**Costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet: A Material History Analysis**

by

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## Abstract

In the early-twentieth century, ballet companies were beginning to form across the United States. This study explores selected costumes worn by founding members of the early-twentieth century Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet dance company and a variety of historical documents pertaining to the company from the collection of the Museum of Performance and Design to explore how the makers of the garments used exotic influences as inspiration which helped to develop a new genre of ballet in the United States. These sources will help answer the question: how can the analysis of costumes shed light on the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet? Few researchers have observed the costume artifacts addressed in this study despite their importance as material records of what may be the first independent American ballet company. The artifacts constitute the main supporting evidence for the study and are contextualized by a variety of biographical documents, including a published biography of Andreas Pavley, two autobiographies by Serge Oukrainsky, newspaper clippings, and other media-related sources like programs, photographs, and private correspondences from Oukrainsky and the later owners of Oukrainsky's personal collection. All primary sources come from the Museum of Performance + Design in San Francisco. Using a material culture methodology, four costumes are explored in case studies: a loincloth, torso ornament, cuff, and crown. The descriptions, deductions, and speculations of each artifact are combined with primary and secondary sources of information about the company in order to contextualize and understand the role of dress in the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet and, indirectly, the place of the dance company in early-twentieth century America.

# Preface

This thesis is an original work by Josée M. Chartrand. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Edmonton and Districts' Quilters Guild, The Founders Graduate Scholarship, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for their financial support to my research and education. The Museum of Performance and Design for accepting to host me through my graduate practicum, and for introducing me to the history of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. My instructors in the Department of Human Ecology for encouraging me to transfer to a thesis-based program, particularly Dr. Deanna Williamson who first made the recommendation. Vlada Blinova and Dr. Jane Batcheller for their help identifying fabrics, as well as the Center for Writers and the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for sponsoring writing retreats, conferences, and tutoring.

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# CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

This thesis introduces the history of what may be the first American ballet company independent of an opera through a collection of material and biographical documents housed at the Museum of Performance and Design (MP+D) in San Francisco.[1] Worn by members of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet throughout the 1920s, the garments in this collection provide a material history of the company. The artifacts are accompanied by a collection of photographs, performance reviews, programs, private correspondences, and biographies documenting the history of the company co-founded in 1922 by Serge Oukrainsky (1885-1972) and Andreas Pavley (1899-1931).[2] These sources will help answer the question: how can the analysis of costumes shed light on the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet? It is important to note that the word "costume" is commonly

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[1] Andreas Pavley and Serge Oukrainsky started performing under the name Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet as early as 1915, but they first started to market themselves as the "Real American Ballet" for their 1919 production of *Boudour* in collaboration with the newly reformed Chicago Opera Company. See Serge Oukrainsky, "My Life in Ballet," unpublished manuscript, last modified circa 1950, print, Museum of Performance and Design, collection (coll) 230, box 4, series 6, folder 36-37, San Francisco, United States of America, 30, 45. They would not however officially credit themselves as being the "First American Ballet" until they took their company on tour with them to South America in 1922. See ibid., 108. Neither Pavley nor Oukrainsky were from the United States, but they became naturalized citizens and all of the members of their company were Americans and trained in their Chicago school. See ibid., 53, 80. My research identifies the Atlanta Ballet (founded in 1929) as the potential second oldest company in the United States, see "About Us," Atlanta Ballet, https://www.atlantaballet.com/about (accessed February 21, 2018). The San Francisco Ballet (SFB) (founded in 1933) may be the third oldest, see Janice Ross and others, *San Francisco Ballet at seventy-five* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2007), 25. The issue of which is the oldest is dependent on what constitutes a ballet company. If a ballet company was contracted to perform an original production with an opera, and that performance was marketed as such, then the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet would be the first. Alas, both Atlanta and SFB have laid claim to that position in history. For Atlanta Ballet, see "About Us," Atlanta Ballet, https://www.atlantaballet.com/about (accessed February 21, 2018). For SFB, see Ross and others, 25.

[2] For 1922 foundation, see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 153-158. For Biographical documents, see Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227-231, box 1-5, series 1-7. For co-foundation by Serge Oukrainsky, see Serge Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlowa*, trans. I. M. (Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York: Suttonhouse Publishers, 1940), back cover. For co-foundation by Andreas Pavley, see Arthur Corey, *Danse Macabre: The Life and Death of Andreas Pavley* (Richardson, Texas: The Havilah Press, 1977), 38.

used in fashion history in relation to every day dress.[3] In this paper the term "costume" will be used exclusively to define garments worn in performance and not to indicate every day dress or fashion. The MP+D has had Pavley-Oukrainsky costume artifacts in their collection since 1979.[4] Limited research has been conducted on the costumes or the company that used them. The artifacts and biographic documents at the MP+D provide information about the founders' careers, and the challenges of managing an independent dance company in the early twentieth century.

This thesis is organized into five chapters to address how the analysis of performance costumes can shed light on the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. Chapter one introduces the historical functions of the costumes by the dance company as well as the contemporary museum context of the collection as both uses serve to answer the research question. Since the costumes themselves have a past and a present context, it is important to address their changing environment and subsequent changing meaning to grasp how these material sources can be used as historical evidence. The education-oriented mission of the MP+D led to a graduate practicum/internship in the summer of 2017.[5] I was able to articulate a research question that could be investigated on site, which then expanded into a thesis after my departure. The early twentieth-century contextualization can provide the reader with a basic understanding of the individuals and

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[3] For example, James Laver's and Amy De La Haye's book *Costume and Fashion* is a survey of historic dress.
[4] Museum Accession Records, Collections: Serge Oukrainsky 979.029, Museum of Performance and Design, letter to Malcolm McCormick (Donor) from Russell Hartley (Director of San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts (now the MP+D), November 30, 1979.
[5] The MP+D mission is to "keep the unfolding history of the performing arts in the San Francisco Bay Area alive. [They] collect, preserve, and make accessible materials on performance and theatre design to support learning, appreciation, and creativity within a world-wide community of artists, researchers, and the general public." See "About MP+D," https://www.mpdsf.org/who-we-are/ (accessed May 14, 2018).

institutions involved and the geographic settings where the ballet troupe evolved. This approach enhances the evaluation of the design and construction of the artifacts studied. The analysis will take into consideration the interactions between costumed performers and audience members at the time of performance. The historical contextualization is then joined with a description of the artifacts' presence in a museum collection to understand why they may have been collected and conserved for contemporary audiences and researchers. The changing meanings of the costumes in their transition from active (i.e. worn on moving bodies) to passive (i.e. collected and displayed in a static way) roles will be explored. This will be done to establish the objectives of the study and explain its limitations. Chapter two reviews the literature on dance performance costume research, with a special focus on performance in the early twentieth century. This section will advocate for the overall historical significance of performance costume, providing evidence for how the research question for this thesis can be answered. Chapter three will review material culture methods, and critically examine the methodologies used by other researchers who have studied performance costumes grounding this thesis within the field of material culture. Chapter four will undergo an object analysis of four costume components (a crown, a loincloth, a torso ornament, and a cuff) selected from the MP+D to enhance the documented history of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, thereby allowing Chapter five to further contextualize, interpret, and understand the company's historical significance.

## 1.1 The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet

The artifacts at the center of this study were worn during performances of the Pavley-

Oukrainsky Ballet and, as such, an understanding of ballet as well as the lives and journeys of the founders of the dance troupe can help situate the pieces under scrutiny and address their role as historical documents. This thesis is structured to address the field of material culture rather than history. As a result special emphasis will be placed on the objects and their context but the histories of the individuals associated to the costumes will be taken into account. It is also worth noting that, to remain within the scale of a master's thesis, the sources used to explore the historical context of the costumes central to this study have been overwhelmingly sourced from documents found at the MP+D.

Ballet has existed as "[a]n artistic dance form performed to music, using precise and highly formalized set steps and gestures" since mid-seventeenth-century Italy.[6] It has evolved into a Eurocentric artistic spectacle enshrined in elitism, culture, and history.[7] In 1909, Serge Diaghilev (1872-1929) debuted his Russian Ballet in Paris and became an influential figure in early twentieth-century dance worldwide: Diaghilev's company would dominate European ballet for the following twenty years.[8] At this time, the art of ballet was beginning to develop in the United States via touring international artists, and performances in opera/opera-ballet houses in major cities including New York (Metropolitan Opera) and Chicago (Chicago Grand Opera Company).[9] The performances by domestic troupes did not

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[6] *OxfordDictionaries.com,* s.v. "Ballet," https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ballet (accessed July 17, 2017).
[7] Mary Collins and Joanna Jarvis, "The Great Leap from Earth to Heaven: The Evolution of Ballet and Costume in England and France in the Eighteenth Century," *Costume*: *Journal of the Costume Society* 50, no. 2 (October 2016): 169.
[8] Martha Bremser, ed., *International Dictionary of Ballet* (Detroit, London, Washington DC: St James Press, 1993), s.v. "Les Ballets Russes de Serge Diaghilev," by Carol Egan, 94-95.
[9] For New York, see Lindsey Grites Weeks, "Anna Pavlova (1881-1931)," *Dance Heritage Coalition* (2012): 1, http://www.danceheritage.org/treasures/pavlova_essay_weeks.pdf (accessed September 11, 2017). For Chicago, see Chicago Historical Society, *Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 2004),

exist as separate ballet entities independent from an opera company. An example of a foreign touring artist who did this is Anna Pavlova (1881-1931). Pavlova, formerly of the Russian Imperial Ballet (passing the entrance exam to the Imperial Ballet school in 1891 and giving her last performance at the Maryinsky Theatre, residence of the Russian Imperial Ballet, in 1913), performed in Diaghilev's Russian Ballet (season of 1909), established her own touring company, and performed across Europe North and South America, Africa, Australia and Asia until her death in 1931.[10] As a peripatetic performer, her success was her legacy. Pavlova's work generated an appreciation of ballet worldwide, but the training of new ballet dancers in Europe and the United States was chiefly left to other players in the industry.[11] Access to primary source documents, such as those in the Oukrainsky collection, can help develop a deeper understanding of the evolution of ballet and dance education in the United States during Pavlova and Diaghilev's careers, while simultaneously broadening our knowledge of the forgotten players that helped to advance the field.

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s.v. "Opera," by Thomas Bauman, http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/933.html (accessed September 11, 2017).

[10] The higher in the ranks of the Russian Imperial Ballet Pavlova rose, the higher her pay, and the longer her annual leave to travel and perform outside of the imperial theatres increased. It appears that she elected to perform in Diaghilev's inaugural Russian Ballet season on one of these leaves. Selma Jeanne Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation, eds., *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Pavlova, Anna," by Roberta Lazzarini, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-1340 (accessed December 11, 2018).

[11] For global appreciation, see Bonnie G. Smith, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), s.v. "Pavlova, Anna," by Catharine Theimer Nepomnyashchy. For Ruth Page, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Page, Ruth," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100300933 (accessed December 11, 2018). For Anna Ludmilla, see *Revovly,* s.v. "Anna Ludmila," https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Anna%20Ludmilla&item_type=topic (accessed September 11, 2017). Pavlova established a home base in Hamstead, London (Ivy House) in 1912 where she did on occasion teach, but the studio was also a space for rehearsal and practice. See *Who's Who in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v. "Pavlova, Anna," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100311693 (accessed May 1, 2018).

The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet emerged as Pavlova was touring the United States and expanded the field in several ways. Pavley and Oukrainsky came to the United States with Anna Pavlova in 1913 but they separated from her troupe in 1915 to establish themselves independently.[12] According to American writer Ann Barzel the process was fraught with problems, but, in 1922, they successfully created and presented the first American ballet independent from an opera company's management.[13] The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet began forming under the aegis of the Chicago Grand Opera Company in 1915.[14] Even after breaking off from this entity, they remained associated with the Chicago Grand Opera Company until Pavley's death in 1931.[15] Both Pavley and Oukrainsky were ballet masters, choreographers, and stars in their own productions, which remains an unconventional practice today.[16] Together they opened a school to train dancers specifically for their productions and hosted annual summer training camps in South Haven, Michigan.[17] During the fourteen years that the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet School operated, the duo instructed hundreds of ballet dancers and teachers.[18] Publicity documents for the school indicate there were courses offered predominantly in Chicago, but also in South Haven (their summer classes), Los Angeles (after Oukrainsky moved West), and New

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[12] Corey, 38.
[13] For instability and independent troupe, see Ann Barzel, "Chicago's 'Two Russians': Andreas Pavley and Serge Oukrainsky," *Dance Magazine* (USA), June 1979, 89-90. For 1922, see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 108.
[14] The Chicago Grand Opera Company was renamed the Chicago Civic Opera Company in 1922. See *Revovly,* s.v. "Chicago Civic Opera Company," https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Chicago%20Civic%20Opera%20Company&item_type=topic (accessed September 18, 2017).
[15] Corey, 116.
[16] Ibid., 52.
[17] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 228, box 2, series 3, folder 14, "The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet School Summer Class Announcement Season 1924-1925," ca. 1924.
[18] Barzel, 67. Also in Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 55.

York.[19] They shaped and influenced renowned performers, including *première danseuse* Anna Ludmila, who would, in turn, open her own studio in 1933.[20] As a result, Pavley and Oukrainsky's influence on the field went beyond their own productions and shaped generations of dancers who followed in their footsteps. If the legacy these two pioneers had on dancers and educators is considered, one may wonder how pivotal dance costumes were to their company and if the artifacts selected from the MP+D collection were of a type that had an impact on other American companies and performances.

The accomplishments of Pavley and Oukrainsky in the dissemination of dance—both as performers and educators—across the United States are wide-ranging but, for the purpose of this research, a focus will be placed more prominently on Oukrainsky because more information on him is available through the published and unpublished materials at the MP+D.[21] He was born Leonide Orlay de Carva in Odessa (a port city now in Ukraine) in 1885 to a Russian aristocratic family.[22] He spent most of his childhood commuting between Paris and Odessa, and was educated in multiple Paris lycées.[23] His father wanted him to become a diplomat, but he was more inclined towards the world of art.[24] As a young man, he wanted to be a painter and had little interest in ballet until 1910 when, at a dinner

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[19] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 228, box 2, series 3, folder 14, "The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet School Summer Class Announcement Season 1924-1925," ca. 1924; Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 228, box 2, series 3, folder 14, "Special Coast to Coast Summer Courses Taught Personally by…Andreas Pavley and Serge Oukrainsky" 1926-1927, ca. 1926.
[20] *Revovly,* s.v. "Anna Ludmila," https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Anna%20Ludmilla&item_type=topic (accessed September 11, 2017).
[21] Oukrainsky (1885-1972) lived much longer than Pavley (1892-1931), and the archive at the MP+D is in possession of a large series of his private correspondences, chiefly among them are Oukrainsky's autobiography, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, and an unpublished manuscript, *My Life in Ballet,* documenting his career between 1915 and 1931.
[22] Corey, 17. Also in Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 118.
[23] Barzel, 67. Also in Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 5.
[24] Corey, 19. Also in Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 6-7.

party, the ballerina Natalie Trouhanova observed that his physique would be well suited to ballet.[25] This compliment was well received by the young Leonide, and with the surprising approval of his father, a man who had once dreamed of a career in opera, Leonide (later known as Serge) gave up painting at the age of twenty-five to enroll in private ballet classes with dancer, ballet master, and choreographer Ivan Clustine (1862-1941).[26] Six months later, Leonide performed his first pantomime role in Trouhanova's festival, and, three years later, he made his "real début" in the world tour of Anna Pavlova's dance company.[27] Clustine had arranged a dance audition with Victor Dandré, Pavlova's manager and future husband, in Paris for his protégé who had the unusual ability to dance barefoot on *pointe*.[28] At the time, to dance on *pointe* "for men [was] very rare, and it appears" that he was the first to ever do it without the support of *pointe* shoes.[29] Dandré invited him to audition for Pavlova in London, which led to his hiring for a two-year tour.[30] The young dancer negotiated his contract to do only solo and contemporary works: this exempted him from the large traditional dances that were difficult on the knees and impossible to stand out in.[31] It was for this tour that he "Russianized" his name to Serge (a name he admired)

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[25] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 13.
[26] For father, see ibid., 13-14. For private lessons and giving up painting, see ibid., 17-21. For Ivan Clustine, see Selma Jeanne Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation, eds., *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Clustine, Ivan," by Suzanne Carbonneau, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-0391 (accessed December 11, 2018).
[27] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 60-61.
[28] For audition, see ibid., 51. For ability to dance barefoot on *pointe*, see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 1. For Victor Dandré, see *Who's Who in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v. "Pavlova, Anna," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100311693 (accessed May 1, 2018).
[29] Barzel, 68.
[30] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 51.
[31] Ibid., 56.

Oukrainsky (meaning of the Ukraine).[32] During this tour he met Pavley, another hired dancer and an individual who would have a major impact in Oukrainsky's life and career.[33]

Andreas Pavley was born Andres Hendricus Theodorus van Dorph de Weyer in Batavia, Java, in 1892 to a Dutch family.[34] The family moved to Holland in 1899 where he began dancing at the age of 13.[35] He spent a year and a half in Geneva under "rhythmic gymnastics" and music teacher, composer, and theoretician Émile Jacques-Dalcroze (1865-1950), who nurtured his supple movements into a contemporary and musical *plastique*.[36] Following ballet custom, he Russianized his name, and, by age 17, was already performing and choreographing (when possible) in both England and Holland.[37] In 1913, Pavley joined Anna Pavlova's dance troupe for her two-year world tour.[38] Starting in the *corps de ballet*, Pavley continued his training on tour under dancer, ballet master, and choreographer Enrico Cecchetti (1850-1928), and later under Ivan Clustine.[39] With their schooling, Pavley slowly

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[32] Odessa is in the Ukraine, but Oukrainsky always identified as being Russian, not Ukrainian. His account of his motivations in selecting Oukrainsky as a last name was for its interesting phonetic and aesthetic qualities as a written word. See ibid., 57-58.
[33] Corey, 24.
[34] Ibid., 4.
[35] Barzel, 70.
[36] Corey, 5-7. In dance, the term *plastique* is defined as "slow changes of position like moving sculpture without marked rhythm or dramatic theme in dancing." For *plastique,* see *Merriam-Webster.com*, s.v. "Plastique," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/plastique (accessed July 25, 2017). For Jacques Dalcroze, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Jaques-Dalcroze, Émile," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110810105153368 (accessed August 28, 2018).
[37] For performing and choreographing by age 17, see Corey, 6-7. Because of the significant role Diaghilev's Russian Ballet had over Western ballet, and its decent from the Imperial Russian Ballet, professional dancers would select a stage name that implied Russian descent. This tradition continued with students of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet School in the United States. See Corey, 40.
[38] Barzel, 70. Also in Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 53, 63.
[39] For "Enrico Cecchetti," see *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Cecchetti, Enrico;" and Barzel, 70.

worked his way into more prominent roles.[40] Both Oukrainsky's and Pavley's stories were thus intertwined with Pavlova's.

According to Oukrainsky's 1940 memoir, dancing with Pavlova was both a blessing and a curse. She surrounded herself with incredible dancers but would never let them outshine her. For instance, when Oukrainsky was put under contract to perform in Pavlova's tour, the choreography from his audition piece, a *Persian Dance,* was absorbed into Pavlova's larger work *Oriental Fantasy*.[41] It allegedly received too much attention and was thereby moved to an earlier part of the program so it would garner less attention.[42] While the restrictions placed on Serge's dancing made it impossible for him to gain recognition from critics and the general public, Pavlova's name and skills ensured large audiences and a steady income.[43] In addition to being an accomplished dancer and choreographer, Serge had an eye for costumes, which is consequential to this study as he likely had a hand designing the costumes evaluated later in this paper.

