discussion of the set for L'Après-midi d'un Faune.

Nijinsky, R. Nijinsky, page 125. The first mention of Debussy's music in Diaghilev's notebook was in September 1910 (page 122). Information from Diaghilev's note books - Victoria and Albert Museum obtained November 1976.

Ruckle, R. Nijinsky, page 165. Fokine's jealousy did result in his leaving the Ballet Russe; however, he completed his scheduled assignments first.

Nijinsky, R. Nijinsky, page 126.

An example being Les Sylphides.

Nijinska, R. Early Memoirs, page 172.

Grigoriev, S. The Diaghilev Ballet, page 77. Scenario summarized from Grigoriev's description.

Ibid.


Lieven, p. The Birth of the Ballet Russe, page 150. Based on information from Prince Argustinsky.

Ibid.

Fokine, A. Memoirs of a Ballet Master, page 178. Fokine was the chief antagonist of Nijinsky's choreographic style.

Grigoriev, S. The Diaghilev Ballet, page 182.

Kirstein, L. Nijinsky Dancing, page 175.

Ibid.

Grigoriev, S. The Diaghilev Ballet, page 182.

The ballet is often revived using what can be termed Nijinsky's original choreography (gathered from the very full photographic records housed in the Lincoln Centre) as well as Bakst's original designs and interpretation.

Spencer, C. Bakst, page 131.

Bablet, D. Revolutions in Twentieth Century Stage Design, page 54. "Bakst's dictum, "I think of my stage scenes as paintings in which I have not yet painted in the performer" - now was refined to
The difference between Bakst's backcloth for L'Après-midi d'un Faune and Bonnard's The Mediterranean Triptych is that Bonnard does achieve a certain recession into space. Further, Bakst was aware of the Nabi's work as Bakst was patronised by Mikhail Savé, and as explained in Chapter Three this was, therefore, significant of contemporary French painting.

As occurs in most Nabi works, citing Bonnard's The Mediterranean Triptych as an example. If Bakst's design for L'Après-midi d'un Faune is compared with Bonnard's The Mediterranean Triptych, (Figure 139), it may be noted that Bonnard's work (for the reason of scale) is much more detailed than that of Bakst. However, the tree forms are similarly reduced to patterned areas. In this aspect they are very similar to those found in Bakst's designs. A further comparison between these two works is that certain areas in the Bonnard work, such as shadows cast by the trees, are reduced to flat areas of colour. In Bakst's design the areas of mountain slope, bushes, rocks and water are similarly reduced to patterned areas within the picture plane format. The one aspect not common in these two works is Bonnard's use of depth in the roofs of the houses and the sea seen in the distance. In Bakst's design, depth is not hinted at in this manner as one area is placed above the other, thus rising, not receding into the picture plane.

Kirstein, L., Nijinsky Dancing, page 126.
"... faune also demonstrated the forgotten function of dance and although this primarily didactic work appeared to have been built from a simple walk, it was concerned not only with theatre-dance but also with an extension of psychodrama, with the promise
of "limitless discovery beyond manneristic or
decorative recovery".

Not evident in Figure 139, but based on the descrip-
tion by Mayer.

The score, inscribed by Nijinsky with his choreo-
graphic notations and with indications of staging
and lighting is in the British Museum. I have
received a photostat copy of written request
(April 1976) - from which a rough lighting plot
could be surmised - front and side lighting was
used to achieve a flatness as well as sculpt the
carriers in relief.

3 Kirstein, L. Nijinsky Dancing, page 126.
5 ibid.
6 ibid. As well as observations deduced from the
recorded material available, (see Figures 141
and 140).
8 ibid.

p.250:1
9 ibid., pages 136-137.

2 Discussing in Chapter One, taking Paul Fort's
dictum as well as Hurley's definition into account,
3 The ideal of Symbolist scenography as promoted by
Paul Fort is discussed in Chapter One.

p.251:1
4 Craig, E. G. The Art of the Theatre, page 48.
It must also be remembered that Craig was a
Symbolist designer, as well as usually harshly
critical of the Ballet Russe productions (see text
devoted to Scheherazade, Chapter Four).
5 Buckle, R. Nijinsky, page 136.
6 ibid.
7 De Mille, A. The Book of Dance, page 77.
8 ibid.
9 Kirstein, L. Nijinsky Dancing, page 126.
10 Livan, P. The Birth of the Ballet Russe, page
1/1.

p.252:1
11 Buckle, R. Nijinsky, pages 137-139, scenario
summarized from Buckle's writing.
4 For example Ashton's reworking of Daphnis and Chloe for The Royal Ballet.

p.253:1 Ibid., pages 171-183.
2 Spencer, E. Bakst, page 134.
Although some rough sketches of costume designs do appear, it is not certain that they belong to this ballet.
3 Ibid., page 186.
The lack of pictorial evidence as to the costumes used for Daphnis and Chloe is no doubt a result of Fokine's not being given the necessary new costumes.
4 In this dissertation most of the iconographic analysis is taken from the original sketches executed by the artists working for the Ballet Russe: however, documentation in photographic or written form does underpin the analysis of most sets and costumes. A further critical emphasis is obtained through the study of reconstruction of the works from the original sketches which the author has seen and/or worked on. The above, however, is not possible with the ballets Daphnis and Chloe, Jeux, Salome or Thamar.
5 Spencer, E. Bakst, page 127.

2 Buckle, R. Nijinsky, pages 253-254.

2 Buckle, R. Reply to a letter questioning the costume design concept used in Daphnis and Chloe, January 1982.
3 Having written to Mr. Buckle (January 1982) he has confirmed that this was indeed the case and that Bakst designed one or at the most two costumes for this production because he was so rushed with the heavy 1912 schedule.
During 1913 there were three new works presented by the Ballet Russe: Jeux - music by Debussy, designs by Bakst, premiered 15 May; Le Sacre du Printemps - music by Stravinsky, designed by Roerich, premiered 29 May; The Tragedy of Salome - music by Schmidt, designed by Soudek, and premiered 12 June 1913. The 1913 Season included opera as well as ballet performances. Diaghilev presented singers from The Imperial Theatre in the operas Boris Godunov and Khovanshchina. As the singers could not arrive in Paris before the 15th May, the season opened with ballet.

Jeux was included in the first ballet program on the 15th May. Nijinsky had not completed the choreography by the time he and Diaghilev arrived in Paris, and Diaghilev ordered him to finish the work as quickly as possible. This may account for the general failure of Jeux. It was not well received by the critics and there are many conflicting reports as to its content as well as its presentation. A further factor that may have attributed to a lack of cohesiveness in this work might have been the bizarre manner in which the scenario was worked out. According to Kirstein...

... Jacques-Emile Blanche described a luncheon at the Savoy in London when Diaghilev, Bakst and Nijinsky sat conspiring on a "games" ballet, a "Cubist" piece - no corps de ballet, only girls and boys in flannels, and rhythmic movements. One group was to depict a fountain, and the game of tennis - with licentious motifs - was to be interrupted by the crashing of an aeroplane.

When presented the scenario only contained the idea of the tennis game, but this too was changed by Nijinsky because as he stated in his diaries:

I felt weak and could not go on composing the ballet Jeux. It was a ballet about flirting... I started it well but then people began to hurry...
me an; I could not finish it properly. The story in this ballet changed from the ridiculous, Futurist ideas first formulated and was to now be about three young men making love to each other. ... I composed this ballet alone. Debussy wanted the subject written down. I asked Diaghilev to help me do this and with Bakst they wrote it down on paper. Diaghilev likes to say that he created the ballet, because he likes to be praised. I do not mind it. Diaghilev says that he composed the stories of Faune and Jeux, because when I created them I was under the influence of "my life" with Diaghilev. The Faune is me, and Jeux is the life of which Diaghilev dreamed. He wanted to have two boys as lovers. He often told me so, but I refused. ... In the ballet, the two girls represent the two boys and the young man is Diaghilev. I changed the characters, as love between three men could not be represented on the stage. I wanted people to feel as disgusted with the idea of evil love as I did, but I could not finish the ballet successfully.

It is because of these factors that the scenario of Jeux is brief and confused. The extract from Nijinsky's diary also points out the pressures, both artistic and personal to which he was subjected too by Diaghilev. It seems no wonder that he could not finish the ballet properly and even less surprising that in four years he would be declared totally insane. The scenario when completed was intended to suggest an archetype for Nijinsky that would epitomise him as the modern man. A Marxist might have chosen the Mechanic but this was destined for future works (after the Russian Revolution). The leisure-class sportsman was the image chosen for this "modern man". The revival of the Olympic Games in the 1890's and their recent presentation in Stockholm in 1912 gave fresh meaning to the idea of sports on a semi-heroic level. Bakst, designing the décor, first imagined Nijinsky as a soccer player, (Figure 135), but this was too specific. Diaghilev did not like the idea of a soccer player; therefore, in the performance the idea was changed to that of tennis players.

It is not surprising with all the divergent sources from
which the scenario for Jeux sprang that reports on the ballet when performed were vague concerning its content. It appears that Jeux was superficially about a game of tennis and love-making. The concern appears not to have been with either sport or human feelings, but rather with movement - the formal relationship between the dancers appeared to over-ride thematic content.

The exact manner in which Nijinsky synthesized his "stylized gesture" or plastique, which was the name he gave to the new form of dancing, to Debussy's music will, however, never be known, as all dance notations for the work have been lost. (Not surprisingly as the ballet was only performed five times).

As with Nijinsky's choreography for L'Après-midi d'un Faune Debussy did not approve of the dancing to his music. As Kirstein relates:

Debussy did not like Jeux a bit, "for it gave Nijinsky's perverse genius a chance of indulging in a peculiar kind of mathematics. This fellow adds up triple crochets with his feet, checks them on his arms, then suddenly, half paralysed, he stands angrily letting the sound slip by. It's awful."

Despite the general dislike of this work it would appear from recorded accounts and the few photographic records remaining that Jeux did present some interesting innovations in the sphere of ballet performance. For instance, the classical preferences in L'Après-midi d'un Faune (Greek friezes and vase painting in low reliefs) were replaced by more contemporary references. For example Kirstein and Buckle claim that Nijinsky admired Gauguin...

...not for his South Sea chromatics, but for his self contained relaxed silhouettes, the manner in which the bodies of his nudes adjusted spatially to each other in the intimacy of monumental contact. From photographs of Jeux we can now recover an aura of sculptural yet heroic domesticity.

Besides working from Gauguin one could assume that
Nijinsky was equally influenced by the works of Rodin for it appears as if the choreographer was aiming at a compact enlaced sculptural form, the very opposite of the extended arabesques, attitudes and port de bras of classical ballet. Judging from the photographs it seems that Nijinsky in his choreography was attempting to depict that monumentality found in the sculptures of Rodin. In fact Rodin and Nijinsky were acquainted, and in 1912 Rodin executed a bronze cast sculpture of Nijinsky as the Faun from the ballet L'Après-midi d'un Faune. (Figure 146). This work originally modelled in clay presented a more dynamic and dramatic pose than any Nijinsky executed in this ballet. However, the tribute paid to Nijinsky by Rodin is evident in this bronze figure: Nijinsky was purported to have posed for the sculpture. Due to the fact that Nijinsky and Rodin were acquainted it may be assumed that Rodin's work could have influenced the choreographic works of Nijinsky. This is especially an interesting factor when studying the photographs from the ballet Jeux. The most sculptural of the groups of dancers was that in which Karsavina and Schiller embraced Nijinsky. (Figure 147). These poses are not normally encountered in classical ballet; Nijinsky stood facing out with right foot slightly advanced, his arm up over the right on Schiller's shoulder and the left on Karsavina's. The most striking aspect of the group is the interlocking of the three characters' arms and hands. The gestures are reminiscent of the same type of complex arm gesture of interlocking, stylized utilized by Rodin in his Gates of Hell Doors. (Figure 148).

If the photograph from Jeux, (Figure 147), is compared in Rodin's well known work The Thinker from the Gates of Hell Doors, (Figure 148), a certain similarity can be observed in the composition of the arms, forming through their compositional nature a complex interlocking pattern. Above The Thinker on the door lintel are three figures based on
the concept of the Three Graces. These figures are again unified through compositional devices especially evident in their forward thrusting arms. This composition is of a far more dramatic nature, however, than that shown in the photograph, (Figure 147), from Jeux. When studying Rodin’s Eve, (Figure 149), the interlocking arms motif is again noticed: a compositional device which contains the figure within a closed form. This enclosing or, as in the case of The Three Graces, linking device brought about through the interweaving of the upper limbs seems to underline Nijinsky’s choreographic formations in Jeux.

Juding from the recorded photographic evidence it would seem that Jeux when seen in performance would probably incorporate the principles of interlocking forms in most of the choreography. These choreographic motifs seem more reminiscent of Rodin’s work than, perhaps, that of Gauguin, although the works of both artists do depict a similar monumentality. The interesting factor concerning Nijinsky’s choreographic source for this ballet is that Jeux showed that the influence of contemporary visual arts was to be found in choreography and was not only confined to the scenographic works of the Ballet Russe.

Bakst’s décor was revealed for the first time at the dress rehearsal. The backcloth showed heavy summer trees seen at dusk with stylized patches of electric light and flower beds painted on the floor cloth. Behind them loomed a big white building with rows of little windows, (Figure 150). Lady Caroline Ottiline recalled that Bakst and Nijinsky visited her Bloomsbury house in 1912 and that

... Duncan Grant and some others were playing tennis in Bedford Square garden - they (Bakst, Nijinsky and Diaghilev) were so entranced by the tall trees against the houses and the figures flitting about playing tennis that they exclaimed with delight: “Quel décor!” For years I was puzzled by the house in the background of Bakst’s design for Nijinsky’s ballet Jeux, which was to be put on in the following year. It was not like
a French country house nor even with its rows of small windows, like the Riviera Palace Hotel at Beusoelle; it had a prison-like plainness, in spite of the "dreaming garden trees" which half concealed it. Suddenly I realised that the architecture which had puzzled me was a version of that of Bloomsbury Square, a reminiscence of that summer afternoon in London. And perhaps even the subject of the ballet was suggested by the tennis party.  

there are no surviving photographs of the set but judging from the watercolour sketch, (Figure 150), it seems that Lady Caroline Ottoline's reminiscence was correct. Jeux was the first ballet to be set in a contemporary environment, yet Bakst's execution of the décor was not in any contemporary artistic style. Judging from the watercolour sketch it was reliant on his previous essays in scenography. The décor contains many of the elements that are associated with Bakst's earlier work, such as that for Narcisse, (Figure 109). In both Narcisse and Jeux Bakst uses similar vast tree forms, painted in his sketches in a similar style. In fact, the only contemporary element in the Jeux décor could be the facade of the building and even this is slightly reminiscent, in its sketch form, of the Greek temple as used in Daphnis and Chloë (1912), as well as the Egyptian temple in Cléopâtre (1909). According to Nijinska the set had a floorcloth which was painted green with circular flower beds. She thought that the choreography required a more confined space than that created by Bakst in this set. Indeed, the three dancers would have been dwarfed by the towering building and foliage. In a ballet that required only three dancers Bakst's set does seem overpowering and too immense, especially as the work purported to represent an intimate situation. However, judging from the scale figure in the watercolour sketch this was Bakst's intention. Further the dancers would presumably have been highlighted by stage lighting so that they would not have been lost in Bakst's overpowering set. Another reason why the set may be considered
unsuitable is that the scenario implied an inhabited suburban setting and Bakst's watercolour sketch, with its heavy 'forest' of foliage, suggests a wooded estate in the country.

The costumes used in Jeux on the other hand were revolutionary. They were the first costumes designed for ballet that were totally contemporary. Bakst's designs, (Figures 147 and 151), show a complete departure from all his and other designers' previous ideas for ballet costumes. The costumes for Nijinsky, Karsavina and Schöller were based on those of the tennis gear of 1913, offering the contemporaneity that the set lacked.

The costumes themselves, sports dress for tennis made by Maison Paquin, were good in their simplicity and contemporaneity. Bakst had previously changed the concept of ballet costumes from those worn prior to 1900. He had abandoned the tutu in favour of costumes such as those used in Schéhérazade and L'Après-midi d'un Faune, which complied with the historical context of the ballet as stated in the scenario. With Jeux he introduced a design format for costumes which again complied with the scenario. These costumes were to influence other designers. From 1913 to the present contemporary dress modes or 'modern' ballet costumes have often been used.

As seen in the photographs, (Figures 147 and 151), the costumes for Jeux are simple in style, a complete departure from Bakst's lavish designs for ballets such as Le Dieu Bleu. This simplicity of concept would later lead to the use of contemporary costume within certain ballets and to a greater utilization of means with dancers dressed only in leotards and tights - as had been inaugurated in the costumes for Nijinsky in Kobold (1911) as well as the Harlequin design for Carnaval (1912). At first Bakst designed a red wig, rolled-up sleeves, red tie and knee length trousers with a red border held up by
red braces, and white stockings with red tops for Nijinsky (Figure 145). However, Diaghilev exclaimed that Nijinsky looked ridiculous and Bakst was made to redesign the costume. The redesigned costume retained the red tie and white shirt but Bakst gave the dancer white trousers which grew narrower below the knee and gripped the calf, "cut like the black ones worn for (dancing) class, ending just above the ankle". The girls were dressed in white dresses with tight fitting bodices and knee-length skirts, (Figure 147). It is clear from Bakst's original designs that Nijinsky's costume was that of a football player. The ball in the design at his feet is a football and not a tennis ball. This costume must have been designed during the initial discussions of the scenario when the idea of "games" was suggested and not after the specific game of tennis was decided upon.

