

Fashion in the “Cultural Capital”: Clothing Design in Leningrad, 1944-1964

By

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Abstract

By the early 1950s, the USSR had a system of fashion houses located in the cities of the RSFSR and other Soviet republics. These institutions were responsible for designing and producing clothing for everyday wear for men, women, and children. The chain of these houses was headed by the All-Union Fashion in Moscow. This fashion house set the majority of principles of Soviet design, providing its branches with technical and aesthetics recommendations. However, many fashion houses detached their designs from Moscow, making their models of clothing. The Leningrad Fashion House was established in September 1944, and aimed to provide city residents with beautiful civil clothing. The local designers were expected to experiment with various forms and materials and to teach citizens how to dress.

The perception of Leningrad as the “cultural capital” by natives had a significant impact on constructing “Leningrad fashion”. Such perspective became one of the prevailing narratives of “the myth of Petersburg”. The local people usually perceived Leningrad as the mythical city, that was cultured. Taking this into account, the project aims to explore Soviet fashion in Leningrad through the prism of the myth of Petersburg. It argues that the fashion house in Leningrad detached its designs from Moscow and other cities and aimed to create a local variant of Soviet fashion. Thus, the narrative of the “cultural capital” became a determinative element in constructing Leningrad fashion and the rules of good taste for city residents. Therefore, such an approach allows showing that Soviet fashion was not homogeneous, and its differences depended upon the social and cultural environment.

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Abbreviations and Glossary

CPSU, the Party – the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

DLT – the Leningrad Trade House

FZU – a professional technical school

Gorkom – a city committee of the CPSU, the highest authority in Leningrad

GUM – the State Department Store in Moscow

Indposhiv – sewing customized clothing to order for individuals

Komsomol – the Communist Youth League, The All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, a political youth organization in the Soviet Union (1918-1991)

Lenodezhda – the trading organization of clothing in Leningrad

Obkom – a regional committee of the CPSU, the higher authority in Leningrad region (*oblast'*)

Passazh – the department store in Leningrad

The LDMO – the Leningrad House of Models (1944-1991)

The MDMO – the Moscow House of Models (1945-1941; 1944-1948/1949)

The ODMO – the All-Union House of Models (1948/1949-1991)

The RSFSR – the Russian Socialist Federative Socialist Republic

The USSR – The United Soviet Socialist Republics, the Soviet Union

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Figure 14. A shot from Russian-Ukrainian TV-series *Krasnaia Koroleva* (2015).

Introduction

In Vladimir Menshov's movie *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, filmed in 1979, the female character Lyudmila Sviridova (Irina Muravyova) says: "Certainly, a fashion designer is a very fancy profession. The only trouble is that it is hard to pretend to be one". As a profession, fashion designers (*khudozhniki-model'ery*) appeared after the end of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945). They worked in fashion institutions – the fashion houses of clothing or fashion houses. The fashion house (*dom modelei odezhdy*), literally the house of models, was established in Moscow since 1935; however, it was closed with the beginning of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945). In 1944, the fashion house was reopened in Moscow at Kuznetskii most street, 14. By the beginning of the 1950s, such institutions appeared around the whole Soviet Union. They were located in the capitals of Soviet republics and the regions of the RSFSR.

By the early 1950s, the fashion houses became a system of institutions that were responsible for the design, construction of models, literally patterns or designs for individual pieces of clothing, and cooperation with factories for further production. It was a centralized system headed by the All-Union Fashion House in Moscow. The fashion houses constructed and developed models of clothing for everyday wear for men, women, and children. According to the plans, unfashionable and unattractive clothes would disappear from the clothing market. Even though the All-Union Fashion House set down the majority of the main principles and approaches to Soviet clothing design. The fashion houses located in the capitals of Soviet republics and the regions of the RSFSR constructed their models of clothing. It means that regional design of garments may differ from the All-Union Fashion House.