During his time with Pavlova from 1913 to 1915, Oukrainsky rose to prominence and began designing costumes to enhance his own and other dancers' performances.[44] Most notable was the dress he created in 1914 for Pavlova's *Gavotte.*[45] Among his more prominent roles was dancing in *The Dance of the Hours*, a part originally choreographed

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[40] Barzel 70.
[41] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 72.
[42] Ibid., 71-72. Also in Corey, 28.
[43] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 185.
[44] Corey, 31. For being paid one pound per [costume], see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 145.
[45] See Anna Pavlova, Ballerina, ca. 1915, "*Gavotte*," Photograph, Getty Images, https://www.gettyimages.ca/detail/news-photo/ballerina-anna-pavlova-in-gavotte-news-photo/3071736#circa-1915-ballerina-anna-pavlova-in-gavotte-picture-id3071736 (accessed September 20, 2018). Serge was not happy with the adjustments made to realize his design (length of train and size of bonnet) feeling they made the costume less authentic, but the role and costume nevertheless became famous. See Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 69-70.

for Pavlova.[46] It is unknown if he created the black flowing cape he wore for the role with *pointe* shoes, but dress nevertheless played an important part in this performance. His ability to dance *en pointe* in and out of *pointe* shoes allowed him to stand out, providing him the opportunity to develop a reputation and a following. Beyond the physical ability and strength necessary to dance this way, both the wearing of *pointe* shoes or the choice to go without were aesthetic choices that would affect his costumed appearance on stage.[47] His unique technique fit seamlessly into the "*genre nouveau*" (new style) for which he was trained, and suited the exotic designs that traditionally influenced the costumes worn in contemporary dances.[48]

Oukrainsky would soon reach his highest standing in Pavlova's company, which eventually factored into his decision to leave. Halfway through his contract with Pavlova, the company dispersed for a break between seasons in Europe.[49] Pavlova decided to return to Russia with a small number of dancers, including Oukrainsky, during which he received

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[46] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 93.
[47] Few men danced on *pointe*, and none aside from Oukrainsky without the use of *pointe* shoes, see Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 93. It is also worth noting that Oukrainsky preferred to dance barefoot. He found that it suited his exotic style of dance and only wore slippers when certain audiences (like when they expected the Emperor of Russia to attend their performance in St. Petersburg) might perceive barefeet to be in bad taste. See *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 120. It is worth noting that the wearing of *pointe* shoes does not appear to have been breaking gender boundaries to audiences of the time: it may only have been seen as unconventional. Because male dancers are typically larger and heavier than their female counterparts, dancing on *pointe* puts more pressure on their ankles, calves and toes, which adds to the difficulty. Male roles wearing *pointe* shoes are traditionally reserved for farcical characters like the evil step sisters in *Cinderella*, as in Prokofiev's 1945 production for Russia's Bolshoi Theatre. See Chad Young, "Men En Pointe Bring Laughs to 'Cinderella,'" *Nashville Parent*, September 13, 2016, http://www.nashvilleparent.com/men-en-pointe-bring-laughs-to-cinderella/ (accessed April 1, 2018). In 1974, Les Ballets Trockadero de Monte Carlo, "an all male company that restages classics with men in the ballerina roles," was founded in New York bringing *pointe* work into male repertoire. See *Dance Spirit*, "Men On Pointe," March 19, 2009, http://www.dancespirit.com/men_on_pointe-2326036551.html (accessed April 1, 2018).
[48] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 56, 93, 182. For examples of exotic influences, see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 17, 59, 63.
[49] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 117.

much praise and positive reviews.[50] When they left Russia, Oukrainsky did not realize it would be the last time he would step foot in his home country: Bolshevism would financially ruin Oukrainsky's father, which, combined with the Great War, removed any desire to return.[51] Oukrainsky and Pavley would also soon separate from Pavlova's company and establish themselves permanently in the Unites States.[52] To stay with her and her troupe they felt would have placed a glass ceiling on their careers, and, in retrospect, their future accomplishments may not have been possible without this dissociation.[53]

Pavley and Oukrainsky's contracts with Pavlova ended in 1915 after a summer season performing at the Chicago Midway Garden and, from this point on, the pair had to find their own place in the American dance scene.[54] They secured short-term work producing a dance festival in Indianapolis and began a decade long collaboration with the Chicago Grand Opera Company.[55] By 1919, they had become ballet masters and *premiers danseurs* (principal male dancers) for the company.[56] In addition to performing, Pavley and Oukrainsky also taught ballet classes. They instructed their courses under the title of the Pavley Oukrainsky Ballet School, which allowed them to make money wherever they were

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[50] Ibid., 117-125.
[51] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet,* 11, Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 181.
[52] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 125.
[53] An example of the limitations Pavlova placed on Oukrainsky can be found in ibid., 181-182. Oukrainsky and Pavley's exit interview from Pavlova's troupe outlining her unhappiness with the separation can be seen in ibid.,183-186. Rumours of harboured resentment felt by Pavlova after their departure can be found in ibid., 193.
[54] "Midway Gardens was a cabaret-restaurant on the Midway… It was an outdoor restaurant with a well-built proscenium stage, an orchestra pit and a number of rows of seats for spectators." See Barzel, 87. For more information, see Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, Chapter XXXVI, Midway Garden, 172-182.
[55] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 2, folder 8, letter to Mr. A. J. Pischel from Serge Oukrainsky, March 21, 1950.
[56] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 67.

in the United States.[57] Pavley and Oukrainsky's *plastique* favoured emotion and musicality over rigidity and form.[58] Their classes allowed them to recruit dancers they had shaped and trained for their productions with the Chicago Grand Opera Company and would eventually feed into the ranks of their own independent company in 1922.[59] However, the two events were ultimately separate accomplishments. After opening the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet School in 1916, the duo started to operate a summer program.[60] They would relocate to South Haven, Michigan, annually to teach courses for students and instructors from beginners to professionals.[61] The summer camps were immensely profitable and filled-in the time between performance seasons.[62] The success of these camps allowed them to train a great number of dancers in their preferred style, which helped the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet grow into an independent entity by 1922 – one separate from the Chicago Grand Opera Company. Shortly before this moment, the newly reformed Chicago Opera Company chose to feature two new productions for their 1919-1920 season: *Boudour* and *The Birthday of the Infanta*.[63] *Boudour* called-upon the talents of Pavley and Oukrainsky to come to life[64] and was an important step towards the pair's ability to design and produce highly publicized performances with their own aesthetic style helping to establish a reputation for their company before becoming independent.[65] *Boudour* was composed by Felix Borowsky, designed by Norman Bel Geddes, and choreographed by Pavley and

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[57] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova,* 187.
[58] Barzel, 89.
[59] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 73, 91.
[60] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 55. Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova,* 187.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., 55, 73, 114, 131.
[63] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 76.
[64] Ibid., 80-82.
[65] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 2, folder 9, letter to Mr. Faine from Serge Oukrainsky, Hollywood, February 7, 1964.

Oukrainsky.[66] The two were also asked to direct *The Birthday of the Infanta*, but they initially declined being critical of the length and the technical requirements of the piece.[67] It was directed by Adolph Bolm (1884-1951) to little success, and, the following season, Pavley and Oukrainsky were asked to reproduce it in their own style while still using the original scenery and costumes by Robert Edmond Jones.[68] This re-arranged production would become a fixture in their repertoire in the United States and abroad as they travelled it to Mexico City and South America.[69] Such productions during the 1920s were milestones that served them in the next chapters of their professional lives, and would likely have influenced the subsequent designs used for the costumes evaluated in this study.

In 1927 Oukrainsky moved to California to pursue new business and artistic endeavors: he wanted to "tap into the gold in Hollywood's mountains."[70] He directed ballet sequences for film and continued teaching in a branch school he opened in Los Angeles in 1927.[71] The Pavley-Oukrainsky partnership continued even when Oukrainsky moved to Los Angeles and left Pavley on his own in Chicago. In 1930, the pair collaborated with Warner Brothers and Fox Films to create an avant-garde performance using film projections on stage with live choreography.[72] The ingenuity presented by the production of *Videballedom* was decades ahead of its time, but the logistics to synchronize the

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[66] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 76.
[67] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 65-66, 68-69.
[68] For Adolf Bolm, see Selma Jeanne Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation, eds. *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Bolm, Adolph," by Lynn Garafola, http://www.oxfordreference.com/abstract/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-0256?rskey=r5DV36&result=1 (accessed December 11, 2018).
For *The Birthday of the Infanta,* see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet,* 68-69, 75, 101-102, 106.
[69] Ibid., 153-158.
[70] Corey, 104.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Barzel, 92. Also in Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 155.

performance were too complicated to be sustainable by a touring company.[73] The following year continued to bring new opportunities and challenges: a contract signed on June 26, 1931, hired both men to appear that summer with the Paris Opera.[74] Unfortunately, that same day, Pavley was found dead outside his fifteenth-floor window.[75] It remains unclear whether his fall was intentional or an accident.[76] The Paris tour was not cancelled, but it would be the last time Oukrainsky performed in Europe. Following Pavley's death, Oukrainsky closed the Chicago school and made his move to Los Angeles permanent.[77] He would establish himself in California, which may explain the presence of his costumes and biographical documents in a museum dedicated to documenting "the unfolding history of the performing arts in the San Francisco Bay Area."[78]

Following Pavley's death in 1931, Oukrainsky dropped his partner's name as he continued to produce new works in California. This may also explain why the MP+D has labeled the collections "Oukrainsky Papers" and "Oukrainsky Costumes." He did not, however, forget his friend Pavley. Oukrainsky worked tirelessly to gain recognition for the

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[73] The title "*Videballedom*" appears to be a word play on "video" and "ballet." Research conducted thus far indicates that the rise of a multimedia production combining film with live performance would not become successful until Czech scenographer Josef Svoboda's exhibition at the 1958 World Expo in Brussels. See "Josef Svoboda 'Laterna Magika,'" Media Art Net, http://www.medienkunstnetz.de/works/laterna-magika/ (accessed September 18, 2017). For issues of logistics, see Barzel, 92. Also in Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet,* 155.

[74] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 228, box 2, series 3, folder 12, miscellaneous list chronicling key events and dates of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, author unknown, date unknown, 6.

[75] Corey, 116-117.

[76] Corey advanced that a moneylender may have been blackmailing Pavley but that the police ruled it as a suicide. Those close to him adamantly opposed the suicide theory and point to the fact that both his radio and window screen fell through the window with him. It may have also been an accident. See ibid., 119.

[77] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 1, folder 1, "Exhibition of Costumes from the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet," San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts (now the MP+D), publicity notice, November 30, 1979.

[78] "About MP+D," https://www.mpdsf.org/who-we-are/ (accessed May 14, 2018).

role he and Pavley played in fostering the development of ballet in the United States.[79] In 1937 Oukrainsky was hired as ballet master for one season with the San Francisco Opera Company, but was not kept on staff when the company split from the opera to become the San Francisco Ballet the following year.[80] The San Francisco Ballet remains one of the oldest operating ballet company in the United States and, while Oukrainsky was never a permanent member of the company, he is still a part of that heritage.[81] Back in Los Angeles, Oukrainsky lived out "the last decades of his life in an artistic twilight."[82] He continued teaching and had a few unsuccessful attempts at establishing a new ballet company.[83] He passed away in a Hollywood hospital at age 86 on November 2, 1972, and his performance archive joined the MP+D collection in 1979.[84]

The artifacts in this study are believed to have been made and worn during the Pavley-Oukrainsky partnership of the 1920s. Neither Oukrainsky nor Pavley ever married. Given the length of time they worked together it is possible that, in additional to their

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[79] In 1958 Oukrainsky collected contributions from friends of Pavley's to commission a bronze sculpture of him performing the role of Faun in *L'Après-midi d'un faune.* Oukrainsky could not find an institution in Chicago that was willing to exhibit the sculpture and returned the contributions to donors in 1964 without having the sculpture made. See Barzel, 92.

[80] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 2, folder 9, letter to Mr. Faine from Serge Oukrainsky, Hollywood, February 7, 1964.

[81] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 1, folder 1, "Exhibition of Costumes from the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet," San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts (now the MP+D), publicity notice, November 30, 1979.

[82] Barzel, 67.

[83] The American Guild of Musical Artists (AGMA) was formed in 1936. Oukrainsky joined and attempted to form a group of unionized performers in Los Angeles. He later attempted to establish a Los Angeles Civic Ballet. To this day, no ballet has ever been successfully established in Los Angeles. Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 2, folder 9, letter to Mr. Faine from Serge Oukrainsky, Hollywood, February 7, 1964.

[84] For death, see Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 228, box 2, series 3, folder 21, unknown newspaper clipping, obituary, November 2, 1972. For 1979 entry into the MD+P archive, see Museum of Performance and Design, Museum Accession Records, Collections: Serge Oukrainsky 979.029, letter to Malcolm McCormick (Donor) from Russell Hartley (Director of San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts (now the MP+D), November 30, 1979.

business and creative partnerships, they were romantic partners. No evidence found thus far has documented this hypothesis. Another male figure entered Oukrainsky's life following Pavley's death, Frank Alexander, but again there is no evidence to support an acknowledged gay partnership at a time where sodomy laws were still in effect in the State of California.[85] While sexual orientation may have little bearing on the work of Pavley and Oukrainsky overall, a contemporary biographer may wonder if the professional and personal synergy of both of these creative forces helped to propel and shape their work. Pavley and Oukrainsky's lives were entwined through the most successful years of their careers. They were obsessed with bringing contemporary dance and designs to the stage and developed an aesthetic style that can be identified throughout their repertoire. They used Near and Middle Eastern influences and exoticism—often described as "orientalism"—as a lens to present their contemporary works, and avoided productions that fell in a more traditional ballet repertoire believing them to be outdated and boring.[86] Parallels between the designs and repertoire of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet and Diaghilev's Russian Ballet will be explored in the analyses of the costumes, but what is clear is that Pavley and Oukrainsky's use of orientalism as a theme enabled them to present

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[85] Sodomy laws would not be repealed in California until 1975. See American Civil Liberties Union "Getting Rid of Sodomy Laws: History and Strategy that Led to the Lawrence Decision," https://www.aclu.org/other/getting-rid-sodomy-laws-history-and-strategy-led-lawrence-decision (accessed September 18, 2017). For relationship with Frank Alexander, see Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 1, folder 3, 3 extra, Jack (Frank) Alexander.

[86] For contemporary works, see Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 166. Exoticism is employed to mean "the quality or state of being exotic." See *Merriam-Webster.com,* s.v. "Exoticism," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/exoticism (accessed May 14, 2018). Exotic must then be defined and is said to mean "introduced from another country: not native to the place where found," and "strikingly, excitingly, or mysteriously different or unusual." See *Merriam-Webster.com,* s.v. "Exotic," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/exotic (accessed May 14, 2018). Orientalism may be defined as "something (such as a style or manner) associated with or characteristic of Asia or Asians." See *Merriam-Webster.com,* s.v. "Orientalism," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/orientalism (accessed May 14, 2018).

what they believed to be a more engaging and emotional form of ballet.[87] The same exotic style that characterized their joint work is at play in the artifacts selected for the case study.

Understanding the history of dance in a Euro-American context in the early twentieth century and the journeys of Oukrainsky and Pavley are important components in the study of artifacts at the MP+D. These components will be part of the literature review in Chapter two where research on early twentieth-century performance will be investigated. The artifacts in this study must also be viewed as objects collected to fit the mission of a specific institution. As a result, the artifacts must first be contextualized from a museum perspective. Both contexts are equally important when evaluating how surviving costume artifacts central to this thesis can help understand the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet thereby acknowledging the changing meanings of the costumes in their transition from active performance into passive museum settings.

## 1.2 Contemporary Context of the Artifacts in a Museum Collection

The costumes in the MP+D collection and the accompanying documents used to address the research question belonged to Serge Oukrainsky and were donated by Malcolm McCormic to the museum in 1979. One can hypothesize as to why Oukrainsky collected and kept this clothing, photographic and textual archive. A documented reason was financial: in his attempts to find new venues and funding for his ballet company's performances, Oukrainsky offered the re-use of existing costumes when seeking contracts

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[87] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 166.

from various producing agencies.[88] The implication may be that, by providing existing garments and accessories, his productions would be less expensive than performances by other troupes that would require a sizable investment for costumes. No information was found as to where the costume artifacts were kept between his death in 1972 and their arrival at the MP+D in 1979 except that the donor contacted the Museum after having intercepted the collection on its way to the dump.[89] The director of the MP+D at the time, Russell Hartley, accepted the collection and expressed his desire to exhibit the costumes.[90] The contemporary survival of Oukrainsky's costumes can thus be greatly attributed to Hartley's decision to accession the collection in the MP+D.

Costume artifacts from the MP+D collection are occasionally displayed in minor exhibitions. Following the arrival of the Oukrainsky Collection at the MP+D in 1979, a selection of the Oukrainsky costumes were displayed in the San Francisco Public Library, and, in 2015, a selection of the headdresses were displayed in the MP+D for an exhibition entitled "Shaping Character."[91] While pulling the pieces for the exhibition, the MP+D's Executive Director, Muriel Maffre, and the Head Librarian, Kirsten Tanaka, became keenly

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[88] For examples, see Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 2, folder 9, letters to Miss (Ruth) Page from Serge Oukrainsky, January 26, February 25 and March 15, 1965, and Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 2, folder 9, letter to Roger L. Stevens (Chairman of the national council for the arts) from Serge Oukrainsky, Los Angeles, January 7, 1966.

[89] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 1, folder 1, "Exhibition of Costumes from the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet," San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts (now the MP+D), publicity notice, November 30, 1979.

[90] Museum Accession Records, Collections: Serge Oukrainsky 979.029, Museum of Performance and Design, letter to Malcolm McCormick (Donor) from Russell Hartley (Director of San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts, now the MP+D), November 30, 1979.

[91] For San Francisco Public Library, see Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 1, folder 1, "Exhibition of Costumes from the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet," San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts (now the MP+D), publicity notice, November 30, 1979. For "Shaping Character," see Muriel Maffre (Museum of Performance and Design Executive Director) in discussion with the author (personal conversation), July 2017.

aware of the need for conservation across the entire costume collection.[92] It was apparent that many of the boxes used to store the over five hundred costume artifacts needed to be replaced, and evidence of mold and insect damages were also suspected.[93] All of the costumes at the MP+D were assessed and inventoried in 2015 and, at the time of my field research in the summer of 2017, many pieces from the Oukrainsky collection were still under quarantine.[94] The research for this paper has been conducted using the unaffected paper documents and costume artifacts that were not quarantined. This included a small number of costumes, photographs of the quarantined artifacts, and the biographical documents in the Oukrainsky papers, including: photographs, performance reviews, programs, private correspondences, and biographies from the early to mid twentieth century. The limited access to the collection because of the quarantine has impacted the research design for this project but I still believe that the accessible portion of the archive presents enough data to answer the research question of this thesis.

## 1.3 Study Objectives and Limitations

Jules Prown wrote that objects are embedded with social information, and, if treated "actively as documents," that information can be read and interpreted without bias.[95] The purpose of this study is to assess the communicative potential of costumes worn by

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[92] Muriel Maffre (Museum of Performance and Design Executive Director) in discussion with the author (personal conversation), July 2017.
[93] Ibid., For "over 500 costume artifacts" see Elise Rousseau, "Condition Assessment Summary Report" (report, Art Conservation de Rigueur et Anoxia Abatement Solutions, December 2015), 1.
[94] Contaminated costumes were removed from their storage boxes in 2015 and isolated from the collection in sealed plastic bags where they will remain until they can be treated. Rousseau, 1.
[95] Jules Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring, 1982): 1.

members of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet in order to obtain a clearer understanding of the role they played in shaping modern ballet in the United States. By looking at the object itself, observing the wear and use patterns present on the costume, paying attention to the aesthetic design choices, and exploring the way the garment would have interacted with a dancer's body, new and unexplored data about the physical history of these objects and their users can be understood in a way that a photograph or a history book may fall short: the costumes are a material link to the performers who wore them, and to the company who owned them. By focusing on four specific artifacts—a crown, a loincloth, a torso ornament and a cuff—sufficient information can be unearthed to allow the findings to contribute to the advancement of knowledge about the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet and, indirectly, about the dance industry at the time.[96]

This study provides a glimpse into the political and competitive world of early twentieth-century ballet and cannot be all encompassing due to the nature of a master's thesis and the materials accessible to the researcher at this time. The limitations of the research are many. The costumes themselves are currently only accessible in San Francisco, and, as mentioned earlier, many are under quarantine and only accessible through photographs. The Oukrainsky collection has sixty-one accessioned costume pieces, as well as a trunk in which the costumes were first shipped to the museum (see Figure 1).[97] The trunk has a painted label on the lid reading "PAVLEY OUKRAINSKY BALLET

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[96] There were many challenges the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet faced, and, as freelance artists early in their careers, they were subjected to the rules of the opera company they were working for. When dancing for the Chicago Opera company, for instance, they were unable to take smaller contracts for fear that they would tarnish the reputation of their employer. They were not given any financial security or continuous income in the process. See Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 46.

[97] Museum of Performance and Design, unpublished costume inventory, 2017.

CHICAGO" which suggests a link to the Pavley Oukrainsky collaboration.[98] There is also a "3" printed on the front face that could indicate a numbering system suggesting this trunk was one of multiple that belonged to the company. Among Oukrainsky's correspondences at the MP+D are letters to a warehouse where he rented space to store trunks filled with costumes and scenery following the dissolution of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet.[99] The implication is that there were many more trunks similar to the one pictured in Figure 1. As such, even an analysis of each costume piece at the MP+D could not be a comprehensive study of the material history of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. Nonetheless, making the decision to do a small case study of selected artifacts from the collection can serve to enhance our understanding of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet's role within early twentieth-century dance. Different conclusions may be made from each surviving piece, but the findings of each study hold the potential to expand the known histories of the company.

