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Sartorial Remembrance: Exploring the Weave Between Costume, Memory, and the Performing Self

Rosie Findlay and Natalia Romagosa

There's a ceremony, to taking on and off clothing. In theatre, it's very ritualistic, always has been. Everybody has a ritual: the putting on of a costume is a ritual, the taking off of a costume is a ritual, because it helps you to get in and out of a character. So, once you're in costume, you're in character. And once you're out, you can be yourself.

—Peter Brown

Clothing can seem easily distinguishable from the person that wears it. This seems largely due to the material differences between embodied self and cloth: one being flesh, the other made by human hands, an artifice added to the surface of the self.¹ As much is suggested by British actor Peter Brown's recollection of wearing theatrical costume, in the epigraph beginning this article: he describes the putting on and removal of costume as a ritual facilitating entry into and exit from a character. Clothing and character are here enfolded, a collapse signified by Brown's subsequent remark that "you do not want to take [certain characters] home with you. It's best to leave them in the dressing room" (2016).

Yet how extricable are clothes from the embodied self and, by extension, costumes from the performers who wear them? Sociologist Joanne Entwistle, in her pivotal work *The Fashioned Body*, argues that dress is a "situated bodily practice," one in which the social, cultural, and personal significance of dress intertwines in the habitual wearing of clothes (2015, 29). This foregrounds the ways in which the embodied self is a clothed self, and why therefore, a consideration of embodied being-in-the-world should also include the ways in which clothing structures and shapes experience. As Stella North argues, "body and clothing not only partake of materiality but, being inseparable, partake of it jointly" (2014, 10).

Considering clothing as an integral aspect of embodied experience can be usefully brought to bear on the under-researched area of costume. Whilst on stage, a performer must negotiate dual states of experience: fulfilling the requirements of their role—playing their character; performing with efficacy, focus and intention, and so on—demonstrating what anthropologist and folklorist Richard Bauman calls "communicative competence" (cited in Fitzpatrick 1995, 51); and attending to the needs, limits, and perceptions of their embodied self. Costume, in ordering and enveloping the embodied self, is imbricated in these modalities, communicating simultaneously, as all forms of dress do, both visually to the audience and perceptually to the performer.

Therefore, as we will argue in this paper, costume occupies a rich interstitial space between self and performance. Costumes can create extra labour for the

¹ However, even this distinction could be troubled, as bodies can also be composed of inorganic matter, such as prostheses, false teeth, pacemakers, and so on. This is not our focus here; however, it serves to demonstrate the ways in which the material and organic fold together in a consideration of the boundaries of our embodied selves. For more on the self as a surface rendered legible by clothing, see North (2014).

performing body or facilitate a more efficacious performance (from the artist's perspective) due to the ways in which clothing reconfigures the embodied self and makes possible imaginative acts and bodily sensations that affect the performance. The interplay called forth between self and cloth, and how this is enacted during a performance, is our focus here, and will be explored through an approach dubbed *sartorial remembrance*.

This approach involved interviewing three performers—an actor, a dancer (who is also a costume designer), and an opera singer— about their costumes and the memories associated with them. Our use of this qualitative methodology follows Heike Jenss's (2015) reasoning that "objects take on a constitutive role in the formation of our engagement with memory," and so clothes, in particular, are well positioned to produce memories on a personal level due to their "close proximity to the body" (7-8). Likewise, in encouraging our interviewees to share their memories of performance by considering their costumes, material objects evoked the intangible: the memories enmeshed with moments in which those costumes were worn.

In mapping the ways that memory, costume, and a performer's embodied self interrelate, we seek to outline the ways in which a performer's material, affective, and perceptual experiences of costume help structure their experience of performing, and to evidence the ways in which costumes work on/with/against the body as a presence that must be incorporated in the presentation of a performing self. In this way, our work here responds to Monks's observation that there is a need in current scholarship on costume for work examining "the actor's emotional and aesthetic relationship to costume" (2010, 12).

As such, this study contributes to current scholarly debates that explore costume beyond its practical or aesthetic properties and challenges the outdated notion that costume—and clothing more generally—is a subject unworthy of serious analysis (see Barbieri and Pantouvaki 2016, Hann and Bech 2014, Monks 2010, Maclaurin 2007). Rather, costumes are imbued with potential to reveal the multiplicitous space of performing, or what McAuley describes as "the complex relationship between the physical or material reality and the fictional, illusory world created in and by it" (1999, 23). Costumes shape the performing body, twinning performer with character, even as they structure a performer's experience of their work. As such, to consider the imbrication of costume and performance is to tease apart the ways in which imagining, feeling, perceiving, and wearing shape a performer's experience as well as the range of movement and communicative possibilities of their embodied self.