Nijinsky stated in an article for Le Figaro that

... the man I see foremost on stage is a contemporary man. I imagine the costume, the plastic poses, the movement that would be representative of our time. By attentively studying polo, golf, football, tennis, I have become convinced that sports are not only a healthy pastime but also create their own plastic beauty.

It can therefore be claimed that Nijinsky and Bakst's major concern in both design and choreography was that of portraying a contemporary sporting environment and feel. It did not seem to have mattered exactly what sporting activity was being portrayed but only that

... from studying different sporting activities I derive the hope that in the future this contemporary style (choreographic and scenographic) will be considered a characteristic style as we now consider those of the past.

It was obviously the intention to project ballet from its reliance on the past to an acceptance of the present - in scenario, scenographic and choreographic content. This ideal, although not thoroughly realised in the ballet Jeux, is obviously of importance. It was the first ballet to
explore and express the viewpoint of contemporary life, even although previous Ballet Russe productions had introduced new and innovative choreographic and scenographic ideals. Jeux may therefore be seen as the precursor of ballets dealing with the contemporary milieu. Later ballets would further explore the ideas of contemporary viewpoints.

These would, however, also be designed by avant-garde artists using their technique to express images of society and its habitats in an innovative scenographic manner. The most obvious example of such a work is Parade (1917), designed by Picasso in a cubist style illustrating all the iconographic images of that 'modern' society such as skyscrapers and buildings presented in abstracted form, thereby incorporating in the scenography a contemporary environment, executed in an avant-garde style which harmonized and vivified the scenario, choreography and music. This did not occur in Jeux. The work was received negatively and perhaps not even understood, as can be noted in the following review from Le Figaro:

Debussy had not scorned to write the music... Even with such a childish libretto, one would think that this haphazard essay in affectation might provide something graceful or pretty to look at. But the new art of which M. Nijinsky is the prophet, manages to turn even the insignificant to absurdity. What could be more ungraceful than the meaningless, pretentious contortions dreamt up by this nimble aesthete. It goes without saying that modern dress does not enhance these poses inspired by Greek vase paintings, with which L'Après-midi d'un Faune took us by surprise last year. Furthermore, this so-called reformed choreography employs the most old-fashioned and conventional gestures and mime, without any attempt to make them less funny.

It was said that Nijinsky's intention was to provide, in this ballet, an apologia in plastic terms for the man of 1913. But it is annoying that he should almost have succeeded, by some evil spell, in turning these exquisite ballerinas, Miles, Karsavina and Schöller, into stiff and awkward puppets.

When studying the photographs for the ballet it can be
surnised that the gestures may have had their precedent in antiquity, as stated in Le Figaro, especially in their formalization.¹ Yet these types of gestures cannot be related to only Greek vase paintings but to the formalization found in Greek, Etruscan, and even Indian sculptural forms.

Jeux was nevertheless an important work in both costume design and choreographic concept for it was the first ballet by the Diaghilev company to portray contemporary life and environment. It was the step that the Ballet Russe took "towards representing the new man in a new age in choreographic format".² This also paralleled Nijinsky's view on the ballet as seen in his article for Le Figaro on May 14, 1913.³

Jeux was Diaghilev's first attempt to try totally to break away from the exotic, the classical and the fairy-tale elements in designs and themes of his previous productions. In fact, it was the first modern ballet production. Even after the negative reception of Jeux Diaghilev continued to place his trust in Nijinsky and allowed him to proceed with his choreography on the Stravinsky ballet Le Sacre du Printemps.

Stravinsky's score for Le Sacre du Printemps was to break fresh ground in the sphere of ballet music. Firstly it was innovative in its use of rhythm. Stravinsky overthrew the whole rhythmic system used for previous dance scores and "invented new ones".⁴ In bar after bar there was a different time signature. The composer himself "was baffled as to how to write out the final Danse Sacrale".⁵ Secondly the ballet was new in its orchestration, using both strings and woodwinds in extreme registers thus producing new sounds, and at Diaghilev's specific request it was scored for an exceptionally large orchestra.⁶ A peculiarity was the accumulation of special instrumental effects - such as the use of harmonics col legno, flutter-tonguing on the flute and campanella in aria on the French
Nijinsky's stupendous task was to parallel or find an equivalent for this titanic composition in choreographic terms. He had "new things he wanted to do". The question was to what extent his new choreographic format - the chief novelty of which was that it had been "conceived as much from a sculptor's and dramatist's point of view as from a ballet master's", could be wedded to the composer's intentions. He had to imagine new kinds of poses, of movements, of groupings devoid of classical virtuosity, but which could be difficult enough to execute accurately in order that only ballet dancers would be able to perform them.

Then he had, as in L'Après-midi d'un Faune but only more so, to overcome the reluctant minds and recalcitrant bodies of the dancers trained to think, count and move so differently from the classical ballets.

The scenario of the ballet was devised by Stravinsky and Roerich, (the scenographer).

The new ballet will depict several scenes of a sacred night of the ancient Slavs. At the start of the ballet it is a winter night, and it ends with the sunrise, with the first rays of the sun. Strictly speaking the choreographic part comprises the ritual dances. This will be the first attempt to reproduce antiquity without any explicit story.

The only narrative element that can be found in the scenario is that of the sacrifice of a virgin to the birth of Spring.

Roerich, not surprisingly, was chosen to design the ballet, for as Nijinska recalls:

Vaslav often talked to me about his friendship with Roerich whom he sometimes referred to as "Professor" because of his studies of the Stone Age, which are of scientific importance. In his numerous excavations and cave explorations he has discovered vestiges of primeval ages. The beauty of the tinted stones and the wall painting of the cave dwellers have inspired his own art...

"Bronia, you must remember some of Roerich's paintings that we saw together at the Art Exhibition by
Mir Iskusstva. I recall how we had both admired not only the magnificent beauty of the colors but also the spirit of ancient Russia so well captured in Roerich’s paintings, depicting the life and ritual of those ancient tribes. "Now I’m working on Sacre." Vaslav went on. "Roerich’s art inspires me as much as does Stravinsky’s powerful music—his paintings, especially ‘Battle in Heaven’. (Figure 153), do you remember it, with its landscape and heavy cloud forms. Roerich has talked to me at length about this work, and describes it as the awakening of the spirit of Spring. In Sacre I want to emulate this spirit."

Unfortunately there are few remaining records of this work. The only illustrations available are some costume designs and a few photographs of the dancers. Of the settings only descriptions by various critics, and a later sketch by Beaumont remain. The first scene is purported to have represented a hilly landscape with a lake and birch trees beneath a cloudy sky. In a photograph showing a group of girls from Scene I, (Figure 154), a very small section of the backdrop can be seen. If this fragment is compared with the oil painting by Roerich, Battie in Heaven, (Figure 153), specifically mentioned by both Nijinsky and Nijinsky, certain similarities may be noticed. Perhaps some idea of the appearance of the set for Scene I can be gauged from the Roerich painting although it is not the ideal manner of reconstructing an idea of the set. An element that seems to be similar in both is Roerich’s use of the multiple layer of cloud banks. The painting is, or seems to be, more detailed than the illustrated fragment of décor, but both works possibly executed within the span of a year are comparable. The painting and the fragment of the stage design utilized a simplified landscape which moved, compositionally, in parallel planes across the format. These landscape elements in both works were complemented by a more detailed rendition of cloud banks which also moved along parallel planes. The inclusion of complex surface areas such as the cloud banks in the painting seem to have recurred in the
scenography for *Le Sacre du Printemps*, as Nijinska recalls:

> As I danced I could see above me the dark massed clouds in a stormy sky, much the same as I remembered them in Roerich's painting.

If his *Prince Igor* set, *Battle in Heaven* painting, and the fragments of *Le Sacre du Printemps* are compared it can be noted that Roerich's use of pervasive paint texture, colour, landscape and cloud depiction remained constant.

There were two settings for *Le Sacre du Printemps*. Scene I of hills, sky and clouds, and Scene II which is purported to have shown the sacrificial hill topped by a primitive structure of sticks and animal skulls. There are no visual records of Scene II, but Kirstein states that while the setting of the ballet was ostensibly a central Asian steppe, Nicolas Roerich's décor was picturesque than the scenery for previous folkloristic pageants with which the Russian Ballet had triumphed... Roerich's landscapes tended towards the conceptual and monochromatic, a yellowish foreground and a violet distance.

Whatever theoretical assumptions made concerning the appearance of the décor it neither seemed to create as great an impact as had Roerich's *Prince Igor* set nor, taking Kirstein's comment into consideration, was it particularly memorable.

The décor for *Le Sacre du Printemps* was not nearly as avant-garde in style as that of the musical score by Stravinsky but it was executed in a simplified manner and this simplification was not out of keeping with contemporary art. Yet fundamentally Roerich's work, especially *Battle in Heaven*, is reliant on the type of landscapes that were prevalent during the Romantic period of the 1850's. This is especially noticeably in the dark, heavy, dramatic cloud formations and their painterly execution. The painting and the set do exhibit a subtle shift in tonalities that have a certain atmospheric quality.
yet are not avant-garde but rather retrospective in impulse. If similar cloud forms were used in the scenography as in the Battle in Heaven painting it could have presented a dramatic scenic element in the design — especially if well lighted.

In Roerich's costume designs for *Le Sacre du Printemps* the ethnic feeling was well captured. If the costumes are studied, (Figure 155), and compared to those he had executed for *Prince Igor* in 1909, (Figures 59 and 60), a similarity in the style of design is evident. The designs for *Prince Igor* and *Le Sacre du Printemps* are virtually the same, both illustrating the clothing of Russian ethnic groups. The same design motifs are used in both sets of costumes — those of broad bands of colour and the use of lines, dots and zig-zag forms. Another common element in these ballet costume designs is the dark outline used to contain the figures. Roerich used this in the sketches for the *Prince Igor* costumes as well as in those for *Le Sacre du Printemps* with its possible derivation from the similar outline and colour used by Gauguin. As Kirstein states

"... for the Polovtsian dances from *Prince Igor*, Roerich had invented synthetic ethnic costumes that were derived from practical Yalut and Kirghiz dress; for *Le Sacre du Printemps* he further adapted these motifs." 

Thus it may be supposed that Roerich's costumes for *Le Sacre du Printemps* were a continuation of his costume design style as employed in *Prince Igor*.

In the photographs of the costumes, (Figures 154 and 156), it can be seen how Roerich's original design concepts were realised. The costumes differ very slightly from their sketched form only in fact as far as the outline is concerned, otherwise the elements and motifs are virtually the same. All the designed costumes illustrated here show use of the motifs beloved by Roerich and derived from his study of ancient Muscovy textiles at Abramtsevo.
In the first two figures on the right, (Figure 156), showing two male dancers the motifs are clearly seen on the skirts and sleeve decorations. In the two female figures on the left these motifs are clearly represented on the skirt and sleeve borders.

Although in *Le Sacre du Printemps* new and revolutionary concepts in the music and choreographic contents were formulated. This did not extend as successfully to the scenography. Roerich's designs were merely an extension of his previous works. As an artist he was not avant-garde when he was involved in the scenographic process. As only a small fragment of the original set for *Le Sacre du Printemps* remains it is insufficient to evaluate the set within any type of critical framework. The only judgement that can be presupposed was that it was not particularly innovative. Thus Roerich's designs, judging from the limited visually recorded evidence, were less revolutionary than the music and choreography and as such attracted little attention. The music and choreography caused an uproar, dividing the Parisian audience into factions. There were riots and police had to be called out to quieten the crowd. However, one critic, Jacques Rivière, in the *Nouvelle Revue Francaise*, November 1913, summed up the unique aspects of the work:

> In Nijinsky's ballets, dancers were disposed in symmetrical groups: this was not the absurd symmetry of the Opera, but there was a regular distribution of masses ... this equilibrium did not apply only to static poses: it was carried through the movements of the dance no matter how abandoned that dance might be ...

Every pattern was conceived according to the principle of the response of give and take. The dancers seized on a gesture and "passed it continually backwards and forwards from one to the other like a ball". No group moved except in response to the movement of the opposite group. Nijinsky formulated a new choreographic style by taking each group separately and "studying its cellular formation".
The dancing of each group consisted of movements formulated in isolation. Absolute symmetry reigned throughout Le Sacre du Printemps and seemed to be the very essence of the work.

There was no lack of composition; on the contrary there was the subtlest composition imaginable in the encounters, the challenges, the frays and the conflicts of the strange battalions. Composition did not take precedence over detail nor conditioned it; it made the best use of diverse elements. The impression of unity was likened to the sensation of watching inhabitants of a given state moving about, passing, accosting and parting from each other, each intent on his own business.

If ballet and dance could be disassociated from the symmetry and arabesques of classical ballet then a different type of grace could be found everywhere in Le Sacre du Printemps; in the profiled heads contrasted with bodies full-on, in the elbows hugged into the waist, in the horizontal forearms, in the stiff open hands,

... in the wavelike vibration which ran through the dancers from head to foot, in the minimal and mysterious parade of brooding girls in the second scene; one even found it in the dance of the Chosen Virgin, in her quick awkward convulsions, in her confusion, in her constrained twisted bearing and in the arm raised stiffly skywards above her head.

This was an organically conceived ballet. It was the dance of the most primitive man. Stravinsky claimed that he wanted to portray the surge of spring. But this was not the spring of which poets sang. The ballet and music showed nothing but the harsh struggle of growth, "the panic terror from the rising of the sap, the fearful regrouping of the cells." The ballet was Spring seen from inside with its violence, its spasms and its fissions.

Nijinsky's choreography represented a complete break with the style evolved by Fokine. In his work for the 1910, 1911 and 1912 seasons Fokine found no other way of being original except to vary the subject and properties. For
the golden apples of The Firebird he substituted daggers and shepherds' crooks in Thamar and Daphnis and Chloe.\textsuperscript{1} With Nijinsky's choreography a new concept was realised - in movement as well as in the structures of the formal dance groupinos.

There were only four performances of Le Sacre du Printemps in Paris. In the last three audience response was not as dramatic "only a few cat-calls were heard".\textsuperscript{2}

The third programme of the 1913 season consisted of Mussorgsky's opera, Khovanschina, with the Russian singer Chaliapine. Since Diaghilev was not satisfied with all of Rimsky-Korsakov's orchestration of the Mussorgsky score parts of this opera were re-orchestrated by Stravinsky and Ravel.\textsuperscript{3}

The Moscow painter, Fedorovsky, was scenographer and it appears that the work was not dissimilar in its designed concept from Kolovin's and Golovin's Boris Godunov of 1909.\textsuperscript{4} There are, however, no existing illustrations of this work and one has to rely on various descriptions as source material. For instance Grigoriev described it thus:

\begin{quote}
The sets of Feodor Fedorovsky for Khovanschina - the exterior of the church of St. Basil the Blessed, whose turbaned towers look threateningly over the street hillside of the Sireltzy quarter, the interior of Prince Khovansky's palace and the wooden monastery of the Old Believers - were far more dramatic than Yuon's, Korovin and Golovin's for Boris, and they were called magnificent by the press --- considerable success ... a page of history that breathes through its settings the soul of a country.\textsuperscript{5}
\end{quote}

Judging from Grigoriev's comments it could be assumed Khovanschina, although purported to be more dramatic in setting than Boris Godunov, did contain some reference to the earlier presentation of Mussorgsky's Boris Godunov of 1909 in its scenographic content - scenography which presented a colourful recreation of Muscovy history reminiscent in style of Russian icons and ethnic art.
At least Khovanschina unlike Boris Godunov was designed by one scenographer. As there are no surviving illustrations of the designs reconstruction, a sound critical assessment of the work is impossible.

The third new ballet of the season was La Tragédie de Salomé to the music of Florent Schmitt, choreography by Boris Romanov with décor by Sergei Soudeikine. It was a ballet specially created for Karsavina.

La Tragédie de Salomé was not the story of Herod, Herodias, Salomé and the Baptist in choreographic terms. St. John's head was present on a pedestal but Salomé was the only character apart from some negroes and executioners. The Princess was supposed to be performing her fàntastic dance of expiation in limbo. After some preliminary dancing by the negroes, Salomé made her entrance down a flight of steps. As she descended an endless black and gold train unrolled behind her. Then followed her solo, and that was the end of the work. As only a few performances were given of La Tragédie de Salomé it can be surmised it was not a successful production.

Judging from the scenario the work had obvious symbolist references - Salomé being a favourite character with this group.