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[98] Oukrainsky's memoirs are filled with short anecdotes about situations where costume trunks were lost or delayed, giving a life to these objects outside of performance setting. An example can be found in Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova,* 91-92.

[99] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 2, folder 9, letters to Miss O'Neill from Serge Oukrainsky, January 4 and August 8, 1963.


Figure 1
Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet Trunk, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design©, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

For this thesis the research is focused on a single archival box that contains a crown, a loincloth, a torso ornament, and a cuff. The research uses a material culture methodology to draw meaning from these objects. It is important to note that these sources could be used in different ways: for example, instead of reading the costume pieces individually, it would be interesting to evaluate them as a group exploring why these specific pieces were the ones that survived. The collection of written documents at the MP+D also opens the possibility to study the text and the language used in the personal letters, biographies and autobiographies of the founders to see how they may have presented their accomplishments differently than other historical sources. This might help dance historians clarify how this

company remains virtually unknown today.[100] Another significant standpoint that affects this study is the Human Ecological lens and its inherent interdisciplinary nature. This perspective allows a focus on the artifacts per say as well as their connections to people—dancers, audience members, museum staff members, visitors and researchers—and their environments. While this thesis falls within the parameters of a Human Ecology Master's research study, alternative research approaches could use different methodologies and result in additional conclusions. How humans interact with their near environments can include the study of performers in costume, but is not the direct focus of the current study that is much narrower. Multiple avenues of research are possible but they do not all necessarily serve to address the research question for this thesis: as such, some avenues may be left for the future.

The costumes selected for this study were chosen rather organically through my experiences working as a graduate student intern at the MP+D during the summer of 2017. The first requirement was that the artifact could be physically handled and inspected. The archival box containing the crown, loincloth, torso ornament and cuff evaded contamination, and were also accessioned as a single costume ensemble. I immediately questioned this assumption, and wanted to either verify or correct it through my research.

This study utilizes the costumes and first-hand accounts of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet at the MP+D to conduct a material culture analysis that may provide further information about the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet and the development of ballet in the United States during the early nineteenth century. The field research conducted in the

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[100] Even in 1972, Corey wrote "[b]ut a generation removed, Andreas Pavley's extraordinary creative works… are scarcely known to the younger generation." See Corey, vii.

summer of 2017 led to the production of photographs and notes taken in the collection, which are used for this study. The location of the costumes in San Francisco is a challenge as I am not able to further access the costumes directly, but the field notes and summary report of my experiences at the MP+D will be used to write the object analyses and results in Chapters four and five. The scope of this project is to evaluate how the study of performance costume *can* enhance our understanding of this company's history: it is not to present a fully fleshed out history, or to complete an evaluation of all of the material remains of the company. Perhaps these avenues will be explored in the future, but this is not the purpose of this thesis. The following section will now review similar research studies that inform how the present research will be conducted.

# CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW OF DANCE PERFORMANCE COSTUME RESEARCH

Theatre has been a part of Western Culture since the Dionysian theatre of the sixth century BCE.[101] Many aspects of theatre have been widely studied, and yet performance costume research is often presented as an afterthought or as supporting evidence to the overall practice.[102] This is surprising because costuming is an integral aspect of the art of theatre. Donatella Barbieri prefaces her 2017 book *Costume in Performance* by asking "[g]iven its ubiquity, why has so little been written about costume throughout its long history of performance?"[103] This literature review will present the work of authors who have addressed performance costumes and briefly outline different hypotheses on the scarcity of research in this area. I will also include a review of works on the historical context of ballet in the early twentieth century to help contextualize the work of Serge Oukrainsky and Andreas Pavley. As they are not well-known, some secondary sources on these two individuals are used as a starting point for the research, but approached with caution as they are not necessarily the works of scholars. Documents written by Oukrainsky himself also need to be taken with a degree of skepticism: details may be tweaked to enhance or change the narrative, and the accuracy of human memory is always worth questioning. The nature

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[101] Donatella Barbieri, *Costume in Performance* (London, Oxford, New York, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbuty, 2017), 5. For sixth century BC, see Mark Cartwright, "Theatre of Dionysos Eleuthereus," *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, last modified August 24, 2015, https://www.ancient.eu/article/814/ (accessed January 29, 2018).

[102] Barbieri, xxii. Barbieri forwarded the abstract to an article published in 2015 with: "[t]his article locates costume, an almost non-existent area of theatre studies scholarship, at the centre of enquiry as a new perspective from which historical performance can be viewed." See Donatella Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body," *Studies in Theatre & Performance* 33, no. 3 (September 2013): 281.

[103] Barbieri, *Costume in Performance*, xxii.

of both primary and secondary sources will consequently be examined for their strengths and limitations. The overall purpose of the literature review is to explore the wide array of research published that shape my knowledge and perspective. Authors who have used material culture to draw information from clothing artifacts and costumes are presented in Chapter three on methodology. The literature review in the present chapter will unfold from general works to those that pertain the most closely to my research question: how can the analyses of costumes shed light on the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet?

## 2.1 Review of Works on the History of Ballet

Ballet in the early twentieth century was in a time of transition. Made popular in the court of Louis XIV, ballet has evolved with regal and upper class associations.[104] Unfortunately, finding a material account of this history through dress is limited by the lack of surviving costumes from the time.[105] The work of early dance specialist Mary Collins and costume designer Joanna Jarvis attempts to address this situation by using paintings and other seventeenth-century primary sources.[106] Their research shows that the evolution of ballet costume had a reciprocal relation to fashion and was dependent on public opinion: a ballet costume could influence the colour and style of fashionable dress, while social protocols that affected fashionable attire could equally pressure changes to elements of ballet dress.[107]

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[104] Barbieri, *Costume in Performance*, 43.
[105] Collins and Jarvis, 184.
[106] Ibid., 169-193.
[107] An example of a dancer's costume influencing fashion occurred in 1770 when Mlle Guimard wore a "dress, with the outer skirt pinned up to reveal a petticoat of a different colour." The costume "was considered audacious… and over the next few days… everyone in Paris had taken up the style and was wearing their

Their study helped them grasp how costumes affected the dancer's ability to realize specific and evolving choreography. This led to an understanding of how costumes and choreography developed in tandem. Even though the earliest surviving material evidence of dance costumes seem to date from the mid eighteenth century,[108] it is still important to note that Collins and Jarvis's research has addressed how the materiality, construction, and movement of performance costumes affected the evolution of dance.

Ballet was placed on an extremely codified and "restrictive path" by Louis XIV's establishment of the *Académie Royale de Dance* (1661), which left little room for an accelerated liberation of the body, a phenomenon that would not truly happen for another two hundred years.[109] Ballet would become a Eurocentric art form thriving in France, Italy, and eventually Russia.[110] The codification of ballet continued but certain individuals attempted to break out of the mold: when Russian artist Serge Diaghilev was exiled from his homeland in 1914, he was drawn to Paris where his deviant ballet was welcomed with open arms.[111] Between 1909 and 1929, his Russian Ballet transformed the field through the

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own 'Robe à la Guimard.'" See Collins and Jarvis, 187. An example of social opinions pressuring changes to ballet costumes can be seen through the origins of white tights in ballet dress. In 1796, Rose Parisot's costume was deemed scandalous because she raised her leg higher than other dancers at the time. In response, female dancers started wearing white tights, because the colour was less provocative than the flesh-toned pink typically worn. See Collins and Jarvis, 189. The origins of the classical ballet tutu, and thus the beginnings of a standardized ballet uniform, would not occur until 1832 with Maria Taglioni's costume for *La Sylphide.* See Ingrid Mida, "A Gala Performance Tutu," *Dress: The Journal of the Costume Society of America* 42, no. 1 (2016): 36, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03612112.2016.1151669 (accessed October 2, 2016).

[108] Barbieri acknowledges an Italian *ballet de cour* costume dated from 1750 as being one of the earliest surviving examples of costume. While *ballet de cour* is not specifically performance, it required a more theatrical style of clothing than every day court dress allowing researchers like Barbieri to categorize it as performance costume. See Barbieri, *Costume in Performance*, 42-43.

[109] Collins and Jarvis, 189.

[110] "A Brief History of Ballet," Atlanta Ballet, https://www.atlantaballet.com/resources/brief-history-of-ballet (accessed June 18, 2018).

[111] Geoffrey Marsh, "Serge Diaghilev and the Strange Birth of the Ballets Russes," In *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballets Russes 1909-1929*, ed. Jane Pritchard (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 25-26.

use of contemporary music and dress.[112] Other dance groups would imitate the designs and choreography of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet, including the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, thereby broadening forever the scope of ballet.[113] Numerous exhibitions have been mounted on the costumes of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet as many artifacts have survived and generate great interest, especially designs by Léon Bakst, Pablo Picasso, and Henri Matisse.[114] Often described as "opulent, innovative, and extraordinary," Bakst's costumes in particular have drawn global attention but there were other players operating at the time that also influenced the industry.[115]

Other creative forces that have been remembered for their contributions to the field of dance and are related to this study are Anna Pavlova and Ruth Page (1899-1991).[116] Pavlova was trained at the St Petersburg Imperial Theater School where she mastered the

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[112] *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Ballets Russes de Serge Diaghilev, Les," http://www.oxfordreference.com/abstract/10.1093/acref/9780199563449.001.0001/acref-9780199563449-e-263?rskey=NyUrG6&result=1 (accessed December 11, 2018).
For transformed dance, see Davinia Caddy, *The Ballets Russes and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), xxi.

[113] The first production by the Chicago Opera company in which Pavley and Oukrainsky were hired to dance was "Cleaopatra" (see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet,* 13-14.), which was first performed by Diaghilev's company in June 1909. See Jane Pritchard, ed., *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballets Russes 1909-1929* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 220. Pavley and Oukrainsky would eventually bring this production on tour with their own company (see Sarah Woodcock, "Wardrobe," In *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballets Russes 1909-1929*, ed. Jane Pritchard (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 156), but their costumes are similar to Léon Bakst's designs for the Russian Ballet in 1909. See Alexandre Arséne and Jean Cocteau, *The Decorative Art of Léon Bakst*, 2nd ed. (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), Plate No. 17-23.

[114] The Victoria and Albert Museum presented a large exhibition entitled "Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballet Russes, 1909-1929" (2010), which coincided with the publication of a book by the same title also by the Victoria and Albert Museum. See Pritchard, passim. The MP+D put on a smaller exhibition recently entitled "Celebrating Vaslav Nijinsky" (2018). See "Celebrating Vaslav Nijinsky," https://www.mpdsf.org/blog/2018/3/22/celebrating-vaslav-nijinsky (accessed September 1, 2018).

[115] Robert Bell, "Costumes of the Ballets Russes," *Artonview* 55 (Spring 2008): 32-33. For attributes of Bakst's costumes, see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Léon Bakst," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Leon-Bakst (accessed April 21, 2018).

[116] Selma Jeanne Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation, eds. *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Page, Ruth," by Andrew Mark Wentink, http://www.oxfordreference.com/abstract/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-1310?rskey=efIeJl&result=1 (accessed December 11, 2018).

traditional style of ballet.[117] By 1906, she was the prima ballerina of the Russian Imperial Ballet, and would continue performing classical works including *The Sleeping Beauty*, *Giselle*, and *The Dying Swan* throughout her career.[118] Despite her traditional repertoire, Pavlova pushed the boundaries of classical ballet: she became famous for her expressive arm and hand movement.[119] After separating from the Russian Imperial Ballet in 1913 Pavlova immediately began touring.[120] It was during this time that her life would intersect with Pavley and Oukrainsky.[121] Ruth Page is pertinent to this study for a different reason. As a Chicago-based dancer, Page is remembered as a major contributor to the development of American ballet, an accomplishment very similar to the pursuits of Pavley and Oukrainsky yet the performers' paths had little overlap.[122] Page performed in the 1919 production of *The Birthday of the Infanta* when Bolm directed it for the Chicago Opera company (a new reformation of the Chicago Grand Opera Company that occurred in 1919), but not when Pavley and Oukrainsky re-arranged it in 1922.[123] She would later take over as ballet mistress of the Chicago Civic Opera (yet another reformation of the Chicago Opera company that took place in 1922) in 1934 after Oukrainsky made his move to California

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[117] Selma Jeanne Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation, eds. *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Pavlova, Anna," by Roberta Lazzarini. http://www.oxfordreference.com/abstract/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-1340?rskey=D9ydf8&result=5 (accessed December 11, 2018).
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] For 1913 split, see Selma Jeanne Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation, eds. *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Pavlova, Anna," by Roberta Lazzarini. http://www.oxfordreference.com/abstract/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-1340?rskey=D9ydf8&result=5 (accessed December 11, 2018).
[121] Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 53.
[122] *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Page, Ruth," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100300933 (accessed December 11, 2018).
[123] For Ruth Page, see ibid. For 1919 reformation, see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 57, 76. For Pavley Oukrainsky re-arrangement, see ibid., 101-102, 153.

permanent.[124] The careers of these contemporaneous performers and educators occurred without partnership. In the end, key players worth considering in this study are pertinent both for their presence in Pavley and Oukrainsky's careers, and for their absence.

To address the less documented history of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, it is important to consider the relationships they had with other better documented companies or individuals to discover any pertinent details that may help uncover new information about the duo, but it is always important to return to the sources closest to the company. Much information exists on the histories of Diaghilev, Pavlova, and Page, which have cast a shadow on smaller companies and players within the industry operating at the beginning of the twentieth century. As such, this study aims to shed light on the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet using primary sources from the MP+D to overcome the hegemonic, or remembered, history of dance.[125] Photographs, performance reviews, programs, private correspondences, and autobiographies at the MP+D with some targeted secondary sources on Pavley, Oukrainsky, and their company will thus be considered: some acknowledgements of the history of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet dance company can be found sporadically in encyclopedias and historical accounts of ballet in the United States, but the history and the

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[124] *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Page, Ruth," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100300933 (accessed December 11, 2018). The Chicago Grand Opera Company was renamed the Chicago Civic Opera Company in 1922. See *Revovly,* s.v. "Chicago Civic Opera Company," https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Chicago%20Civic%20Opera%20Company&item_type=topic (accessed September 18, 2017).

[125] "The term "hegemonic" derives from Michel Foucault's view that historiography is use of power over how we collectively remember the past. Hegemonic dance history is the dominant form of narrating the past that actively suppresses or silences alternative forms of the discourse." Hanna Järvinen, "Failed Impressions: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in America, 1916," *Dance Research Journal,* 42, no. 2 (Winter 2010): 78.

significance of the company has largely gone unnoticed by the general public.[126] Because of a short-lived affiliation with the San Francisco Ballet as it was forming, Oukrainsky is briefly recognized in the book *San Francisco Ballet at Seventy-Five*:

> The early worlds of opera and ballet in the United States were small and closely connected. For a time the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet was the oldest American ballet company, having been founded in 1922. But when it disbanded in 1931, after the thirty-nine-year-old Pavley died in a mysterious fall, it lost that claim. San Francisco Ballet would step into the title of the oldest professional ballet company in America in 1933.[127]

This short acknowledgement corroborates the primary source accounts reported in Chapter one that the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet was independent from 1922-1931. It also suggests that history is kinder to companies that have lasted. There was no official way for dance companies to register when they were founded or disbanded but researchers may come across important information that may shed light on historical claims. Even San Francisco Ballet's declaration for being the oldest professional ballet company is worth questioning since Atlanta Ballet is said to have been established four years prior in 1929.[128] The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet remained small through its nine years as an independent company, and Oukrainsky spent much time advocating for his company's role in the ballet industry throughout his life because it would seem few others would. The collection of costumes and biographical documents at the MP+D once belonged to Oukrainsky personally: the collection is comprised entirely of objects he actively chose to keep. It is impossible to know why he saved these particular items, or if he ever thought they would end up at a

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[126] For recent examples, see Jack Anderson, "Dance View; Chicago was once America's Ballet Capitol," *The New York Times*, April 1, 1984, https://www.nytimes.com/1984/04/01/arts/dance-view-chicago-was-once-america-s-ballet-capital.html (accessed April 4, 2018), and *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, s.v. "Dance Companies," by Carolyn A. Sheehy, http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/360.html (accessed April 4, 2018).
[127] Ross et al., 25.
[128] "About Us," Atlanta Ballet, https://www.atlantaballet.com/about (accessed February 21, 2018).

performing arts archive/museum, but the collection is an amalgamation of documents he saved in his pursuit to make known his contributions to the field of ballet. Some additional sources have since been added to support the collection, but the foundation of this thesis are the documents Oukrainsky chose to keep. His published and unpublished autobiographies are proof of Oukrainsky's attempts at gaining recognition, and, in combination with his collection of ballet artifacts, it is my hope that this study will contribute to the remembrance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet.

The study of early twentieth-century dance is a story almost exclusively dedicated to Diaghilev's Russian Ballet. Photographs of Diaghilev's ballets and dancers have been widely studied for their movement and saved as a record of the "[g]olden [a]ge of the Ballets Russes."[129] The costume designs by Leon Bakst, Henri Matisse, and Pablo Picasso are treasured because of the movement and character they embody, and, fortunately, many of these costumes have survived.[130] One of the largest collections of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet costumes is housed at the National Gallery of Australia where the costume artifacts have been exhibited in the past, and many libraries and museums around the world, including the MP+D, house original and replica photographs and designs pertaining to the company.[131] Between 1967 and 1973, nearly four decades after Diaghilev's death, a series of highly publicized auctions for sets and costumes of the company were organized as charity fundraisers.[132] Former dancers and establishments where these artifacts were kept in

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[129] Pritchard, 9; Woodcock, 166-167.
[130] Ibid., 129-131, 137, 143-145, 147, 150, 166-167.
[131] For National Gallery of Australia, see Bell, 32-33. For MP+D, see "Celebrating Vaslav Nijinski," https://www.mpdsf.org/blog/2018/3/22/celebrating-vaslav-nijinsky (accessed May 14, 2018).
[132] Woodcock, 166.

storage were encouraged to donate artifacts.[133] This endeavor brought virtually all material evidence of the Russian Ballet to light, and the process of scouring storage facilities even unearthed costumes which were thought to have been lost.[134] Many of these new-found pieces were eventually re-sold or donated to the Theatre and Performance collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which today houses the largest collection of Russian Ballet costumes and scenery.[135] Thanks to these acquisitions, there is an abundance of primary materials from this company readily available in museums worldwide, but it took a while after the company dissolved for a genuine interest in these specific artifacts to develop: Sarah Woodcock once stated that "[costumes] were never conceived as 'art' objects, but rather as one element in a stage production."[136] Despite this state-of-affairs, much of the published research on the company focuses specifically on the history of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet. Woodcock reminds her readers that the surviving costumes of the company are "failures, or near failures, which saw fewer performances:" few costumes survive today from the more successful ballets because they were worn so frequently they fell apart before the interest to preserve them emerged.[137] Now that the significance of costume artifacts is increasingly valued by museums, they stand a better chance to be studied directly as factors to the dance reforms being implemented at the turn of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, my evaluation of the published materials suggests a continued focus on the general history of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet, with limited discussions on how the costumes were worn, designed, and made. For example, each chapter in *Diaghilev and the*

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[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., 167
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid., 129.
[137] Ibid.

*Golden Age of the Ballets Russes* (2010) focuses on a different part of the history of the company. The chapter on "Wardrobe" by Sarah Woodcock addresses the current and historical contexts of the costumes, but the two do not overlap. There is potential for further material analyses to be added in that chapter. While many high resolution images are included, few are directly addressed in the text.[138] The 1970 book *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes* follows a chronological perspective, using memoirs and personal correspondences as sources to document the company's history, without touching on the context of the surviving artifacts today.[139] In 1913, a book documenting the author's (Jean Cocteau) experience of seeing Leon Bakst's designs for the Russian Ballet focuses on the emotional effect of seeing costumes in motion from the perspective of an audience member.[140] This source could help a researcher understand how the costumes would have been perceived, particularly when they are now presented on a stationary dress form. Caddy's focus in *The Ballets Russes and Beyond* (2012) addresses the costumes' aesthetics when exploring Diaghilev's reinvention of ballet. Interestingly for this study, she credits choreography as what "liberated the body – particularly the torso and arms – from the tilted balletic conventions."[141] If choreography is an essential component, costumes should also be factored in the transition and a material study of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet may uncover evidence of the same freedom of movement generated by their design and construction, or uncover other factors that might have impacted the style of performances at that time. Even for this well-studied and documented company, careful examination of performance

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[138] Ibid.
[139] Boris Kochno, *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes*, trans. Adrienne Foulke (New York & Evanston: Harper & Row, 1970), passim.
[140] Alexandre Arséne and Jean Cocteau, passim.
[141] Caddy, 8.

costumes could serve to enhance our understanding of the company, its history, and its impact on the development of modern ballet.

