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Speaking Looks: A Conversation about Costume with Edward Gordon Craig, Léon Bakst, and Pablo Picasso

Annie Holt

Edward Gordon Craig perceived a vast difference between his design work and the design of the famous Ballets Russes—he called the Ballets Russes designs “unimportant” and “trash.”¹ Many early theater historians followed Craig’s lead in framing them as opposing schools of scenography, focusing on their differences in dimensionality. The Ballets Russes designers, made up almost exclusively of painters, are often considered “the gorgeous sunset of scene-painting” in the two-dimensional baroque tradition, typified by the painted canvas backdrop, whereas Craig’s “artist of the theatre” innovatively used three-dimensional objects such as architectural columns or stairs (Laver, “Continental Designers,” 20). Shifting the spotlight from set design to costume design, however, reveals that these artists may not be as far apart as they seem.

Attention to costumes allows us to hear a new kind of conversation between the work of Craig and two Ballets Russes designers—Léon Bakst and Pablo Picasso. All three men came to costume design as non-specialists, with backgrounds in the visual arts rather than clothing, a relatively unusual situation at a time when costumers often rose through the ranks of a costume construction house, or crossed over from fashion design.² I argue that in terms of costume design, during the decade 1910–20 the three artists actually shared a similar aesthetic style, which mixed both flat and plastic (or three-dimensional) elements. It is precisely the play between these two elements that gave these costumes their style, meaning, and pleasure. In the works *Hamlet* (Craig, 1911–12), *L’après-midi d’un faune* (Bakst, 1912), and *Parade* (Picasso, 1917), we can observe the emergence of a non-naturalistic, multi-dimensional costume design—a style Craig called “noble artificiality” (Craig, *On the Art*, 35; his emphasis). The conflict between these designers is less about the aesthetics or dimensionality of the costumes, and more about their semiotic value. The complex relationships between surface and depth, present in both Craig’s work and the Ballets Russes designs, engage questions of costumes’ “speaking” and legibility onstage: what do costumes communicate and how can they be read? Together, Craig, Bakst, and Picasso develop costume design as a fresh channel of expression on stage; however, each artist introduces a different hermeneutic model for understanding costumes’ communicative power.

All three artists’ work was shaped by the non-verbal, non-textual genre of dance. Craig’s commitment to architectural scenic elements was connected to his belief in movement as one of the primary elements of theater art.³ Costume designs of fine artists for the Ballet Russes were also heavily influenced by dance, of course. Alexandre Benois (a painter and close collaborator with Bakst) wrote that “It is essential in ballet to differentiate between theory of décor and theory of costume Décor is the ‘background’ in front of which something is performed—that something being nearly always detached from it. Costume, on the other hand, takes a part in the performance itself and aids the actor in creating the character demanded by the context” (Benois 177). This idea of costume as an integral part of the

dancer's performance points towards a theme that the Ballets Russes costume designs share with Craig: the tension between the (three-dimensional) performing body and the (flat) garment. All of these designers grapple with costume's liminal status as an object that exists somewhere between scenography and the body.

Bakst's costume for Nijinsky in *L'après-midi d'un faune* (1912) played with the fusing of costume with body: Nijinsky's wife Romola recalled that the Faun costume "was painted by Bakst in a coffee colour with big brown spots, which were disposed in such a manner, continuing on to the bare arms and hands, to give the impression it was the skin of a Faun itself, and the difference between flesh and costume could not be discovered. ... one could not define where the human ended and the animal began" (quoted in Farfan 85). While the blurring effect between body, character, and costume was certainly heightened by Nijinsky's star persona, it was also a product of Bakst's demonstrated interest in costume as a part of a moving body (Farfan 85).