Illustrations of the production are again scarce. One photograph of Karsavina in costume against a portion of the set remains, (Figure 157). Reade recalls that:

"Sudeikine had made striking designs in purple, black and silver, very much influenced by Aubrey Beardsley ... Tamara [Karsavina] wore long, false eyelashes (an adornment she claimed to have invented), her breasts covered by the flimsiest gauze, appeared almost bare, and a glittering train."

If this description is compared with the photograph of Karsavina in the role, (Figure 157), one can agree with Reade that Beardsley's influence is in evidence. This
is especially discernible in the designs of the cloak. In the photograph it seems that the vertical patterned drop behind Karsavina is actually part of the cloak pinned on to an upright structure for the photograph. The cloak was presumably detachable and possibly left on the staircase, thus covering it and forming part of the décor.¹

The elaborate head-dress (a wig with ostrich feathers) also evokes Beardsley’s Salome illustration in its designed format. To the right of the figure a fragment of a panel, presumably part of the set, is to be seen. This too is reminiscent of Art Nouveau patterns, especially the flower forms which are not dissimilar to those found in William Morris's wallpapers. Besides referring to the obvious Art Nouveau influence this work cannot be discussed owing to the scarcity of visual documentation. Reade’s assessment that this was “a tentative ballet, and proved unsuccessful”¹¹ may be noted and possibly accounts for the fact that the scenography is no longer extant.

Three new ballets, all given in one year, therefore seem to have failed in their reception with the public and the press. After all the work that had gone into their creation, particularly into Le Sacre du Printemps, this proved a great disappointment for Diaghilev.

While the public and critical reception of the ballets in Paris was rather negative, critical response to some of the works was even more hostile when the Ballet Russe commenced their London season of 1913. The London season, however, opened with a successful production of the opera Boris Godunov on the 24th June, and both the composer Mussorgsky and the baritone Chaliapine were acclaimed by a new public. The operas presented by Diaghilev seemed to attract positive criticism, whilst the ballets appeared to mystify the critics. Huntley Carter wrote of Boris Godunov in The Times that:

Each scene was so absorbing that one was immediately caught in the spirit of the thing; it was intensely
real and even the distressingly long pauses between the scenes and the ineptitude of an audience who would insist upon applauding as soon as the curtain fell and before the music was finished did not betray the sense of reality.

It is difficult to say how far Mussorgsky, how far the extraordinary powerful acting of M. Chaliapine and the other principals, the fine singing, the natural action of the crowds, or the beauty of the scenery were responsible for the effect. They were all fused together in the total result.

Carter's review does not only point to the success of the performance but also reflects a contemporary realisation of the use of the Wagnerian principles of Gesamtkunstwerk as an evaluative criterion - this despite the fact that Boris Godunov had been designed by a number of artists such as Yuon, Benois, Korovin and Golovin.

On the second night Jeux (called Playtime in England) was performed. An anonymous review in the Morning Post stated:

It works out as a highly impressionistic business enacted in front of a weird green and red background with round splotches of white here and there to represent the electric lights... Their (the dancers') actions are of the quaintest. They suggest that they are suffering from "tennis wrist" all over. They move with the angularity of clockwork figures. Everything is at an angle. The only thing with a curve in it is the lost ball... All... is expressed by angles, obtuse, acute, right angle and, of course, triangle.

The business is conceived in the vein of the Cubists. It is a triumph of angularity. It fits M. Debussy's music very well and the music is wholly suited to it... The cumulative rhythms - wholly meaningless - are suited with action of similar character. Milles, Karsavina and Schöller and M. Nijinsky turn themselves very successfully into clockwork figures. The absence of the doll-like costume as found in Petrushka spoils a good deal of the effect for, in a country like this where tennis is understood, the ridiculous character of the whole thing is perfectly clear. The audience first laughed and then applauded.

The use of the term 'cubist' is concerned only with the
choreography and not with the scenography in this review. As has been noted the set could be considered vaguely Impressionistic because of the paint application, but there are no other innovative factors in the décor. However, for the English Impressionism was radically modern. Although they had been exposed to some extent to Cubism and the work of the Futurists by 1913, critics and the public generally did not respond to such avant-garde movements in the arts, as witnessed by Roger Fry's lack of success in his presentation of the work of avant-garde artists in 1912.

Despite some negative reviews the London season was a financial success.

A fortnight later the company left for South America. It was on this tour that Nijinsky married thereby severing his connection with Diaghilev. This break came about because a homosexual relationship had existed between the two of them.

The new productions of the 1913 season did not offer any great innovations in the stage and costume design format. Bakst designed for a contemporary ballet but the set was not in a new style. The costumes, however, did incorporate contemporary dress for the first time on the ballet stage. The other works of the 1913 season could also be seen as reactionary in their scenographic impulse.

The lack of visual evidence makes it impossible to form any solid critical stance as regards these ballets. Whether they complied with the Wagnerian Gesamtkunstwerk theory, whether there was any form of unity between scenario, music, choreography and scenography, or if indeed they presented any symbolist or decorative expressive statement when performed cannot be stated with any degree of certainty.
CHAPTER SEVEN : FOOTNOTES


2 Boris Godunov was performed in the same set and costumes as used in the 1908 Paris production.
3 Khovanschina was designed by Fedorovsky.

5 Kirstein, L. Nijinsky Dancing, page 137.


2 Ibid.
3 Kirstein, L. Ibid. The costumes will be discussed on pages 270-271.
4 Ibid. The ideal of a tennis player is still specific, yet as none of the dancers even suggested that they were playing any type of game, as well as the concept of having female soccer players did not concur with the brief scenario, Diaghilev changed the specifications to the 'idea of a tennis game'.

p.266:1 Buckle, R. Nijinsky, page 291. Nijinska, B. Early Memoirs, page 470. Kirstein, L. Nijinsky Dancing, page 137. All sources stipulate that this is the content of the scenario of the ballet.


p.267:1 Buckle, R. Diaghilev, pages 226-228. Where Buckle mentions Rodin's visits to the Ballet Russe, as well as publishing his letters in defence of Nijinsky's choreography for L'Après-midi d'un Faune, as well as the existence of the portraits by Rodin of Nijinsky in his (Rodin's) studio.
The intertwining nature of these rhythms evokes those of Indian sculpture which also influenced Gauguin.

Whilst Rodin's sculptures seem an obvious point of reference it must be remembered that painters and sculptors have, throughout the ages, used gesture and linear rhythms as a way of creating compositional harmony - as Nijinsky appears to have done with Jeux. Further, other sculptural sources for his choreography can be noted. For example in the photograph showing Nijinsky with upraised forearm and left hand clenched tightly to his chest, (Figure 151), a comparison could be made with one of the small Etruscan bronzes of warriors with spears and shields except that the dancer's head is bent rather than held back in defiance. Another photograph of Nijinsky taking the weight placed on his left leg and his fist held to his forehead, also recalls sculptures of Roman athletes, (Figure 152).

Buckle, R. Nijinsky, page 287. Citing Lady Ottoline. From the sketch of the set the forms appear to be flower beds and not electric light patterns.

No electric light patterns are apparent as stated by Buckle (Nijinsky, page 285).

Where the costumes Nijinsky wore consisted of leotard and tights, thus abstracting general costume shape, revealing body contours.

Buckle, R. Diaghilev, page 246. Diaghilev when he saw the costume said: "No, no, it's quite impossible", referring back to Footnote p.265:4 of this Chapter.

Le Figaro, No. 134, May 14, 1913. It should be noted that the motif of sport was often found in avant-garde paintings of the period; examples are the work of Picasso, Delauney and the Futurists.
A confusion in the review is evident. This is illustrated by the equating of the choreography to Greek vase painting, which formed the basis for L'Après-midi d'un Faune and not for Jeux (as explained in text) - this points out the confusion existant in the review.

2 Buckle, R. Diaghilev, page 250-

3 Buckle, R. Nijinsky, page 162. This also may be equated with Nijinsky's article in Le Figaro (notes 271:4 and 271:5).

4 Stravinsky, I. Memoirs, page 172.

5 Ibid.


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2 Buckle, R. Diaghilev, page 250-

3 Buckle, R. Nijinsky, page 162. This also may be equated with Nijinsky's article in Le Figaro (notes 271:4 and 271:5).

4 Stravinsky, I. Memoirs, page 172.

5 Ibid.

p.278:2 Rivière, J.  Ibid.
3 *Nouvelle Revue Française*, 12 November 1913, page 11.
4 Ibid.

p.279:1 Ibid, page 472.
2 Ibid, page 472.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Nijinsky, V.  *Notebooks*, page 283

p.280:1 Kirstein, L.  *Nijinsky Dancing*, page 27.
2 Kochno, B.  *Diaghilev and The Ballet Russe*, page 91.
3 Buckle, R.  *Diaghilev*, page 255.
4 Ibid.

p.281:1 With its many designers - as discussed when analysing the opera in Chapter Three.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.  Scenario taken from Roslavleva's description.
5 Seen in the works of Beardsley, (especially his illustrations for Oscar Wilde's *Salomé*), Moreau, etc.
6 Peade, B.  *Ballet Designs and Illustrations*, page 86.
7 No ballet dancer could possibly have danced in such an enormous cloak, thus it must have been detachable.

p.282:1 As can be noted if Beardsley's illustrations for Wilde's *Salomé* are compared to Figure 157.
2 Ibid.

2 Discussed in Chapter Three, when analysing the opera *Boris Godunov*.
4 *The Morning Post*, 26th June 1913, page 18.
It is interesting to note that the English public were as disconcerted by *Le Sacre du Printemps* as the French audiences. The first night of *Le Sacre du Printemps* on 11th July was described in *The Times*:

London takes both its pleasures and its pains more quietly than Paris. When *Le Sacre du Printemps*, the latest joint product of Nijinsky and Stravinsky, was produced for the first time in England last night at Drury Lane, the applause was measured, but not the cries of disapproval". (page 17).

During the 1914 Ballet Russe season five new works were introduced into the existing repertoire. Two of these works were innovative: Rimsky-Korsakov's opera Le Coq d'Or, which was produced as an opera-ballet, designed by Goncharova, premièred on 24th May; and Stravinsky's opera with ballet, Le Rossignol, designed by Benois, premièred on the 26th May. The other new works in 1914 were: Papillons, music by Schumann, set designed by Doboujinsky with costumes by Bakst, premièred on 16th April; The Legend of Joseph, music by Richard Strauss, set by Sert and costumes by Bakst, premièred on 17th May; and Midas, music by Steinberg, designed by Doboujinsky premièred on 2nd June 1914. Rimsky-Korsakov's opera May-Night had also been prepared, and was performed. The ballet by Tcherepnine The Red Masks was to be included; however, the score was not completed in time.

This repertory for the Ballet Russe 1914 Season, performed both in Paris and London, was their first without Nijinsky. Because of Nijinsky's departure, Fokine was asked to rejoin the Ballet Russe as resident choreographer.

Fokine, who had wanted to produce Rimsky-Korsakov's Le Coq d'Or as a ballet suite for Pavlova in 1912 but did not do so as the ballerina had thought it not suitable, suggested to Diaghilev that Le Coq d'Or should replace Tcherepnine's ballet, and Diaghilev decided to produce the work as an opera-ballet.

Benois' influence in the production of Le Coq d'Or was considerable for not only did he persuade Diaghilev to commission Goncharova to design the set and costumes but he also stated that he "had ideas of his own about the methods of producing this opera". Opera as 'spectacle'
had never satisfied him and he considered it impossible to attain a unified artistic impression by conventional methods. The appearance of the singers,

... their lack of dramatic ability, the restrictions of conductor and prompter, all this was offensive in opera and yet seemed unavoidable.

Benois had wanted to produce *Le Coq d'Or* since he had heard it in 1909, and he had the idea of removing the singers from the stage and having dancers mime the action. His ideas were adopted by Diaghilev, and also by Fokine, who was to claim them as his own. There would, however, not be enough room for the soloists and chorus of the Bolshoi Opera in the orchestra pit, so Benois decided to range them, identically costumed, in tiers on either side of the stage. In this manner he successfully accommodated the singers within the production, yet retaining (for him) a visually pleasing performance situation.

The libretto of *Le Coq d'Or* is often interpreted as a comic opera, telling the story of a foolish king, Dodon, and his wish for a golden cockerel in order to warn him of attack from his enemies. An astrologer grants him his wish, announcing that he will claim his reward at a later stage. The cockerel warns the king of an attack on his frontiers. The king sends his two sons, Guidon and Aphron, to counter-attack. In following them he discovers that during the battle, in thick mist, his sons have mistakenly slain each other. He is soon distracted from his grief by the appearance of Shemakha, the Queen of the Wind, to whom he promptly proposes marriage. She accepts. Back in his city the astrologer appears claiming his reward, Shemakha. The king refuses. The Queen and the astrologer then laughingly disappear together leaving the king dead. The astrologer reappears claiming that all that one sees is not as it appears, as it is after all a fairy-tale in which he and the Queen are the only
Although basically comic the opera does have another layer of meaning. According to Lieven, if played on only the comic level...

...its inner meaning is lost. Like the fairy-tale by Pushkin, the story constructed on it by Rimsky-Korsakov is imbued with a strange and terrifying unreality and prophecies of evil. The whole story of the Shemahansk Queen who, at the end of the tale, "suddenly is not there, as if she had never been there", this ephemeral, heartless instigator of fratricide, this instrument of death and destruction to simple-hearted, ignorant people, is not so simply as it seems on the surface. This subterranean terror, of course, is not easy to convey on the stage, but the essence and the inner meaning of the opera lie in that, and without it, it loses all importance.

The first performance of Le Coq d'Or had been intended for 21st May 1914, but the arrival of the costumes from Russia was delayed and the première took place four days later on a Sunday. Fokine gives the date of the première as the 21st, but he apparently forgot the postponement. Grigoriev gives the date as the 24th.

Karsavina danced the Queen of Shemahansk (sung by Dobrovolska); Bulgakov danced King Dodon (sung by Petrov); Cecchetti mimed the Astrologer (sung by Altchevsky); N'polneva sang the Cockerel, and Max Frohman and Grigoriev mimed the two princes.

Scenographically Le Coq d'Or was the most important work of the 1914 season. Goncharova, a Rayonist artist, worked for Diaghilev for the first time. Rayonism was 'invented' by Michel Larionov and began in Russia in 1909, the year before Bakst's Schéhérazade. This production is of interest because Bakst was well acquainted with the works of Larionov and his co-Rayonist worker, Goncharova, due to his connections with them through Mir Iskusstva. By the time the ideas of the Rayonists had been formulated...
In 1912 Bakst must have been acquainted with their principles of picture construction. He was aware of the Rayonist principles of colour usage and although the terminology Bakst used in describing his use of colour in *Schéhérazade* and *Thamar* is more torrid, it does seem to paraphrase Rayonist ideas.

Here begins a painting which can succeed only by following the laws of colour and of its transportation onto canvas. Here begins the creation of new forms whose force and meaning depend solely on tonal strengths and each tone's position in relationship to others.

Although Goncharova was an established artist in Russia, this was her entrée into theatre design, and it was the first time Diaghilev brought a contentious artist into this field. Diaghilev had used contemporary Russian artists before, such as Golovin, Korovin, Roerich, Bakst and Benois, but it must be remembered that these artists, no matter how much influence they exerted on the change in painterly theatre design concepts, were still of a school that could not be termed abstract or contentious. The Rayonists were basically abstract artists.

Discussion of abstract, non-representational art has generally led to controversy rather than to any real clarification of the subject. Fanatical opponents and supporters reach a deadlock, because it is as useless to deny the legitimacy of abstract art as it is to try to impose its principles as absolute dogma. "Abstract art is generally termed to be 'non-representative' in subject context."

It must be noted that Goncharova's early costume designs, judging from the illustrations to be shown here, were still much in the traditions of Bakst and Benois. However, her set design incorporates abstracted Russian folk art and peasant design motifs. Goncharova's designs for *Le Coq d'Or* also reflect her Rayonist principles of picture construction, but not as greatly as the designs.
after lectures given in Moscow by the Futurist Marinetti. The theory was that a Rayonist painting should appear to float outside time and space in some fourth dimension. This was to be achieved by projecting lines parallel or contrasting colour into space, representing lines of force and attraction. The movement was an important step in the direction of abstractionism.

Lake and Maillard A Dictionary of Modern Painting, page 304. Rayonist manifcsts published 1912. The movement was begun by Mikhail Larionov in Moscow (Lucism in Russian): Seems partly originated in Futurism although Larionov has denied this. However, the manifesto was only published in 1912-1913. If it one reads that a Rayonist canvas must give the impression of gliding out of time and space to convey a feeling of a fourth dimension, and that to achieve this end the painter must resort to parallel or crossed beams of colour. The canvases of Larionov and Goncharova are among the first really abstract works painted in this century, without any reminiscences of traditional reality. (Vide: Larionov and Goncharova).

Bakst’s colour theory ideas in the sections analysing Schéhérazade, Cléopâtre and Thamar echo these Rayonist principles of colour construction.

3 That is negating the idea that Bakst, Benois and Roerich could be termed contentious artists.


5 The motifs used were those of stylized flower forms (as used by the Russian artists in their décor designs for The Snow Maiden, Schéhérazade and The Firebird as discussed and analysed in Chapters Three, Four and Five).