Studies on performance costumes focus mostly on garments as a supporting element to theatre research. For example, when researching the history of Serge Diaghilev's Russian Ballet, Davinia Caddy includes a brief description of Leon Bakst's costume designs as a component to Diaghilev's new genre of dance, but these artifacts are part of the greater choreographic, cultural, political, and aesthetic factors that shape the Russian Ballet as a whole.[142] To my knowledge, Erica Fisher-Lichte and Donatella Barbieri are the only researchers who focus specifically on the effects costumes have on performance, and, even more important for this study, on the affordances of oriental costumes in the development of modern dance in the early twentieth century.[143]

Orientalism, a term used to categorize art "with a tendency to portray the Near and Middle East in ways which appealed to the assumptions, tastes, fantasies, politics and prejudices of Western audiences," can also be applied to many costumes of the Russian Ballet and the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet.[144] Orientalism as an academic term was coined in 1978 by Edward Said identifying the word as an idea "that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence."[145] The "Orient" could be used as a foil by the West to embody everything that wasn't rational and, in so

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[142] Ibid., i.
[143] Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Interweaving Cultures in Performance: Different States of Being In-Between," *New Theatre Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (November 2009): 391; Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body,"104-110.
[144] Stephen Little, *Isms: Understanding Art* (New York: Universe, 2004), 74.
[145] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 4-5.

doing, make use of sensual and colourful scenes "from harems to slave markets."[146] The term has been highly criticized through the years, and, in many ways, is now deemed politically incorrect.[147] The concept of a uniform and generalist impression of the entire "Orient" is rooted in the "European domination, colonialism and imperialism" that created it.[148] To address this criticism, my use of the term "orientalism" will be done in lower case as it will indicate a general reference to foreign influences, rather than a term intended to simplify the diversity of art and culture both past and present found in the "Orient."

Fischer-Lichte explores the role of costumes in her research on the use of orientalism in performance as a channel to create modern theatre. She argues that "since the beginning of the twentieth century…modern theatre was invented by way of interweaving cultures in performance."[149] As with Barbieri, Fisher-Lichte believes that performance only exists through the interaction between performers and audience, but her work focuses predominantly on the use of aesthetic influences from both the East and the West.[150] Her examples are of companies that tour in both parts of the world intending their productions to be familiar and foreign to whichever country they were performed in.[151] This perspective may influence my research as Pavley and Oukrainsky presented their ballets in North America, South America, and Europe, thus interweaving their exotic costumes with their predominantly western audiences during performances. Fischer-Lihcte's research was not

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[146] Little, 74.
[147] Tobias Akira Schickhaus, "From Postcolonial Criticism to Critics on Postcolonial Poetics - Edward Said's Orientalism from an Iconographic Perspective," *Middle East - Topics & Arguments* 8 (2017): 13.
[148] Ibid., 14.
[149] Fisher-Lichte, 391.
[150] Barbieri, *Costume in Performance*, xxii; Fisher-Lichte, 391.
[151] Fisher-Lichte, 395-399.

specifically on costumes, but she actively referenced dress aesthetics in her arguments.[152] Barbieri's approach goes further and uses costumes as the center of her research on historical theatre.

Barbieri's work focuses on the performativity of costumes and how they facilitate action on stage. Her research centers on surviving artifacts, but she chooses to enhance her analyses by exploring supporting historical documents, such as renderings and publicity documents. An approach similar to her method was of use in the present thesis to study the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet.[153] Barbieri's work also presents examples of dress specifically conceived for the stage at different times in history and shows how they differ from day-to-day fashion.[154] Such juxtapositions are effective at presenting the evolution of stage designs, and to demonstrate the historical influences designers draw from.[155]

The desire for greater accuracy for stage designs can be found in numerous pattern making sources. Lucy Barton's 1935 book *Costume in Performance* presents a survey of historic fashion from Ancient Egypt to the start of the twentieth century specifically with the intent to be used in theatre.[156] Fairfax Proudfit Walkup published a similar volume in 1950 that included drawings of simplified patterns used to reproduce the shape of historic dress.[157] Barton and Walkup's publications are intended to create period-appropriate

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[152] Ibid., 396.
[153] Barbieri, *Costume in Performance*, passim; Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body," passim.
[154] Barbieri, *Costume in Performance*, xxv.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Lucy Barton, *Historic Costume for the Stage* (Boston, Massachusetts: Walter H. Baker Company, 1935), v-x.
[157] Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, *Dressing the part: a history of costume for the theatre*, rev .ed. (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1950), v. For an example of pattern simplification, see Walkup, 177.

garments without focusing on the details of construction.[158] These sources demonstrate that costume designers have drawn inspiration from past fashions for their designs, and this may be a contributing factor to why costumes have not been more widely studied: if designed to look like historical dress, these stage pieces may not be deemed as interesting to evaluate as authentic fashionable garments that survive in many museum collections.

What makes a performance costume noticeable may not be how accurately it mimics fashionable dress of the past but how it stands out on the stage. Lydia Edward's 2010 dissertation outlines how audiences are attracted to historical designs that deviate slightly from historical accuracy.[159] Her findings suggest that nineteenth and early twentieth-century audiences seemed to better connect with costumes that were slightly reminiscent of contemporary fashion because it was more familiar than historical realism.[160] Costume dramas have often been developed as stylized productions rather than precise historical depictions.[161] Some researchers specifically address costume stylization. Janet Wilson Anderson, for example, is interested in studying peculiar costumes: she prefers to analyze unattractive, odd, and contorted designs in place of 'pretty' garments in her study of the imaginative aspects of costume design.[162] Her work operates on the premise that the less visually pleasing costumes were more likely to have been intentionally designed, whereas the pretty ones may have been more influenced by fashion than by the

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[158] Ibid., v.
[159] Lydia Jenny Edwards, "Dressing the past: historical escapism' in the costume design of Herbert Beerbohm Tree productions at Her/His Majesty's Theatre, London, 1898-1912." (PhD dissertation, University of Bristol, 2010), 2.
[160] Ibid.
[161] A costume drama is "a movie that is set in the past in which the actors are dressed like people from the past." *Merriam-Webster.com*, s.v. "Costume Dramas," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/costume%20drama (accessed June 18, 2018).
[162] Thom Boswell, ed., *The Costumemaker's Art: Cloaks of Fantasy, Masks of Revelation* (Asheville, NC: Lark Books, 1992), 62.

production or the story they were facilitating: when beauty is no longer a factor, all that is left is design.[163] A pretty costume may still be a designed object, but it does present more challenges when evaluating what was devised with character development in mind versus what was selected for efficiency or general appeal. These sources both demonstrate the potential differences between a garment designed for theatre versus fashion. Different considerations are at play when the aesthetic of a garment is designed for a consumer (fashion) versus an audience (performance). These differences are part of the embedded information that can be "read" through a material culture analysis.

The biggest challenge to the type of study I am undertaking is the comparative lack of surviving performance costume. Theatrical and performance costumes are not represented in scholarly literature to the same extent as fashionable dress. This may be because performance costumes are subject to a significant amount of wear when being used. In many cases, they will be worn until they fall apart and very few have survived to be archived in museums.[164] Much of the history of stage clothing exists only as written descriptions, painted renderings, or photographs and not as physical garments.[165] Those that do survive have likely done so because of an association to a famous person, designer or role the piece was created for.[166] The low number of garments to study may be a contributing factor to the comparatively small amount of research focused on performance costume through the ages. There may be other contributing factors including the ephemeral nature of theatrical and dance performances.

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[163] Ibid.
[164] Barbieri, *Costume in Performance*, x.
[165] Ibid., xxii.
[166] Ibid.

Both theatre and dance performances are conceived as *gesamtkunstwerk* (i.e. works of art that make use of many art forms) and can be short-lived. It is possible that stage garments have fallen to the margins because a well-designed piece may blend seamlessly into a production. This is not to say that the garments cannot be remarkable, but, by fitting into the world of the play, they become a part of the performance, which is temporary by nature. The choice to hold onto garments and accessories is at odds with the transient reality of theatre. To cater to this situation, which can affect the cost of productions, there is a long tradition of stock costuming. For instance, the Italian Commedia dell'arte prospered through the sixteenth to the eighteenth century using "stock situations" and "stock fictional types."[167] The repetitive symbols paralleled throughout all of the archetypical characters allowed audiences to follow the plotlines even without understanding the language (traditionally Latin or Italian) in which these farces were being performed.[168] The repeated use of costumes has continued well into the twentieth century: for Broadway, large warehouses have amassed pieces from entire productions to be re-used, and operas likewise have massive costume storage or rental facilities associated to any venue-specific company. This situation is commonly found in theaters as well. For instance, the University of Alberta's Timms Center for the Arts has three performance spaces and its own costume storage facility custom-built in the design of the structure. Storage facilities have caused costumes to become dissociated from their original production when they are sorted by size and era in an attempt to re-use and repurpose the

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[167] *Encyclopedia Britannica.com, s*.v. "*Commedia dell'arte*," by the editors of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last updated May 2018, https://www.britannica.com/art/commedia-dellarte (accessed June 19, 2018).
[168] Ibid.

pieces in the future.[169] This state of affairs complicates the study of performance dress, impacts the integrity of many garments, and may lessen the appeal of surviving artifacts for scholars.

Warehouses and costume designers are not the only individuals who have supplied dress for the stage. Prior to the 1919 actor's strike in New York, Broadway actors could be expected to supply their own performance costumes.[170] This expectation is present in Oukrainsky's memoirs: not only were the ballet companies expected to provide costumes for themselves, but, as the heads of the dance troupe, Oukrainsky and Pavley were frequently expected to supply costumes for the entire cast.[171] As such, it may not be surprising that pieces used in one production would be kept for another as the need arose.[172] This alternative life cycle for a garment also begins to show how performance costumes and fashion differ. There may be times when those worlds intersect: Amy De La Haye, in her research on Coco Chanel's work, studied a swim suit Chanel designed for the Russian Ballet film *Le Train Bleu*.[173] Despite the costume being pulled directly out of Chanel's 1924 collection, De La Haye observed differences in the wear patterns of the swim suit used in the film compared with other suits used solely as couture pieces.[174] This example shows how performance costumes can deviate from fashion the instant they are put on stage. Wear patterns may occur because of the added strain the pieces undergo when worn

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[169] This is the case in Broadway playhouses as well. Owen, xiii.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 77, 108.
[172] For example, see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 59.
[173] Donatella Barbieri, producer, and Netia Jones, filmmaker, *Encounters with the Archive*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2012, 14:56, http://www.encountersinthearchive.com/film/ (accessed January 29, 2018).
[174] For 1924 collection, see Woodcock, 144. For De La Haye observations, see *Encounters with the Archive*, 14:56.

in theatrical settings, and that damage can be of interest to better understand the costume's use when studied in the future.[175]

When it comes to the history and the costumes specifically worn by the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, there is a much more limited list of sources to draw from. Fellow dancer Arthur Corey published a biography on the *Life and Death of Andreas Pavley*, but he waited until after Oukrainsky's death to publish the book. The volume situated the author, Corey, as a close friend of Pavley, and speaks more about the author's own life in the American dance industry and his relationship to Pavley than about Pavley himself. The fact that this biography was published forty-six years after Pavley's death and only five years following the death of Oukrainsky makes me question how strong their relationship truly was, and thus how accurate an account of Pavley's life it really is. Oukrainsky's manuscripts are significantly more in depth than Corey's work, and, at the very least, a firsthand account of his own life and career. These authors are both subject to the limitations of human memory but it is nonetheless helpful when external sources can be used to verify key dates and events. Both Oukrainsky and Corey were eloquent writers and may have chosen a magical turn of phrase over increased precision or even accuracy.

A more recent author who published an account of the history of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet is Ann Barzel (1905-2007).[176] In 1979 she produced an article for *Dance Magazine* on this subject. Many of her findings have been corroborated with my own study of the company's history with primary sources at the MP+D. Barzel was a Chicago-based

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[175] Ibid.
[176] Sid Smith, "Ann Barzel: 1905-2007," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, USA), February 2007, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2007-02-14/news/0702140079_1_dance-magazine-twyla-tharp-collection (accessed June 18, 2018).

writer with a passion for dance.[177] She is known for her video footage of touring productions shot from the wings of theatres, which she donated to the Newberry Library in 1982.[178] She was a critic and a journalist, but *Dance Magazine* itself is not a scholarly publication and does not require source materials to be cited.[179] As such, it must be treated with caution. It is also worth noting that Barzel did not have access to Oukrainsky's unpublished manuscript, *My Life in Ballet*, which has been an important source for my own research.[180] In addition to the collection of historical documents relating to the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet at the MP+D in San Francisco, materials can be found at the New York Public Library, and there may be sources in Chicago as well. Not only was Chicago the location where most of the early Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet productions occurred, but it is where Barzel lived and where her article was published.[181] As a result her research cannot be overlooked.

To my knowledge, the MP+D is the only institution to house any of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet's costumes and no material has been published regarding this holding. They have only exhibited the pieces twice: the first time in 1979 (San Francisco Public Library), and the second time in 2015, in the exhibition entitled "Shaping Character" (MP+D).[182] No academic research has been published on the collection, affording this

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[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
[179] "Meet the Editors," *Dance Magazine,* https://www.dancemagazine.com/meet-the-editors-2398353884.html (accessed June 19, 2018).
[180] Barzel, 62-93. Also in Museum Accession Records, Collections: Serge Oukrainsky 979.029, Museum of Performance and Design, letter to Malcolm McCormick (Donor) from Russell Hartley (Director of San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts, now the MP+D), November 30, 1979.
[181] Ibid.
[182] For 1979, see Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 1, folder 1, "Exhibition of Costumes from the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet," San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts (now the MP+D), publicity notice, November 30, 1979. For "Shaping Character," see Muriel Maffre

thesis the opportunity to be the first. The works discussed in Chapter two covered the history of ballet in broad strokes narrowing to certain facets of the history of early twentieth-century ballet, and, more particularly, the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. Even if researching history though performance costume has not been widely done, the aim of the literature review was to contextualize the present study of surviving costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. Knowing what has been done on performance costumes in general, and in the case of the Russian Ballet in particular, can enhance our understanding of the company's history and situate it within the broader context of early twentieth-century dance in the United States.

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(Museum of Performance and Design Executive Director) in discussion with the author (personal conversation), July 2017.

# CHAPTER III – METHODOLOGY

## 3.1 A Material Culture Methodological Approach to History

Historical sources are not—nor should they be—limited to textual documents.[183] The ability to "read" an object as one would other primary sources opens the field of history to deeper analyses of how people interacted with a variety of objects in a multitude of environments.[184] Material evidence can be used to decipher a social code of aesthetics and identity that has otherwise been "undocumented" by written histories.[185] This reading involves a certain amount of subjectivity on behalf of the researcher, but, by approaching the analyses with a structured methodology, conclusions can be reached within a factual and evidence-based framework.[186] Models for material culture analyses independent from archeology, anthropology, and art history emerged in the 1970s and 1980s and were first published in the *Winterthur Portfolio*.[187] Because of the relative novelty of this methodological approach, it can be difficult to focus on other scholars who used objects in their studies before this time, as they did not follow the same rigor as those scholars who pioneered the "new" material culture methodology. This chapter will explore the work of Jules Prown and E. McClung Fleming, before presenting two models for studying historic costume artifacts by Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim as well as by Donatella Barbieri. These sources will then be used to inform the method used in this thesis to evaluate

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[183] Valery Steele, "A Museum of Fashion is More than a Clothes-Bag," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 2, no. 4 (1998): 327.
[184] Ibid., 329.
[185] Prown, "Mind in Matter," 7.
[186] Ibid., 7-10.
[187] The two models were Prown, "Mind in Matter," and E. McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," *Winterthur Portfolio* 9 (1974): 153-173.

costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainksy Ballet in Chapter four.

The *Winterthur Portfolio* published two artifact analyses models. The first was conceived by McClung Fleming in 1974, and then the second by Prown, who wrote twice on this subject in the journal: once in 1980 and again in 1982.[188] McClung Fleming was trained in cultural history and Prown in art history, yet both emphasized the value of objects as primary documents. Prown's model aimed to have the researcher observe an object while imparting as little personal biases as possible in the process.[189] By separating observation, deduction, and speculation into three separate stages, and not allowing the later stages to influence earlier observations, Prown tried to isolate the subjective conclusions inherent to this form of research from the hard evidence that can be identified from the object itself.[190] The versatility of this model and its application to all forms of material culture study has made it invaluable to this field of inquiry, but it is perhaps idealistic in its requirement to remove oneself from the first stage, leaving all personal thoughts and opinions for the final two stages of inquiry. This is also the key area where Prown's model differs from McClung Fleming's.

McClung Fleming uses objects as primary artifactual sources for research and has been central to other methodological approaches in the field. His model begins with identifying the object and only after this phase does it progress to the evaluation, cultural analyses, and interpretation stages.[191] When the piece has provenance, identifying the object at the beginning of the analyses may be less of an issue. Thinking about how the artifact is used can help with the description, but it should not control the observations. Prown's approach argues that

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[188] For 1980, see Prown, "Style as Evidence." For 1982, see Prown, "Mind in Matter."
[189] Prown, "Mind in Matter," 7.
[190] Ibid., 7-9.
[191] McClung Fleming, 154.

beginning any analyses by identifying a function will project an avoidable bias over the resulting observations.[192] Prown's abstention from function identification is especially useful when the object is not situated in a specific context and, if the provenance is known, provides an excellent opportunity to question it's records. In a 1998 article dress historian Valerie Steele applies both Prown and McClung Fleming's object analyses models to her field. She points to the similarities of the two, using McClung Fleming's model to strengthen the applicability of Prown's without actively critiquing it.[193] What I find most enlightening about the variances between the Prown and McClung Fleming models is that their differences make you reflect on the subtleties within material culture methods and how one's research must approach the selection of a method with consideration to the research question(s) and the contexts in which the research will be done.

Object analyses models have the benefit of being applicable across disciplines. Steele is a prime example with her recomendation to dress historians to use the myriad of historical garments available in museums and other collections as documents instead of relying solely on textual sources in their research.[194] Because objects pertain to virtually all areas of historical studies, material culture has the potential of being used in many different fields, including theatre history. The material culture methodology used for this thesis provides further evidence of the versatility of use of Prown's, McClung Fleming's, and Steele's approaches to address theatre history through dress.

A researcher whose work can be used as a precedent in my study is Ingrid Mida, Acting Curator and Fashion Research Collection Co-ordinator at Ryerson University. In her

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[192] Prown, "Mind in Matter," 7.
[193] Steele, 329.
[194] Ibid., 327, 329.

2016 analyses of the history and value of a gala performance tutu, Mida is able to draw conclusions that enhance the historical significance of the National Ballet of Canada. Mida's study is separated into three stages: observation, reflection, and interpretation. These stages draw on Prown's three-part model, which she modified in *The Dress Detective*, a 2015 book she co-authored with Alexandra Kim.[195] While both works are similar in their approaches, the artifacts analyzed were, for the book, fashion pieces, and, for the article, a performance costume. As the article is closer to my thesis' subject, I will focus on the "Gala Performance Tutu" article published solely by Mida. In this work, she begins her introduction by identifying the object as a romantic tutu, a garment whose form "can be traced to the costume worn by ballerina Maria Taglioni in 1832" in *La Sylphide*.[196] This function and aesthetic classification seemingly disregards Prown's warnings about identifying the object in the descriptions stage of analysis, but, on the other hand, it helps ground her subsequent study.[197] It is also worth noting that, despite the similarities in her analysis to Prown, he is not included in the references for a "Gala Performance Tutu." [198] His work is however acknowledged in the book *The Dress Detective*, which Mida does cite. [199] Following her introduction, Mida undergoes a process of observation where she describes the physical attributes of the tutu using proper terminology to describe the materials (i.e. organza, elastic, corduroy,…), construction techniques (i.e. gathered, lined, layered,…), and components of the garments (i.e.

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[195] See Mida, "Gala Performance Tutu," 37-46, and Mida and Kim, *The Dress Detective*, passim.
[196] Mida, 36.
[197] Prown is very clear that the description stage "is restricted to what can be observed in the object itself, that is, to the internal evidence." Prown, "Mind in Matter," 7.
[198] Mida 37-39, 47.
[199] Mida and Kim, 23.

corselet, skirt, bodice,…).[200] All of these terms are precise identifiers that allow the object to be described and visualized by the readers who may not have access to the costume. The next stage is a reflection where the description of the object, the tutu, is compared against other like objects to determine how it may be different.[201] Those differences are identified as what could make this artifact unique, and the recognition of such specificities is used to guide the final stage of interpretation where external evidence is considered in support of the observations and reflections made earlier. [202] It is here that the costume becomes a piece of historical evidence, and that information about the director, designer, and dance company are considered because of their affiliation to the piece.[203] Mida acknowledged the significance of the performance tutu through its materiality: in the end, it is the signs of construction and wear that inform how it was once used and identify the piece as a possible archetype of the period.