A very important question appears: why did the Soviet authorities decide to establish fashion institutions even during the war? The war rapidly changed the Soviet clothing market, almost destroying any diversity of items, and it was not a proper time to think about fashion. Sergei Zhuravlev and Jukka Gronow suggest that it was an "unusual present" to the people from

the authorities who aimed to manifest a gradual recovery of peaceful life.¹ Apparently, the Soviet leadership imagined that new clothing and fashion served as an instrument for binding up the wounds of war. After the war, the necessity of producing clothing influenced the emergence of professional clothing design.² The garment factories were supposed to re-orient to the better clothing patterns produced by the fashion houses of clothing. According to the original idea, the planning economy would provide Soviet people with high-quality textiles, the best workers, and the latest technology, which would allow the production of exclusively fashionable clothing patterns.³ The fashion houses became the institutions that allowed the designer to develop into a profession.

The changes in the Soviet Union after Joseph Stalin's death affected the fashion industry. Firstly, the development of clothing design and production was primarily connected with governmental reforms focused on satisfying the citizens' needs.⁴ Secondly, the transformations in daily life required a diversity of clothing. These changes included the return of sports activities, vacations, hobby clubs, cinema, and theaters to Soviet everyday life. In addition, the Soviet authorities aimed to restore ruined sanatoria, rest homes, and tourist bases to return laboring people to take a rest.⁵ In this context, the fashion houses were aimed to construct clothing in accordance with its function: sport suits, leisurewear, home wear et cetera. Examples of clothing and enclosed recommendations on how to wear it were published in the fashion magazines.

Thirdly, fashion was a tool of soft power in the Cold War competition between the two blocs. Soviet clothing was presented to Western audiences at a number of exhibitions in the

¹ Sergei Zhuravlev, Jukka Gronow, *Fashion Meets Socialism: Fashion Industry in the Soviet Union after the Second World War*. (Finnish Literature Society, 2016), 78.

² Gronow, Zhuravlev, 78.

³ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 78.

⁴ Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Things under Socialism: The Soviet Experience" in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. by Frank Trentmann (Oxford, 2012), 460; Larissa Zakharova, "Soviet Fashion in the 1950s-1960s: Regimentation, Western Influences, and Consumption Strategies" in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. by Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd. (University of Toronto Press, 2013), 428.

⁵ Diane P. Koenker, "Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 2 (2009): 405.

GDR, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, and Belgium. Western designers intended to visit the Soviet Union to present their clothing as well: for instance, one of the most famous events of the decade was the 1959 Christian Dior catwalk show in Moscow. Public international events of the late 1950s, such as the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students and the American Exhibition in Moscow allowed Soviet citizens to communicate with people from the other side of the Iron Curtain. One of the main results of this communication was the new wave of popularity of “Western lifestyle” among the Soviet youth, which included aspirations toward Western music, cinema, and fashion. Western clothing became a desirable item among young citizens, and it pushed Komsomol to introduce a series of measures to control any stylistic imitations. Komsomol’s squads (*reïdy družhinnikov*) spotted young men and ladies in Western-style outfits all over the Soviet Union; the consequences were expressed in a series of violent actions towards them.⁶ To demonstrate the rules of appearance to the population and to prevent Western imitations in style, the fashion houses published a fashion magazine with pictures of various clothing, sewing patterns, and advice.

Most importantly, apart from the practical mission, designers’ and art historians’ attempts to create “Soviet fashion” served as a tool for cultural propaganda.⁷ There was an opinion expressed by experts from the fashion houses that Soviet men and women were not cultured enough and needed guidelines for the choice of clothing. This line of thinking recalls the concept of *kul’turnost* which played an important role in Soviet official discourse in the 1930s⁸. These guidelines are known in historiography as “the rules of good taste”. These rules were based on special perceptions of aesthetics which constructed the “correct” ways of matching fabrics, colors, and forms.⁹ “Good taste” assumed not just matching clothing and accessories properly

⁶ Juliane Furst, *Stalin’s Last Generation. Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism*. (Oxford University Press, 2010), 214.

⁷ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 88.

⁸ *Kul’turnost* - a campaign of 1930s that aimed to discipline the new urban population the regime through the propaganda of a number of practices such as good manners, personal hygiene, appearance, educational background and knowledge of communist theory.

⁹ Zakharova (2013), 403.

but choosing a garment by function: dress for the theater, work, vacation, home et cetera.¹⁰ The fashion houses were responsible for promoting a proper vision of Soviet appearance through fashion magazines and the publications in the city newspapers.