Haskell, A. The Ballet Russa, page 82.

2 The folklore and ethnic sources found in The Firebird and Petrushka have been analysed when these ballets were discussed.

Analysed when Bakst’s, Roorich’s and Benois’ work for Schéhérazade, Prince Igor and Petrushka were discussed in context.

Roerich’s motif usage has been noted when analysing both Prince Igor and Le Sacre du Printemps in the body of this dissertation.
Benois used similar floral forms in Petrushka but these were not as abstracted. Roerich also used these forms in his Prince Igor proscenium yet they were not as colourful, and, therefore, did not make as strong a statement.

Clearly discernible in the photograph of Karsavina of Figure 161.


Benois, A. Memoirs, page 273. There are, unfortunately, no existing illustrations of these costumes. The author has written to both Sotheby's, London, as well as the Benois Family Trust, and they state that all existing work has been lost (March 1979).

This decorative abstraction could be equated to Cubistic principles of picture construction; however, the grid-like structures of the trees - the distortion apparent in the table - are not really evolved from Cubism but reliant on Primitivism - hardly new in 1914 - but, perhaps, connected with a pre-Renaissance ideal of representation, where similar motif representation may be discerned. It must also be remembered that the Art Theatres had contemplated use of complete abstraction by 1914, for example Kandinsky's Sounds. (The Green Sound and Black and White, 1909, and The Violet Sound, 1913).

In a recent revival of the ballet by The Festival Ballet, Goncharova's original designs were used (April 1982). They do not have appeared to have been altered extensively and on viewing the ballet the author found them as exciting as apparently did the audience of the 1914 production.

As may be appended if these illustrations, (Figures 158, 159, 161 and 162), are studied and compared.

The door in the backcloth is too obviously placed in painted form and too detailed not to have been functionally used for entrances and exits in the ballet/opera.

Billbine contributed to the designs for Diaghilev's production of Boris Godunov in the 1908 Paris season. Therefore, he had worked with Diaghilev before and was cognisant of the sources from which the scenographers of the ballet Russe derived their inspiration.
Elements such as the music by Ninsky-Korsakov as well as the scenario based as it was on Russian folk tales.

This is meant, according to Poul Feur, an experience which stimulates the audience both mentally and visually. This stimulus is created through the audience's interaction, on an empathetic level, with the production.

Referring to Diaghilev: Diaghilev and the Ballet Russe, page 317.

Although Benois does not mention the exact painting on which the front cloth is based.

Unfortunately no colour reproductions of this set appear to be available.

Levien: Bakst Paints the Stage, page 199.

Since Nijinsky's departure from the Ballet Russe, Diaghilev patched up his differences with Fokine and re-employed him.

Depuis, op.cit., page 197.

Depuis, op.cit., page 96.

Peploe, op.cit., page 316.

Massine was chosen because of his physical beauty and not...
she was to execute for the Ballet Russe after the First World War - designs such as *Thamar* in 1925, (Figure 135).

Arnold Haskell claimed that

...she designed the scenery of Rimsky-Korsakov's *Le Coq d'Or* in a song and dance version, bringing in the inspiration of Russian folk art, not yet hackneyed as it was to become.

This is not entirely accurate, mainly because, as has been shown, both Bakst and Berois made extensive use of Russian folk art elements in such works as *The Firebird* and *Petrushka*. Even when not designing a Russian-based ballet the very influence of primary colour and textile design motifs of Russian folk art were used extensively by Bakst, as seen in *Le Dieu Bleu*. Goncharova, however, was to use these elements in a much more deliberate and bold manner. She appears to have utilized all the sources of Russian art as derived from the Abramtsevo colony's interest in the colour and form of Ancient Russia, especially the Muscovy Empire and peasant life.

*Le Coq d'Or*'s scenography had blazing red and yellow décor. The designed motifs consisted of huge flower and leaf forms, stylized suns, trees and elongated buildings. These motifs of flowers and leaves were echoed in the costumes as is discernible in the female and male chorus costumes, (Figures 158 and 159).

To offset the vivid colour used in most of the costumes the prince were dressed in grey armour, (Figure 168), the only decorative elements being a stylized and simplified grinning sun on their shields. Besides this they appear to have had exaggerated swords which would emphasize the comic elements inherent in the libretto. Their armour is otherwise fairly representative of a type of medieval wear. The same adherence to source material may be noted in the costumes of the chorus, (Figures 158 and 159). These costumes, in cut and style, are similar to Russian peasant costumes. It is, however, in the use of colour and above all in the
exaggerated patterning of the floral elements that the costumes are unique. In the female chorus costume, (Figure 158), it may be noted that instead of the small border patterns of stylized flowers and leaves as found in Bakst's, Roerich's and Benois' designs, Goncharova has emphasized these elements by making them much larger so that they can no longer be considered border designs but rather all-over patterns and are therefore dominant. She also used primary colours such red and yellow as the prominent scheme in this costume. The use of form and colour emphasizes the decorative nature of the designs - giving them a far greater importance than had previously been the case in Ballet Russe costume designs. This may be especially noted in the peasant female figure, (Figure 158), where the three tiers of her skirts are decorated with abstracted horizontal floral motifs. Further the decorative elements are continued in the costume's bolero and on the upper sleeves. Roerich had used similar motifs (derived from Muscovy peasant art) in his Prince Igor and Le Sacre du Printemps designs, but neither with the same colour intensity nor the scale that Goncharova employed. What seems to have occurred in Goncharova's design is that pattern and colour, because of their intensity and scale, make a major statement.

This focus on dominant pattern and colour emphasizes the artificiality of the scenography in accordance with the ideals of the Ballet Russe, and make no attempt to suggest that the audience was confronted by realistic fragment of the environment. Goncharova's stage and costume designs were meant to be seen as artificial, and although one has encountered decorative motifs functioning in this way in Bakst's and Benois' scenographic works, Goncharova extends and develops these motifs. Goncharova's use of these prominent motifs also adheres to the symbolist theatre dictum, as stated by Aurier, that motifs function as symbolic references to historical and geographical locations - in Le Coq d'Or the
decorative symbols evoke the ancient Muscovian period.

The same evaluation may be applied to the male chorus costumes, (Figure 159). It is evident that the Russian peasant dress has been utilized as a basic form. The loose trousers and peasant shirt are obviously based on existent prototypes. The patterning is much bolder and the simplified floral forms are dominant. This use of pattern removes the costume from a faithfully copied rendition to that of an innovative statement.

Karsavina as the Queen Shemakha was costumed in a long belted tunic, (Figure 161), under which she wore dark harem pants. The tunic was in white with a wide border decorated with peasant floral motifs. A unity of costume style was thus established through the repetition of pattern on various costumes. Karsavina's costume in its general outline could be compared to those designed by Bakst for Schéhérazade, especially in the use of harem pants. The large simplified floral motifs were, however, never employed by Bakst. Whilst Goncharova was reliant on the earlier costume designs her dramatization of pattern was innovative. The floral pattern employed in the costumes echoed those used in the set, notably Scene I, (Figure 163), thus establishing a certain unity in visual relationships between costumes and settings.

The front cloth, (Figure 162), consisted of abstracted tree forms and a 'stylized' table with cloth and dishes. The chorus of singers were placed on either side of the stage in front of this cloth standing on pyramidal shaped rostra. According to Benois their "high necked costumes made the chorus stand out magnificently against the general colourful scenic background". The front cloth, (Figure 162), and the set for Scene I (seen as a watercolour sketch in Figure 163) were the most exciting scenographic statements to emerge in Ballet Russe design since Bakst's L'Après-midi d'un Faune, (Figure 138).
In the front-cloth, as well as the rest of the designs for Le Coq d'Or, it may be noted that the whole concept of scenographic convention has altered. In the watercolour sketch for the cloth, (Figure 162), all the motifs have been formalized and abstracted. This may be discerned in the floral motifs, the windows with stylized figures, the table with its multi-level viewpoint - the top of the table with its dishes being seen simultaneously in profile and the bottles in profile next to the 'plan' of the plates - the abstracted grid-like trees and bird forms and the flowers - off centre right and left - with their curious, tube-like petals. The use of these motifs introduced a level of decorative abstraction not previously encountered in any scenography for commercial venues. These forms existed in a stage space that at times suggest an overlapping of planes, such as noticed in the border representation which defined as well as framed the central yellow landscape consisting of an abstracted grid of tree forms. There appears to be a disparate conglomeration of styles present in this front-cloth, yet the generalization of form and colour tend to integrate visually. The prominent motifs - those of the gigantic floral forms - have as their precedent similar, abstracted flower shapes used in ethnic Russian artifacts (see Figures 21 and 22). Goncharova utilized these elements but she formalized them so that they existed as areas constructed from line, colour and shading, detailed through the use of coloured dots within the form. These ethnic motifs as used by Goncharova are, however, not innovative as they had been previously used by Vasnetsov in his décor for The Suvorov Maiden, (Figure 19), and later by Benois in the Moor's cell scene in Petrushka, (Figure 116). These previous scenographic endeavours illustrated a simplification from a basic ethnic source - for example the floral detail from a window-sill, (Figure 21). Goncharova, however, abstracted these motifs, common to Russian ethnic art, further so that they formed an integrated unit with the rest of her scenography. This floral motif was obviously
the dominant element which was used to link all the scenes and costumes in the original Le Coq d'Or design. This use of motifs is also discernible in Act I Scene I, (Figure 163), showing the carnival scene. On stage left is a huge flowered tree with King Dodon's bed at its base. The floral motifs found in the tree are similar to those used by Goncharova on both the costumes (Figures 158, 159 and 161), as well as the front-cloth, (Figure 162). In the watercolour sketch for Scene I, (Figure 163), it appears obvious that the set was to represent a series of borders, a constructed tree and a backcloth with functional gateway in the centre. The buildings painted on the backcloth are shown as flat and angular. The spatial representation of the backcloth appears to be reliant on a pre-Renaissance convention of the piling up of forms. These forms employ depth, yet there is only a general focus on perspective, even although some references to the perspectival system are discernible. These, however, are inconsistent. The space represented on the backcloth is generally negated through Goncharova's use of colour. The colour, a dominant yellow, operates against the creation of any sensation of depth. This use of yellow establishes a flatness of surface. The colour utilized throughout the Act I Scene I set forms a harmonious relationship with the frontcloth and costumes, due to its similarity of tone. The space within the stage format was created by the constructed legs, borders and tree form. These elements defined the stage space and established a rhythmic pattern which were carried through by the decorated legs up to the painted borders. This existing spatiality which would be dominated by the dancers had as its focus the constructed tree. This formed a focal area of interest, and was centralized. The tree contrasts with the general set in the use of a darker colour range. This colour is more intense than that used on the backcloth, thus highlighting its importance. It therefore formed the primary area of interest, along with the functional door in the backcloth acting as a secondary focal point. The floral
the dominant element which was used to link all the scenes and costumes in the original Le Coq d'Or design. This use of motifs is also discernible in Act I Scene 1, (Figure 163), showing the carnival scene. On stage left is a huge flowered tree with King Dodon's bed at its base. The floral motifs found in the tree are similar to those used by Goncharova on both the costumes (Figures 158, 159 and 161), as well as the front-cloth, (Figure 162). In the watercolour sketch for Scene 1, (Figure 163), it appears obvious that the set was to represent a series of borders, a constructed tree and a backcloth with functional gateway in the centre. The buildings painted on the backcloth are shown as flat and angular. The spatial representation of the backcloth appears to be reliant on a pre-Renaissance convention of the piling up of forms. These forms employ depth, yet there's only a general focus on perspective, even although some references to the perspectival system are discernible. These, however, are inconsistent. The space represented on the backcloth is generally related through Goncharova's use of colour. The colour, a dominant yellow, operates against the creation of any sensation of depth. This use of yellow establishes a flatness of surface. The colour utilized throughout the Act I Scene I set forms a harmonious relationship with the frontcloth and costumes, due to its similarity of tone. The space within the stage format was created by the constructed legs, borders and tree form. These elements defined the stage space and established rhythmic pattern which were carried through by the decorated legs up to the painted borders. This existing spatiality which would be dominated by the dancers had as its focus the constructed tree. This formed a focal area of interest, and was centralized. The tree contrasts with the general set in the use of a darker colour range. This colour is more intense than that used on the backcloth, thus highlighting its importance. It therefore formed the primary area of interest, along with the functional door in the backcloth acting as a secondary focal point. The floral
borders repeated the motif used in the tree form as well as those encountered on the front cloth. When studying the watercolour sketch for Scene I, (Figure 163), it may be observed that it is vivid, colourful, and expressive - a unified scenographic statement that combined perfectly with the scenario, choreography and music. The scenography, as was the case with Rimsky-Korsakov's music, was reliant on the ethnic Russian heritage, deriving its inspiration from the early Russian cultures - Muscovy motifs and rhythmic musical sources based on ethnic tunes and timbres.

The study of ethnic sources was not only limited to Russia. All European artistic oeuvres employed a similar research of ethnic cultures. This reference to an historic past was manifested in a revival of the post-Renaissance world view as well as an interest in the art of Persia, China, Japan and Africa. In all avant-garde works of the period, between 1890 and 1914, there is evidence of the use of these sources - the Chinese and Japanese influence on the Impressionists, the influence of Egyptian art on Gauguin and the effect of African sculpture on Picasso, to mention but a few examples.

In the Le Coq d'Or production these sources can again be recognized. Scenographically Goncharova was utilizing ethnic sources. In the music, choreography and scenography there was a self-conscious attempt to realise and retain the Russian national heritage. Yet the presentation of the work was decidedly 'modern'. The colours and forms of the scenography, Rimsky-Korsakov's melodic yet at times discordant music, the abstracted concepts both in the choreography and scenography were all avant-garde in spirit even although the sources for the work were retrospective. When presented the production must have formed a visually as well as aurally exciting and dynamically unified concept in a contemporary idiom.

It is interesting to compare Goncharova's Town Square watercolour sketch for Le Coq d'Or, (Figure 164), with that designed for the opera at The Imperial Theatre in Moscow by
Ivan Bilibine in 1909, (Figure 165),1 Both Bilibine and Goncharova acknowledged that their design inspirations for Le Coq d'Or were derived from Russian icons as well as Russian primitive peasant art.2 It is, however, noticeable that the two artists used their primary sources in very different ways producing scenographic concepts that illustrate opposite extremes. Bilibine's watercolour sketch of the set uses simplification of means - areas of flat colour, regular perspective and decorative elements such as the foliage and cloud forms (on the top borders). Goncharova, on the other hand, uses distorted shapes, a flattened perspective backcloth and decorative elements such as the floral forms which de-emphasize shape as they cover all surface areas and thus present the impression of an abstracted stage environment. Bilibine, because of his use of perspective, presents a set that occupies the 'real' stage area.

Other comparisons may be observed, namely: The foliage forms in both Bilibine's and Goncharova's works are simplified and exaggerated, yet whereas Bilibine uses these as occupying an allotted space, Goncharova utilizes floral forms as decorative elements which cover and disguise the architectural members in the set. Further Bilibine's borders are heavy stylized cloud representations, whilst Goncharova uses stylized drapery, again covered with the integrating floral motifs, thus creating a unified pictorial statement. In this comparison it can be noted that Goncharova's set is far more abstract, vibrant and colourful, whilst Bilibine's appears staid and unimaginative. It is obvious that both artists used similar source material, yet Goncharova extended this inspirational source so that it became a vibrant, innovative work of art. Bilibine, however, utilized the source, rendering a rather pedantic copy.

Goncharova used flats to represent cut-out building shapes, backed by a backcloth in which forms are piled up one on
top of the other. In Goncharova's design that which is seen, such as the river and building beyond, are painted one on top of the other and do not recede into the picture-plane space of the backcloth. This effectively flattens out the representational stage format - offering, as is done in the frontcloth, multiple viewpoint. Although the illustration of the Goncharova set is in black and white one expects that the colour she used would be similar to that used in scene I.

Goncharova's design for the Town Square scene continues her design intentions, and if compared with her frontcloth and the Act I Scene I watercolour sketch this similarity can be seen. In her scenography for Le Coq d'Or an equivalent, motif usage is evident. The same floral form is used which literally covers all surface structures, a comparable flattening of the perspectival system is apparent and a comparative use of decorative borders is evident. Goncharova's stage designs for Le Coq d'Or illustrate the ideal of the heights reached by the painterly school of design, it presents a vivid painted stage picture within the frame of the proscenium arch. Not only is it an exciting and innovative work but it goes much further than the other works executed by the scenographic artists of the Ballet Russe. It succeeds in flattening the backcloth, thus complying with Apollinaire's idea that this cloth should not present the "unreal measure of the stage picture format". Roerich achieved this, although less successfully, in his Prince Igor décor (1909) and later Bakst obtained similar results with the Carnaval and Scheherazade (1910) settings. Although these designs formed a unified stage picture, the climax of a painted stage pictorial statement before the advent of Le Coq d'Or was reached in Bakst's l'Après-midi d'un faune (1912). In Goncharova's Le Coq d'Or designs the old type of monochromatic illusionist, inconstant aesthetic stage picture format
w a s  n o  l o n g e r  i n  e v i d e n c e  i t  h a d  b e e n  r e p l a c e d  b y  a  
vibrant, e x c i t i n g  v i s u a l  c o n c e p t .