Performance costumes, when they survive, can be used to enhance our understanding of the historical context in which they were used, but they cannot in and of themselves recreate the greater context where they emerged and were first experienced by dancers and spectators alike. They can be used as one of the tools in a researcher's arsenal. Mida's analysis goes far beyond a description of the gala performance tutu, yet her entire study is grounded in and guided by the object. The costume is successfully used to explore the period in which the National Ballet of Canada emerged, and follows a similar progression to what I follow using the costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet in Chapter four. Mida addresses our contemporary biases regarding the importance of the tutu. She looks at present and past forces

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[200] Mida, 37-38.
[201] Ibid., 38-39.
[202] Ibid., 38-46
[203] Ibid., 34-46.

that impact the object's value. Her approach draws upon the material presence of the object, the documented information around it, and our own reaction to it. External sources relating to the tutu are widely considered as supporting evidence. Nonetheless, it is important to note that, while Mida's methodological approach has worked well on a performance costume, it was developed for fashion artifacts. There are differences between performance costumes and fashion that are not tackled within the confine of her short article that could in some cases require a more specialized method to address.

Artifacts designed to be used in a specific context, such as a performance, and for a defined purpose, like character development, may present further methodological challenges for researchers. Performance only exists during the interaction between performer and audience: live performance is inherently temporary.[204] When a costume is accessioned in a museum or in an archive, it becomes more challenging to access this theatrical potential: once stored in a museum, the live theatre context that once made it come alive is no longer comprehensible.[205] Barbieri devised a methodology to overcome this limitation.[206]

Performativity in Barbieri's work, and in this thesis, is defined as "the difference between [things] that 'do' something rather than passively 'describe.'"[207] Used in the context of dress for the theatre, it can be understood that a costume's performativity is the kinetic agency it brings to the stage.[208] Barbieri argues that a person trained to visualize how a

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[204] Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body," 281.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid., 284.
[208] Kinetic agency is the movement a costume makes when it is worn: the word kinetic is defined as "of or relating to the motion of material bodies and the forces and energy associated therewith." See *Merriam-Webster.com,* s.v. "Kinetic," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/kinetic (accessed May 14, 2018). Agency is defined as "the capacity, condition, or state of acting or of exerting power." See *Merriam-Webster.com,* s.v. "Agency," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/agency (accessed May 14, 2018).

garment would interact with both its wearer and its viewer (i.e. in its dramatic context) is able to identify and study the theatrical potential of an archived garment.[209] Instead of waiting, as Prown suggests, to consider the researcher's insights until after the object has been described, Barbieri insists that the researcher's personal experiences and identity can be a resource to visualize how items of dress would have interacted on stage.[210] Barbieri uses the researcher's past experiences to enhance and guide the study.[211] Her background as a costume designer and historian has led to her research focus on historical stage dress, which parallels a more experienced version of my own background and research interests. As a result, I will work to incorporate her recommendations into my approach when exploring what performative information can be gleaned by analyzing the chosen artifacts from the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet.

The rest of Barbieri's proposed methodology is not presented with compartmentalized model.[212] When presenting her observations, she does not separate her descriptions from her deductions or her deductions from her speculations, like Prown, but follows each observation from description to conclusion before moving onto her next observation/argument.[213] Barbieri allows her work to progress on its own until it reaches its final conclusions. Each component may offer deductions and speculations without waiting until the "appropriate" time to feed her arguments. While effective in her writings, the lack of an organised model makes it more difficult to structure new research project based on her method. In the end, the success of her

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Both words can be used to describe an object, and the kinetic agency of a costume is thus the movement it creates once set in motion by the wearer.

[209] Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body," 287.
[210] Ibid., 287.
[211] Ibid., 286-287.
[212] Ibid., 281.
[213] For an example, see ibid., 292.

methodology is dependent on the researcher: she argues that it is where a researcher's perception differs "that costume may begin to be properly investigated," diverging again from Prown who advocates for the absence of self in the description stage of analyses. [214] To her, the complexity of a costume can only be interpreted with an interdisciplinary approach, which is why she incorporates her own experiential approach in her analyses of costume.[215] Each theatre professional is shaped by his or her own careers: the experiences from those unique careers will, in turn, influence the researcher's observations.[216] This makes any conclusions difficult to replicate, as the interests and expertise of one researcher will likely differ from those of another. It also limits this methodology to those with experience working with contemporary costumes: it relies on the belief that insights in performativity can only be made with the skilled eye of a researcher who can empathize with the dormant performativity of the costume during their analysis of the artifact. As a result, her method may be limited to a designer/historian with previous expertise in both fields of study. She has essentially developed a personal methodology based on her own training in order to answer research questions she is interested in pursuing. This is not to say that others cannot repeat her methodology, but, in order to be successful, the researcher must share a similar background.

Barbieri's approach makes me more aware of my own perspective and subjectivity. It is also why I will explain my background so that both my expertise and potential biases may come to light. For the past decade, costumes have been a central part of my personal and professional life. I received a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Drama with a major in theatre design from the University of Alberta in 2014. Throughout that program, I was trained equally in set,

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[214] Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body," 287.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid., 286-287.

costume and lighting design, but my subsequent career has centered exclusively on costume. I was taught how to sew from an early age, and have been dually employed as a costume maker and designer. I understand how garments are constructed, how costumes are used, and how materials will interact on the clothed body. Factoring-in my experiences as a theatre creator helps me understand Barbieri's approach to costume analyses, but that experience has solely been with contemporary costumes and materials. It has only been in the past two years that I have begun working with historical garments. Even though I understand much about the use and function of a costume, it is far more challenging to analyze an artifact that is removed from its historical—or performance—context. My experience allows me to empathize with a disused costume, but I am also trained as a material culturist to allow the object to speak for itself as part of my education as a graduate student in Human Ecology with a focus on clothing, textile, and material culture.

At this point, the works presented in this section must now be considered for how they can be best used to inform the methodology for this study. The original models of Prown and McClung Fleming are very versatile, which opens them to the possibility of being applied in different disciplines. While their versatility means they can be widely used, it also means they are not specifically formulated to the parameters of this study. Steele's 1998 article translates Prown's model to dress history but then does not follow it to the letter: her example about "reading" a dress seemingly breaks Prown's rule to not identify the object until later in the analyses.[217] Even when trying to apply his model to her field without critique Steele has modified it to better suit her source material. While fashionable dress is not the same as

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[217] Steele, 329.

performance costume, their shared function as garments does open the opportunity for methods to cross over. Mida showed this through her application of the same method in both the works explored in this chapter: her co-authored book *The Dress Detective* (for fashionable dress), and her article "A Gala Performance Tutu" (for performance costume). Barbieri was the only researcher who published a method specifically designed for the analyses of performance costume. She developed her entire method to target the specificity of archived costumes stored in museums: the artifacts guide Barbieri's methodology and the researcher's extensive knowledge is required to enhance every stage of the analysis.[218] This is an attractive research precedent because of the similarities Barbieri's work and background and mine, but I am concerned about rushing to conclusions too quickly in my own analyses. Before describing my adopted method, I must address the context in which the objects in my case study (a crown, a loincloth, a torso ornament and a cuff) exist.

## 3.2 The Changing Meanings of Objects in Museum Collections

There are many ways in which an object can be analyzed. It can be looked at for its historical significance in relation to other similar objects, it can be investigated to understand systems of production and consumption, and it can be used to explain the changing meanings of objects shifting from a historical to a contemporary context—among others. These different perspectives may each be considered independently, but they may also be analyzed together to paint a comprehensive picture of the object's, the maker's and/or the user's life. Eventually a dialogue between past and present contexts can emerge.

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[218] Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body," 281.

It is in this space that the changing meanings of objects, or in this case costumes, can be analyzed over time.

In her introduction to *The Thing about Museums*, Sandra Dudley frames the context of an object moving from an active (i.e. used for the purpose it was intended to serve) to a passive (i.e. collected for research and display) role in a museum collection as a re-contextualization (as opposed to a de-contextualization).[219] This author operates on the understanding that, even within a museum, an object remains "'alive' in the sense of being experienced and engaged with by human subjects."[220] For objects on display, this argument is easy to support if the viewers are better able to engage with the exhibition through the objects on display. However, when considering that the majority of objects in a museum's collection are hidden in storage, it is perhaps more difficult to see how the value of artifacts kept in storage can be communicated. The MP+D, for example, houses over five hundred costume pieces and accessories, but, due to limited space and staff, exhibitions of these costumes are few and far between.[221] Furthermore, the museum has quarantined a large portion of their costume collection due to insect and mold infestations, and, until the artifacts are treated, they cannot be displayed.[222] Following Dudley's introduction, one may thus wonder if this lack of human engagement affects their value: such issues are among

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[219] Sandra Dudley and others, eds., *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation* (Oxon: Routeledge, 2012), 1-2.
[220] Ibid., 2.
[221] Muriel Maffre (Museum of Performance and Design Executive Director) in discussion with the author (personal conversation), July 2017.
[222] Rousseau 1-7.

the challenges museums face when ensuring their artifacts serve their research and exhibition mission and not simply lie dormant in storage.[223]

When considering the changing meanings of objects and their inclusion in museum collections, it is imperative to acknowledge the object's origins in addition to its present situation. How and why the object survived may be equally important as its earlier history. Since performance is believed to be something that only exists in the space where audience and performer interact, how can these very narrow slices of the past be preserved? The histories of performance are still embedded within the costumes, through their design, and through degradation and wear imprinted on the object with time. The objects discussed in this thesis all show signs of wear and mending because they were in fact used. This evidence may give the costumes added value today precisely because of the physical imprints left on them from the past. The purpose of the next section is to explore how this embedded evidence can be used in the study of history and ballet.

## 3.3 Ballet Costumes as Material Culture

Since material culture engages "artifacts [as] primary data" and uses them "actively as evidence rather than passively as illustrations," we may wonder if ballet historians have used this methodology in their work.[224] Mida has applied this approach to her evaluation of a previously described tutu worn in the National Ballet of Canada's "Gala Performance" in the 1950s and now in the collection of Ryerson University.[225] Time has unfortunately not

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[223] Dudley and others, 1-2.
[224] Prown, "Mind in Matter," 1.
[225] Mida, 35-47.

been kind to the costume, and it has degraded significantly over the past 60 years.[226] What is of interest to my research is that this piece was not worn by a famous dancer or designed for a leading part in the production.[227] Many collections would not choose to accession or conserve a garment in this state without a more illustrious provenance, but it is because of its normality that Mida believes it is important.[228] The *corps de ballet* is a group entity: it is not about any one dancer, but the group of performers interacting with one another to create a single moving composition.[229] Because it is not about the single performer, the *corps*, and by extension their costumes, become a representation of the company at large. By comparing the materials, the design, and the wear of the tutu with historical documentation of the company from the 1950s, Mida identifies the object as an embodiment of the National Ballet, and argues for its value as material evidence of the early years of the company.[230]

The understanding that ballet costumes communicate choices made by their makers and users opens them to the possibility of a material culture analysis. It is important to remember that, while the decisions made to put that specific costume on the stage are important, another could easily have taken its place. Perhaps the zipper broke, the choreographer changed their mind, or the dancer did not like it. Unknown factors and choices remain a part of the history of that costume, and may be unidentifiable through object analyses. Material culture research enables us to use material objects as historical

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[226] Ibid., 39.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid., 46.
[229] *Dictionary.com*, s.v. "Corps de ballet," http://www.dictionary.com/browse/corps-de-ballet?s=t (accessed January 29, 2018).
[230] Mida, 46.

documents: given the opportunity, ballet costumes reveal information about the creative minds that developed them, the goals behind those choices, and, most importantly, about the social, cultural and political environment the costumes were designed in. This thesis aims to analyze the "relationship of the artifact to its culture" in an attempt to explore how an analysis of the costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet can shed light on the historical significance of the company. [231]

A major limitation to using material culture to study the evolution of ballet is that there are few examples of surviving costume for the long interval that this art form has existed. The work of Collins and Jarvis on seventeenth-century *dance noble* in the French court of Louis XIV has found innovative ways to address this situation.[232] They address this era using primary sources including paintings, journals, engravings and books from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seeking information that can fill in the gaps where there are no surviving performance costumes to analyze.[233] To address the void in this collaborative research paper requires special skills: Jarvis is a theatre designer and costume maker, focusing predominantly on period costume, and Collins is an early dance expert, specializing in "reviving original choreography and gesture for historical performance."[234] Their research interests have undoubtedly stimulated their desire to analyze how movement

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[231] Steele, 329.
[232] *Dance noble*: "[b]allet at the court of Louis XIV was presented as part of a spectacle of music, dance and voice designed to dazzle and impress the courtiers, ambassadors and other visitors who formed the audience with the wealth, taste and magnificence of his court. In England the masque, another composite form of court spectacle, had performed a similar function earlier in the century. Louis XIV was acknowledged to have been an accomplished dancer:…. [h]e displayed his talents frequently in entertainments known as *ballets de cour*. Supporting roles were taken by aristocratic amateurs, those who had the social status to perform alongside him…. This *danse noble* style represented such courtly attributes as elegance, nobility, generosity and honour." Collins and Jarvis, 170.
[233] Ibid., 169-193.
[234] Ibid., 192-193.

and clothing are interrelated. Their joint specialties enable them to better understand the primary sources they are studying because of their work in recreating dress and choreography respectively: they can visualize the movement without the presence of actual costumes, which is exactly the type of experiential differences Barbieri argues researchers need to study performance wear effectively. The presence of costumes would likely enhance the accuracy and verifiability of this area of study, but their experiences have enabled them to address the material gap in this era of ballet history. However, William B. Worthen and Peter Holland remind theatre historians that alternative sources like scripts, or in this case costumes, are not complete recordings of past productions. [235] They can nevertheless be used to assist researchers to understand how dance was performed. Collins and Jarvis were able to use alternative sources to explore how costume and choreography "were co-dependent, prompting the other to develop and evolve," and how the garments worn in the *dance noble* were different from both court dress and fashion.[236] Their creativity allowed them to engage with their topic regardless of the material absence of costumes from this era. While the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet does not share this same material limitation, the research of Collins and Jarvis is still pertinent because it shows how the use of external primary sources can be used to enhance our understanding of performance costumes. This precedent informs the use of historical documents and photographs pertinent to the case study conducted for this thesis.

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[235] W. B. Worthen and Peter Holland, eds., *Theorising Practice, Redefining Theatre History* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 214.
[236] Collins and Jarvis, 169.

### 3.4 Object Analyses Method Applied to My Study

After considering the literature previously cited, I have chosen to use Prown's categories of description, deduction, and speculation, but will attempt to incorporate Barbieri's recommendation to use the researcher's past experiences to guide the analysis. The use of a method is important to untangle the data collected, but I will maintain space in the margins for personal remarks throughout the three stages of analyses even if they are simply there as reminders to follow up on an observation when the subsequent stages arrive. These observations may be helpful when transitioning between categories, and help when sourcing external information in the speculation stage of analysis.

Material culture research is a human activity affected by the subjectivity of the researcher and the effects of time and human intervention on the objects studied. Clothing and textiles in particular are always in a state of degradation, and it is important to acknowledge that the pieces under study are likely not the same as when they were first made.[237] The researcher's perspectives also changes over their lifespan, and the observations made at one point in time could differ from observations made later in life. In order to embrace this reality, I believe Barbieri is correct in suggesting that the investigator should bring forth and specifically describe their prior knowledge and experience.[238] While I am only a junior scholar, I have become immersed in the history of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, and my training and skills as a costume designer and seamstress can hopefully be used to contribute insight to their analyses following Barbieri's precedent. I will follow Mida and Barbieri's lead to identify the type of garment being analyzed

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[237] Prown, "Mind in Matter," 7.
[238] Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body," 286-287.

throughout all three stages of inquiry. Both have shown that unbiased conclusions can be drawn from performance costumes when they are identified early on, and that acknowledging the garment's function as a performance costumes can help uncover the performative elements of the piece more effectively. The descriptive terminology used in Mida's evaluation of the gala performance tutu will also be incorporated in my descriptive phase by naming the artifacts as specific garments (i.e. a crown, a loincloth, a torso ornament, a cuff) for added clarity. For example, once identified as a loincloth, the garment can then be imagined over a human body. This process can, in turn, provide context for the wear patterns, shape, and size of the garment. The costume itself was always worn on a human body, which leads me to believe that the research must always consider the body as an absent yet essential component of the analysis. This is supported by Joanne Entwistle's "argu[ment] that understanding dress requires adopting an approach that acknowledges the body as a social entity and dress as the outcome of both social factors and individual actions," in other words, body and dress are connected to one another and to their social context.[239] As such, the costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet must be considered not only as objects in relation to a body, particularly in terms of movement, but also in the way they would have been perceived by both American and global audiences of the early twentieth century. These choices will enhance my methodological approach to access the underlying performative elements of the artifacts, which will help answer the question: how can the analysis of costumes shed light on the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet? In the end, I believe this method allows the latent performativity of the

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[239] Joanne Entwistle, "Fashion and the Fleshy Body: Dress as Embodied Practice," *Fashion Theory* 4, no. 3 (2000): 344.

costumes to come alive and be interpreted through the eye of someone with an understanding of performance and the performativity of costume.

# CHAPTER IV – CASE STUDY OF AN ORIENTAL COSTUME IN THE OUKRAINSKY COLLECTION

In order to address the research question about costumes' ability to shed light on the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, this chapter presents a case study conducted using costume artifacts at the MP+D that were created and worn by members of the company in question. As was outlined in Chapter one, the MP+D houses a large collection of biographical documents and costumes that once belonged to a founding partner of the company, Serge Oukrainsky, who died in 1972. Russell Hartley, who would eventually become the founder and first director of the MP+D, came to hold the collection in his basement.[240] When Hartley's collection grew, he moved into a larger house to accommodate its size, and was later offered space to move his holding into the basement of the San Francisco Public Library.[241] The MP+D seemingly originated as a private collection, and its change to a public collection appears to have prompted significant changes in both mission and acquisition process.

What instigates my research process may be rooted in early cataloguing practices. During the early years when the costume holding was being assembled by Hartley, some artifacts were not properly documented and tagged. This is reflected by the number of unidentified costumes in the MP+D's collection but such state-of-affairs are, alas, not uncommon. More recent collections management activities consisted of a condition assessment of the museum's costumes including the Oukrainsky Collection and the

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[240] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 227, box 1, series 1, folder 1, "Exhibition of Costumes from the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet," San Francisco Archives for the Performing Arts (now the MP+D), publicity notice, November 30, 1979.
[241] Museum of Performance and Design, Chronology of the Collection, Appendix D.

subsequent quarantine of many costume artifacts in 2015. During the conditioning of the costume collection the inventory was updated to include un-inventoried costumes and accompanying accessories. These items were given alpha-numerical identification numbers,[242] which were added to pre-existing identification numbers that some artifacts already had. This process means that all of the artifacts in the collection are now accessioned and accounted for. Dual numbering systems are, however, rather confusing and imply connections between the accessioned artifacts with a shared identification number. Among my tasks at the MP+D during my graduate practicum/internship (June 1-July 28, 2017) was to link the costume artifacts (mostly through photographs of these objects) to other primary and secondary source materials in the paper archive and to verify the provenance and associations of the costumes with object records. I added research notes to the inventory linking artifacts to one another and to corresponding primary and secondary sources in the paper archive, which was a source of information for this process. The box labeled "Coll 2280" contained four artifacts—a loincloth, a torso ornament, a crown, and a cuff (Figure 2), which were all accessioned under the same pre-existing identification number (988.0.1112) and titled "Unidentified - Oriental."[243] Their assumed connectivity is in part why I was drawn to analyze the box for this thesis.[244] The artifacts in box "Coll

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[242] Conservator Elise Rousseau identifies artifacts differentiated by letter but sharing the same accession number as alpha-numerical numbers, i.e. 988.0.1112a and 988.0.1112b. Rousseau, 1.

[243] 988.0.1112c (crown), 988.0.1112a (loincloth), 988.0.1112b (torso ornament), and 988.0.1112d (cuff). Museum of Performance and Design, Costume Inventory, Unpublished, 2017. "Coll 2280" is the box identification number at the MP+D. "Coll" stands for collection, and the number is the box ID. Kirsten Tanaka (Museum of Performance and Design Head Librarian) in discussion with the author (personal conversation), September 2018.