This “cultural purpose” of fashion was crucial in Leningrad. The image of the city in the people’s consciousness and art and legendary accounts of its foundations contributed to the formation of “the myth of Petersburg”.¹¹ One of the prevailing narratives in the city myth was the “cultural capital”. Petersburg was conceived by its residents as a city of culture and science; the image of the city with canals and grid of broad avenues contrasted with obscurant Moscow.¹² The narrative depicted Petersburg as “cultural capital” continued to prevail in the Soviet period. The local intelligentsia claimed for Leningrad a symbolic power and regarded it as an alternative capital rather than a provincial city.¹³ They perceived Leningrad as the mythical Petersburg that was cultured.

Soviet Fashion Throughout Time: Literature Overview

Soviet fashion and clothing design have already been discussed by a variety of scholars of cultural and economic history. Soviet and Western scholars began to explore Soviet fashion at the beginning of the 1980s; their main focus was the idea of fashion in the early socialist state, especially the constructivist and avant-garde tendencies in clothing design used by Nadezhda Lamanova, Valentina Stepanova and Alexander Rodchenko in the 1920s.¹⁴ Later scholars put the phenomenon of Soviet and socialist fashion into a global and comparative perspective, expanding timeframes and ways of vision. One of the main studies here is *FashionEast. The Spectre that Haunted Socialism* by Djurdja Bartlett, which proposes three narratives of socialist

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Katerina Clark, *Petersburg, Crucible of Cultural Revolution*. (Harvard University Press, 1996), 4.

¹² Clark, 6; Catriona Kelly, *St. Petersburg. Shadows of the Past*. (Yale University Press, 2014), 14.

¹³ Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941-1995. Myth, Memories, and Monuments*. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 31.

¹⁴ Olga Vainshtein, “Female Fashion, Soviet Style: Bodies of Ideology” in *Russia. Women. Culture*, ed. by H. Gosilo and B. Holmgren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 64-93; Eva Hausbacher, Elena Huber and Julia Hargañner, eds., *Fashion, Consumption and Everyday Culture in the Soviet Union between 1945 and 1985*. (Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner, 2014); Demidenko, Yuliya, “Petrograd. Fashion. 1917”. *Teoriia Mody* 3, no. 45. (2017).

fashion in the Soviet Union and socialist countries such as the GDR, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The first narrative of the 1920s devoted to utopian fashion produced an attempt to create a new type of clothing after the Bolshevik Revolution. The second narrative of socialist fashion in the 1930s demonstrated the failure of the state's plans to bring egalitarian and unitary styles in mass fashion and clothing production.¹⁵ Bartlett says that traditional aesthetics and gender stereotypes defined fashion course in those years. After the war, a similar narrative began to dominate in fashion discourse in the Eastern Bloc countries. The third narrative which Bartlett presents is everyday fashion. Here she aims to show how fashion existed in everyday life; in particular, she pays her attention to consumer and do-it-yourself practices. The author uses these three narratives to demonstrate a coherent process of development of socialist fashion. In particular, Bartlett brilliantly shows dialectics between ideas in discourse and their implementation in actual clothing design.

The majority of recent studies on Soviet fashion are devoted to the period of the 1950s and 1960s. The most well-known scholar in the field is Larissa Zakharova whose works cover a variety of topics connected with fashion, design, and consumption culture. In one of her articles, she observes the entire system of Soviet fashion within categories of theory and production, Soviet-Western contact, the realities of clothing consumption and preference in fashion among consumers. The production of Soviet fashion depended on the technical equipment of the factories. Due to the poor quality of factory production, three additional actors were involved in the production of fashionable garments: consumers and home practices, professionals in tailor shops, and semi-professionals in ateliers and tailor shops.¹⁶ Aspirations for fashionable clothing set a specific understanding of luxuries in Soviet discourse which Zakharova examines in her study "Dior in Moscow". She approaches the construction of Soviet "good taste" in detail within

¹⁵ Djurdja Bartlett, *FashionEast: Prizrak, Brodivshii Po Vostochnoi Evrope*. (Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2011), 15.