I t  i s  n o t  s u r p r i s i n g  t h a t  t h e  m o s t  a d e m i c  o f  t h e  B e n o i s  
artists Benois criticised Goncharova's 

"S h e  h a d  p e r f o r m e d  h e r  t a s k  s p l e n d i d l y  f r o m  t h e  p o i n t  o f  v i e w  o f  a  n  e a s e l  a r t i s t ,  b u t  h e r  w o r k  w a s  p e r h a p s  n o t  s o  f i n e  f r o m  t h e  p u r e l y  
theatrical point of view."

J u d g i n g  b y  t h e  i l l u s t r a t i o n s  s h o w n  h e r e  B e n o i s ' s  s t a t e m e n t  
seems a bit absurd. E v e n  h i s  m o r e  s u c c e s s f u l  w o r k s ,  s u c h  a s  
the designs for Petrushka (1911), were created within a  
framework that presented a s p a t i a l l y  i l l u s i o n i s t  s t a g e  
picture. I n  a  c o n t e m p o r a r y  r e v i e w  B u c k l e  s t a t e s  t h a t  
L e C o q d'O r  w a s  

"t h e  r e a l  h i t  o f  t h e  1 9 1 4  P a r i s  S e a o n ,  d u e  
to Goncharova's designs, though critical opinion 
was divided as to its success as a  n e w  w a y  o f  
preventing opera. I n  C o q  d'O r  a n o t h e r  m a r v e l  
from Russia had given to the world. I t  w a s  e l e c t r i c  
trop ! ! ! !

T h u s  t h e  L e C o q d'O r  d e s i g n s  m a y  b e  c o n s i d e r e d  t h e  p e a k  o f  
achievement of the S c e n o g r a p h e r s  f o r  t h e  B a l l e t  h u s s e .  
It presented a c o m b i n a t i o n  o f  a l l  t h e  d e s i g n  p r i n c i p l e s  
previously employed by the Russian designers. I t  w a s  a  
unified decorative work, using expressive shapes a n d  
colours that were innovative yet perfectly in keeping  
with the o t h e r  e l e m e n t s  o f  t h e  o p e r a - b a l l e t .  
I t  w a s  a  G e s a m t k u n s t w o r k .  I t  c o n v i n c e d  t h e  a u d i e n c e ,  a s  c a n  b e  n o t e d  
from B u c k l e ' s  s t a t e m e n t ,  o f  a  c o l o u r f u l  t h e a t r i c a l  p a i n t e d  
picture in perfect harmony with the other elements of  
the w o r k ,  w h i l e  i n  n o  w a y  t r y i n g  t o  d i s q u i s e  i t s  m e t h o d  o f  
presentation. I t  c r e a t e d  a n  a l t e r n a t i v e  w o r l d  -  a  w o r l d  
of a  v i v i d ,  c o n t e m p o r a r y  p a i n t i n g .  I t  w a s  i n  f a c t  a  
work of art presented on the stage in conjunction with  
the k i n e t i c  a s p e c t s  o f  t h e  p e r f o r m e r s '  m o v e m e n t  a s  w e l l  a s  t h e  
aural timbre and tones of music. I t  c o u l d  b e  t e r m e d  a  
"t o t a l  t h e a t r é "  p r e s e n t a t i o n .  " 
The other productions for the 1914 Season were rather unexciting in their design content. They were merely extending the ideas of the previous season and, unlike Goncharova's work, introduced no innovative ideals in stage design concepts.

Of the last two ballets of the 1914 Season Le Rossignol, an opera with ballet, was premièred on 26th May 1914 and Midas, which was thought to be an "aburd work", on 2nd June. As for the rest of the 1914 Season, especially as far as the scenography of these productions was concerned, one may agree with Lieven that:

The 1914 production, La Légende de Joseph, Les Papillons, Midas and Le Rossignol ... none of these ballets proved important and they did not remain long in the repertoires.

Le Rossignol was designed in a style which, it may be argued, was too indulgent in its use of chinoiserie. Benois' designs, two of which survive, are amongst his least inspired. The frontcloth, (Figure 166), was based on a Chinese painting. It presents a rather staid academic copy of Chinese painting which, when enlarged to the proportions of the stage format, must have seemed far too cumbersome for a derived art form which relies on delicacy of line and colour for its effect.

The interior court-hall scene, (Figure 167), fared a little better with its stylized false proscenium drapes, cut in a curvilinear pattern and painted in tones of red, gold and blue. Here the too-detailed room beyond these stylized forms was at variance with the flat pattern framing curtain.

In Petrushka the ideas that Benois formulated, of a stylized proscenium and illusionistic Shrove Tide Fair scene behind it, worked exceedingly well mainly because of his use of the connecting theme (in colour and design) of the Puppet Booth and Cells. In Le Rossignol this was negated by the illusionistic representation of the room,
with very detailed throne, canopy and painted statuary on the back. Unlike in Petrushka, the combination of the illusionistic setting and the formal flat patterning of the false proscenium does not form a cohesive whole.

The décor for the production of Le Rossignol was seldom used and Diaghilev had the production re-designed by Matisse in 1920 as a one-act ballet, called Le Chant du Rossignol.

The designs executed by Benois, it is argued, would not relate to Stravinsky's innovative musical composition. As David Hockney who re-designed the work in 1982 for the Metropolitan Opera in New York stated:

Stravinsky's shimmering music embodies the elegance and refinement of the Chinese emperors' court. The music's transparent quality brings to mind delicate porcelain glazes, not the Chinese painting found in Benois' original concepts. These original designs did not vivify the scenes when the music suddenly goes soft using undulating rhythms, and then abruptly changes to harsh angles. I want to capture the jagged lines of the music.1

In his evaluation of Stravinsky's musical structure for this Opera and its relation to a design concept Hockney appears to be far more perceptive than Benois. His criticism of Benois' original designs for the work seems to be correct. They do appear dull and unrelated to the innovative musical composition by Stravinsky.

The production which followed Le Rossignol was Le Légende de Joseph. Le Légende de Joseph had a score commissioned by Diaghilev from Richard Strauss. Diaghilev attributed great importance to the score, with the composer conducting his own music at the première.2 The score had been commissioned in anticipation of the Ballet Russe's Berlin Season in October 1914, but the First World War prevented the giving of any performances in Germany and the ballet was produced only in Paris and London.3

Sert designed the décor and Bakst was in charge of the
costume conceptualization. 
Fokine, reinstated as resident choreographer for the Ballet Russe, was responsible for the choreography. 

The setting was purportedly inspired by Venetian paintings of the late Renaissance, particularly the works of Tintoretto and Veronese. 

A strong influence of the work of Tintoretto can be seen in the use of the Solomonic columns painted on the backcloth. (Figure 168) - similar to those he used in a Christ in the Temple/Christ healing the Blind Man cartoon and paintings. 

A difference found in the backcloth painting compared with the works of Tintoretto is that the painting of the columns, for example, is of a much looser nature relying on broad areas of paint, as can be expected by the designers working for the Ballet Russe by this stage. The set appears, from the photography, (Figure 167), to be reliant on the use of an overwhelming scale of proportion possibly reflecting the grandeur of a recreated Renaissance spectacle. However, visually, the individual components of Sert's décor seem to be rather disparate. For example, the Baroque columns have loose painted surfaces in conjunction with the linear illusionistically painted plinth structure. The arches exist on the same surface on the stonework. 

This grandiose illusionistic setting relates directly to the type of design found on the stages of European opera houses prior to 1930. It is therefore a reversion to the manner of design to which the Ballet Russe appeared to be opposed. This is especially the case if Sert's design is compared to Goncharova's set Giselle during the same season. Goncharova's set exemplified the revolution in the painted scenographic context. whereas Sert's décor appears to revert to a formula that is distinctly retrogressive. The only innovation that could possibly be found in Sert's work was the looseness of paint in certain areas and this had already been achieved by Roerich in his 1909 scenography for Prince Igor. (Figure 51).

Bakst's costumes for this work, (Figure 169), appear
incongruous if compared with the set. The only similarities appear to be the top heavy nature of the costumes as well as Bakst's reliance on line as an important decorative element. The costume sketches appear to present a lavish version of late Renaissance costume types. However, they are caricatured in their presented form. This almost absurd quality in the drawn figures may well have been transferred to their counterparts on the stage. If the costumes had been made in accordance with the Bakst designs they may have appeared somewhat comical, because of the top heavy elements of the design — such as the heavily padded shoulders — as well as the feathers in the head-dress with their oddly angled positions. Unfortunately no costumes or photographs appear to have survived.

The colours and fabrics used in these costumes were sumptuous but not visually as exciting as Bakst's designs for Schéhérazade or L'Âge d'or. They appear to have been far too cumbersome and because of their bulk it would probably have been very difficult to dance in them.

Le Légende de Joseph was not a success. In the mimed role of Potiphar's wife the singer, Maria Kuznetsova, "disappointed the public mainly due to her stylized movement". As for Massine, who portrayed Joseph, his success, according to Kochno, Buckle and Lieven, was because of "his physique, the Byzantine beauty of his face, and the suppleness of his body".

There were, however, a few favourable reviews for this work. One critic, Alfred Brucon, wrote:

With his good taste M. Michel Fokine brings back to the Russian Ballet all the graceful attitudes and harmonious gestures which M. Nijinsky, with his grotesque ideas, sought to abolish.

Besides Brucon's review the work was generally not well received, and the scenography was neither exciting nor appears to have presented a unified concept — judging from the existing photograph and Bakst's costume sketches.
The ballet which followed was *Les Papillons* which was conceived as a sequel to *Carnaval*. It represented the departure of the guests after a social evening. It was generally given as a curtain raiser. The music, as in *Carnaval*, was by Schumann.

Bakst designed the costumes but they were so reliant on those he had previously executed for *Carnaval* that Kozlov states: “Even the costumes were taken from *Carnaval*.2

From the photograph of Karsavina, (Figure 170), for this ballet this could appear to be true, even though Kozlov states that: “Bakst drew on the Kindermeister style: he worked from the fashion engravings of the 1630’s”.3

Bakst did say, however, from the *Carnaval* costumes executed in 1910, as is evident by studying the sketches for the *Les Papillons* costumes, which are dated by Bakst as 1912, (Figures 171 and 172), yet these are certainly very similar. As can be seen if Figures 171 and 172 are compared with Figures 74, 77 and 78 from *Carnaval*. They offered nothing new in Bakst's design concept but only regurgitated a Baroque style utilized by himself.

The décor was designed by the young Russian painter Doboujinsky.4 Doboujinsky's original design has been lost but though described it as showing:

> The two arches with a representation of a fountain between them. This was very charming and pleasant in its conception.5

As no visual evidence seems to remain of this décor, besides a later remembered rough sketch in Beaumont's "Five Centuries of Ballet Design",6 no evaluation of the scene can be made.

The fourth new ballet presented in 1914 was *Midas* with music by Rimsky-Korsakov's son-in-law, Steinberg, and scenery and costumes “in the style of Mantegna by Doboujinsky”.7 Nothing appears to remain of this work.
therefore it is impossible to evaluate it but, according to Kochno, Buekle and Llaven, "it was a most unsatisfactory work in every conceivable respect."

Nijins concluded the new works for the Ballet Russe's 1914 season. The only designs which were innovative and important were those for Le cor d'or. In this work the idea of scenography executed in a painterly manner had attained maturity and worked on an aesthetic, functional and artistic plane that equalled the work of the plastic school of designers. These two schools, the painterly and the plastic that existed side by side had revolutionized stage design concepts. After the First World War they were to be combined and used in many variations in every theatre in Europe. This was true for the Ballet Russe as can be seen in such works as Picasso's Parade (1917), Léonide's Le Rêveur (1922), Goncharova's Les Noces (1923), Lüngen's and Picasso's Le Train Bleu (1924) and especially in Kandinsky and Andrei Reichers'/1927 Constructivistic setting for Le Chahut (Figure 12).

The war separated Bulgakiev from his original team of dancers, designers and choreographers as well as from Russia. It found him in Italy and later in Switzerland, with his company scattered and his future engagements cancelled. It was only towards the end of the war that he managed to restart the Ballet Russe. When he did, the scenography was to be changed following the precedent set by Goncharova in Le Cor d'or. This overall change which occurred was mainly due to Bulgakiev using avant-garde and contemporary artists to create his scenography. These artists adapted their existing styles of relating to stage design to bring to scenography a changing attitude and approach. It must be remembered, however, that the revolutionary works which followed in the sphere of ballet design would have been impossible had it not been for the work of the scenographer for the
Salini fusse between 1939 and 1945.
CHAPTER : FOOTNOTES

p.290:1  Buckle, R. Diaghilev, pages 259-263.
2  Ibid.
3  Time Magazine, 25th February 1980, page 36. "Artist married to Misia Sert, a close friend and patron of the Arts, her first husband being a founder of Le Revue Blanche. Her collection of avant-garde paintings was enormous".

As this was so, and as all the designers of the Ballet Russe were on very good terms with Misia they must have been aware of the painterly styles of the French avant-garde.

5  Ibid.
7  Fokine, A. Memoirs of a Ballet Master, page 211.
8  Buckle, R. Nijinsky, page XVI.
9  Benois, A. Reminiscences, page 271.

p.291:1  Ibid.
2  Lieven, P. The Birth of the Ballet Russe, page 293.

3  Ibid.
5  Grigoriev, A. The Diaghilev Ballet, page 211.
6  Mir Iskusstva's contribution to the scenography of the Ballet Russe has been analysed in Chapter Two.

2  The Oxford Companion to Art, page 954.

Rayonism: An abstract movement in painting launched in Russia in 1911-12 by Mikhail Larionov (1881-1964) and Natalya Goncharova (1881-1962)
This assumption is made as both the Frontcloth (Figure 162) and Scene I (Figure 165) employ similar colour ranges, therefore it is unlikely Goncharova would alter this scheme for The Town Square scene (Figure 164).

Bentley, E. Theories of the Modern Stage, page 163.


Ibid.

Elements such as the music by Rimsky-Korsakov as well as the scenario based as it was on Russian folk tales.

By this is meant, according to Paul Fort, an experience which stimulates the audience both aurally and visually. This stimulus is created through the audience's interaction, on an empathetic level, with the production.


Benois, A. Memoirs, page 294. Although Benois does not mention the exact painting on which the Frontcloth is based.

Benois, A. Memoirs, page 303. Unfortunately no colour reproductions of this set appear to be available.

Friedman, M. Hockney Paints the Stage, page 199.


Kochino, B. Diaghilev and the Ballet Russe, page 207.

Ibid.

Lieven, P. Op. cit., page 197. Since Nijinsky's "departure" from the Ballet Russe, Diaghilev "patched up his differences with Fokine and re-employed him".


Ibid.


According to the above sources Massine was chosen by Diaghilev because of his physical beauty and not
because of dance ability - which was at the time merely adequate. Eschkol's idea appears to have been that Massine's 'beauty' would be an adequate replacement for Nijinsky's presence.


4 Ibid.

p. 306:2 (contd.)

The design shown is like those for Le Sacre du Printemps. [The rough and simplified to be taken as the original watercolour sketch.

5 Ibid.

p. 307:1

Beaumont, C. Five Centuries of Ballet Design, page 209. The design shown is like those for Le Sacre du Printemps. The rough and simplified to be taken as the original watercolour sketch.

6 Ibid.

p. 308:1

Beaumont, C. Five Centuries of Ballet Design, page 208. The designs have a sketch of the décor by Bakst showing a rather academic landscape. However, as with many illustrations in this manuscript, one finds the authenticity somewhat in doubt. As previously explained, the designs shown were either executed at a later date or, according to archive material, inaccurately labelled as from different ballets, besides which, every other source (Buckle, Kochno, Nijinska and Kirstein) claim the décor was by Boboulinsky and not Bakst.
CONCLUSION

The scenographers of the Ballet Russe's productions during the 1909-1914 seasons in Paris brought about innovative changes in all aspects of set and costume design. Before the advent of the Ballet Russe, ballet scenography tended to be merely functional, but inconsistent in its use of settings, costumes and properties. There was no real concern with the visual integration between sets and costumes. Further there was no visual unity because of the different craftsmen at work on various aspects of production, without an overall concept governing their individual efforts. Designs in ballet production prior to 1900 were executed for the sole purpose of decorating the stage areas with backcloths, legs and borders. These decorated elements were often in conflict with one another, and alien to the scenario of the work. At most times there was little or no relation between the scenario, setting, costumes, choreography and music in the presented work. It was because of this inconstancy that this period came to be termed "that era of decline in ballet presentation." The most successful works by the Ballet Russe designers reflected a change in approach to set and costume design. Generally a greater concern with integration was to be seen in these works. A visual unity was achieved, as well as a compliance with the scenario, music and choreography. In these productions this concern with unity undoubtedly reflects a conscious attempt to create a Gesamtkunstwerk. This was clearly indicated in Benois's writings:

"It was no accident that what was afterwards known as the Ballet Russe was originally conceived not by the professionals of the dance, but by a circle of artists, linked together by the idea of Art as an entity. Everything followed from the common desire of several painters and musicians belonging to The World of Art magazine to see the
fulfilment of all aesthetic units on the ballet stage. 1  

Most of the works performed by the Ballet Russe presented a unity or entity: that of settings - usually painted cloths, wings and borders - costumes, properties, scenario, music and choreography.