[244] As explored in the limitations section, another significant reason for this choice was that the box escaped quarantine, but the implication that all four pieces were from the same costume ensemble was very intriguing.

2280" form the subject of the case study described in this chapter, and the interpretation of my findings will be used to answer the research question in Chapter five.

Figure 2
Oriental Costume in Box "Coll 2280," ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

As defined in Chapter three, the object analyses model used for the case study is based primarily on Prown's model. By separating observation, deduction, and speculation into three distinct stages, it becomes possible to isolate style from purpose and to explore the social implications of material objects. The observation of an object is done using "internal evidence of the object itself."[245] The synchronicity of this stage of analysis already shows the inherent subjectivity of the practice: over time artifacts change, and those

[245] Prown, "Mind in Matter," 7.

changes can affect the observations made. Specific sensory descriptions of the object as a whole are followed by more detailed elaborations of materials and fabrication. Content follows and develops into a formal analysis of configuration and interaction of the elements composing the object. Only then does Prown's model allow the researcher to begin deducing information from those observations. This object and perceiver relationship requires physical interaction with the artifact and "involves the empathetic linking of the material… world of the object with the perceiver's world of existence and experiences," thus enabling the researcher to use their own thoughts and perceptions in the deduction stage.[246] This stimulates sensory, intellectual, and emotional responses, and is in part how Barbieri's methodological approach to performance costume analyses becomes relevant: her research shows that the latent performativity of the costumes being analyzed can be observed through the lens of the perceiver's experiences.[247] I will describe these two stages together in my analysis due to the inevitability of deductive reasoning when considering the function of an artifact placed on specific locations on the body. The final stage is speculation where the facts and deductions amassed during the previous two stages are verified through research. One's own insights are called upon as the information previously collected is used to develop theories using external evidence. The case study that is the focus of this chapter follows these stages and helps craft a historical narrative about the artistic pursuits of the maker that created them and the company that used them, as well as a contemporary narrative about their current significance at the MP+D.

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[246] Ibid., 8.
[247] Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body: Detecting Performance Through the Archived Costume," 285-287.

## 4.1 The Crown – Description and Deduction

The following section describes the physical attributes of artifact 988.0.1112c in box "Coll 2280." The artifact is shaped as a tall, inverted cone with a crenellation pattern at the top (see Figure 3). It stands 30.5 cm high from the base to the top of the crenellation squares, which themselves average 5 cm high and 4 cm apart. The piece is composed of thick and stiff layers of millinery buckram and has wire supports throughout. The exterior surface is covered in a vibrant, metallic gold fabric, and a variety of decorative treatments are appliquéd to the surface. A large equilateral triangle (20 cm sides) made of red and clear faux gemstones, possibly plastic, over a brocade base appears to mark the center front of the artifact. The bottom of the triangle is parallel to the base of the artifact (see Figure 3), which is trimmed with a matte grey 2 cm metallic ribbon. The remaining two sides of the triangle have nine lines of small clear rhinestones that radiate out and upward in varying lengths. The two lower radials are connected and wrap around the opposite side of the crown. The same clear rhinestones trim the edges of the crenellation pattern, and a large red gemstone is stitched to the center of each merlon. The inside of the upper section appears less finished: only 12 cm to 15 cm of the inside surface at the top is covered with gold brocade fabric, otherwise the buckram is mostly left unadorned (see Figure 5). A top down view of the artifact shows that the upper circumference (87 cm) is shaped more like an ellipse than a circle, and many of the crenellations cave slightly inwards. The inverted cone would be hollow except for a domed structure attached to its narrow base (see Figures 5-6). The inside domed structure is composed of many different pieces and materials, including elasticized panels. The canvas and elastic are only visible from the top or bottom openings of the cone, and come in a variety of raw materials in off-white colours from light beige to

light peach. For the most part the canvas and elastic edges are left unfinished. Both beige and black threads were used to sew the domed structure, and the seams appear to be very tight and consistent in length, but a little crooked and inconsistent in their lines. Large basting stitches are apparent throughout the inside of the inverted cone. They vary in length, direction and tension. Stitching is also visible on the outside of the piece, but matching thread colours and smaller stiches are used compared with those stitches visible on the inside. There is only one structural seam on the back outer piece and it runs diagonally from the base to the top. The seam is not placed in relation to the ornamentation and runs at an angle from the bottom to the top through both the buckram and the gold outer fabric leaving between 4 cm (at the top) and 8 cm (at the bottom, in line with the base of the domed structure) of excess seam overlap visible on the inside of the inverted cone. The ribbon and other trims that decorate the piece run over the seam. These descriptions are a raw outline of artifact 988.0.1112c, and, from these observations, the ensuing deductions can be made.

Figure 3 (left)
Crown Front, 988.0.1112c, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

Figure 4 (right)
Crown Back, 988.0.1112c, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

Figure 5
Crown Top, 988.0.1112c, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

Figure 6
Crown Bottom, 988.0.1112c, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

The construction of the piece can provide insight that leads to deductions regarding the nature of the piece and how it may have been made and used. If the narrow base of the artifact rests on a person's head, the crenellation at the top gives the overall impression of a large crown. The shape and dimensions of the domed structure attached to the inside of the narrow base of the object is that of a skullcap. It is made with many small pieces of different materials. These appear to be helpful to contour with precision the rounded surface of a head. The small pieces in the skullcap may have been an attempt to utilize scrap pieces of fabric left over from another costume, or it could have been the result of alterations made to create a better, more secured fit. The presence of elasticized panels in the skullcap strengthens the argument that fit was valued, possibly for a body in motion or for use by individuals with heads of different sizes. Another deduction on what may *not* have been valued comes from the large clumsy stitches used to construct the entire piece: a significant portion of the object appears to have been hand sewn and never meant to be

valued for its construction, only its appearance from a distance. There is a clear difference between the stitch size and thread colours visible on the inside versus the outside of the artifact indicating awareness that the costume needed to achieve a certain standard for the viewer who would not see the inner sections. Moreover, the presence of visible stitches on the outside of the piece seemingly indicates the maker was aware of the distance and low light conditions in which the object would be viewed. The diagonal seam that runs through the buckram and the gold metallic fabric is yet another indication that the quality of construction was not a priority. The uneven seam allowance along this back assembly line could indicate that the piece was either altered to be smaller, or made with the intent that it could be enlarged in the future. However, it could equally be the result of bad craftsmanship: the excess fabric may have been caused by forcing a poorly cut pattern piece into the desired shape, thus creating a large asymmetrical superimposition of fabric overlapping more at the base of the inverted cone, and less at the top. The two trims that cross the seam do so without joining into the seam, which indicates they were added after the seam was created. It is not possible to ascertain at what point this trim was attached, but trim, by nature, tends to be easily added or removed. It is also worth noting that the piece is almost a century old, and that age may have changed the appearance of the artifact. As noted above, the cone is slightly misshaped. This is likely because of improper storage but, with skilled treatment, it could potentially be brought back into what was likely its original rounded shape.[248] Age may also have affected the colour of the artifact. The dark grey

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[248] Presently, the headpiece is properly supported and with enough space inside of archival box "Coll 2280," but the previous archival boxes were reportedly overcrowded and too small for most of the costumes, see Rousseau, 3. The damage may also have been caused before the costumes arrived at the MP+D. All of the Oukrainsky costumes were stored inside of the trunk pictured in Figure 1, and there is no knowing how long

metallic ribbon and the settings for the rhinestone trim appear to have tarnished over the years changing the overall appearance of the piece. Because of these natural transformations, it is important to note that my descriptions and deductions are those of a viewer decades after the object was made. As I move into the speculation stage of this object analysis, external sources will be consulted to enhance and validate these descriptions and deductions.

### 4.2 The Loincloth – Description and Deduction

Artifact 988.0.1112a, also found in box "Coll 2280," is composed of a multiple of materials with contrasting textures. The piece is predominantly constructed out of a lamé fabric, which is woven with pale green metallic threads. A second more supple fabric is a gold silk satin. In certain instances the heavy folds in these fabrics indicate the use of draping. Without holding this piece up to observe its dimension and structure, and attempting to see it as a three-dimensional piece, for which draping is often required to delineate a form, the lamé and silk fabrics—and other materials and ornamentation found on this artifact—do not make it readily legible (see Figures 7 and 8). The need to assess the shape of the artifact three-dimensionally leads the researcher away from observation alone and into an early stage of deduction.

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they were all stored in such a small space. Muriel Maffre (Museum of Performance + Design Executive Director) in discussion with the author (personal conversation), July 2017.

Figure 7
Loincloth, 988.0.1112a, ca.1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

Figure 8
Loincloth Interior, 988.0.1112a, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

Based on the orientation of the artifact as it is stored, this description and early deduction will start with what is likely the top of the object and continue from that point to the bottom. The artifact has a padded sculptural yoke (10 cm high, 2.5 cm thick, 70 cm inner circumference, and 133 cm in outer circumference), which is covered with a honeycomb warp knit over the green lamé. This knit is adorned with rainbow-colored sequins. Large metal hooks and eyes are placed on the yoke as a form of closure to secure the yoke together at one side. Attached to the inner circumference (70 cm) of this yoke is a narrow 2 cm band. Draped beneath either side of the yoke's opening is a 55.5 cm long rectangular segment of green lamé fabric over gold silk satin. The two narrow width endings of the rectangular segment are sewn to the narrow band. Those two endings of the rectangle meet on opposite sides of the yoke's circumference, leaving a small gap where the endings do not quite connect. The lengthwise portion of the rectangular segment drapes down freely. When the hook and eye closures on the padded yoke are attached, the draped rectangle of cloth appears to be symmetrical. The closure of the yoke and draping of fabric leaves the impression that this artifact could be a loincloth, which is traditionally a length of cloth draped over one's groin in front and buttocks in back and secured by belting. The narrow band attached to the inner circumference of the yoke appears to constitute a waistband, and the left side of the garment opens completely, allowing the wearer to step into what could be leg openings and fastening the garment closed over the left hip.

Dangling from the right and left sides of the waistband are four large panels: each side has one long and one short panel. Metal wires are sewn into the edges of all four panels, which are constructed out of the same green lamé found at the crotch and yoke. The crotch section of the loincloth is made of two different outer fabrics and a pale green plain

weave cotton lining. The outside, clearly seen in Figure 7, is made of a large rectangle of supple gold silk satin attached to the front and back halves of the waistband. Basted in place over the center of the gold silk satin is the stiffer green lamé. This metallic fabric is sewn into place giving the illusion of free-form draping while actually being unable to shift. A large ornament at the crotch appears similar to a sporran because it is placed over the genital area. It is decorated in green, red, and clear faux gemstones over a bright orange foil background. The sporran-like ornament is securely fastened to the center front of the loincloth at the waistband below the yoke.

In addition to the physical construction of the artifact, some additional marks and tears can be described. A peach-coloured substance is found on many of the lining fabrics, with more saturated areas at the waist and thigh openings (Figure 8). The affected sections are not covered all over: only certain portions of the fabric are affected. The stains appear to be engrained within the cotton, and the more saturated areas enable the tactile assessment of a gummy residue. The stains do not seep through to the side of the garment that is visible to external parties, but some areas on the dangling panels and the yoke show signs of transference on their surfaces. Some mechanical damage and breaks in the textiles are also present. The inside of the narrow band (i.e. waistband) is showing some threadbare sections, and there is a large tear through the green lamé at the rear base of the crotch section with a number of smaller tears around it. The yoke also has broken sections in the sequined warp knit near the hardware, particularly on the side with the metal eyes. From all these external factors, deductions can be drawn about the artifact's function.

After observing the physical and structural attributes of the loincloth, further deductions can be formulated as to the active use of the piece. The supple gold silk satin

under the stiffer green lamé at the groin could reduce chafing and make the garment more wearable. When worn on a body, the thinner gold silk satin could have adhered to the dancer's inner thigh creases, which would not be the case with the metallic fabric. Even lined with green cotton, this gold silk satin is far more pliable than the lamé. When gathered into the inner thigh creases, the volume could still have caused bulk, but, situated at the beginning of the leg as part of a loincloth, the silk's flexibility could allow ample freedom of movement. The areas of wear found surrounding the hook and eyes can logically be attributed to the hooks catching on the fabric by mistake as they were searching for their corresponding eyes, thus snagging the loose weave of the honeycomb warp knit. Other areas of fabric likewise appear more worn than others. It is possible that sections were repaired over the years, but limited seams indicate that large pieces of the garment would have needed to be removed and replaced for this to happen without patches, of which none are visible. Assuming all areas of the garment are the same age, the wear patterns visible on the garment point to areas subject to higher abrading forces: the fabric in the crotch section would have had more abrasion from the wearer's movements than the outer hips sections, which is reflected by the wear patterns and tears observed in the descriptions. These signs of wear are also evidence that the loincloth was in fact worn.

Further evidence of more specific use comes from the peach substance on the lining. The higher concentrations of staining on the waist and leg openings of the loincloth's lining likely occurred because these areas are in direct contact with the skin. For individuals who wear foundation makeup today, such stains are familiar sightings, and this reality is even more familiar for people who have worked with contemporary stage costumes: collars in particular are very often embedded with the opaque foundation used to

prevent actors faces from being washed out by bright stage lights. However, the shade and the placement of the makeup on the costume artifacts is not representative of "normal" use. Individuals like dancers, who expose more of their bodies, may be more likely to uncover skin other than their face, and choose to wear body makeup on their lower bodies and thus have gummy residue from the makeup transfer from the body to a garment's linings as can be seen with this case study. The staining also suggests how the garment may have reacted to the wearer: the sporadic portions of the lining fabrics where peach stains are found may constitute evidence that the lining fabrics over the groin were heavily draped when worn and that only the fabric in contact with the wearer's skin would have become stained, leaving the areas hidden by the gathered folds untouched.

Some of the material evidence present in the loincloth does not entirely dictate practicality of use and appears to value aesthetics. The outer green lamé and gold satin fabrics would undoubtedly have glistened under stage lights, particularly with the large ornamented sporran-like attachment and sequined hip yoke adorning the waistband. These decorative elements make the loincloth surprisingly heavy and bulky. Furthermore, the four dangling panels do not appear to serve any function aside from aesthetics. The size of the wire sewn into their outer edges increases the weight and spatial dimensions of the entire costume and could make it quite cumbersome. The wire would have ensured the panels would not collapse and may even have kept them out of the dancer's legs, but, overall, the loincloth would probably have been easier to move in without the dangling panels. They do little to increase skin coverage of the overall costume, which leads to the deduction that their function was entirely aesthetic. If fashion history has numerous instances where aesthetics trumps practicality of use, few such flamboyantly decorated loincloths with faux

gems have had their fashionable moments, which precludes fashionable use and stage productions rooted in realism from the artifact's original function. The importance of aesthetics, including but not limited to the use of lower body make-up, and the efforts made to render the garments practical in its use and affordance of movement despite its heavy ornamentation may point to the use of the artifact by a dancer. The myriad embellishments on this loincloth were thus very likely created to be aesthetically pleasing to an audience. Such deductions can be used to interpret motivations or values for how the wearer of the loincloth chose to present him or herself.

Overall, the loincloth would not have been the most practical stage costume for a dancer but its aesthetics could contribute to the art direction of the ballet's design. The choice of lamé, the dangling panels, and the heavy embellishments could have made it difficult to dance in and very possibly uncomfortable to wear, but, as a loincloth, it was still a functional garment that allowed lower body movement. These deductions all suggest both aesthetics and practicality were considered when creating this object.

### 4.3 The Torso Ornament – Description and Deduction

The artifact 988.0.1112b of box "Coll 2280" is composed of two major components and will be described as a circular horn triangle and a module made of joined pieces. The two components are connected by three strings of glass beads thus making the artifact a single unit (Figures 9-10). The circular horn triangle (one convex and two concave sides) is the simpler of the two components. It is heavily decorated on one side with large green, orange, red, yellow, and clear faux gemstones in various round and square sizes that create a symmetrical pattern. A 49 cm long band (1.7 cm wide) embellished with two lines of green

glass beads attaches from one corner at the base of the circular horn triangle and hooks onto the opposite corner. What function it serves is not known by looking at the material evidence alone. The second component, the module made of joined pieces, is also entirely covered in decorations. A near complete circular band is partially opened on the end nearest to the strings of glass beads linking it to the circular horn triangle. This circular band with elaborate extremities is mostly covered with clear faux gems with some colored gems at the opening. It is attached at the opposite center to a more colorful section with multi-colored faux gems with two lobes on the right and left (Figures 9 and 10). The lobes appear to be constructed as separate pieces and are sewn onto the center section using black thread. The underside of the pectoral appears to be lined with a thick un-dyed basket-woven canvas[249] but the lobes are lined in a different fabric: a jersey knit (Figure 11). A narrow flesh-toned elastic is attached to the end of the left lobe. A hook is sewn onto the end of the elastic, and its corresponding eye is on the back of the right lobe. When connected, the band no longer lays flat on the table, but lifts forming a three dimensional shape and one must wonder what the piece was covering. Because the artifact appears at first as a series of decorative flat components linked by glass beads, the same spatial considerations present when observing the loincloth come into play. Time must be spent deciphering where the closures sat and exploring the possible orientation of the artifact to understand its three-dimensionality. To do so, one must address how it could have laid on a body. Assuming a body as substrate is thus a departure from observation to deduction.

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[249] The thickness, structure, and weight of the garment indicate that an additional layer of material is likely embedded between the outer fabric and canvas lining. As the covered material cannot be examined, what is creating the garment's structure cannot be confirmed.

Figure 9
Torso Ornament Outside, 988.0.1112b, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

Figure 10
Torso Ornament Inside, 988.0.1112b, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

Figure 11
Torso Ornament Inside Pectoral Detail, 988.0.1112b, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Josée Chartrand©.

When deciphering how this object could have interfaced with a body, the closures are examined before moving into subsequent garment and body interactions. The elastic that ties the right and left lobe is material evidence that leads me to believe that it could have been secured to the upper torso of a body around the back ribcage area. As such, the module made of joined pieces could have served as a pectoral. If the elaborate extremities at the end of the near circular band join to tie behind the neck, then the single string of deep turquoise glass beads secured to the neck band helps to situate the rest of the artifact. The deep turquoise glass string links to a band of fabric covered with green beads that must circle the lower back of the wearer and hold in place the circular horn triangle in front. This artifact was likely worn directly on the body as the coarse canvas on the underside of the pectoral has the peach gummy residue of the stage make-up described earlier. The shape of

lobes and situation of elastic ties may or may not cover one's breasts and, in so doing, establish the gender of the wearer. Furthermore, there is no darting or shaping to accommodate a women's breasts: all the components are flat. Areas of the lower part of this pectoral are covered with coloured foil, and the foil on the lobes are covered with the same rainbow-coloured honeycomb warp knit found on the loincloth—a feature that may suggest a use of these two artifacts together. Beneath all other decorations on the pectoral is a layer of gold fabric covering a thick and rigid structural base.[250] With the suggested placement and use of the module as a pectoral, the large iridescent white tear-shaped pendant would dangle at the center front of the wearer's chest.

When describing the aesthetics of artifact 988.0.1112b, what is most striking is the graphic impact it delivers: while it provides very little coverage of the torso, it delivers considerable glitz. It is interesting to note that the materials themselves are all quite stiff and unforgiving. Using these descriptions and early deductions, the possible purpose and rationale for the costume and its selected materials can now be considered.

Moving deeper into the deduction stage, a focus will first be placed on the weight and structure of this object. The thickness of the canvas backing and the number of glass, metal, and possibly plastic ornaments decorating every outer surface have made the artifact highly visible and extremely heavy. The glass beads in particular are heavier and harder than what I expect to see on a garment that may have been worn as a dance costume. They were, however, surprisingly solid. If the beaded parts were to swing too far away from the dancer's body, they could easily have caused bruising as they fell back into place against

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[250] The thickness of the upper and lower sections, including the rhinestone ornaments, ranges approximately between 1 cm to 1.3 cm.

the body. To lessen this possibility, the artifact would need to fit the dancer well. To create a good fit, the three rows of beads connecting the lower and upper components may have been held taught enough between the pectoral closure at the back of the neck and the fabric band covered with green beads than encircled the lower torso fastening the circular horn triangle. The weight of glass beads would have been noticeable to the wearer: this reality may have affected a dancer's movements. This deduction once again compels me to believe that aesthetics were an important aspect of the piece, but, as the pectoral still allows a freedom of movement, its function as a dance costume is still fulfilled. Nonetheless, the limited skin coverage offered by this artifact may tip the balance on the side of aesthetic predominance. Further research is required to assess the date of the piece. The date and placement of the pectoral could allow us to know if men were socially expected to cover their chest at this time and if other dance costumes for men could readily expose this part of their bodies.[251] Overall the torso ornament appears to accommodate a tubular shape, and as there is no shaping or fabric that would accommodate or conceal the contours of a female body. The material evidence and deductions presented lead me to believe that this artifact was built for and worn as a decorative costume for a man.