¹⁶ Zakharova, 429.

the various discursive definitions of luxury in the 1950s-1960s.¹⁷ She concludes that although Soviet fashion designers transferred Western elements into their clothing design, they set out to teach the “good taste” to Soviet people and to regulate clothing practices.¹⁸ Their passion for luxuries drew their status closer to Western haute couture designers but also displays inequalities in Soviet society. In another paper, Zakharova argues that in the conditions of the Cold War the designers and fashion artists were obliged to dress Soviet people differently than in the West but it was almost impossible.¹⁹ The low level of the textile industry and the lack of technical equipment were reasons for not adopting some trends; in other cases, the clothing was unaffordable for most citizens, and the fashion industry sustained economic losses.²⁰ In general, Larissa Zakharova’s studies made a huge contribution to the field and explored many key questions but they have some gaps. For instance, although she mentions the fashion houses as important actors in the Soviet fashion industry, she does not explore them more precisely. Besides, her main focus is only women’s fashion.

Studies of the interplay between fashion and gender formed a part of this historiography. They primarily examine fashion as a tool for constructing gender stereotypes and beauty standards. Yulia Gradskaia focuses on the perceptions of femininity and female beauty in the Soviet Union during the 1950s-1960s. In her study, she argues that department stores, beauty salons, Western film, and fashionable clothing helped to spread beauty practices among women in urban and rural areas, and these practices were an expression and preservation of femininity in its distinctive interpretations.²¹ Another researcher Olga Gurova in her study devoted to the perceptions of the body in Soviet fashion discourse claims that fashion was a mediator between

¹⁷ Larissa Zakharova, *Dior in Moscow: a Taste for Luxury in Soviet Fashion under Khrushchev* in *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. by Susan Reid and David Crowley. (Northwestern University Press, 2010), 95.

¹⁸ Zakharova, 120.

¹⁹ Larissa Zakharova. “Naibolee Rasprostranennoi Iavliaetsia Forma Priamogo Pal'to s Odnobortnoi Zastezhkoi”: O Sovetskoi Mode Epokhi "Ottepeli", *Neprikosnovennyi Zapas* 1, no. 45 (2006), URL: <http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2006/1/za24.html>.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Yulia Gradskaia, “Making Yourself Beautiful? Appearance, Body, and ‘Girl’s Dignity’ in the Life of Young Women in the 1950s-1960s” in *Fashion, Consumption and Everyday Culture in the Soviet Union between 1945 and 1985*, ed. by Eva Hausbacher, Elena Huber and Julia Hargabner. (Verlag Otto Sagner, 2014), 132.

authorities and society; and the government used it via media in the post-Stalin era.²² She provides several examples of the representation of women and their bodies in fashion magazines. However, like Gradskova and Zakharova, Gurova does not take men's body politics into consideration. Nataliia Lebina covers some questions concerning both men's and women's fashion. She analyzes the changes in gender politics and daily life during the post-Stalin period and shows how the new structures shaped relationships between men and women.²³ Fashion in Soviet daily life became a focus in her study. Within the dialectics of feminine and masculine, Lebina shows the preferences in the fashion of both genders. However, although her study has a lot of new and important points, the book is primarily descriptive.

My thesis will contribute to the history of fashion houses in the Soviet state; there are no comprehensive works about them, except for Zhuravlev and Gronow's *Fashion Meets Socialism* dedicated to the Soviet fashion system after the Great Patriotic War. Their complex research examines the history of fashion houses in Moscow and Tallinn, institutes, and ateliers as well as public opinion towards Soviet fashion.²⁴ However, other scholars pay a little attention to the history of the fashion houses located in the regions. Iuliia Papushina and Roman Abramov explore the experiments with clothing design by two designers from the Perm Fashion House. They argue that in the late socialism the collections of clothing created from the inner market had much more freedom than the ones designed for international events.²⁵ The current research is focused on the fashion houses in Leningrad and is aimed to provide the readers with a wider perspective, showing how the clothing design in the region was similar and different from Moscow.²⁶

²² Olga Gurova, "The Art of Dressing. Body, Gender and Discourse on Fashion in Soviet Russia in the 1950 and 1960s" in *The Fabric of Cultures. Fashion, Identity and Globalization*, ed. E. Paulicelli and H. Clark. (Routledge, 2009), 6.