A brief examination of the ballets as a whole reveal that, if anything, innovations in musical scores were, at times, more advanced than the designs that accompanied them. 2  

This is evident in the study of such a work as Le Sacre du Printemps. 3  When existing musical scores were adapted for specific ballets, 4  a unified concept which harmonized with the scenography, choreography and scenario was also at times in evidence, examples being Schéhérazade, L'Après-midi d'un Faune and Cléopâtre. Thus, although the emphasis has been placed on the works of the scencographers for the Ballet Russe, consideration has also been given to the accompanying the works in accordance with its relevance to the Gesamtkunstwerk theory, as may be seen in the productions analysed as well as Benois' earlier statement. The Gesamtkunstwerk theory was of primary importance in the evaluation of the work presented by the Ballet Russe during the 1909-1914 period. It is of great significance to the history of scenography that the Ballet Russe commissioned artists rather than craftsmen to design the productions.

The fundamental traditional values of pictorial integration and harmony in the visual arts, not surprisingly, was extended to encourage many of the artists commissioned by the ballet Russe to work in the traditions of a painterly stage format. Not only were fundamental pictorial values now introduced into scenography but techniques used in painting influenced the execution of the backdrops, front curtains, etc. A very much more painterly technique evolved, this being due to the influence of stylistic developments in painting in the late nineteenth century. The term painterly school of scenography has thus been
used by numerous scholars with reference to the Ballet Russe designers of this period (1909-1914). This is particularly appropriate with reference to the works of Bakst, Benois, Roerich and Goncharova. (See for example Bakst's backdrop for L'Après-midi d'un Faune).

As has been stated in the text the artists who worked on the scenography for the Ballet Russe also worked together, prior to their scenographic endeavours, on the arts magazine Mir Iskusstva.

Before Diaghilev's arrival, Benois was the leader of Mir Iskusstva, earlier called The Nevsky Pickwickians. Later Benois was given the title of "Artistic Director of the Diaghilev Company", as well as being the curator of the Hermitage Museum. In his theoretical aims Benois admitted four important influences on his, as well as the other scenographers for the Ballet Russe's works:

**FIRSTLY**, the dancers Virginia Zucchi and Isadora Duncan, who, by the expressiveness of their dancing, convinced him that ballet could be taken as a serious art.

**SECONDLY**, the painters Korovin and Golovin who first designed scenery and costumes for the theatrical seasons of Savva Mamontov's Private Opera Company in Moscow. Benois also notes that Korovin and Golovin made use of freer paint application in their early set designs (for Mamontov) and that this technique influenced him (as seen in his Petrushka scenography), as well as corresponding to his ideal that décor should have artistic values instead of being merely crafted objects.

**THIRDLY**, the influence brought about by the study of contemporary European artistic modes undertaken by all members of the Mir Iskusstva group. Benois notes that the artists belonging to this group were influenced by the Jungenstil as well as the Fauves, as clearly can be seen in his use of colour and motifs in the Moor's cell scene from Petrushka.

**FOURTHLY**, the successful ensemble playing of the Meiningen Company under Cronberg (visiting St. Petersburg in 1885 and 1890), the Moscow Arts Theatre under Stanislavsky and the work presented
by Paul Fort and Lugné-Poë in the Symbolist Arc Theatres in Paris. As Benois stated:

I wanted, after seeing the above companies in 1890 and 1891, to become a stage painter only in order to do everything in the theatre, to be complete master and manager of the stage.1

Here Benois comments on the sceneographers' interest and concern with aspects of the Gesamtkunstwerk theory, and also the sceneographers' working for the Ballet Russes' general tendency to employ Wagner's theories in order to create a unified pictorial and dramatic statement. Further Benois states the sceneographers' interest in creating Symbolist stage pictures.

Unlike the décor executed before 1900, Benois unified his stage picture through his use of a broad paint texture. His use of colour, texture and motifs linked the stage elements of backdrop, legs and borders. In this achievement Benois was directly influenced by the work of Salovin, Konovin and Vassilev — the artists who preceded the Ballet Russes sceneographers in experimenting with stage design in Russia.2

Benois' greatest contribution to ballet design was the Ballet Russes presentation of Petrushka (1911) during their Third Season. At the time of this production Benois had already left the company because of Diaghilev's surly predilection for exiling him and Bakst at longerheads.3 He was persuaded to return to design Petrushka.4

The general subject, that of the trials of the Pierrot Petrushka, was traditional. However, Benois provided many innovations in the scenographic concept such as the settings which incorporated the stage within a stage format, and the use in the Cell scenes of colourful and abstracted décor which were based both on the motifs of the Ancient Muscovy Empire, as well as colours derived from the Fauve group of painters.5

Petrushka represented a climax in design technique for
Benois - a technique that could not have been achieved had Benois not come into contact with Bakst, the Abramtsevo colony's works, the artists Vrubel and Mussatov, nor been part of Mir Iskusstva, with their interest in both contemporary Russian and European artistic traditions. Although most of his works were characterized by a quality of visual integration\(^1\) they did not compare with his innovative work for Petrushka.

After 1914 Benois only designed two other works for Diaghilev, the two Gounod operas _Le Medecin Malgre Luis_ and _Philemon and Baucis_ in 1924. After these two works Benois complained: "Diaghilev no longer likes my décors. I can't understand it".\(^2\) The reasons seem obvious. Although Benois' designs broke away from the conventional type of ballet design and his work for Petrushka was innovative, his techniques hardly changed after 1911 always combining an illusionistic, painted format, hinting at depth, with a free use of paint application. At times, as can be seen in his watercolour sketch for the décor of _Prince Cygne_ in 1928, (Figure 173), the décors were of a more stylized design, and he continued to derive inspiration from Russian ethnic art sources. The watercolour sketch for the décor of _Prince Cygne_ also appears to illustrate the influence of Goncharova's work, especially her _Le Coq d'Or_ designs on Benois' scenography. In both works there are parallel elements to be found such as the floral decoration incorporated in the legs and buildings as well as the stylized border drapery.

It is curious that, with the solitary exception of Bakst, all designers who had worked for the first five seasons of the Diaghilev ballet were abandoned after the sixth season in 1917. This could partly be explained by the outbreak of the war which separated Diaghilev from his Russian contacts, but was also due to the change in Diaghilev's taste - he began using European avant-garde artists such as Picasso, Matisse, Braque and Miró to
execute the scenography for his ballets.

The other early designers for the Ballet Russe were Russian painters like Roerich, who designed the brooding, colourful scenes for the *Polovtsian Dances from Prince Igor* (1909) and later those for *Le Sacre du Printemps* (1913). Roerich based his designs on archaeological studies as well as his work at the Abramtsevo colony. He also incorporated a variation of the Fauve palette in all his scenographic endeavours.

Another designer who worked on the early Ballet Russe Seasons was Golovin who designed the first production of *The Firebird*. Anisfeldt, Dobouinsky, Korovin and Soudeikin, all Russians, also contributed during this period when "exoticism" was the quality most admired and sought after by the Parisian audience and critics alike.

Bakst was the one designer who achieved most in the area of "exoticism". His *Cléopâtre*, the first he designed for the Ballet Russe in 1909, was an indication of the revolution in colour and design which was to be associated with his name. Bakst's palette was directly influenced by the Impressionist, Nabè and Fauve schools, as well as derived from his study of the colouring in Russian peasant textile designs and the pure colour employed in icon paintings. The costume designs for *Cléopâtre* were the first of Bakst's exotic creations. They remained, however, firmly based on Egyptian prototypes. In *Cléopâtre* a total break from the traditional tutu for the ballerina was brought about by Bakst. He designed costumes which were indicative of a distinct period, style and geographical locale and were no longer reliant on existing formulas.

Bakst's designs for *Schéhérazade*, illustrated this break with conventional ballet costume to an even greater extent; dancers were not dressed in tutus, point shoes or even variegated tights. Later Bakst introduced a simplified variation of tights for men, for example in the Harlequin
costume in Carnaval (1910) as well as in the Faune's costume in L'Après-midi d'un Faune (1912), and he was the first to utilize contemporary dress in ballet, as seen in Jeux (1913).

In his designs for L'Après-midi d'un Faune (1912), the painted backcloth took on a new aspect, for rather than being an illusionistic representation of place, on stage, the backcloth presented objects decoratively arranged on a rising scale of dimension. This negating of an illusion of depth, the unreal measure according to Appia, was one aspect new to the painterly school of designers. In this ballet Bakst also kept the lower third of the backcloth relatively simple, using large areas of flat colour—thus throwing the performers into greater importance and prominence against the painted scenery. This did not detract from the general painterly impression of the stage picture, but it gave the performer the importance which Appia called massgebend, that is, the performer now became the unit of measurement on the stage and was not at variance or in conflict with the scenery. In this 1912 production the scenography of the Ballet Russe had arrived at a solution which had evolved through the productions of Le Pavillon d'Armide (1909), Carnaval (1910) and Schéhérazade (1910).

Although after 1914 the subsequent Ballet Russe scenic output was considerable as well as varied, it showed the influence of the early designers such as Bakst and Benois. The fundamental changes in thinking in scenicographic terms, especially as far as ballet productions were concerned, was manifest in the productions of the 1909-1914 period. However, radical innovations in design were to occur in the post-First World War Ballet Russe scenicographic enterprises. It should, however, be noted that these innovations in the painted stage picture would possibly not have occurred had it not been for the work of the earlier Ballet Russe scenographers.
These early designs were characterized by a unification of the stage environment behind the frame of the proscenium arch. Generalizing - Ballet Russe scenography between 1909 and 1914 showed a concern with:

A use of period designs based on the study of history that was not at variance with the scenario.
A unity of motifs and design in both costumes and décor.
A unity of colour combinations which differed radically from the previously used monochrome settings and variegated costumes.
The use of a pervasive paint texture which linked all the scenic elements. This displayed a concept of scenography which was not based on an illusionistic presentation. This aspect was in direct accord with the symbolist theatre dictum (as reflected in the writings of Paul Fort) that "the stage should be seen as a theatrical environment and nothing more, an environment that may evoke otherworldly correspondences, yet still be recognized for what it was - an artifact".

The designers for the Ballet Russe did indeed evoke otherworldly correspondences in some of their works, this finding its parallel with Aurier's definition of symbolism. They also replaced illusionistic representations with symbols of place. Sometimes it would be in a subtler mode as found in Carnaval and Le Spectre de la Rose (where Nijinsky represented a symbol for the Rose). At other times, for example, Bakst would design works that were both vivid and bold in their conception - works such as Schéhérazade.

After the developments exhibited in Bakst's, Benois, Roerich's and Goncharova's scenographic works, Diaghilev's next presentations represented a climax, that was still painterly, but removed from the parochial experimentations of the 1909 to 1914 seasons. This may clearly be discerned in his first production after 1914, which was Parade presented in 1917. It is important to consider briefly the scenography of Parade, as it
furthered the painterly stage picture which had been inaugurated by the earlier designers for the Ballet Russe.

With Parade Diaghilev accepted, for the first time, the challenge of a totally avant-garde European painting style, and made the decision to look to Europe rather than back to Russia for design concepts in his repertory.

Parade, with the collaborative efforts of Satie (music), Picasso (Scenography), Cocteau (scenario) and Massine (choreography), was an extraordinary work pre-figuring a great deal about the tone of the art of the early twenties. These elements were found in its often humorous reference to the popular art of the music hall, its delight in the absurd qualities of contemporary life and the surroundings of the modern world - as in the appearance of skyscrapers in the costuming, (Figures 174 and 175). These structures designed by Picasso, as worn by the managers, (Figures 175 and 176), hint in their Cubistic construction at the subjugation of the dancer to decorative ideas, a factor which was to become increasingly prominent with the Ballet Russe during the twenties.

Diaghilev had met Picasso in 1916 in Paris, and had commissioned the design for Parade then. Crisp describes the ballet as:

The Petrushka of the avant-garde: this time the old Charlatan becomes the two preposterous Cubist structures (Figures 199 and 299) of the Managers and the hapless Dolls of Fokine's ballet became the rejected figures of Parade - a parade being a comic "trailer" to a travelling theatrical performance and the whole point of Parade is that despite the entreaties of the Managers and the appearance of the dancers nobody goes to see the show.

Thus, besides continuing the ideals formulated by the earlier Russian designers, Picasso also seemed to have relied on the earlier scenographic concepts as initiated by Benois in Petrushka. However, he extended these
The authors of the costumes did not limit their ideas to the two pieces of pink and green fabric, which were the bases for the costumes. Costumes and settings alike, in accordance with the theme of costume and setting, were painted in the gray or white, or colored, and many designs of flowers, leaves, and other motifs were worked into the fabric. The costumes were further enhanced by the use of mirrors, jewelry, and other accessories.

The designers of the costumes felt that the idea of the best costume design was to harmonize the sets and costumes, and to create a unified effect. The sets were designed to complement the costumes, and vice versa. This approach was inspired by the work of Picasso, who had a deep understanding of the relationship between the visual arts and the performing arts. The designers were particularly influenced by Picasso's use of color and texture in his paintings, which they incorporated into their costume designs.

The authors paid particular attention to the details of the costumes, such as the texture of the fabric, the way it moved, and the way it interacted with the actors. They worked closely with the performers to ensure that the costumes were comfortable and practical, while still maintaining their visual impact. The designers believed that the costumes were an integral part of the performance, and that they should complement the actors' movements and expressions.

In conclusion, the authors believed that costume design is an essential aspect of the production process, and that it should be treated with the same level of attention and creativity as any other aspect of the production. They hoped that their approach to costume design would inspire other designers to explore new and innovative ideas, and to push the boundaries of what is possible in the world of costume design.
The Classical style of the early Renaissance found in the roundness of some of the figures as well as in the use of columns, arches and landscapes that were to recur in his "Classical nude on the beach" series.

The general ambience of the work, with its mixture of the real - the Harlequin figures seated at the table - and its mythological, dreamlike presentation of the winged horse surmounted by an angel, prefigure aspects of Surrealism.

The frontcloth is impressive partly because of its size and was well received by contemporary critics. The scenographic concepts for Parade reflect Picasso's originality, and should be contextualized within the development of the painted stage picture format - begun as it was by Nemiro, Bakst and Goncharova. Parade could be taken as a direct continuation of the early scenographers' attempts, experiments and aims as realized in the painterly school of designers. Without the precedent set by Bakst, Nemiro, Rodtch and Goncharova these innovative avant-garde concepts may not have been realised on the commercial stage. It should be noted that other contemporary artists had been working in the areas of scenography during the 1909-1914 period, but these experimental works were only seen in the Art Theatre and not in the commercial venues. Artists such as Kandinsky had formulated abstracted painted décors for his experimental Sounds during the 1911-1913 period. This avant-garde influence on commercial theatre scenography was, however, limited. Picasso's designs for Parade were the first major contemporary scenographic experiments and were followed by the use of other avant-garde artists. These artists, especially those employed by Diaghilev, did not relinquish their personal style, the results being an increasing individualistic scenographic form. The artists Diaghilev employed were like a roll-call of all the major and lesser talents of the period:

Derain, Matisse, Gris, Morisot-Lapérouse, Braque, Henri Laurens, Chanel, Prada, Utrillo, Ernst.
It was through the employment of avant-garde artists (known by Diaghilev’s use of Picasso’s scenography in Parade), that one finds contemporary scenographers employing existing avant-garde art styles within their stage design format. For example, Michael English in his 1973 ballet setting for Whisky-Coca-Cola (Figure 205), depicts a Pop-Art setting where the bubbles from the painted, broken Coca-Cola bottle form a three-dimensional plastic element on the stage floor. The costume for this ballet is also noticeably contemporary—an element that can be traced back to kaschi’s use of contemporary costume in his 1913 production of Jeur.