Faune contains perhaps one of the most well-known costume pieces in western theater history: in the scandalous last moment of the ballet, the faun takes a scarf left behind by the lead nymph, caresses it, and lowers his body onto it with a movement suggesting masturbation (Garafola 57). A studio photo shows Nijinsky carrying the scarf in two outstretched arms, as if performing a *pas-de-deux* with the fabric; while becoming completely detached from the nymph's body, the scarf at the same time *becomes* her body. [Figure 1] Rather than the scarf standing in as a synecdoche for the whole body of the nymph, the scarf is in some ways interchangeable with her body. Extending this even further, the scarf may actually be more important or pleasurable than the nymph herself—in fact the most important thing in the ballet other than the faun. Bearing out this interpretation, Bakst's sketch for the faun, which was also used as the ballet's program cover, depicts the faun with the scarf [Figure 2].

Left: Figure 1. Nijinsky as the Faun in the premiere of *L'après-midi d'un faune*. Baron Adolph de Meyer, photograph, May 29, 1912.

Original publication: *La Prelude a l'Après-midi d'un faune*. Paul Iribe, Paris, 1914.

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Right: Figure 2. Nijinsky as the Faun in *L'après-midi d'un faune*. Léon Bakst, illustration, 1912.

Public domain. Wikimedia Commons. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=210679>

Figure 3. Nymph costume design for *L'après-midi d'un faune*. Léon Bakst, n.d.
Public domain. Wikimedia Commons. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=16464801>

Faune combined this moving, three-dimensional costume with its opposite, static or flat costume. The faun costume sketch is strikingly different in style from the sketches of the nymphs—the faun is shown in a twisted posture that gives depth to the figure, surrounded by curving lines. The nymphs, however, are sketched in a style evoking bas-relief—their poses are strikingly two-dimensional [Figure 3]. While the faun is shaded to show dimensionality, the nymphs are drawn in a primitivist style, without shadow. Contemporary accounts suggest that this difference is related to movement; the sketches' artistic styles mirrored the different ways the faun and nymphs moved in the ballet. The nymphs remained in flat poses, as if walking along a line laid down at the back of the stage; the faun, however, broke this two-dimensional conceit, using varying depths of stage space.⁴ The costume sketches clearly reflect these differences in choreography, and may even have suggested them: the two-dimensional movement may have been Bakst's idea, or at least co-created by him with Diaghilev.⁵

Figure 4. Hamlet greeting the Players. Edward Gordon Craig, book illustrations. The Cranach Press *Hamlet*, 1930, pages 62 and 63. Special Collections, Claremont Colleges Library, Claremont, California. Reproduced with permission of the Edward Gordon Craig Estate.

Craig also experimented with “flat” costumes, along the lines of Bakst’s nymphs, in his designs for the 1912 Moscow Art Theatre *Hamlet*. Craig worked in an unusual medium, which already contained different dimensions, from the beginning of the design process: he primarily communicated his ideas to the Moscow team through his “black figures.” These were, first, cardboard cut-outs he made for his small model stage, and later woodcuts, inked to provide impressions; they became well-known as the illustrations to the Cranach Press edition of *Hamlet*, published in 1928⁶ [Figure 4]. As Jennifer Buckley argues, the black figures already present a dimensional tension, in the difference between the “three-dimensional ‘actors’ [meaning the original cut-outs] and as two-dimensional prints” (Buckley 215). It was difficult for the MAT staff to figure out how to translate these rough images into actual garments, and this production had a complicated and difficult design process; by the time it got to performance, another designer was given partial credit in the program (along with Craig) for the costumes,⁷ and some actors were even claiming to have designed their own garments (Senelick 158). After seeing the final dress rehearsals, Craig complained about the execution of his costume designs, but he also had a chance to make some corrections: the week before opening, “he carved a medallion for Kachalov to wear [as Hamlet] and fashioned a headdress to suit his ideas” (Senelick 151–52). Even with so many designers involved, the costumes do show a resemblance to Craig’s black figures, exhibiting a tension between two- and three-dimensionality similar to the designs of the Ballets Russes.

Figure 5. Hamlet and Daemon. Edward Gordon Craig, book illustration. The Cranach Press *Hamlet*, 1930, page 70. Special Collections, Claremont Colleges Library, Claremont, California. Reproduced with permission of the Edward Gordon Craig Estate.