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[251] Men in Hollywood only began to wear topless bathing suits in the 1930s and "men's chests became a new field of skirmish" in the "battle of decency." Richard Martin and Harold Koda, *Splash!: A History of Swimwear* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications Inc., 1990), 29, 43. However, the famous ballet dancer Vaslav Nijinsky, whose costumes will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter V, wore similarly revealing costumes in the 1920s suggesting different standards of dress for fashion and costume for the stage.

4.4 The Missing Cuff – Description and Deduction

The final artifact in box "Coll 2280" is supposed to be a cuff, but, unfortunately, artifact 988.0.1112d was missing and I was not able to observe it directly.[252] Conservation photographs of the cuff (Figures 12-13) will thus be used for the description and deduction stages of this analyses. As can be seen in Figures 12 and 13, handwritten accession tags are clearly visible in the photograph and will be used for scale to estimate the size of the cuffs. Staff at the MP+D remember the tags as being approximately 5 cm by 6 cm.[253] The approximate size of the cuff can therefore be estimated as 4.5 cm wide by 14 cm long. The outer side of the cuff is likely covered with a light green lamé fabric of an unknown fibre and weave structure. The two long edges are trimmed with a narrow gold ribbon. The inside appears to be lined in a muslin or canvas fabric. This canvas is a light beige colour and appears to show minor staining around the edges.


Figure 12
Conservation Photograph, Cuff Outside, 988.0.1112d, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design©, San Francisco.

[252] The cuff is currently missing despite conservation photographs attesting its presence in 2015.
[253] Muriel Maffre (Museum of Performance + Design Executive Director) in discussion with the author (personal conversation), July 2017.


Figure 13
Conservation Photograph, Cuff Lining Side, 988.0.1112d, ca. 1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design©, San Francisco.

Without seeing the cuff in person, it is difficult to make substantial deductions. If the size I inferred from the photograph is correct, then I question if the cuff would have been long enough to wrap around an arm, leg, or ankle. It could, however, wrap around a small wrist. I could not, however, identify any hardware that would have been used to fasten the two ends of the cuff together. The artifact shows signs of wear with the peach stains visible around the edges. It is not as distinct as those embedded on the interiors of both the loincloth or the torso ornament, but it is enough to compel me to believe the artifact was once worn directly against the skin. Ultimately, without the opportunity to see the cuff in person, it is not possible to come to any further deductions that situate the artifact with the others found in box “Coll 2280,” or its intended use. The small size of the cuff and the fact that I’m not certain how or where it was worn has made me unsuccessful in my attempt at identifying the costume it belongs to, and thereby limiting any further deductions. If it is a cuff worn with the other components observed previously, the metallic fabric and trim that went into its composition could have blended with those pieces well.

Guided by personal experiences working with stage costumes, the information collected in the description and deduction stages for the artifacts identified as a crown, loincloth, torso ornament, and cuff will be examined in the subsequent stage of analysis where speculations will be made. Primary and secondary sources will be used to confirm and enhance my deductions. To date, observations and deductions have focused mostly on individual artifacts. In the next section the scope will broaden to consider the artifacts in relation to each other, the entire ensemble these artifacts may have been worn with, and the interaction the costumes would have had with the wearer, the audience, the maker, and the designer, thus demonstrating how the analysis of costumes has the potential to shed light on the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet.

### 4.5 Speculations – Process of Identification

The process used to identify the artifacts previously described came to my attention through a larger project: identifying all sixty-one costumes in the MP+D's Oukrainsky Collection. As such, the entire process and the challenges I faced will be explained before speculations will be made in section 4.6. The scope of my internship research improved my knowledge of the Oukrainsky costume collection and its accompanying paper archive was essential in my research.

The Oukrainsky Paper Collection at the MP+D is a combination of published and unpublished materials. The photographs, snapshots, newspapers clippings, illustrations, book excerpts, programs, and other publicity materials in the collection provided enough information to identify over seventy percent of the Oukrainsky costumes at the MP+D. Because of the quarantine of many pieces and the large number of costumes involved in

this process, I was required to use conservation photographs of artifacts over direct observation of the pieces. A series of polaroids taken when the costumes were initially accessioned were also used. Both sets of images were limited in the detail they captured of the costume artifacts, but, between these two sources, there was enough information to cross-reference costume artifacts with the materials in the Oukrainsky Paper Collection. All the external sources examined during this stage of analysis are from the MP+D's archive.[254]

The ultimate goal was to reassess each costume. Facts sought included which ballet the artifact was used in, who designed it, who was pictured wearing it, and what year the picture was taken in relation to when the production was first performed. Answers to these questions were seldom clear. Securing the date of a costume was almost always inconclusive. This may be because Pavley and Oukrainsky performed their ballets for multiple seasons, and the same costumes may have also been reused for multiple ballets.[255] For example, the same costume was captioned differently in two different photographs, once as worn in *Danse Macabre*, and the other in *The Gates of Redemption*.[256] This variation may be the result of human error, but it may also be evidence that costumes were in fact reused in different productions. My task in reassessing the costumes in the MP+D collection became a visual exercise in connecting pictures of the costume artifacts to a wide array of corresponding photographs. This cross-referencing expanded knowledge and

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[254] Additional sources could be examined at the New York Public Library. New York Public Library "Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet Russes Papers 1915-1950," https://browse.nypl.org/iii/encore/search/CSpavley-oukrainsky%20ballet%20russe%20papersOrightresultU?lang=eng&suite=def (accessed September 18, 2017).
[255] Inferred from multiple sources. *Boudour*, for example, was first performed in Chicago 1919. See Press Book of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. *Boudour* was also toured to Mexico City in 1922, and multiple venues in South America in 1924. See Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 110-114, 118-127.
[256] For the collection locations, see Museum of Performance and Design, Costume Inventory, Unpublished, 2017.

accessibility to the Oukrainsky Collection. Depending on where the images were found, there may or may not have been a caption accompanying the primary source materials. Images found in books (i.e. secondary sources) tended to yield the most comprehensive information: authors would usually identify the dancer(s) in the picture and the production the photograph was from. Images found in advertising materials for ballet lessons and summer programs tended to be the least informative: the image quality was usually high, but were seldom accompanied by captions. What the image references consistently provided was evidence for how the costumes were worn and what garments and accessories were worn together.

In order to identify the origins of the sixty-one accessioned costumes in the Oukrainsky Collection, I developed different strategies to improve efficiency.[257] The conservation photographs of the artifacts were taken with the objects lying on a table with no indication of form, scale, or body. The primary documents the costumes were compared to were all seen on costumed performers and predominantly in black and white. The contrasts between an embodied object and an artifact devoid of its substrate, and between black and white depictions and coloured artifacts, were limitations I had to contend with. In the end, the most successful identification strategy came from focusing on large details in the primary source images and looking for those details in the one-hundred-and-eighty conservation photographs (available on a computer screen) and the fifty-eight polaroids of the Collection.[258] This detective work helped to overcome the lack of scale in both the conservation photographs and the polaroids. Once an article of dress was spotted in the

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[257] For sixty-one accessioned costumes, see ibid.
[258] Author counted the conservation photographs and polaroids while at the Museum.

visual depictions, a closer comparison of the image would be undertaken. From the research I can say that, in many cases, the Oukrainsky Collection at the MP+D has multiple costume artifacts from the same ensembles. Another undertaking focused on searching for matching fabrics and motifs: the more time spent looking at such details of artifacts, the more generic similarities began to fade, giving space for specific repetitions between matching articles to be identified from within the same outfit. If artifacts appeared to be from the same ensemble, I would then have a better idea of what the entire costume might look like. I would then refer back to the primary source material in an attempt to verify my presumptions. My final strategy was to convert the remaining conservation photographs to black and white. This helped bridge the gap between the coloured photographs and the black and white primary source visuals, but there were still some pieces that remained unidentified. In order to identify all of the costumes and accessories within the Oukrainsky Collection, I believed the remaining costumes would have to be physically analyzed to compensate for what the conservation photographs and polaroids do not communicate: the relationship of the costume to the body. Fortunately for this thesis, the crown, loincloth, torso ornament, and cuff from the case study were an ideal case as I could have physical access to most of the pieces.

The artifacts in box “Coll 2280” were described as being an oriental costume of unknown origin. The implication of this group title implies they were worn as pieces of the same ensemble, but, by observing each artifact individually, I began to question that assumption. The crown, loincloth, torso ornament and cuff were accessioned under the same identification number: 988.0.1112. While accessioning several artifacts that were worn together under the same initial number but with added alphabetical letters for each

sub components is an accepted practice in museums, it is usually reserved for artifacts with a confirmed connection, a suit for example. The head conservator on the 2013 inventory indicated in her final report that her team used alpha-numeric chains (i.e. 988.0.1112a, 988.0.1112b, 988.0.1112c…) to add artifacts without accession numbers to the collection, but gave no indication for why this approach was selected instead of continuing the numbering system linearly (i.e. 988.0.1113, 988.0.1114, 988.0.1115…).[259] Using the same identification number for the case study artifacts seems to indicate the conservators' intent to join these artifacts together as an ensemble, which is echoed by the title of the box "Coll 2280" as "Unknown - Oriental" costume.[260] One may also wonder if the conservator found the pieces in a box so labeled.

## 4.6 Speculations – Case Study

The conservation photographs alone did not show enough details of the loincloth or the torso ornament to allow me to speculate that they were part of the same ensemble. During my internship activities, I became aware of their possible connection in an early twentieth century picture of Pavley wearing what appears to be both the torso ornament and the loincloth (Figure 14). The tear-shaped pendant at the center front of the pectoral is very distinctive, and helped me identify the artifact in the photograph. Exploring the connection between the analyzed loincloth and Figure 14 was challenging because the garment looks significantly different when lying flat on a table and worn three-dimensionally on a human body. The padded hip yoke over the waistband and the sporran-like ornament were the first

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[259] Rousseau, 1.
[260] Museum of Performance and Design, Condition Reports, 988.0.1112a, b, c and d, Coll 2280, 2015.

distinctive features to be recognized, eventually allowing the disembodied reality of the artifacts to be overcome. The image of the two artifacts pictured together prompted a comparison of materials used in these pieces. The same shimmering metallic fabric can be seen on the circular horn triangle on the torso ornament and the sporran-like ornament on the loincloth affording the possibility that they were built at the same time. The pairing of the torso ornament and the loincloth with Figure 14 allows further speculations: if the garments were worn together, it stands to reason they would have a higher chance of being stored together and thus survive the years as an ensemble. It is the "internal evidence" of the artifacts paired with the photograph of Pavley in costume (Figure 14) that make me believe the loincloth and the torso ornament were not only worn accidentally together in one photograph, but stylistically designed and built to be worn together.[261] There is however a clear difference between the torso ornament in the museum's collection and the one in the picture: the lobes attached to the base of the pectoral module are not present in Figure 14. The lower lobes are separate pieces sewn onto the base of the pectoral module using a black thread that is different from the beige thread used to attach the sequins to the main section of the pectoral module. The lining fabric of the lobes is also different from the rest of the artifact indicating they may have been added at later date to provide more chest coverage. Ultimately it is the material evidence of the thread that indicates that a modification to the artifact occurred after the photograph was taken, marking an evolution in the construction of the costume through it's time in use.

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[261] Prown, "Performativity and the historical body: Detecting performance through the archived costume," 286.

Figure 14
Unknown photographer, Andreas Pavley in *Song of India*, Chicago, ca. 1922.[262]

A photograph from the performance *The Captive Princess* (Figure 15) features a headdress that looks similar to the crown from box "Coll 2280." The shape and decorative treatments are similar except for an absence of radiating lines from the triangle. The fact that the bottom radial covers the vertical seam of the crown in back allows the possibility

[262] Corey, 60.

that the crown at the MP+D could be the one pictured if the headpiece was modified after the picture was taken. As the trim passes over the seam, this remains a plausible speculation.

Figure 15
Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, *The Captive Princess*, ca. 1926-1931, Oukrainsky Papers Coll 231, Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco, Series 7 Folder 44.

An observation from Figure 15 which may impact my speculation regarding the importance of the MD+P's crown is the prominence of the female role in this show. The title, *The Captive Princess,* implies that a single princess would have been cast in that role and would feature prominently in the performance: only a single crown would be needed for this role. Few, if any, duplicates may have been needed: *The Captive Princess* could

only have been a part of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet's repertoire for five years, and, generally speaking, headpieces are subject to lower amounts of wear and stress than other costume pieces.[263] These speculations could support the theory that only one crown exist, and, considering all the other similarities between the photograph and the artifact, the possibility is strong that they are the same. Looking to the rest of the collection and the picture for additional evidence strengthens the possibility that the MP+D crown was used in *The Captive Princess*: the geometric printed dress with the striped mutton sleeves pictured in Figure 15 is also present in the Oukrainsky Costume Collection at the MP+D. Beside the lack of radiating lines, the crown in Figure 15 and the one in the MP+D are identical and, as a result, this evidence suggests that the crown was used for *The Captive Princess*. With this evidence in hand, the theory that pieces stored together—as in the case of the torso ornament and loincloth—have a higher possibility of being found together within the museum is debunked, which may affect our perception of the cuff.

The cuff is the last piece to be contextualized. Unlike the crown, torso ornament, and loincloth, the cuff does not have as many elements to help the speculation phase. It is difficult to come to any conclusions about the cuff's function without being able to physically analyze the object. The green metallic fabric appears to be the same green lamé used in the loincloth, so the possibility remains that it was a part of Pavley's costume in *Song of India*. However the artifact does not appear to be in Figure 14, but, given its small size, that does not unequivocally mean the accessory is not present.

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[263] *The Captive Princess* featured music by Halevy from the opera *La Juive* and saw its first performance in 1926. As the Pavley Oukrainsky Ballet parted in 1931, this results in a maximum duration of five years. Oukrainksy, *My Life in Ballet*, 153.

In addition to evaluating the costumes in relation to the photographs of performances they appear to be worn in, more can be learned by looking at the images as a whole. Figure 15 depicts both a man and a woman. The man appears to be wearing medieval armor and the woman a dress with large geometric details. These costumes still appear to have strong geometric features: the gown has an exaggerated structural hemline, and both protagonists' dress have considerably decorative surfaces, but they are very different from the orientalist style of garment worn by Pavley in *Song of India* (Figure 14). The character of the knight appears to be drawn from Western European history, which matches the character of the princess, and this contrasts with the Eastern influences in the *Song of India* costume. The two aesthetic styles may have been too different for Pavley or Oukrainsky to consider pairing together, which may suggest that the crown was not worn with the loincloth or the torso ornament. Furthermore, the headpiece pictured in Figure 14 exists in the Oukrainsky Collection (artifact 988.0.1119) affording the possibility that the Figure 14 headpiece, as well as the observed torso ornament and loincloth were worn together as an ensemble and likely came to the MP+D as a group before being separated in storage. The presence of the princess' dress in Figure 15 and the headpiece in Figure 14 at the MP+D also increases the possibility that a wide array of artifacts survived as ensembles but may have been separated during the accessioning process.[264] Ultimately, the only evidence that suggests the four artifacts in box "Coll 2280" were worn as a single costume comes from the costume inventory at the MP+D. The evidence documenting three of the four artifacts indicates that the pieces come from at least two separate costumes.

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[264] All sixty-one costume artifacts arrived at the MP+D in the same trunk.

## 4.7 Conclusion

The artifacts in box "Coll 2280" can tell a unique story of importance to the MP+D's mission as they document the "unfolding history" of dance in the early twentieth century and bring awareness to the significance of this nearly forgotten company.[265] The crown, loincloth, torso ornament, and cuff may originate as avant-garde costumes worn in the 1920s, but they are involved in a much broader continuum: the costumes shifted into disuse as Oukrainsky's ballet career faded, and shifted again in their use to address the MP+D's mission when they were accessioned into the museum. It is impossible to say what motivated the company to design, commission, and wear these costumes, but it can be hypothesized, through the artifacts studied, that the designers and/or performers conceiving or using these costumes demonstrated a desire to be visible from a distance. The crown, loincloth, and torso ornament show that aesthetics were likely as important if not prioritized over comfort, and that different styles of costumes may have been targeted for the use of specific ballet performances. The final chapter of this thesis will use the results from the object analyses to contextualize and understand the role of dress in the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet and, indirectly, the place of costume and the company in early twentieth century America.

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[265] "About MP+D," https://www.mpdsf.org/who-we-are/ (accessed May 14, 2018).

# CHAPTER V – HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAVLEY-OUKRAINSKY BALLET

Using the case-specific information drawn from the object analyses, this thesis can now move into a broader contextualization of the role of costume in the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. To remain within the scope of this master's thesis, an overall analysis of all costumes in the twenty first century has not been executed. The focus is rather an exploration of costume that share aesthetic qualities to those of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. This chapter aims to situate the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet within the industry by comparing their costumes to other actors in the field to establish the place of this company as contributors, rebels, or followers. These hypotheses will be used to address the research question, which asks how the analysis of costume can shed light on the historical significance of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet.

Chapter four presented a case study that featured highly embellished costumes created and worn by members of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet. When compared to the traditional tutu worn by ballerinas and the lose fitted blouse and leggings worn by male ballet dancers—a uniform of sorts that continues to make appearances in ballet performances today—the costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet appear both deviant and exotic. Oukrainsky's memoirs indicate a desire to diverge from the rigidity of the traditional forms preceding them.[266] Such an affective state of consciousness may also be

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[266] Oukrainsky points to four categories dancers can fall into that stop them from being "true" performers: he did not believe ballet was about "boring gymnastic exerciz[e]," "rhythmic monoton[y]," mere beauty, or "comical paradox," but rather about using the principals of ballet with intention to make every movement meaningful in the modern world. Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova,* x-xi. Barzel also indicates

reflected in their costumes through their eccentric aesthetic. They were not, however, the only company dressed in this manner.

It is not possible to address early twentieth-century dance without acknowledging the work of Serge Diaghilev and his Russian Ballet. The company transformed the face of dance with their avant-garde performances so much so that they are, at times, categorized as part of the Modern Art movement and not as a theatre troupe.[267] They remain known for their colourful and dramatic costumes and for the way they reflected a changing world through their art. Russian Ballet costumes show distinct similarities in style to those worn by the Pavley-Oukrainsky ballet, and, by using historical photographs of the costumes, an analysis will be made for what these similarities might mean.

Andreas Pavley and Serge Oukrainsky had a number of indirect connections to the Russian Ballet that may have led to some aesthetic parallels. Serge Oukrainsky's first teacher, Clustine, retired from the Russian Imperial Theatres before Diaghilev established his troupe, but Clustine's career in Paris was stimulated by the success of the Russian Ballet and he attempted to bring the "ideals of the Moscow school of ballet beyond Russia's borders."[268] Pavley in turn was trained in eurhythmics by Jacques-Dalcroze, who influenced Nijinsky's choreography with his system of "understand[ing] rhythm by translating sounds into physical movements."[269] Vaslav Nijinsky (1888-1950) is arguably

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an observation that Pavley and Oukrainsky's *plastique* favoured emotion and musicality over rigidity and form, see Barzel, 70, 89.

[267] Woodcock, 129.

[268] Selma Jeanne Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation, eds. *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Clustine, Ivan," by Suzanne Carbonneau, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-0391 (accessed December 11, 2018).

[269] *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Jaques-Dalcroze, Émile," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110810105153368 (accessed August 28, 2018).

the most famous dancer of the era, and the star and later choreographer of the Russian Ballet.[270] Pavley and Oukrainsky's indirect links to Nijinsky and the Russian Ballet would continue as they performed with Pavlova, who was herself a dancer in Diaghilev's inaugural season.[271] Pavlova would hire both Clustine and Cecchetti as ballet masters and choreographers during Pavley and Oukrainsky's tenure with her troupe.[272] Cechetti was a dancer and choreographer in Diaghilev's Russian Ballet (1909-1918) and "[f]or a decade, from 1892, he taught at the school of the [Russian] Imperial Theatres, where his pupils included Pavlova… Fokine, and Nijinsky."[273] Pavley, Oukrainsky, and Nijinsky's shared educational training would undoubtedly have developed parallels in style and movement. Oukrainsky's memoirs indicate comparisons between his own skills and physique to those of Nijinsky.[274] It is difficult to know how accurate these assessments were but the comparisons are understandable because Nijinsky was the standard that other dancers at the time aimed to meet. These connections could be further analyzed but are not within the scope of the current thesis. Nonetheless, the likeness between the two companies may help our understanding of the aesthetic similarities of their costumes, which are the within the scope of the research question.