In recent years, there has been a groundswell in academic writing addressing the significance of costume. In their introduction to a special issue of the journal *Scene* titled *Critical Costume*, Rachel Hann and Sidsel Bech argue that:

costume is critical. It is critical to making performance, critical to spectatorship, critically overlooked within scholarship, notable when in crisis, and a means of critically interrogating the body. It is therefore critical that we discuss costume. (2014, 3)

We follow their lead in seeking to expose “the complex relationships that occur between performing bodies and design” (2014, 4); however, we focus here on finished garments rather than the process of design. In her survey on scholarship on costume, Ali Maclaurin observes that there are studies on “costume history, costume making, and the process and product of costume design,” but nothing on how the costume works onstage (2015, 7). Similarly, Maclaurin and Monks argue that most costume books are unable to “position the doing in relation to the thinking about doing” (2015, ix). It is this gap in literature on costume that we seek to address here.

Donatella Barbieri and Sofia Pantouvaki’s philosophy of costume, inspired by Elizabeth Goepf’s essay from 1928, tackles the infrequency with which costume has been researched from a philosophical perspective, and suggests a shift in analysis wherein performance garments are studied for their immaterial qualities in addition to their materiality (2016). Barbieri and Pantouvaki demonstrate the ways in which writing on costume can be “not only performance-centred, historical, dramaturgical and socio-cultural,” but also “be addressed through theoretical frames provided by specific readings of anthropology, phenomenology, cognition and psychology” (2016, 4). This philosophical perspective, one that encourages an analytical approach to the materiality and practicality of costume, serves as our inspiration to explore the transformative capacities of costume.

Sartorial Remembrance

In *Tigersprung*, a modernist philosophy of fashion, Ulrich Lehmann describes fashion’s habit of quoting times past as “sartorial remembrance” (2000, 164). Fashion embodies past time and present time in designs that fuse the aesthetics of both in a material garment. This discussion develops from Lehmann’s consideration of Georg Simmel’s examination of the temporal relationship between the past— that which is “nonexistent and merely remembered”—and the present, which is “created only by [...] experiencing it,” with that experience then “spread[ing] over” the present (real) and past time (2000, 162).

The lamination of temporality offered by fashion, and a garment’s capacities for reflecting human experience, offers a useful metaphor for our project here. Costumes, too, embody past and present time in their materiality, signalling that which has been (past performances) and that which is about to occur (to be worn in performance again); whilst being representative of fictive time, within the context of a performance.²

They also offer a means of remembrance of past performance when performers are asked to recall their experiences of performing in costume. What arises is not just information about the costumes as artefacts, but a series of recollections of the affective labour of performance and insights into the significance of clothing. Prudence Black and Rosie Findlay write that clothes can be perceived as “memory keepers” that bear “vestiges of experiences and emotions” we felt when we wore them (2016, 7), which recalls Carole Hunt’s argument that clothes archive memory

² For a further discussion of the constant weave between the fictive onstage world and the physical or material onstage world, see McAuley (1999).

and knowledge by “preserv[ing] evidence of human interaction” (2014, 217). This way of thinking about the weave between embodied self and clothing affords a theoretical space to consider the affective, embodied connection between performer and costume. We take up the possibilities of this way of thinking about clothing here to consider how memories of past performances are retrieved by the material memories enmeshed with costumes. Here, we adopt Lehmann’s concept of sartorial remembrance to navigate how costumes provide a way into recollections of past performances, calling up lost time by considering the memories woven into cloth.

Key to this approach is a consideration of the significance of material objects that moves beyond the dynamics of production and consumption to integrate “social, affective, aesthetic, technological, and sensate” relations between object and user (Boscagli 2014, 11). By focusing on the memories a performer has of their costume, some of the everyday processes of performing are revealed. Performers are in close contact with their costume both in the period of preparation before a show opens, at fittings and the public dress rehearsal, as well as during the run of a production. This contact may range from costume development, in which discussions of movement, comfort, and the relevance of a garment to a character take place, to alterations, in which costumes from prior shows are adapted to fit the performers of the current show, or a series of fittings in which a costume is custom-made for a performer. In each of these instances, the materials of costume are imbricated with the acts of preparing for and giving a performance. This closeness generates recollections that entwine memories of performing with the act of wearing—the orderly swish of a full skirt, the heat generated by a winter coat worn under stage lights, the press of a corset on the intake of breath.