One of the most iconic costumes is Hamlet's tunic. While Lawrence Senelick attributes this costume to one of the artists (Dobuzhinsky) called in to assist, in fact the basic idea for the costume appears in Craig's designs as early as 1904.⁸ Even more significantly, Craig's black figure for Hamlet with the daemon of death⁹ [Figure 5] shows Hamlet wearing a long, narrow tunic similar to the finished costume, although the actual garment's ornamentation is not present in the black figure. While producer Nemirovich-Danchenko described this "narrow, long" costume as "not what people expect in 'Hamlet'" (quoted in Senelick 123), it would not have been so unexpected for Craig: it recalls the depiction of Hamlet in a cassock by Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1858), a painting Craig likely knew well.¹⁰ The choice of color—"grayish blue" with darker accents, instead of the "sable" specified in the text (Senelick 157)—links the garment to Symbolism; earlier French Symbolist theater performance often used costumes "divorced from the colors of real objects ... they tended towards veiled 'mood' colors, or at least a palette limited to blue, grey, and brown tones" (Rischbieter 12). In this costume and numerous others, a sculptural effect is created through the use of heavy, simply-cut garments, which often hang to the floor (Claudius, Gertrude and Ophelia all have floor-length robes in both Craig's black figures and in photographs). [Figure 6] The ornamentation on Hamlet's tunic and his medallion (carved by Craig himself), however, recall the heavy, flat outlines of the black figures.

Figure 6. Russian actors Nikolai Osipovich Massalitinov and Olga Knipper as Claudius and Gertrude in Edward Gordon Craig and Constantin Stanislavski's production of *Hamlet*, 1911. Photographer unknown. Public domain. Wikimedia Commons.<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2983342>

This three-dimensional presence extends to Craig's grouping of the costumes together; in the striking court scene (1.2), he creates a tableau in which the King and Queen's cloaks flow over the assembled courtiers, melding all the figures into one fabric sculpture (except Hamlet in the foreground) [Figure 7]. Costumes become architecture in this scene, creating the space with fabric and making the bodies disappear into the set. Something similar happens in the last moment of the play, when the huge banners of the victorious army are laid down and draped over the bodies of Hamlet, Laertes, Claudius and Gertrude, which lie on some steps center stage; here, the bodies become indistinct from each other and from the architecture. Craig felt that the realization of these two scenes, along with the Mousetrap, most closely matched his vision (Senelick 158) [Figure 8].

This last scene, however, also shows an interesting flatness. In the final tableau, Fortinbras appears in what Senelick describes as "archangelic guise": a flat halo attached at the back of his costume, echoed by a large circle, superimposed over a cross, decorating the center of his long straight tunic (Senelick 172). These geometric forms are repeated by the sword held up to form a cross, center stage, and the circular shield on stage left. These elements are reminiscent of Russian icon painting, with its painterly stylization and two-dimensionality. Ornamentation motifs on the costumes—Hamlet's tunic in particular—could also be also read as suggesting a kind of stylized traditional Russianness, very similar to the aesthetic that the Ballets Russes popularized in Western Europe. This tension or conversation between sculptural effect and stylized flatness comes directly from Craig's working models. What the black figures offer, like traditional Russian icons and Léon Bakst's designs for the nymphs of *Faune*, is not depth—there is rarely shading—but rather a two-dimensional *representation* of three-dimensionality, communicated in the heavy lines indicating folds of fabric.

Figure 7. Stage design for Act 1, Scene 2 of *Hamlet* at the Moscow Art Theatre, directed by Constantin Stanislavski. Edward Gordon Craig, 1908. *Towards a New Theatre*, 1913. Public domain. Wikimedia Commons. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2978894>

Figure 8. Photograph of the final scene of Edward Gordon Craig's production of *Hamlet* in 1911 at the Moscow Art Theatre.
 Photographer unknown – Novosti Press Agency.
 Public domain. Source: Wikimedia Commons. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2988998>