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[270] *Who's Who in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v. "Nijinsky, Vaslav," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192800916.001.0001/acref-9780192800916-e-1216 (accessed October 14, 2018).
[271] Selma Jeanne Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation, eds. *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Pavlova, Anna," by Roberta Lazzarini, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001/acref-9780195173697-e-1340 (accessed December 11, 2018).
[272] Barzel, 70.
[273] *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance,* 2nd ed., s.v. "Cecchetti, Enrico," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095557222 (accessed December 11, 2018).
[274] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 45. Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 19.

Oukrainsky had a hand in costume design from his early career and it is quite plausible that he designed the costumes studied in Chapter four but it is not certain that he did so. The "Repertoire of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet with Original Choreography" lists the names of various designers for only seven of the twenty ballets staged by the company.[275] Design credit of any kind (costume design or other) is absent for the forty-seven operatic ballets listed in this document. The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet is, as a company, credited for designing scenery for one ballet production. The name of a costume designer is provided for only two performances: Eudoxie Mironowa, for *La Fête à Robinson* (1922), and Robert Edmund Jones, for *The Birthday of the Infanta* (1922).[276] Eudoxie Mironowa was Pavlova's former wardrobe mistress and was first hired to make costumes for the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet the summer before their 1919-1920 season with the Chicago Opera Company.[277] She was responsible for the "veritable atelier de couture construct[ing their] costumes for the coming [1919-1920] season" but is not listed as a costume designer for any of that season's ballet productions. As a maker of costumes, Miranowa would not have necessarily been expected to design them, and, since she built the costumes for other productions without being credited as designer, it seems that she must have been more involved in the design of *La Fête à Robinson* to have garnered a costume design credit in Oukrainsky's repertoire list. It also indicates that someone had to be instructing Miranowa on what garments needed to be made for those remaining ballet productions.[278] This fragmentary evidence found thus far leaves unanswered questions

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[275] Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 153-158.
[276] Ibid., 153.
[277] Ibid., 76-77.
[278] Ibid., 77.

regarding who designed the costumes for those other performances. Oukrainsky was very particular when it came to costumes and their design and paid attention to what he saw other troupes doing well, and where he thought his own company could improve.[279] Evidence shows that costumes and scenery were occasionally re-used for new productions.[280] This type of recycling does not preclude the possibility of re-assigning a design credit to an individual that did not create the original piece(s): as a designer myself, I would not exclude the use of costumes pulled from a retired production as long as the new production designed is not a carbon copy of the previous one. Furthermore, it has been documented that Oukrainsky designed costumes for himself, Pavlova, and Swirskaya.[281] Yet, when Pavlova credited him, it was under his birth name, Leonide Orlay de Carva, and not his stage name Serge Oukrainsky.[282] This may indicate a reluctance to associate his professional stage name as performer and choreographer with the work of costume designer. One may wonder if costume design work was seen as a lesser endeavor. If so, he may have been unwilling to list himself as designer in his own company's repertoire lists, which becomes a possible explanation for the scarceness of costume design credit. Not only is Oukrainsky known to have designed costumes, but there is a credit gap in his company's history for the vast majority of the costumes in their staged productions. This evidence leads me to believe the ballets listed without a designer could all be productions where

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[279] For examples, see ibid., 21 - 22, 33, 39, 43, 46, 79.
[280] Examples can be found in Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 17, 59, 70.
[281] For an example of costumes designed for himself, see Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 115-116. For an example of costumes designed for Pavlova, see Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 69. For an example of costumes designed for Swirskaya, see Oukrainsky, *My Life in Ballet*, 17.
[282] An example of this can be seen on a program clipping printed in Oukrainsky, *My Two Years with Anna Pavlova*, 140.

Oukrainsky designed the costumes himself. However, as this cannot be confirmed, this thesis will consider the company itself as the creative entity.

In addition to being evaluated in isolation as individual objects, the MD+P's costumes of the Pavley Oukrainsky Ballet must be assessed based on the similarities they show to likely sources of inspiration. In his manuscript, Oukrainsky occasionally indicated sources he used as muses to create his costumes: he designed a costume for Swirskaya based on a statue in the Egyptian wing of the Louvre, and Pavley owned a costume that was almost a facsimile of a painting by Gustave Moreau.[283] These artworks were the inspiration of those particular designs, but overall aesthetic inspiration used for the company are not specifically addressed in Oukrainsky's memoirs. Despite the presence of art as inspiration to their costumes' designs—like turbans, pectorals, and loincloths seen in paintings from the Orientalist movement—there are, nonetheless, unquestionable parallels between the costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet and Diaghilev's Russian Ballet which are not addressed in any of Oukrainsky's writings. Because of the popularity of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet, the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet could not have chosen to perform in orientalist costumes without knowing they were following in Diaghilev's footsteps.

In Figure 16, an image of Oukrainsky barefoot *en pointe*, we see decorative treatments with pearls or gems, some coverage of the chest with the use of strapping, and draped beaded chains that are in the spirit of what was observed in the case study. This overall decorative treatment, the turban-like head covering and the loops of beads near the ears and over the abdomen are orientalist in spirit and akin to an earlier costume of the

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[283] For the Louvre, see Oukrainsky, My Life in Ballet, 17. For Gustave Moreau, see Oukrainsky, My Life in Ballet, 59.

Russian Ballet designed for Michel Fokine (1880-1942), and later worn by Nijinsky in the ballet *Shéhérazade*.[284] Both costumes also feature large areas of exposed skin, and arm and leg accessories that appear to accentuate the movement at those extremities.[285] This may be evidence of mimicry of both concept and costume by the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, and the hypothesis that some sort of aesthetic imitation may have been at play with both the artwork and designs of the Russian Ballet directly.

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[284] For image of *Shéhérazade* costume rendering, see Léon Bakst, 1914, "Les Ballets Russes *Programme Officiel édité par 'Comœdia Illustré,'"* Program, Bibliothèque National de France: Gallica, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84151252.image (accessed November 19, 2018).
Who's Who in the Twentieth Century (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v. "Fokine, Michel," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095826138 (accessed October 24, 2018).

[285] For examples of skin coverage and cuffs in costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, see Figures 14 and 16, and Corey, 18, 60, 68, 112. For example from the Russian Ballet, see Léon Bakst, Artist, 1914, "*Les Ballets Russes Programme Officiel édité par 'Comœdia Illustré,'"* Program showing costume rendering, Bibliothèque National de France: Gallica, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84151252.image (accessed November 19, 2018). Colour and print was another tool the Russian Ballet used in their dramatic movement and eye catching costumes which other artifacts in the Oukrainsky collection parallel, but they are of a different style than those selected for this case study and are better left for future researchers to compare.

Figure 16
Serge Oukrainsky Barefoot *en Pointe*, Ca1922-1931. From the Collection of the Museum of Performance + Design©, San Francisco.

Does the mimicry Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet costumes seem to have for of the Russian Ballet mean they copied everything? The stylistic parallels evident in the costumes of both companies did not happen in tandem. The Russian Ballet lasted from 1909-1929, whereas the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet would not officially be founded until 1922. The costumes studied in the case study are estimated to be from ca. 1922 (the loincloth and the torso-ornament), and ca. 1926 (the crown) allowing for them to have been influenced by the designs of the Russian Ballet prior to those respective dates. However, the Russian Ballet was not the first or only purveyor of exotic costume. Female performer Maud Allan unveiled her body in a beaded bodice covering little more than her breasts and a transparent skirt in 1906 "appropria[ting her body] through self objectification while channeling fantasies of Oriental *femmes fatales.*"[286] This topic can be further explored, but what is important to note is that highly embellished costumes with beaded ropes draping loosely over the costumes with large areas of exposed flesh were developed to stage the "other' with the help of ideas of the East by members of the dance community before the Russian Ballet.[287] Because there is no written account of who or what specifically inspired the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet to select their rendition of exotic costume other than their preferred taste, the theory that they were imitating other players in the industry cannot be dismissed, but the presence of other performers costumed in a similar style could be evidence that the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet were contributors to this style of costume and not solely imitators of the Russian Ballet.

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[286] Barbieri, *Costume in Performance,* 117. Maud Allan, Artist, ca. 1900-1909, "*Schauspielerin*," Photograph, Getty Images, https://www.gettyimages.ca/detail/news-photo/die-schauspielerinmaud-allan-als-salome-in-einem-news-photo/542371655 (accessed November 19, 2018).
[287] Ibid.

There are notable differences in how the costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet achieved a semi-nude look compared to those of the Russian Ballet. Costumes designed for both companies are sensual, exotic and, in some cases, erotic. Examples are evident in some of Leon Bakst's costume renderings including a design for a *bacchante* (female character) in *Narcisse* which show pubic hair and breasts through translucent fabric, and a rendering for *Le Dieu Bleu* where the male character's chest, arms, and legs are clearly left exposed.[288] Despite these seemingly erotic intentions, the realized costumes of the Russian Ballet incorporated a large amount of mesh fabric to cover the dancer's skin in performance, thus only giving the illusion of near nakedness.[289] Woodcock provides some practical justifications for this state-of-affairs. In a program with many characters and role changes, less exposed skin meant less body makeup needed to be applied and/or removed during scene changes.[290] As a costume designer, I can also see the benefit of added coverage as a means to prevent wardrobe malfunctions: a lot of movement is involved in ballet that may lead to costume pieces shifting, tearing, or falling off, which could result in the exposure of more of the dancers body than intended. In contrast, the costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet do not have any flesh-coloured mesh panels for the arms, legs, or midriffs of their costumes, nor do they show signs of removable under layers worn separately to insure modesty: the stains embedded in the lining of the case study costumes

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[288] For link to *Narcisse* image, see Léon Bakst, artist, 1911, "*Narcisse: A Bacchante*," Costume Rendering, Getty Images, https://www.gettyimages.ca/detail/news-photo/bacchante-costume-design-for-the-dance-narcisse-1911-from-news-photo/541898445 (accessed November 19, 2018). For link to *Le Dieu Bleu* image, see Léon Bakst, artist, 1912, "*Costume for the ballet Le Dieu Bleu*," Costume Rendering, Getty Images, https://www.gettyimages.ca/detail/news-photo/costume-for-the-ballet-le-dieu-bleu-watercolour-by-leon-news-photo/159827865 (accessed November 19, 2018).
[289] Woodcock, 143.
[290] Ibid.

appear to be from body paint transferred onto the costume directly from bare skin. The lack of mesh garments may be because the company was unable to afford it, but it could also have been intentionally omitted. Mesh fabric—even skin-coloured—could have been visible to a near audience member, leaving the impression that their garments were perhaps less authentic and more like reproductions. Even the Russian Ballet was sensitive to this point and would occasionally rework promotional photographs to mask the flesh toned fabric.[291]

If there is a shared orientalism between companies but a different perspective when it comes to skin exposure, another difference can be seen in their choice of footwear. Oukrainsky is almost exclusively pictured without shoes because of his signature ability to dance barefoot on pointe (see Figure 16). Photographs of Nijinsky show the opposite.[292] The presence or absence of footwear by a single performer is perhaps not representative of the aesthetic styles of each company, but it does demonstrate that Oukrainsky was not attempting to mimic every facet of Nijinsky's personae, and the company as a whole was not performing in exact replicas of the costumes of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet. They are, however, related in their orientalist aesthetics, indicating a connection between the costumes of the two companies.

Working with the understanding that the costumes of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet were influenced by the aesthetics of the Russian Ballet, but still designed and realized as independent entities, what other insights can be gained from the case study? Research to

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[291] Ibid.

[292] A famous example of Nijinsky in costume is in his role for *L'Après-midi d'un faune*. The sandals do not appear to clash with the costume, but, as the role being portrayed is that of an animal, the wearing of shoes is slightly at odds with the character. An image can be seen in Barbieri, *Costume in Performance*, 13.

contextualize these pieces leads to the understanding that, as individuals, Pavley and Oukrainsky had their own personal and professional identities that may have translated into their company's costumes. From the rehearsal hall to the stage, they were particular about the way they presented themselves. Pavley would exaggerate his Dutch accent in the rehearsal hall to emphasize his foreignness, and both he and Oukrainsky were conscious of the communicative power of clothing.[293] Their school had specific sartorial needs that addressed practicality as well as artistic flair in the form of a scarf:

> "[a] simple costume of light coloured washable material to the knees when belted in, should be worn for the class work. Light colored stockings or tights. One pair of soft ballet shoes, block-toe shoes for those who do toe work, and one chiffon cloth scarf, two and one-half yards long, will be required."[294]

As instructors, Pavley and Oukrainsky purportedly "conducted their classes clad in resplendent silken tights of coffee-colour, turquoise and magenta, with doublets and slippers to match, dramatizing themselves with studied reserve."[295] Their identities as performers seemingly extended from the stage into their rehearsal halls, complete with costumes and character roles. One can begin to see how those traits may have influenced their company's costumes: if "objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them," then it can be inferred that some of the individual traits of Pavley and Oukrainsky and the milieu in which they evolved would have transferred into their costumes.[296] The costumes examined in the case study demonstrate that aesthetics were a

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[293] Corey, 40.
[294] Oukrainsky Collection, Museum of Performance and Design, coll 228, box 2, series 3, folder 14, The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet School Summer Class Announcement Season 1924-1925, Ca. 1924, 3.
[295] Corey, 40.
[296] Prown, "Mind in Matter," 1-2.

priority. The highly embellished materials would have been perceived as exotic, and possibly avant garde, by an early-twentieth-century audience. Orientalism was addressed earlier in this thesis as an art movement interested in defining the West through an imagined foil fashioned from a Western perception of the Orient. It is not the purpose of this thesis to address what socially prompted this art movement, but, rather, to acknowledge that this artistic style was at the center of 'new' art and performance, especially in the world of dance. This artistic phenomenon, in addition to the influences of other performing entities, has seemingly impacted the costumes of the case study, but Pavley and Oukrainsky's individual identities and traits may also have impacted their overall aesthetic.

The physical impact that performance costumes could have had on the dancers allows Entwistle's argument that one cannot consider clothing without its relationship to the human body to be explored with the case study costumes.[297] In other words, one must consider the relationship of these costume pieces with a human body as a constant presence in a performance setting. The study of the crown showed that efforts were made for the piece to sit on a dancers' head. Elasticized panels are present in the skullcap, but the lack of chinstrap suggests that, in order to keep the headpiece secured, the wearer's posture would have to remain upright with controlled movements to prevent the crown from falling off. The design of this large headpiece would have affected the wearer's movements, and the mobility restrictions it prompted would have translated into the performance. The large scarf-like panels anchored to the loincloth and falling over the hips are trimmed with wire, which prevents them from collapsing. This choice adds a certain amount of rigidity to the

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[297] Entwistle, 323.

costume. Scarves remain popular accessories in dance because they react to motion. They may trail behind or fill a spatial void that adds to the movement of the performer. By choosing to trim the panels with wire, they are suddenly defined in their form and become less able to move with the wearer. One choice is not better than the other, but they achieve very different results and affect overall aesthetics. Another visual choice arises from the limited skin coverage offered by the loincloth and torso ornament. The loincloth covers little more than the genitals and buttocks, and, when paired with the torso ornament, which does not provide much body coverage either, the performer's body is amply presented to the audience.

Beside its aesthetic dimension, substantial body exposure would likely have had a physical effect on the wearer, and certainly garnered reactions from the audience. A dancer would be aware of the discrepancy of his or her appearance—especially in terms of bodily exposure—in contrast with the clothes worn by the audience. The elite of early twentieth-century America were themselves at a sartorial turning point where women exposed more of their bodies, but never as much as what was seen on stage. The 1920s, wedged between the First and Second World Wars, was not experienced in the same way in the United States and Europe. Shortly before the Great Depression, which began in the last few years of the 1920s, America became "the epitome of the new century: as European empires – Russia included – collapsed."[298] The Roaring Twenties ushered-in a sexual revolution in America and new ideals of masculinity emerged where both erotic and athletic ideals

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[298] Hanna Järvinen, "Failed Impressions: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in America, 1916," *Dance Research Journal,* 42, no. 2 (Winter 2010): 96.

collided with the old character of the Victorian gentleman.[299] This topic could be elaborated upon much further, but, what is important to remember is that, despite the extreme difference between costume and fashion affecting audience members and performers, the spectacle offered by scantily clad bodies on the stage was deemed acceptable.[300] Clothes served a definite purpose on stage and the loincloth and torso ornament in the MD+P's collection may have, in their own way, fit into the new taste for athletic male bodies despite being understood by audience members as being different, exciting, and new. By incorporating the body in the analysis of the case study costumes, it becomes possible to explore the interaction of the costume with the wearer, and the perception of the costume in performance by it's audience.

Many of the conclusions made in this final chapter have been guided by clothing artifacts, photographs, and written documents—both historical and contemporary—that pertain to the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet and the Russian Ballet, but they all had their roots in the case study descriptions, deductions, and speculations. Photographs aid our "understanding of how [a specific] garment would have fitted into a complete costumed body," and, working with the material analyses, enhance our understanding of how the costume was used.[301] Looking at a photograph, one cannot know what type of fabric is being worn or how the garment was constructed without also consulting the artifact itself. Publicity photographs rarely, if ever, show the interior view of the costume, so construction details are vague at best. Access to costume artifacts thus provides valuable insight for how

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[299] Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality In Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 180.
[300] The continued staging of these ballets is a sign that the costumes were, at the time, deemed acceptable.
[301] Barbieri, "Performativity and the Historical Body," 287. Film is a source that could help to better understand costume in movement, but footage for the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet was not found.

the artifact was made, and allows one to speculate as to why it was made that way. Within this study, the differences between period photographs of the case study costumes and direct access to the artifacts themselves also provide evidence for how the costume pieces evolved in their use: for example, the lower lobes on the torso ornament may have been added to provide additional coverage of the wearer's chest, or they may have been added for the sake of additional glitz. While we cannot know why this was done for certain, the absence of that section in the period photograph shows that something prompted a decision to modify the torso ornament, and that the overall costume changed as a result. Material objects and photographs are individually valuable primary sources, but, used together, they begin to offer new insights. By compounding the sources available, this study begins to develop our understanding of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet and their place within the history of dance in America in the early twentieth century.

It is difficult to gauge how influential Pavley and Oukrainsky were to the dissemination of ballet culture in the United States. Their names and stories may not be widely known, but does that mean they were unimportant?[302] The history of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet is worth noting because they did in fact exist, and at a very important time in the development of ballet in the United States. This thesis brought forth Pavley and Oukrainsky's role in bringing ballet performances across North and South America, and their work training a generation of performers from Chicago to Los Angeles. The survival of their costumes may be because the company was ultimately unsuccessful and disbanded in 1931, only nine years after the tour that marked their independence from the Chicago

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[302] Corey, xi.

Opera Company in 1922.[303] The survival of these costumes has made a material culture inquiry possible, and holds the potential to inform a new audience of museum goers to the history of early twentieth-century dance in America. Ultimately it has been the analyses of costume that has shed light on the existence of this company as more than a footnote to history. This study has brought forth an analysis of the historical presence of the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, which allows the opportunity to start addressing their historical significance.

By analyzing the costumes in box "Coll 2280," this study has attempted to connect the historical (performative) and the contemporary (museum) contexts of the case study costumes. The artifacts have been passively stored in boxes and quarantine bags, but they have a rich history waiting to be told. This thesis gives visibility to a small portion of the Oukrainsky Collection and is part of a larger project to conserve and share the story of both Serge Oukrainsky and Andreas Pavley. The four artifacts in box "Coll 2280" were, until the conclusion of my research, thought to be part of the same ensemble. With my analysis, I have demonstrated that this was likely never the case. This conclusion is pertinent to the contemporary context of the costumes because the collection now has a link that can demonstrate provenance and thus greater value to curators and audience members. But it is also pertinent to the historical context as it shows the nuance in design the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet demonstrated even when operating on limited production funds. This final chapter has contextualized the role of dress in the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet by considering the popular use of performance costume in early twentieth-century dance. This

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[303] For 1922, see Oukrainsky, "My life in Ballet,"108. For Pavley's death in 1931, see Corey, 116.

led to a comparison of the costumes to those used by the Russian Ballet, showing that the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet appears to have been part of a movement to disseminate a new genre of ballet in the world through the use of oriental influences as interpreted by post-colonial dance companies. A material culture analyses has allowed the transient value of the costumes, and, by extension, the company, to be studied within the holding of the MP+D.[304] Many more costume pieces may be explored in the future, thus offering the recognition the Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet deserve for their efforts, successes, and failures to transform, teach, and perform modern ballet in the United States.

[304] Prown identifies the "more transient or variable… values" of an object as being "those that have been attached by the people who originally made or used the object." Prown, "Mind in Matter," 3.

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