To access these kinds of embodied recollections, we conducted open-ended interviews with three performers, each from a different discipline and length of professional experience. Each interviewee was asked to produce an average of five images in which they were dressed in costume and, if possible, performing, and that bore personal significance in relation to how the costume acted on their bodies, how they behaved wearing the costumes, and how they felt about both. These conditions afforded a space for reflection and memory, in which revelations about the negotiation made between states of self in a performance and the affective and physical labour of performing were foregrounded. The anecdotes performers shared about their performances—as well as the manner in which these anecdotes were told—not only confirm garments’ ability to symbolically store and prompt recollections for their wearers, but also provide us with a deeper understanding of the relationship between performer and costume.

This approach also serves as an illustration of the ways in which human experience, perception, and memory twins with material objects. As Marius Kwint (1992) observes, objects serve memories in a tri-fold way in Western societies: they “furnish recollection,” they “stimulate remembering,” and they “form records: analogues to living memory, storing information beyond individual experience” (2). As such, garments can bring “back experiences which otherwise would have remained dormant, repressed or forgotten” (ibid), and ideally sartorial remembrances would be prompted by an interviewee interacting with a past costume. However, given that costumes are rarely kept by performers and usually

belong to companies or lending facilities, for our study such an approach was difficult to enact.³ Rather, we asked performers to provide a selection of photographs of past performances to serve as memory stimuli and a starting point for discussion.

We chose to interview a diverse group of artists as each of their disciplines—and therefore, costumes—require particular forms of expression and movement, resulting in diverse articulations in their respective performances. Christian Holder is a ballet dancer and costume designer in his late sixties who has had a long and prolific career that includes dancing for Martha Graham and the Joffrey Ballet, choreographing for the American Ballet Theatre, and designing costumes for ballets such as Margo Sappington's *Toulouse Lautrec* (2000) and for singer Tina Turner. Jennifer Coleman, in her mid-twenties, is an opera singer with a Bachelor's degree from the Royal Northern College of Music and a Master's degree from the Royal College of Music. As a student, she participated in various college-based productions such as *Die Fledermaus* (2008) and *Carmen* (2010); she also sings independently. Peter Brown is a professionally trained actor in his late forties who has acted in a number of productions including *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* (2009) and *Sweeney Todd* (2010) with amateur companies such as Questors and Tower, both based in the United Kingdom.

“The clothing helps”

In *Phenomenology of Perception*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty writes that “my body is the fabric into which all objects are woven,” poetically evoking the ways that perception enmeshes the stuff of our bodies with other material things (1962, 235). In other words, the world meets us at the interface of our embodied self; it is not apprehended as a separate “there,” but is received enfolded in our perceptions, inextricable from a constant flow of embodied sensations that order our experience of being-in-the-world. Clothing thus becomes both “us” and “not us,” as Aoife Monks has argued in relation to the masks of Ancient Greek theatre: “distinct and yet not distinct from the bodies that wear them” (2010, 2). Indeed, connotations that arise from the words *enmeshing* and *indistinction* offer useful means of conceiving of the peculiar melt between bodies and clothing; the experience of self that wears clothes is affected by the garments that cover and become an extension of that self. Stella North advances this argument in writing that “through their shared and perceptual entry into material embedment, clothing and the body undergo an experiential interweaving,” an “interfacing,” in which clothing and the body are “co-extensive; suspended between objecthood and subjecthood, complexly material” (North 2014, 6-8).

To see clothing as a part of the embodied self—or rather, that which resurfaces the self—is to start to understand the fold between performer and costume. Costume is characterised by duality: it covers a performer's body and also stands for that which the performer represents, their character or role. It shapes embodiment while prescribing it. This duality operates not in opposition but in simultaneity:

³ The starting point for this work was Natalia Romagosa's undergraduate dissertation, as supervised by Rosie Findlay, and undertaken as part of Romagosa's BA (Hons) Fashion Journalism at the London College of Fashion.

the performer must respond to the “haptic and kinaesthetic experience” of wearing (Dean 2016, 99), while deploying their personal resources to perform their role in the context of the performance (see Fitzpatrick 1995).