The following year (1913), Craig wrote in *The Mask* that “The Russian Ballet is essentially the ‘Art’ which is created by the Body. Its perfection is physical. Its appeal is to our senses, not through them. Having excited them it has done its task. It makes no further effort. It is sensuous art and not spiritual” (Craig, “The Russian Ballet,” 8). Here, Craig seems to be attacking the Ballets Russes on the grounds that they are only about surfaces: appealing “to our senses, not through them,” unlike theatrical Symbolism, which used a precise configuration of material elements to access a higher plane of metaphysical meaning. Craig elucidates his point in an earlier article, where he comments on Bakst’s costumes for women: “Bakst is ugly because of his clumsy sense of the sensual. All his women (and he is never tired of putting them before the public,) are drugged and in a kind of sofa orgy. They seem to hate ecstasy and they adore a good wriggle. The costumes he puts them into are mute; they want to speak and cannot” (Craig, “Kleptomania,” 99). For Craig, the sensuous material body (especially the female body) muffles the expression of the costume, which cannot “speak” its higher truth over the loudness of the body. The themes Craig raises here—the material body and/as the sign, perception through the senses, visual images as communication or speech—recall the preoccupations of theatrical Symbolism a generation earlier. Craig’s use of the metaphor of speech points our attention toward the double importance of surface and depth in costume design—as metaphors, in understanding what or how costumes *mean*.

Bakst also thought of costumes as communicative, but rather than Craig’s speech metaphor, he used the language of music. In 1915 he told a journalist:

I have often noticed that in each color of the prism there exists a graduation, which sometimes expresses frankness and chastity, sometimes sensuality and bestiality, sometimes pride, and sometimes despair. This can be felt and given over to the public by the effect one makes of the various shadings ... (ellipsis in the original) The painter who knows how to make use of this, the director of the orchestra who can put with one movement of his baton all this in motion, without crossing them, who can let flow the thousand tones from the end of his stick without making a mistake, can draw from the spectator the exact emotion he wants him to feel. (quoted in Roberts 265)

Bakst's emphasis is on emotion—even emotional manipulation—rather than information, music rather than speech. While Craig thought that Bakst's costumes “appeal ... to our senses, not through them,” Bakst is here suggesting that he attempted to go through the senses, not to the viewer's intellect, but to an emotional response. This music metaphor also reminds us of Symbolism (with its fascination with Richard Wagner) but Bakst doesn't seem to share their anxieties about the material body.

Pablo Picasso offered a third model of costumes-as-communication a few years later, in the ballet *Parade*. Premiered on May 18, 1917, with a scenario by Jean Cocteau, choreography by Leonide Massine, music by Erik Satie, and design by Pablo Picasso, the ballet was identified from the beginning with avant-garde art. Robert Hansen writes that “Picasso's designs for *Parade* were the most radical expression of cubism realized on the stage” (Hansen 59). This widely-held opinion of *Parade* as the pinnacle of Modern painterly abstraction onstage stems mainly from two controversial costumes, for the French Manager [Figure 9] and American Manager [Figure 10]. Created as wearable sculptures of wood and cardboard, they were almost ten feet tall when worn, completely concealing the dancers' bodies and greatly limiting their movement. Deborah Menaker Rothschild's excellent description is worth quoting at length, since extant photos can be difficult to decipher:

[The American Manager] encapsulated the artist's and Cocteau's notion of a country they had never seen. It was a notion derived largely from cinemas and advertising, which combined stereotypes of the rural West and the urban East. The American Manager sports cowboy chaps, a cowcatcher, and an oversized bullet holster vest, as well as a skyscraper complete with smoking chimney ... (Rothschild 167)

A few pages further on, she continues:

By contrast the French Manager epitomized the haughty elegance of a cosmopolitan dandy, complete with the tree-lined boulevard along which he might stroll, attached magnate-like to his back. In black top hat, tie and tails, a ballet master's baton in his hand, he was a thinly disguised caricature of Diaghilev—the facial division into black and white a reference to the impresario's distinguishing streak of white hair. (Rothschild 171)