In analysing contemporary scenography, or even contemporary ballet design, it must be noted that since 1914, many different and diverse movements and technological developments have influenced scenography. Thus, one could trace the development of Constructivism, Dadaism, Surrealism, the work of The Bauhaus, Formalism, Minimalism, and Expressionism on scenography. Certain technological developments in lighting—projected as in cinematic and photographic montage—have also been assimilated into contemporary scenography. As Balier states:

Scenography today cannot be labelled as easily as during the earlier part of this century. There are no more exclusive, painterly or plastic styles to be found in stage design. Scenography today can be termed eclectic, that is, using different stylistic concepts of design combined within a production— as long as they are workable and relevant to the given production. Naturally these could not possibly have come to fruition if the earlier painterly and plastic artists had not begun the revolution of scenicographic principles. The best term that could be applied to contemporary scenography is that of the multimedia Plastic Arts. By this is meant the use of all technology as well as Architecture, Painting and Sculpture.
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As Bablet argues, however, without the experimentation and innovation within the sphere of ballet costume and set design made by the scenographers of the 1909-1914 Ballet Russe seasons, the

... revolutions in stage design principles during the twentieth century may have taken longer to maturate, if indeed, come about at all.¹

This scenographic revolution which had begun with the Russian artists Bakst, Benois, Roerich, Golovin and Goncharova, working with the Ballet Russe prior to 1914, at its best, has led to a more positive extension of easel painting in scenographic endeavours. This aspect of ballet scenography - the employment of avant-garde painterly styles in design - is still prevalent in ballets which deal with abstract or contemporary themes. However, in more traditional classical ballets the concepts of scenography tend to revert to an earlier era of design. An exception would be Georgiadis' scenography, which is in closer alliance with those ideas formulated by Bakst and Roerich.²

The most important contributing factor was that scenography after 1914 followed existing artistic trends. There was no longer a pervasive unity of style, as found in most of the 1909-1914 Ballet Russe scenography, for the use of established artists appeared to encourage diversity and individualism. This was, indeed, a positive aspect in scenography. The negative consequence was due to the artist working in isolation; therefore an integration of scenography to the rest of the elements of the ballet such as scenario, choreography and music, was at times lacking. There was, therefore, no ideal of Gesamtkunstwerk or total theatre apparent in the more excessive designs. It would appear that Parade began this tendency in scenography especially if one attempts to analyse and integrate Picasso's front curtain with the rest of the
As Bablet argues, however, without the experimentation and innovation within the sphere of ballet costume and set design made by the scenographers of the 1909-1914 Ballet Russe seasons, the...

... revoluations in stage design principles during the twentieth century may have taken longer to maturate, if indeed, come about at all.¹

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scenography and the ballet as a whole.¹

Avant-garde design after 1914 appeared merely to re-create existing art forms, enlarging Cubist, Rayonist or whatever fashionable art movements onto the larger dimensions of the stage. They were the start of the eclecticism that has now become the norm as shown in the earlier Ballet quotation. This movement was at times harmful to the concepts initiated by the earlier designers of the Ballet Russe, in that the unity of the stage presentations was not always achieved and the performer was at times lost in the general exuberance of the décor.

The scenarios were also at times completely submerged in the egotistical interpretation of the designer.² This eventually led to what Clement Crisp claimed to be a reversion to the old type of stage design in ballets. As Crisp states:

> The swing of history's pendulum has brought back to the ballet design stage pictures a giggling fussiness and the mildest pseudo-romanticism, which had been completely exorcised by the early designers for the Ballet Russe.³

The designers working for the Ballet Russe between 1909-1914 did formulate a style of stage presentation which, because of its employment of the Gesamtkunstwerk theory, symbolism and the use of contemporary motifs and colour in their work, initiated a change in the aesthetic values employed in ballet scenography. Without their experimentation development in scenography may not have advanced as rapidly nor have been as successful in the painted stage environment.⁴
CONCLUSION : FOOTNOTES

p.315:1 This was not always the case, as seen in the discussion and illustration of the Swan Lake décor. (Figure 2), discussed and analysed in Chapter One.

p.316:1 Benois, A. Reminiscences, page 82.
2 The other aspects such as music, choreography and scenario have been evaluated but not analysed in as great detail.
3 As seen in the Ballet Le Sacre du Printemps, and to a lesser extent in The Firebird, analysed in text.
4 As seen in the Ballets Scheherazade, Caraval, L'Après-midi d'un Faune, and Le Cog d'Or, analysed in text.

p.317:1 A term, as has been explained in text, which is most frequently used in all scenographic literature, examples being:
1 Percival, J. The World of Diaghilev, page 91.
Ballet, P. Revolutions in Twentieth Century Stage Design, page 42.
2 Benois, A. Reminiscences, page 82.
3 Ibid. These artists also designed for Mamontov as well as Diaghilev (Boris Godunov).
4 Benois, A. Reminiscences, page 60. Further emphasizing his Gesamtkunstwerk ideal.

p.318:1 Ibid. In this statement Benois' ideology finds its parallel in Edward Gordon Craig's ideal of the Ubermarionette.
2 As discussed in analysing Vasnetsov's The Snow Maiden in Chapter Two.
3 Buckle, R. Diaghilev, page 205.
4 Ibid.
5 Discussed in text when analysing Petrushka.

p.319:1 There were exceptions, for example, Benois' designs for Le Rossignol of 1914 where none of the scenographic elements appeared to have been successful (as discussed when analysing this work).
The tights now displayed the body form (in Kobold and the Harlequin from Carnaval) in an abstracted costume silhouette, and in *Jeux* Bakst designed the first ballet to use contemporary dress.

This evolution is clearly delineated in this dissertation when analysing and comparing the ballets in their sequential, historical development.

In such ballets as *Le Pavillon d'Armide*, *Les Sylphides*, *Giselle*, *Le Coq d'Or*, and *Petrouchka* as noted in the discussion of these works.

Aurier's definition of symbolism is discussed in context in Chapter One.

*Le Coq d'Or* and *L'Aprèsmidi d'un Faune*, as noted in the discussion of these works.

According to Crisp and Clark this exhibition of personal style in scenography was, at times, too strongly expressive — this negating the Gesamtkunstwerk theory by submerging the work, and making it secondary to the scenography.
In all Georgiadis’ designs for classical ballet there is a deliberate attempt to unify every design element with the scenario and choreography as well as with the other design elements on stage. An excellent example is Georgiadis’ adaptation of a longer tutu for the Ballerina. Johan Engels and Peter Cazalet follow his example in South African scenography.

The commedia clown figure, the angelo, the very ‘stage’ presented do not really correlate with the side show scenography, with the American tap dancer, the Chinese Conjurer or the ‘managers’. Perhaps it was Picasso’s intention to shock by contrast; perhaps he was drawing parallels between the commedia travelling shows with the contemporary side show. Whatever his intention the visual aspects of the front drop curtain and the rest of the work are distinctly alien.

Examples being:
Larionov’s Le Speil de Nuit and Le Renard
Chagali’s The Firebird.
Rose’s Room of Ecstasy.
De Chirico’s Romeo and Juliet.
Arpino’s The Relativity of Icarus.
MacMillan’s Elite Syncopations, etc.

This statement does not deny the effect of the plastic scenographers on the scenographic development of the time (1905-1914).
APPENDIX ONE : AN ATTEMPT TO FORMULATE THE CONCEPTS OF FUNCTIONALISM AND AESTHETICS INTO A WORKABLE FRAMEWORK OF REFERENCE IN THE DISCUSSION OF THE WORK OF THE SCENOGRAPHERS FOR THE BALLET RUSSE

Functionality in stage designing is obviously not necessarily concordant with aesthetic quality. In a discussion of functionality, Osborne defines function in the context of aesthetics as:

The theory that beauty results from or is identical with functional efficiency. It was recognized that for useful objects, fitness or efficiency is an important quality. But the distinguishing between beauty in the sense of something that is good to look at and beauty in the sense of functionality is different.1

There is no reason to deny that perception of functional efficiency in a mechanism can be analogous to the appreciation of intellectual beauty in a philosophical or mathematical theorem. Visual beauty does not, however, necessarily relate to this concept. A watch or electronic instrument need not be aesthetically beautiful in order to be efficient. Further Osborne's hypothesis concerning the ideal of 'aesthetic-functionalism' is to be noted in the aesthetics of the observable function of the object - how the object is constructed or seen to operate. The idea of function as an aesthetic in itself was only partially considered by the scénographes for the early Ballet Russe productions.2 The concept of 'aesthetic-functionalism' considered by the Ballet Russe designers extended only as far as that propagated by the English Arts and Crafts Movement.

The Arts and Crafts Movement "brought a revival of artistic craftsmanship not of industrializ.3 (The aesthetics of function are, according to Pevsner, congruent with the use of mechanisation).4 The ideals of Walter Crane (1845-1915)
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and C. R. Ashbee (1863–1942) were employed by most of the artists working for the Ballet Russe, especially those who had previously worked at the Arts and Crafts Centre of Abramtsevo. ¹

The Russian designers were attracted to the ideals of synthesis of art and craft which, when put into practice in their stage designs, led to the scenographer replacing the craftsman in the theatre, which had not previously been the case. ² The scenographer simultaneously functioned as the artist, designer and craftsman.

Aesthetic functionalism was used in the theatre by the plastic school of designers as well as the Constructivist scenographers, but only came to full fruition after the First World War. These scenographers were to utilize the stage area and the structures within this space as constructed, functional objects, representing their functionality as constructed pieces in their own right, not disguised as settings other than those they represented. These designs, whether they consisted of multilevels and symbolic three dimensional structures, or scaffolding and mechanical machinery, were not considered or used by the pre-First World War scenographers for the Ballet Russe. The designers for the Ballet Russe regarded functionality as the utilizing of the stage format to its ultimate practical function, that of achieving a viable working space which corresponded to, and aided the scenario of the ballet as well as the movement and flow of the choreography, rather than hinder it as was the case in earlier ballet productions such as Swan Lake, (Figure 2).³ The functionality of the Ballet Russe settings did not exclude the use of symbolic structures,⁴ yet these were executed in a painterly manner and not in the abstracted structured format of the settings executed by Adolphe Appia, Gordon Craig, Malevich or Meyerhold. ⁵

¹Ballet designs before 1900 were sometimes functional in that they could be utilized in production - but they were
The term "aesthetics" tend to be generalized and the very nature and study of aesthetics is so complicated that for the purposes of this dissertation compact definition must be formulated (which is of necessity over-simplified).

In an essay on The History of Modern Aesthetics, Professor Ernest K. Mundt has pointed out that Immanuel Kant was the forefather of theories that separate aesthetic "form" from aesthetic "content". For a century and a half Kant's interpretation of "Intellectualism" and "Sensualism" has had the following effects:

His category of (a) "Desire" has been used for theories of sensualism and empathy by Vischer, Lipps, Lee and Wörringer. His category of (b) "Pleasure" and "Dissatisfaction" have led to the formalism and "pure visibility" of Herbert, Zimmermann, Fiedler, Hildebrand and Wölflin.

His category of (c) "Knowledge" has yielded theories of idealism that are maintained in terms of iconology by Panofsky. The writings of Alois Riegl may have acted as a catalytic agent among the twentieth century German Aestheticians, seconded only by Nietzsche's division of the arts into those having Dionysian and those having Apollonian characteristics. Kant's separation of "form" from "subject matter" is the primary principle which has provoked widely differing theories of aesthetics.

In his interpretation of Kant's concept of "aesthetics", Meyer Shapiro offers an alternative position to the division between aesthetic "form" and "content". Approaching style in the context of its broad usefulness for cultural history, Professor Shapiro points out that

... although there is no agreement concerning typologies of aesthetic style, the description of a style refers to three aspects: form, elements or motifs, form relationships, and qualities (including an overall quality which may call expression).
In Aesthetics To-day Shapiro has argued for an approach that advocates a unity of aspects - those of form, motif and relationship into an overall aesthetic expression, in order that an harmonious unit may be formed; the most important factor being that any work considered aesthetic must have "a unity of style and content". The idea that a stage design, in order to be considered aesthetic, must have a "unity" is an important factor in this work as it relates directly to Wagner's theories of Gesamtkunstwerk.

J. O. Dwyer and R. le Mage further claim that:

Fine Art is principally concerned with the production of works of aesthetic significance as distinct from useful or applied art which utilitarian in intention.

This statement could cause a problem as the term aesthetic, when applied to the area of stage design, presupposes the finished product to be both "beautiful" as well as "functional". A further pointer is that even the word "beautiful" is ambiguous. The contemporary use is often subordinate to the use of aesthetic. Roger Fry feels that aesthetics would explain the two distinct uses of the word "beauty". Firstly he refers to the aesthetic approval of works of imaginative art where the images presented are of extreme ugliness. Secondly Fry refers to "beauty" as "super-sensual". Here it is concerned with the appropriateness and intensity of the emotions aroused. When these emotions are aroused in a way that satisfy fully the needs of imaginative life, one experiences those heightened sensations because they possess purposeful order and variety in relation to those "emotions". Fry further states that the artist, when involved in the creative process, is aware of the type of emotion he intends the work to promote. The chief aspect of a work of art, according to Fry, is unity. Unity of some kind is necessary for evaluating a work of art. Therefore, if the Gesamtkunstwerk theory is
applied correctly, as it was by the designers for the Ballet Russe, the work would have unity and could, possibly, be considered a work of art.

Herbert Read echoes Fry's theory of aesthetics and adds another dimension to the theory of "aesthetic appreciation" which is particularly relevant to this dissertation. He regards a work of art as a natural phenomenon, an object on which to focus with uniform scientific precision. Many theories of aesthetics have proceeded this assumption. Read claims that Theodor Fechner, the father of modern aesthetics, first introduced the factor of association into the field of aesthetics in 1867. Since then much theorising has been done on what might be called the subjective aspects of art appreciation:

A work of art, however concrete and objective, is inevitable in its effect: it demands the co-operation of the spectator, and the energy that the spectator puts into the work of art has been given the name "empathy".

In artistic contemplation one does not find in the particular object "our real self" but only "something physical". The liveliness of a red is not our vivacity, but there is

... in the specific object (for example in the perceived or imagined red) something vivacious and it is this which radiates back and gives our self the corresponding quality. One must not call these recognised feelings but, more accurately, feelings of empathy.

The German word Einfühlung - "feeling into" - is, according to Vernon Lee

... derived from the verb "to feel oneself into something" ... and as it is now consecrated and no better occurs to me, I have had to adopt it, although the literal connotations of the German word have surrounded its central meaning.

A simpler definition by Martin Buber was that:

Empathy means to "glide one's own feeling into
the dynamic structure of an object, a crystal or the branch of a tree and, as it were, to trace it from within, understanding the formation of the object with the perception of one's own muscles: it means to "transpose" oneself over there and in there.¹

The theory of empathy, as applied to the sphere of scenography, should be a guiding factor, because in any aesthetic judgement the very nature of the experience - especially the theatrical experience - demands involvement.

Taking these viewpoints, the term aesthetic - for the purpose of this work - would signify a visual statement that has unity: a unity in form, style and content. This would also include a sense of empathy inherent within the stage picture presentation.

"Functional-Aesthetic" would, therefore, mean that:

Scenography must serve the purpose or function for which it was designed. The completed stage design would have elements of aesthetic beauty. The most important aspect of this aesthetic beauty (taking the meaning of "beauty" from Fry’s explanation) would be that it contains a unity of all principles - those of colour, form, style and content.

Besides this basic definition of "functional-aesthetic" there are other factors which must be considered in the area of aesthetics and scenography. One of these was formulated "by the great Russian innovative director and designer Vsevolod Meyerhold in the 1920’s."² Meyerhold adopted the dictum of the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer who clarified, in the 1850’s, that:

A work of art can influence only through the imagination. Therefore it must constantly stir the imagination. To stir the imagination is the essential condition of aesthetic activity as well as the basic law of the Fine Arts. Whence it follows that a work of art must not give everything to our senses but only as much as is necessary to direct our imagination on the right track.³

In using this theory Meyerhold added that: "In the theatre
the spectators' imagination is able to supply that which is left unsaid.\footnote{1}

This "imaginative" content of aesthetic appreciation of theatrical work was rephrased by Susanna K. Langer. Langer had made various efforts to contribute to the theory of aesthetics. Her theories were founded on the assumption that what one experiences in a work of art is "feeling in a beautiful and integral form".\footnote{2} In other words, the art object is "symbolic" in so far as its "expressive form expresses the feeling that it contains directly".\footnote{3} In this respect art is not like language. It is a language one does not learn but comprehends immediately by the "peculiar impression it always makes".\footnote{4}

With both Meyerhold's and Langer's theories the fact remains that too little is known about the nature of language, to say nothing of the unsolved problems regarding the nature of "imagination" or "feeling". However, these are important considerations in the study of the aesthetics of stage design. They fall partially under the banner of empathy but digress sufficiently from the definitions of Spranger and Rüber to be included in this survey. Yet they are essential elements in the formulation of an aesthetic theory which would be viable for discussion concerning the application of the modes of criticism applied within the framework of this dissertation.
APPENDIX ONE : FOOTNOTES


2 This was not to be the case in the later Ballet Père productions from 1917-1928.

3 Nimmer, N. Pioneers of Modern Design from William Morris to Walter Gropius, page 75.

4 Ibid.

p.333:1 As discussed in Chapter Three.

2 As discussed in Chapter One when analysing the role of the craftsman in stage design.

3 As discussed in Chapter One when analysing the Swan Lake décor.

4 As discussed in Chapters Three to Seven - especially noticeable in Le Pavillon d'Armide and The Firebird when the 'tabs' were not lowered during scene changes.


2 Mundt, E. Three Aspects of German Aesthetic Theory, page 77.

3 Oxford Dictionary, page 792.

"Form" : "To place in order, arrange, also to embody". As applied to the area of Stage Design - the arrangement of décor and properties in combination with costumes to form a unified whole.


"Content" : "That which is contained in a conception; the substance or matter (of cognition, of art, etc.) as opposed to the "form" - as applied to Stage Design - the entire design as a unit.