One of the ways in which costume can function as an aid for performers in successfully fulfilling their role, is when costume facilitates “getting into character.” This seems fairly obvious, however the processes by which this facilitation is enacted have not been thoroughly mapped. What emerged in our interviews was that costume can provide a site at which a character can be imagined and inhabited, clothing reshaping the body according to the perception of the performer, elucidative of an imaginative act. In reflecting on the fitting process of her costumes for opera, Jennifer Coleman said:

I think my costumes always affect my performance. To become a real person, you can then say: “Why would my character choose this cardigan? Why would my character choose these shoes?” And you can come [up] with stories about them, which help you understand more about who you are as a character.⁴

In some ways, what Coleman is describing is a working backwards: rather than choosing a garment to articulate a sense of self, as might occur in dressing for an everyday context, her sense of her character—the “real person” being called forth—proceeds from clothing. The logic by which certain garments are selected begins to speak this character and inform Coleman’s inhabitation of them. The questions she asks, and the stories she weaves to explain them, dresses her sense of an imagined individual who is also embodied. The blurring between character and self is intimated when Coleman says, “who you are as a character,” pointing towards a perceptual folding of self into non-self as facilitated by the interface of clothing.

What this inhabitation of character looks like in performance also folds with costume: when Coleman described how her costume helped her to play a housekeeper in a 1950s-themed production, her description of her character became a description of her costume:

Yeah, it really helped me to... she’s very prim and proper; all the pleats in her skirt were perfect. And she had like a detail with her hat... and I think it help[ed] me to get into character.

In this instance, the perfect pleats and the detail in her hat don’t only function as a mirror of the character’s personality or a material articulation: they are the means by which Coleman literally “gets into” her character. This line of thought extends Monks’s argument that when a performer appears onstage “it is often very difficult to tell where the costume leaves off and the actor begins” (2010, 11). Rather, the costume and the performer are engaged in a mutual constitution, the character or role being the interstice at which performer and costume enmesh. Until the performer takes the costume off, at which time the performer’s body becomes

⁴ Unless otherwise stated, quotations attributed to the three interview participants Peter Brown, Jennifer Coleman, and Christian Holder are from unpublished interviews conducted by Natalia Romagosa between October 18 and October 19 2016, London.

demarcated from character, this boundary remains murky. So much is intimated by actor Peter Brown, who, recalling playing Macbeth, said, “you do not want to take that character home with you. It’s best to leave them [*sic*] in the dressing room.”

Costume here remakes the body by marking it with character and, indeed, providing an entry into that role. Yet, as North argues, that which can initially appear to be flat or easily separated—character from actor, or clothing from body—is revealed to be complicated when troubled. She takes up the metaphor of a cut in skin to demonstrate the capacity of this surface, which “proves in rupture to have its own depth” (2014, 24). So too does the superficial surface of character reveal complexities when interrogated: costume embodies character, reordering a performer’s sense of their self, as they respond to the prompt of the costume’s look or feel. The confusion caused by the taking on and into of another’s self—that of a character—is apparently detroubled by the process of taking off that “person,” and leaving “them” in the changing room. The material of a costume doesn’t just symbolise the immaterial, it is inextricably folded into the processes by which the immaterial is experienced and called forth in both preparation for performance and performance itself.

In this way, costume actively contributes to both a performer’s sense of a character and that character’s shape and iteration. This occurs not just aesthetically, as with Coleman and the pleated skirt, but also haptically, by reconfiguring the body. Costumes may demand the alteration of the performer’s uncostumed appearance, such as a male actor being required to cut his hair short so that a Rococo-style wig can be properly pinned on. It may also reconfigure the organisation of an actor’s embodied self, prompting a series of sensations that flow into the performance. In discussing a production of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, Peter Brown described the experience of wearing shoes with a high heel:

We’re not used as men to wearing shoes with heels [...]. There’s two things: it raises you, so you actually get taller than the female actresses, even more than you already are, which in my case might have caused stooping. And the director said: “Careful, you’re stooping in because you’re actually taller, remember not to stoop.” And secondly, your posture is different, obviously, you move forward, slightly.

I started to [rehearse in the shoes] quite late, but I realised as soon as I did, “Ah, I look [different], I stand differently, my posture’s different.” So that of course, helps, in a character that is meant to be quite noble, that was the whole point. That you would rise and become taller, and ordinary people wouldn’t have that, it would have been expensive.

Wearing heeled shoes required Brown to call consciousness to his posture and reconfigure how he held himself so that he wore them properly. At the same time, the effect the shoes had in making Brown taller mirrored the play’s power dynamics of gender and class. Here is an illustration of Findlay’s argument that clothing provides a “space for the inhabitation of an alternative mode of being” in which cloth, skin, sense, and imagination weave together to order one’s perception of self—indeed, “our understanding of who we are in relation to the world can shift according to what we have drawn on over our skin” (2016, 79). This

understanding is ordered by our sense perception, and the wearing of clothes that make us experience our selves differently also lead us to experience the world in which we are entangled differently. So costume facilitates characterisation by calling forth in Brown's embodied self an experience of standing like a nobleman in the late eighteenth century, seeing himself taller than the women around him, and those who are socially inferior to him. For the actor, the ways in which this character might have understood this sociohistorical context are articulated by the experience of standing in his shoes.