The other characters in the ballet were costumed in a contrasting style; as Kenneth Silver points out, “at least as important as the Cubist qualities of the ballet are the non-Cubist, and largely traditional, aspects of *Parade*, not only Picasso's designs for the costumes of the Chinese Magician, the Acrobats, and the Little American Girl, but also that of the great painted overture curtain” (Silver 89). The strongest contrast to the Managers is probably the Little American Girl, wearing a contemporary costume bought directly from a department store.¹¹ Her many choreographic film references (such as her Charlie Chaplin shuffle) are underscored by the cinematic realism of her costume, in stark contrast to the abstraction of the Managers. Contrasting in a different way with the Managers, for the Female Acrobat's costume Picasso painted the “design of blue lines and whorls directly onto the white tights which [dancer] Lopokova was wearing” (Cooper 26), in a fusion of skin and costume which recalls Bakst's faun. In a 1917 article, Bakst himself noted this division of the *Parade* costumes, which he saw as “one group true to outer reality, the others creatures of Picasso's fantasy” (quoted in Rischbieter 46). The interesting thing about this observation is that, diegetically, the inside/outside positions are reversed: in the scenario of the ballet, the Managers are outside of a theater, trying to get passers-by to enter, while the performers wait inside (and make brief appearances outside as advertisements for the show). But it is the outside characters (the Managers) who are costumed fantastically, while the inside characters (the performers) wear garments “true to outer reality.”

Figure 9. French Manager costume for Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes performance of *Parade* at Théâtre du Châtelet, Paris, May 18, 1917. Pablo Picasso, costume design. Photographer unknown. Public domain. Wikimedia Commons. <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?curid=44865159>

Figure 10. American Manager costume for Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes performance of *Parade* at Théâtre du Châtelet, Paris, May 18, 1917. Pablo Picasso, costume design. Photographer unknown. Public domain. Wikimedia Commons. <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?curid=44864384>

Figure 11. Painted curtain for the ballet *Parade*, 1917. Pablo Picasso. On display at the Centre Pompidou-Metz, Metz, France, n.d. Bava Alcide57, photographer. Public domain. Wikimedia Commons. <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?curid=38043957>

Picasso's investigation of the relationship between these two groups (and their respective relations to illusion and reality) takes on another level with the costume for the third "Negro" Manager. Picasso designed a third manager figure as a horse costume/sculpture, built for two performers (under the apparatus) and ridden by "a dummy of a Manager in blackface and evening dress ... modeled on blackface cakewalk dancers"; however, the rider puppet kept falling over and was cut in the dress rehearsal, leaving the horse to do a short solo dance, without music, at the premiere (Cooper 26). Since there wasn't any music to fill, it seems significant that the horse was retained even when the Manager dummy didn't work out, indicating that it had a more important function in the ballet than simply as a gag bit. There is a horse and rider (or more specifically, a unicorn with a winged fairy standing on its back) on the painted backdrop; by juxtaposing this painted image with the horseback manager, Picasso showed a duplicate figure in two versus three dimensions [Figure 11]. The painted horse/horseback manager serves to focus the audience's attention on the contrast between flat (painted) and plastic (sculptural) forms onstage. Taken together, Picasso's two different kinds of designs for *Parade* demonstrate the opposite extremes of actor/costume fusion—the Manager costumes obliterate the performers' bodies and restrict almost all their movement, while the Acrobat costumes act merely as an enhancement of the performer's skin. The duplication of the horseback manager and the painted equine on the backdrop suggests an even more radical option: costume without body at all.