5 To be discussed on pages 336-337.

6 "Pure visibility" - a term denoting "pure vision" or unencumbered visual stimulus or reaction.

7 Dionysian - pertaining to the "pleasurable" senses - from the Greek God, Dionysius.

8 Apollonian - pertaining to the esoteric senses, on a level above the purely physical reaction of the Dionysian - from the antique God, Apollo.

9 Shapiro, M. Aesthetic To-Day, page 81.
Dryer and Le Mage. *A Glossary of Art Terms* (no page numbers given).


Ibid.

**Footnotes:**

2. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Buber, M. *Die Rede, Die Lehre, und das Lied*, page 39.

Williams, R. *Artists in Revolution*, page 31.


Ibid. Also hinting at the symbolist theatre dictate as stated by Paul Fort.

Phillipson, M. *Aesthetics To-Day*, page 144.

Ibid.

Ibid.
APPENDIX TWO : A BRIEF DISCUSSION REGARDING THE USE OF LIGHTS AS PRACTISED BY THE SCENOGRAPHERS FOR THE BALLET RUSSE

It is of importance for the scenographic concepts employed by the designers for the Ballet Russe, to discuss the manner and use of lighting they employed for their settings, especially the sources from which they derived their knowledge on how to light the painted scene.

The scenographers employed by Diaghilev must have been aware of the theories of coloured light on pigment as laid down by Ogden Rood. Rood’s book Colour (1879) had been used as a handbook for most of the Post-Impressionist artists, especially Seurat. Seurat, though probably indebted to Delacroix, “studied the scientific theories of colour harmony by analogy and contrast enunciated by Chevreul and Rood.”

The scenographers of the Ballet Russe were aware of Seurat’s theories, as derived from Rood’s treatises, as they had been published in Mir iskusstva, Volume XI, Number 3. Therefore, it may be assumed that they were influenced by Rood’s ideas on the effects produced by illuminating coloured surfaces by coloured lights.

In addition to the theory of light on coloured pigment, especially in the area of stage design, the following factors must be taken into consideration: Light, daylight or sunlight, is white or “colourless” until the light waves are separated. When any white light is split up by a prism the constituent colours emerge. To get the colour required from a lamp, a filter is fitted that allows only the colour of the filter to penetrate. A blue filter will absorb green, yellow, orange and red waves and allow the blue waves to reflect on to the stage.

Colour filters work in much the same way as colour pigments.
A blue pigment, for example, will absorb yellow, orange, red and green and reflect the blue waves back to one's retina. Therefore, the seen object is blue because it absorbs all other colours, and a light seen as blue has had all other colours removed (the "additive" and "subtractive" theories). An object or light reflecting all colour waves is seen as white.

The effects of the mixture of coloured lights and their absorption on painted settings and coloured costumes can be explained in the diagram below:

![Diagram showing light interaction with pigments]

In this illustration it can be noted that a purple light is seen as red on reflection. A yellow pigment reflects yellow, orange and red and absorbs blue - a purple light falling on such a surface will appear red, since the blue will be absorbed and the red reflected.

In the study of the effects of coloured light on a painted stage cloth, the eye will see the same colour as it would
If a radiant flux were uniformly distributed throughout the light spectrum. From Grassmann's third law, the following principles of light, time and pigment mixtures can be noted:

If the tristimulus values of the first light are $R_1$, $G_1$, $B_1$, and those of a second light or painted area are relative to the same primaries (that is, the painted presentation and the lighting projected on this presentation) $R_2$, $G_2$, $B_2$, the tristimulus values $R$, $G$, $B$ are likewise time-weighted averages. A further pointer is that stage lighting, due to the variety of coloured gelatines utilized, such as straw, steel or red, when used simultaneously, tend to be additive, with very little of a subtractive element of light/colour change being evident.

These general principles can be applied to any colour of light falling on any other colour or pigment. The following chart shows only the primary colours of light falling on primary colours of pigment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PIGMENT</th>
<th>RED</th>
<th>GREEN</th>
<th>BLUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Dark brown</td>
<td>Dark purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Green/Blue</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that these colours are approximations only, depending entirely on the purity of light and pigment.

The practical application of the colour and light mixing of primaries during the seasons of the Ballet Russe presentations was best seen with the use of the cyclorama batten. This was lighting where red, green and blue components are mixed in varying proportions by dimmers to produce any hue or tint in the spectrum.
The colours mentioned are suitable for use on the cyclorama or painted backdrop for sky change effects (down through to dusk), thus adding partly to the dimension of expressive decoration in that the decor would alter visually in accordance with the scenario of the ballet. These filters were at times not suitable for general lighting on acting areas, which usually demand a greater intensity of light from the fresnel or spotlighting because of their depth of colour. This is still true. It would, therefore, be noted that when scenographers— and this applied to those working for the Ballet Russe—used lights to change the aspects of the painted scene, they would use a conglomeration of coloured filters. The pigments would either become darker, lighter, more golden or pink, but would not alter the 'unreal' measure. This would generally not be required by the scenographer.

The designers working for the Ballet Russe found that they could light their painted scenery very effectively by using a number of straw (golden yellow) filters. These filters had the effect of giving a:

Golden haze to the painted foliage, which was painted in a loose brush-stroke manner, comprising of areas of yellow, green and blue pigment.

In addition Benois and Bakst used colours for shadow in preference to the use of black. The scene itself appeared diffused by light, not only achieved through stage lighting but also initially painted to give the impression of a time of day. Buildings and trees were bathed in painted and projected light. These lighting theories were first used extensively in Le Pavillon d'Armide, altering the painted scene and thus creating a stage design that was not only decorative but contained expressive elements due to the changes of light intensity.
APPENDIX TWO : FOOTNOTES


3 Hogget, C.  *Stage Craft*, page 194.


2 Spencer, C.  *Bakst*, page 43.

3 As discussed in the sections dealing with *Cléopâtre*,  *Schéhérazade*, and *Thamar*. 
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GLOSSARY

BALLET:

Abstract Ballet: The term designated to a ballet without plot, concerned only with the pursuit of choreographic aims (as opposed to the story-orientated Ballet d'action).

Adagio: Any slow dance movement: the central part of the traditional movement (contrasted with allegro).

Air: Designates various musical forms from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, mostly based on sixteenth century dance-songs.

Air, en l': A succession of movements executed in the air— for instance, tour en l'air.

Allegro: As a term for tempo it means quick, lively.

Arabesque: One of the fundamental positions in ballet. The body is in profile, supported on one leg; the other legs extended behind at an angle of 90 degrees, while the arms are held in various harmonious positions striving for the longest direct line from the fingertips to the toes.

Attitude: A position of the body inspired by Giovanni da Bologna's statue of Mercury.

Bacchanale: Originally the ancient Roman orgies of Dionysus or Bacchus. A very popular form in ballet, in the nature of a divertissement of character-dances.

Ballabile: The term for a group or corps de ballet dance without solos.

Ballet Blanc: Designates a ballet in the Classical style in which the danseuses wear white tulle skirts.
Balletomane: A person suffering from balletomania - a term coined to designate originally the intense form of partisan ballet interest of Russian ballet audiences during the nineteenth century.

Ballon: Designates in ballet the capability of a dancer to seem to pause for a moment whilst jumping in mid-air.

Bourrée: A French folk dance in 2/2 time, with a strongly accented rhythm and a skipping turn.

Cabriole: Designates a leaping step in which the stretched legs are beaten in the air, with the lower leg beating against the upper one, so that it is sent higher, after which the landing is made on the lower leg.

Character Dance: General term for all kinds of theatre dance outside the bounds of the Classic-Academic dance derived from traditional, national, or folk dance sources - also the dance of artisans and guilds.

Choreography: The sense in which it is used today is to describe the art of composing a dance or a ballet.

Commedia dell'Arte: The popular Italian type of improvised comedy, with stock characters such as Harlequin, Columbine and Pantaloon.

Concerto: A ballet in three movements.

Corps de Ballet: The whole body of dancers of a ballet company.

Csárdás: Derives from the Haj du tanz, the dance of the Heiducks. Hungarian in origin. Steps are not fixed but are in two parts - a slow and melancholy Lassu and a rapid Fríszka, with many turns and leaps.

Divertissement: The term is used for an arrangement of soli, pas de deux, and smaller group dances within the concert programme of dances.
Élevation: Designates the capacity of a dancer to attain height in springing steps.

Entréchat: Designates a criss-crossing of the legs before and behind each other while the dancer is in the air.

Eurythmics: Means rhythmic order in Classical Greece and also movement and gracefulness.

Extension: Designates the capability of a dancer to raise and hold the extended leg in the air.

Farandole: A very old French dance in compound duple time from Provence.

Five Positions: The basic positions of the feet in ballet:

First position - feet form a straight line with heels touching each other.

Second position - feet again in a straight line, but approximately a small step apart.

Third position - feet parallel are placed one in front of the other so that the heel of the front foot fits into the hollow of the instep of the back foot.

Fourth position - one foot is placed in front of the other, separated by the distance of one step.

Fifth position - the feet are parallel and placed one immediately in front of, but not touching the other, so that the big toe of the back foot just protrudes beyond the heel of the front foot.

Galop: A lively North German round dance in 2/4 time.

Gavotte: A gay dance in 4/4 time and steady rhythm.

Gigue: A lively dance in 6/8 or 12/8 time.
Gopak (also Hopak): A lively dance from the Ukraine in dupletime.

Grand Pas: Designates a series of individual dance numbers, consisting of entrances for the ballerina, premier danseur and the corps.

Leotard: A tight-fitting, practice and stage garment.

Lezginka: A Russian folk-dance from the Lezgis (a tribe from Daghestan) in fast 6/8 time.

Mazurka: A Polish folk-dance from Mazovia, in lively 3/4 or 3/8 time.

Mime: The art of 'story-telling', expressing a mood or emotion or describing an action, without resorting to words.

Minuet: A dance of small steps in triple time.

Pirouette: One or more turns of the body.

Pas: In ballet terminology, generally used with certain characteristics, also used to specify a certain form - examples -

Pas d'action - for a dramatic scene.
Pas seul, Pas de deux, Pas de trois - meaning a dance for that number of dancers.

Pointe: To dance on point means at the extreme tip of the toe; ballet terminology differentiates between sur la pointe (on full point), à trois quarts (raised on the flexed toes), à demi (on the ball of the foot), au à quart (on the ball of the foot, with hardly raised heels).

Polonaise: A festive Polish national dance.

Port de Bras: Carriage of the arms, corresponding to the five positions of the feet.

Préparation: Designates in ballet getting into position for a movement requiring special effort.
Porteur: The male 'carrier' of the Ballerina — meaning lifting off the ground and promenading.

Tour en l'Air: Describes a movement in which the dancer turns while leaping vertically into the air.

Trepak: A lively Ukrainian dance in 2/4 time for males only; with squatting steps and split leaps.

Tutu: The ballet skirt, made from several layers of taffeta, silk or nylon, which has become the standard female ballet wear since Taglioni's appearance in La Sylphide (1832).

M U S I C:

Abstract Music: Use of music which is considered not to describe or relate to any musical concept such as phenomena of nature or human activity.

Adagio: Indication that the music is to be performed at a slow, relaxed pace.

Allegro: The term indicates a fairly fast tempo.

Alto: The term used to describe the second highest part reached in pitch.

Andante: Indicating a steady, flowing tempo.

Andantino: Indicating a somewhat faster tempo than the above.

Aria: (Italian 'air'). A melody for solo voice or instrument.

Arpeggio: A broken chord in which notes are played in succession with an effect, whether on the piano or other instrument, reminiscent of the harpist sweeping the strings.

Cadenza: A passage in a concerto in which the solo instrument performs.

Campanella: Bell sound. (Without the orchestra).
Cantabile: In a flowing style; from the Italian 'singing'.

Cavatina: A type of short song, or instrumental piece in a similar style.

Coda: A concluding section to a piece of music or part of it.

Concerto: A work for solo instrument, or instruments, and orchestra.

Da Capo: A direction from the Italian 'from the beginning'.

Divertimento: A musical form primarily of the Classical period. It was for instruments and was in a number of short movements.

Divertissement: Similar to the above though the music may be based on popular tunes.

Down-beat: The first beat in a bar.

Dynamics: The variation of volume from loud to soft.

Entr'acte: A French term for music that may be played between acts.

Fifth: A musical interval.

Glissando: 'To slide' - applies to the effect deliberately achieved by dragging the fingers across the keys of a piano or the strings of a harp.

Harmonics: Notes derived by lightly placing at a specific point, a stop on already vibrated string instruments; a stop setting up the vibrations to ring clear.

Impressionism: Term used in painting. However, Debussy was much attracted by their work and his music, as well as that of Ravel, has something of the same quality.

Incidental Music: Music written for stage plays.
Interlude: A short dramatic entertainment sometimes given between acts of a larger work.

Legato: A direction for smooth performance without detached notes.

Libretto: The text of an Opera or Ballet.

Moderato: Indicates a moderate pace.

Molto: Italian, 'much' or 'very'.

Pesante: Italian, 'heavily'.

Presto: Italian, 'fast'.

Symphonic Poem: A one-movement form for orchestra. The work is symphonic because of its dimensions and poetic because of its non-musical programme.

Tempo: Italian 'time'.

Theme: A musical figure, usually melodic, providing the initial material of which a movement is built up.

Tone-Poem: A one-movement form for orchestra. The work is short, usually depicting the 'tone' of place or person, in poetic or non-musical programme form.

Vivace: The Italian for 'lively'.

Valse: A dance in a lilting triple time.

Valse Noble: Taken at a slower tempo.

Scenography:

Act-Drop: The name given in the late eighteenth century to the painted cloth which closed the proscenium opening between acts during performance. Later developed to the Front Curtain.
Apron: The forestage extending into the auditorium beyond the proscenium arch.

Backcloth: Sometimes called a 'backdrop'. A scene canvas across the width of the upstage, fixed at the top and bottom.

Backing: Any flat or cloth behind doors or windows to mask parts of the stage that should not be seen.

Bar: An iron pipe above the stage for carrying lighting equipment and scenery. Fastened in a vertical position, it is called a 'boom'.

Batten: (1) Electrical - the compartment trough carrying a set of lamps divided into 3 or 4 circuits. (2) Scenic - length of timber for tightening backcloths at top and bottom.

Border: Horizontal flat or curtain, hanging from bar or grid to mask lights and/or ceiling from the audience.

Box Set: An enclosed setting that has three walls and usually a ceiling.

Cyclorama: A curved or straight backcloth hung at the rear of the stage. Used as sky or background and lit as required.

Dimmer: (Correct electrical term: Rheostat). An electrical appliance which varies intensity of light.

Downstage: Towards the audience.

Elevation: Side view drawing of units or parts shown on the ground plan.

False Proscenium: A smaller temporary 'proscenium' of flats or cloths behind the main proscenium arch.

Flat: A rectangular wooden frame covered with canvas, hardboard or other material. The unit of which most scenery is composed.
Floors: The space above the stage where sets can be flown or taken up.

Flood: Lamp giving a wide spread of light.

Footlights: An electrical batten at the front of the stage at floor level.

Fresnel: A spotlight with a soft-edge lens.

Front of House: Term sometimes applied to the auditorium area.

Front of House Lighting: Spotlights positioned in or above the auditorium area to illuminate the forestage.

Gauze: A transparent cloth for scenic effects.

Gelatine: A colour filter for lighting. In early lighting coloured glass was used.

Ground Row: (1) Electrical - batten lighting for a cyclorama at stage floor level.

(2) Scenic - a flat lying on its side across the stage concealing lighting, and giving the impression of ramparts, undulating ground, etc., according to the shape of its cut-out top edge.

Inset: A small scene within a larger setting. Canvas wings, hanging vertically as side masking.

Lighting Plot: Refers to the sequence of lighting control. The use of different lights, i.e. coloured insets to change the colour and intensity of the directional light. This would effect a transformation, i.e. from dawn through midday to evening.

Mask: To hide parts of the stage from the audience.

Profile Spot: Hard-edge spotlight, also called a "mirror spot".
Properties (Props.): All objects on stage too small to be classified as scenery - they include all furniture.

Proscenium: The stage opening that separates the audience from the actors on the traditional type of stage.

Return: A flat leading off at right angles to another.

Reveal: A return, as used in Petrushka, to suggest depth; in the case of this ballet - to the false proscenium arch.

Stage Cloth: A cloth laid over the stage to reduce noise; where used it is painted to match the setting; also known as the floor cloth.

Stage Left: Right of stage, looking from auditorium.

Stage Right: Left of stage, looking from auditorium.

Tabs: Curtains.

Trap: A door in the stage floor for special effects and entrance.

Truck: A mobile rostrum carrying a section of the setting resting on wheels or ball-castors.

Upstage: Towards the back of the stage.

Wings: (1) The flats masking the sides of the stage.
(2) The sides of the stage masked from view by the wings or wing flats.
(3) Legs - hanging canvas wings.
DEDICATED TO MY FATHER AND MOTHER

VICTOR AND PAULINE ROUMANOFF
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INSTITUTIONS:

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