Yet there is another way in which costume facilitates a performer's fold into role, and this relates to the construction and material properties of the costumes being worn. In functioning as an extension of a performer's body, and a resource aiding the success of their performance, a well-designed costume can enable performance by creating conditions in which the embodied self of a performer is literally supported, thereby extending the capabilities of their body. For example, Jennifer Coleman shared that some of her friends love singing in a corset as "it gives them something to resist against. It gives something that they feel they can use as a tool to help them support."

The capacity of costume to operate as exoskeleton and thereby facilitate a different articulation of the performing body was also revealed in Coleman's recollection of having a black dress made for her to perform in. The dress had a *pannier* (a basket-shaped undergarment that exaggerates the shape of the hips) underneath the skirt, which required Coleman to hold her hands in front of her waist: "just doing this changes your shoulder shape and changes your rib cage and makes you feel really open." Likewise, when the waist of the dress was being fitted, Coleman recalled the designer asking her to expand her rib cage to the maximum she needed when singing, to ensure that she could project her voice properly when in costume. The designer had to negotiate the look of the garment—"he obviously wanted to give me a nice silhouette and a good waist"—with the ways in which Coleman needed to be able to employ her body.

The manner in which Coleman spoke about this dress also indicates the affective dimension of costumes. When we asked Coleman if she had ever felt a personal connection to one of her costumes, it was this dress she spoke of, smiling: "This dress was made for me, like, made to measure, to fit me [...] and it felt really special when I wore it because the designer became a really good friend of mine [...] when I look at it I just feel very happy." She said that when she wore it in performance she "felt like the queen of the world." There are many dimensions to this experience: Coleman has a privileged relationship to the dress because it was made for her, its form being based on her proportions and thereby becoming a complement to her self. The designer became a friend, which, for Coleman, layered the dress with an association to the person whose hands made it. At the same time, by enlarging her, the shape of the dress made Coleman feel "empowered," which she describes as affecting her performance. Here, Coleman, her performance in the dress, and the dress itself are inextricable, the garment calling forth a series of affective and haptic sensations that shaped her singing and her sense of self-as-clothed, which is to say her self-as-performer. Here, the limitations of seeing costumes as a "means to an end, rather than as an end in themselves" is laid bare

(Monks 2010, 10). Rather, costume is tangled with the performing, perceiving body, being inextricable from what the performer does.

The fold between imagining, feeling, perceiving, and wearing as sketched here makes available another way in which costume mediates performance: the negotiation and/or navigation it requires from performers when it does not facilitate, but obstructs an efficacious performance. Monks writes that “costumes are expected to somehow appear to disappear, so that they don’t interrupt the flow of the character’s presence” (2010, 10). When a costume smoothly facilitates the merge of self and character, or role, such a contiguous presence might be experienced by a performer, as intimated by some of the anecdotes already shared. However, in the moments when costume restricts, disobeys, malfunctions, or frustrates, it falls to the performer to undertake the necessary labour to produce a successful performance for their audience. As dancer and costume designer Christian Holder noted, “when it’s a garment that you don’t love and you seduce the audience into thinking that you love it ... that’s the craft. Whatever is going on internally with you or with your costume, the audience shouldn’t know.” It is to this labour that we now turn.

“As an actor you’re always two people”

Drew Leder argues, in relation to Merleau-Ponty’s philosophical position, that “it is intrinsic to lived embodiment to be *both* subject and an object available to external gaze” (1990, 6; original emphasis). There is a dual state of perceiving and being perceived that finds particular articulation in Western stage-based theatrical performances. A performer must use the stuff of their self to articulate a character or role, whilst negotiating their perceptions of their embodied self. Reflections on costume call attention to this shifting modality, and the forms of affective labour and flexible performance required by a performer to fulfil their “assumption of responsibility to an audience” (Fitzpatrick 1995, 53).