In the program note for the premiere, Guillaume Apollinaire wrote that in *Parade*, the design "is a question, above all, of translating reality. However, the subject is no longer reproduced but merely represented; indeed, rather than represented, it is to be suggested" (quoted in Rischbieter 83). Though he famously identified the style of "Parade" as "sur-réalisme" in closing (quoted in LoMonaco 32), his use of the word "suggested" has a strong association with the earlier aesthetic of Symbolism, in which the audience was supposed to be able to intuit a higher truth through the images. Art historian Werner Spies

goes a step further, viewing Picasso's scenography in *Parade* as a kind of visual writing: "Picasso's stage picture is no longer a picture in the traditional sense: it is a script, a kind of pictorial transparency that has to be read by the spectator" (quoted in Rischbieter 82). As Spies may have known, these costumes were in fact substitutes for text: Cocteau originally wanted offstage spoken words evoking a carnival barker's pitch, as well as sounds such as a typewriter and an airplane taking off, but Satie and Diaghilev did not like the idea of interpolating spoken text and other noises into the ballet. Picasso came up with the idea to create Manager characters (not present in Cocteau's original scenario) who would represent advertising and commercialism (Rothschild, 132–33). In Picasso's first preparatory sketches of the Managers, they wear sandwich boards with writing on them (sketches published in Rothschild 94). According to a contemporary article, Picasso convinced his colleagues of "how effective it would be to exploit the contrast between three characters as 'real' as pasted 'chromos' in a canvas and the more solemnly transposed unhuman [sic], or superhuman, characters who would become in fact the false reality on stage, to the point of reducing the real dancers to the stature of puppets" (quoted in Cooper 21).¹²

This description of the *Parade* costumes leads directly back to Craig. Picasso here evokes a Craig-ian übermarionette that would destabilize the usual hierarchy between costume and performing body, making the human performers into puppets. Craig wanted to replace the living actor in order to "do away with the means by which a debased stage-realism is produced and flourishes. No longer would there be a living figure to confuse us into connecting actuality and art" (Craig, *On the Art*, 81). Picasso's vision is perhaps even more radical, in seeking to "exploit the contrast" between the Manager figures and the human dancers in order to call attention to the "false reality" of the stage. By placing the übermarionette alongside the performing body, Picasso's designs for *Parade* go beyond doing away with stage realism and move in the new aesthetic of "sur-réalisme." To continue with Apollinaire's terms, the ballet turns on a kind of visual "translation" in which costumes can represent or suggest text.

Rather than marking out opposing positions, the costume designs of Craig, Bakst and Picasso work together to shape the unfolding trends of costume in the early twentieth century. Although each chooses a different model for costumes' expression—speech, music, or textual translation—all three designers use costume to communicate something about the overall production and to shape the spectator's experience of it. In order to do this, they depart from realism: the three share what early-twentieth-century critics called "stylization," or abstraction. The play between flat and three-dimensional elements, both literal and metaphorical, is a key part of this style; as Robert Edmond Jones neatly summed it up, design after the turn of the twentieth century is about "allusion, not illusion" (Jones 136).

In addition, all of these designs spill out of the theatre, straining the boundaries of "stage design." For both camps, the costume sketch became newly important, in a further twist of the "flat/three-dimensional" divide. Craig attacked Bakst for discrepancies between sketch and finished costume, accusing Bakst of caring more about the fine art drawing than the theater object (Craig, "Kleptomania," 100), but Craig himself also privileged costume renderings. Often, he published or exhibited his sketches as items in their own right even when not part of a real production; his and other books of collected costume designs began to appear in the teens and twenties.¹³ This importance placed on the rendering itself can be seen as a part of these designers' inheritance from Symbolism: the sketch alone allows a focus on pure design, as art, separate from the materiality of the performer's body or the craft of creating the actual garment. The apotheosis of the sketch also worked to divorce the art of costume design from its craft—sewing—which none of these designers practiced in a serious way. Together, Craig and the Ballets Russes resulted in the growth of a new kind of specialized, professional costume designer: an artist rather than a craftsman, who expressed ideas or abstract qualities in his work.

NOTES

1. J. de S., "Foreign Notes: Paris," 40. "J. de S." is very likely an alias for Craig himself; Innes has identified 17 of 20 regular contributors to *The Mask* as aliases of Craig (Innes 214).
2. We can think of costume design as an incipient profession at the turn of the nineteenth century. While professional costume designers certainly existed as far back as the baroque era, they were relatively rare, and design choices were more often "attributed to the actor's art rather than to the tailor's work, or the actor-manager's aesthetic vision" (Monks 125). In general, professional costume design was more likely to occur during this period in high-budget, high-status theaters (often state-supported or relying on noble patrons) and for premiere productions. Revivals, tours, and lesser theaters (the majority of theatrical entertainment) were more likely to rely on actors to provide their own garments, or to select whatever was most appropriate from the theater's stock. Professional designers, when they were employed, usually had a strong connection to the craft of sewing, for example, fashion designers such as Lucy Duff-Gordon or Paul Poiret. One notable exception existed in London, where the emphasis on historical accuracy promoted by Charles Kean's mid-nineteenth-century Shakespeare productions led to the use of "archeologists" or "antiquarians," meaning a gentleman-scholar who served as historical or artistic advisor for a production; Craig's father the architect Edward Godwin served this function in a few productions. For further reading on costume design history, see James Laver; Paola Bignami; Sofia Gnoli.
3. Biographer Christopher Innes points out that this opinion was influenced by Craig's liaison with dancer Isadora Duncan: "For Craig, perfect movement created a mystical union with the universal rhythms of nature in such a way as to directly express the soul ... the model for this metaphysic of movement was Isadora Duncan" (Innes 114).
4. Russian critic Anatolii Lunacharskii complained that "the naturalistic half-goat sufficiently differs from the angular marble women ... the nymphs 'walk along a rope' but the faun several times goes off to center stage." From his article 'Russkie i nemetskie noveshstva,' in *Teatr i iskusstvo*, 1912, translated and quoted in Rabinowitz, 10.
5. Arnold Haskell writes that Diaghilev and Bakst "resolved to make of the ballet a moving bas-relief, all in profile, a ballet with no dancing but only movement and plastic attitude—the inspiration for all this being solely Bakst's" (quoted in Garafola 52). Garafola sees this account as biased, suggesting that Nijinsky was actually responsible for more of this concept; regardless of who had the initial idea, however, Bakst was involved in the creation of the ballet at the concept level, and laid out its core movement in his costume designs. Garafola suggested the "co-created" terminology in a personal conversation of March 19, 2013.
6. Because the Cranach Press *Hamlet* edition was published sixteen years after the production, there has been much scholarly discussion about whether the black figures correspond to Craig's actual designs for the MAT *Hamlet*. Most conclude that the black figures do represent Craig's intentions as a designer before the 1912 production, and in the absence of more of his watercolor sketches, the black figures are the best available documentation of Craig's wishes. Many of the watercolor sketches are either lost or never existed—a point of dispute between Craig and Stanislavski detailed in Senelick, 147. See also Brian Arnott; Marjorie Garber; Dennis Kennedy.
7. Quoted in Senelick, 154. From sources currently available in English, it is unclear when Sapunov became involved, and whether Dobuzhinsky also had a hand in the finished product or not.

8. See a sketch marked "Projet pour Hamlet, 1904" in which the Hamlet figure wears a long robe, in Arnott, 20.
9. Craig's initial idea was that Hamlet's death-wish would be personified and follow him around, drawing nearer during moments like "To be or not to be," but Stanislavski vetoed this.
10. Craig's mother, Ellen Terry, was associated with the Pre-Raphaelite movement (her first marriage was to G.F. Watts). Although she never sat for Rossetti, they were part of the same social circle. See for example Valerie Cumming.
11. LoMonaco (40) recounts a charming story about Picasso taking the dancer portraying the American Girl shopping for the costume; other accounts claim that the costume was pulled from a theatrical costume stock. All agree, however, that the costume was of the moment.
12. Cooper cites this only as "*Nord-Sud*," a Cubist review founded by poet Pierre Reverdy, without date. By "as 'real' as pasted 'chromos,'" the writer probably refers to the technique of chromolithography, a method of color printing developed in the nineteenth century and often used in advertising. The implied image, I believe, is of a color poster pasted to the side of a building—i.e., the realistic characters look like "real" advertising.
13. Besides Craig's *Towards a New Theatre*, see Mrs. [Eliza Davis] Aria or Robert Mason.

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