As Leder argues, one’s “body is always a field of immediately lived sensation” (1990, 23). We have presented several ways in which costume can facilitate performance, and it therefore follows that embodied perception can also encumber a performer’s work. Where a performer must deploy their personal resources and skills to fulfil the requirements of the performance, any aspect that would disrupt their efforts must be absorbed into the performance, or navigated around. Christian Holder said of this process that “in a perfect situation [costume] enhances... it is part of your character,” but that it can present a challenge depending on the cut of the costume, or if its look is in conflict with the representation of character the performer envisages.

You have to figure out a way to make it work.... If it’s a costume that you don’t like, well that’s your relationship with it. And you perform well in spite of it, not because of it. The main thing is that the audience mustn’t know.

While performing already necessitates different forms of labour, where costumes impede a performer’s desired quality of movement, evoke a series of bodily sensations that distract them from intense focus on fulfilling their role, or

otherwise interrupt their ability to concentrate on their desired outcome, extra effort is required, as evident here in Holder's words. The responsibility is to "make it work" by making yourself work "in spite of" that which obstructs a performance, all the while sustaining what Bert O. States has called "theater's strong illusionary mission" (1985, 165).

The interplay invoked here between an audience and the labour of a performer is rich and complex: it involves the affective relationship of a performer to their costume, the work of their embodied self, and the awareness of the audience's gaze. Fitzpatrick describes this interaction as one in which an audience is given license to "regard the act of expression and the performer with special intensity" (Fitzpatrick citing Bauman in Fitzpatrick 1995, 52). What came through in our interviews was the awareness all three performers had of the dimensions of experience, and the manner in which a navigation of costume, role, and audience's gaze requires a shifting of modes in the moment of performance through the work of the embodied self.

The materials that fabricate costumes arose as a theme in these interviews, as all three performers recalled productions in which the fabric of their costumes was not suited to the performances for which they were worn. In some instances, there were preparations that could be undertaken to mitigate these effects: wearing the garments in rehearsal to get used to the ways they reordered the body; layering a singlet underneath a silk shirt to absorb sweat and prevent its spread into dark patches under the arms; or drinking lots of water during an opera performance to offset the effects of wearing animal furs and woollen scarves under hot stage lights.

These pragmatic actions were at times furthered by an imaginative act undertaken to navigate the costume's incongruity. Peter Brown recalled playing theoretical physicist Werner Heisenberg in Michael Frayn's *Copenhagen* and being required to wear a "very heavy, double-breasted plastic raincoat." He was lit under spotlights for most of the production, an effect employed to symbolise Heisenberg's situation in the afterlife. "So you've got 1940s clothing with braces, a suit— a double-breasted, heavy, woollen suit—plus a heavier coat in the spotlight... I lost four kilos in a week... I sweated out four kilos." When asked if the distraction of sweating drew Brown's focus away from his performance, he replied, "yes."

If you're going to sweat, you're going to sweat. So, it just becomes part of your character. The character sweats, the character is hot, the character is sweating on stage, so be it. And that's just part of who he is: he's uncomfortable in the afterlife.... It's a bit off because it makes sense that it's the middle of winter in Copenhagen, so you wouldn't have been very sweaty, but you just have to pretend that his recollections [take place] in this weird afterlife and he's hot in his body.

Here we see the very tangle of costume-role-audience invoked earlier: Brown's embodied response to his costume was to sweat profusely, which caused significant weight loss and persistently called Brown's attention to his discomfort. At another point in the interview, he described this performance as "suffering, basically, in two and a half hours without a break... in the heat." Yet he countered this by transforming his embodied response into that of Heisenberg, despite the

imaginative leap this required: the character wouldn't be sweating profusely in the middle of a Danish winter, so the sweating must be his response to being in the afterlife. This imagining overlays Brown's embodied self-as-actor with Brown-as-Werner Heisenberg, his sweat becoming the character's, which not only legitimises Brown's bodily reaction to himself—allowing for a continuation of the illusion of the play for himself as actor—but also speaks to a question he seemingly anticipates from his future audience: why is this character sweating?

For dancer and costume designer Christian Holder, the absorption of a costume that obstructed or impeded his performance took a different iteration. In dance, a genre that foregrounds the capabilities, movement, and look of the performing body, the ways that costume moulds onto and configures the body assume a different significance. So much is intimated by costume designer Mary Kent Harrison, who writes that in ballet and contemporary dance, the line of a dancer's body needs to be shown through costume of a perfect fit made from fabrics that must "flow and move well" (1998, 6).

The conventions of this aesthetic requirement (at least in regard to the forms of dance practised by Holder), coupled with the custom of reusing costumes from prior productions, entail situations in which dancers may have to wear costumes initially created for the bodies of others. Christian Holder revealed the discomfort that this can cause dancers:

if you step into a role where there's already a costume, you might love the ballet, you might love dancing the ballet, but you might be self-conscious about an aspect of your body that is perhaps revealed in the costume [...] but, you know, you have to make the best of it.

Again, the dancer must work to accommodate the ways the costume reshapes their body. Holder likens this to the embodied strategies dancers employ so that audiences "see you as a perfect specimen. Maybe you're not. Maybe you're bow legged, maybe you're hyper-extended. So you learn how to stand." However, if the costume does not allow for these varieties of human shape, it is the performer who must adjust. While Holder articulates this as an internal-external binary—"whatever is going on with you or with your costume, the audience shouldn't know"—it can be understood as a circular flow between imagining how you would like to look while performing, experiencing the limitation of realising this in the feel and look of the costume, anticipating the audience seeing this, and modifying the movement of the body to reshape what the audience will apprehend. It is the work of the embodied self as clothed, then, that makes the performance. Clothing here functions as an "'extension of the body' [...] the worldly plane onto which the body extends" (North 2014, 11). Yet when this worldly plane presses back, calling attention to its presence, the ability of a performer to immerse with concentration, or "get lost in the process [...] and to feel the rightness of one's action in terms of what is happening in that special world of one's creation" recedes (Czikszentmihalyi 1996, 119).

Another way in which costumes impede performance is through the affective labour they can demand. Christian Holder recalled the difficulties posed by the costumes for a production of Jerome Robbins's *Interplay*, made from an "old-

fashioned” wool jersey that gradually grew heavier throughout the performance: “we’re perspiring from the moment [...] it starts, and it’s bomp-bomp-bomp, there’s a step for each note of the score, and it’s hell, it’s a really tough ballet.” Compounding this, the dancers also wore t-shirts underneath polo necks that had shrunk when they were dyed, and the crotch of their pants was too low: “you know, when you kicked you didn’t see the full length of the leg, so you could feel that, you were aware of that.” Pre-show, when getting dressed, Holder would try to “psych [himself] up to do a good performance, and it’s like ‘oh God’, you know, you have to do it. It wasn’t fun.”

Costume becomes an object that must be responded to, evoking or provoking an affective response that also plays against a performer’s other desires for their performance—in this example, to achieve a particular look. As such, costume is not simply a material overlay drawn on to facilitate a performance, but an object that becomes “the layer of the world closest to the body” that can impede as much as it makes available (North 2014, 11).

Costume also affects the performer’s recollection of their performance, their feelings about their costume entangling with their feelings about their performance, or even their capability as performers. For example, Jennifer Coleman said that she noticed that other cast members in a production of *Die Fledermaus* treated her differently because she played a butler:

There’s a champagne chorus and they all had to drink champagne, and, we were just pretending to be giving out glasses but then, when we would get into the wings [the other performers] would actually be giving me their glasses to tidy up. And I’d be like: “It’s not my job, I’m an actor like you. Just put your glass on the side, you’re capable of looking after your own glass.” But it’s that thing of “Oh, you’re dressed as a butler, [...] you have to be that.”

I mean, I absolutely hated my costume for this and it really made me feel... it really ruined the whole production for me because I wanted to be in one of the big ball gowns and have my hair done fancy and be waltzing.

The butler costume made Coleman’s role legible not only in the fictive world of the opera, but also in relation to the other performers. Her disappointment in her unfulfilled desire to be dressed in one of the ball gowns here seems to compound with her frustration at the way that her colleagues treated her as if she was actually in service, reinforcing her apparently lower status (at least in her own perception). This anecdote adds another dimension to Monks’s argument that when an actor appears onstage “it is often very difficult to tell where the costume leaves off and the actor begins” (2010, 11). Rather, costume and body here “ambiguate one another’s boundaries” (North 2014, 9), as Coleman’s affective response to her costume infects her experience of participating in the production. Costume affects her sense of self as performer while also visually coding her for her colleagues, her body being marked in a way that troubles the who and what she is in that context.

“A body that can be taken off”

Fashion historian Valerie Steele has described museums as “cemeteries for ‘dead’ clothes” (Brooks and Eastop 2017, 20), an evocation that recalls Joanne Entwistle’s statement that clothes on display are “lifeless, inanimate and alienated from the wearer” (2015, 10). Aoife Monks also touches on this lifeless quality in her study of actors and costume, describing an encounter Samuel Pepys had with costumes backstage in the King’s Playhouse in 1665: material objects that had seemed so lively when worn on stage—a “crown [that] would make a man split himself with laughing,” say—struck him as “poor things” when regarded up close (Pepys in Monks 2010).⁵

Empty clothes can appear uncanny, bearing the shape of a human being with none of their animation, and pathetically recalling that they were once worn: a presence connoting absence. As Monks eloquently argues, costumes can thus be conceived of as an “incomplete body, brimming with potential and memory, imprinted by a body but no longer of it and offering a ghostly and inanimate outline of a body of its own” (2010, 140). Yet at the same time, these “incomplete bodies” carry the charge of remembrance: they “continue to resonate after the performance has ended: their presence is not mute, but rather replete with meanings and memories” (139). Like the imprint a necklace leaves in the plush of its box, costumes bear the trace of performance. This trace can affect a performer when they don costumes previously worn by notable others in their field, as when worn again, these costumes seem to imbue performers with the “power of their ancestors” (142). This is evident in Holder’s remark that it can feel “fabulous” to wear costumes that have been worn before: “if you look at the label and it reads Rudolf Nureyev or it says Margot Fonteyn [...] you inherit it.”

Yet as objects worn against skin, costumes also bear material traces of performance: smells, stains, deterioration that wears on the fabric. This accumulation of wear perhaps contributes to the uncanny quality of costumes, in that the presence of a prior performer literally remains: a pair of culottes cut for another dancer demonstrates in its cut the line of that performer’s leg compared with yours. The shape of that person, and the past performances that could not be steamed out, speaks their presence, and their expended labour, in absentia.

At the same time, as argued throughout this paper, costumes also function as memory-keepers for performers, their recollections of being on stage accessed through a return to consider what they wore whilst performing. A dichotomous costume-body distinction is here complicated by the ways that costume enmeshes with memories of performance. Yet the connection between costumed self and performance is often overlooked, even by performers, as evident in a text message sent by Peter Brown after our interviews. Having initially been sceptical of the importance of costume, Brown said in interview that he “[worries] about people obsessing over the details of the clothing at the expense of [being in character]” and that he “[doesn’t] really care much about what I wear. I care about my character.” He later shared that prior to the interview he “tended to focus on other aspects of performance, but I realise now that costume played a bigger role than I

⁵ See Lyndsey Blakewell’s reference to Samuel Pepys in this issue, page x—Ed.

gave it credit for. I now know that I was transformed by some of my costumes” (Brown, pers. comm., 4 March 2017). Here, too, it seems that costume left a trace.

The garments that Brown, Coleman, and Holder wore in past performances serve as material memories of those productions yet are also archived in their own memories. Costumes are evidently also sites at which sense of these performers’ past work is made, calling forth affective and embodied responses that are palpable when those costumes are spoken of.

Conclusion

As Barbieri and Pantouvaki (2016) suggest, a philosophy of costume looks beyond costume’s traditional ascriptions and towards new approaches to the juxtaposition of garment, performer, and performance. By considering the ways that materiality and memory intersect in performers’ recollections of costume, we have foregrounded the ways in which costume extends the performing self and have begun to map the ways it alternatively prescribes, facilitates, and affects the process of performance. As we have argued, this involves a complex series of embodied negotiations on the part of a performer that reveal the entanglements of costume and the labour of performing. At the same time, costume mediates a performer’s recollections of performance, not just affecting their work but functioning in some ways as a repository of memory.

A means to engage with the dimensions of this rich and complex area of study is through an approach that situates costume—indeed, that privileges it alongside the experiencing self—as a locus of knowledge of performance. Calling this approach sartorial remembrance acknowledges the argument of Ulrich Lehmann that fashion folds past time and present time together in an ephemeral temporal moment situated at the interface of cloth. Also enfolded here, as we have argued, are costume and performance, as the latter is shown to be shaped by costumes as costumes themselves shape the look and capabilities of performers’ bodies. The sartorial remembrances of the three performers interviewed for this work revealed the close weave of affect, perception, embodied labour, and memory evoked by costume.

By making this dynamic the focus of our work here, we have sought to address the gap in scholarly literature on the affective, perceptual dimensions of costumes for performers. In this way, we have contributed to the burgeoning field of scholarship revaluing costumes as objects playing roles more significant than previously thought, “active agents performing alongside rather than behind or in service to human performers” (Schweitzer and Zerdy 2014, 6). While at first glance, garments may indeed appear distinguishable and extricable from the bodies they cover, we have demonstrated that costume, like clothing more generally, shapes the experience of the embodied selves that do the wearing. Costumes and performers therefore extend one another, and mutually shape and are shaped by one another.

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