²³ Nataliia Lebina, *Muzhchina i Zhenshchina: Telo, Moda, Kultura. SSSR – Ottepel. [Men and Women: Body, Fashion, Culture. USSR – Thaw]*. (Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2015), 5.

²⁴ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 34.

²⁵ Iuliia Papushina, Roman Abramov, "The Celebration of Heritage in Soviet Fashion: the Case of the Perm Fashion House", *ZoneModa Journal* 8, no. 1 (2018): 167-168.

²⁶ Even though a fashion of *stiliagi* which gained a lot of attention from scholars is important for this project, it does not aim to provide readers with a new perspective on this issue. See other works on *stiliagi*: Yulia Karpova, "The

Research Questions and Methodology

In my thesis, I would like to focus on the Leningrad Fashion house of Clothing as the main fashion institution in Leningrad during the 1940s-1960s. How the LDMO was established? Who were the designers (*khudozhniki-model'ery*)? Which kind of garment was constructed at the fashion house? How did the LDMO promote new models of clothing to city residents? How did the Leningrad Fashion house distance its design from Moscow and Western countries? However, since official discourse did not necessarily reflect the clothes that were produced, here I will focus on perceptions of this fashion at the LDMO, examining what people were expected to wear. I argue that the Leningrad Fashion House aimed to create a local variant of Soviet fashion for its city residents and, thus, reflected the Petersburg mythology. The paper draws on several types of sources which include archival textual and visual documents. The most significant sources are new archival documents from the funds of the fashion houses of the Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (TsGA SPb) and the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). Another important corpus of sources is visual materials, in particular, the fashion magazine published by the fashion house from the Russian National Library (RNB) and unique photos from the collection of the Central State Archive of Cinema and Photo Documents of St. Petersburg (TsGAKFFD).

Stilyagi: Soviet Youth (Sub)Culture of the 1950s and Its Fashion,” (MA diss., Central European University, 2009); Kristin Roth-Ey, “Kto na P’edestale, a Kto v Tolpe? Stiliagi i Ideia Sovetskoi «Molodezhnoi Kul’tury» v Epokhu “Ottepeli”, *Neprikosnovennyi Zapas* 4 (36), (2004), URL: <http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2004/4/ra4-pr.html>; Juliane Furst, *Stalin’s Last Generation. Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism*. (Oxford University Press, 2010).

Chapter 1. Institutionalization of Fashion in Postwar Leningrad

Even though the war was over, its effects continued to show in everyday life. The Leningrad citizens lacked almost all consumer products.²⁷ Coping with the shortages of housing, clothing, and priority goods formed new strategies of living for Soviet people which Elena Zubkova calls “survival strategies”.²⁸ After the Siege, the situation of basic goods and clothing was critical in Leningrad. As the postwar Soviet textile production and clothing market were restricted, people used military clothing for everyday wear.²⁹ The people wore greatcoats, military smocks (*gymnastyorki*), and other garments. Postwar everyday life was not colorful, it was painted into grey and green colors. Even if people were able to sew clothing from pieces of military uniforms, their main challenge was footwear. In those circumstances there seemed to be no place for fashion but gradually contemporary clothing began to be incorporated into Soviet people’s lives. The city’s government introduced a series of measures which were aimed to restore the *byt* of the citizens. As it was no longer necessary to focus on the military items, light industry tried to return to the production of everyday fabrics such as faille-de-chine, crepe-de-chine, corduroy, satin, cotton, and others.³⁰ And the fashion house was responsible for the construction and the production of new civilian clothing for the citizens.

The current chapter provides an overview of the institutionalization of Soviet fashion Leningrad from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, putting the discussion into a comparative perspective. It demonstrates the principles and operating mechanisms of the fashion house and its communication with Moscow and other Soviet fashion houses during this time. Through an analysis of secondary literature and archival documents, the chapter seeks to answer the following questions: how was the Leningrad Fashion House established? How was its working

²⁷ Vladimir Pyankevich, “Defitsit Tovarov Povsednevnogo Sprosa i ego Preodolenie v Blokadnom poslevoennom Leningrade” in *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Obshchestvo v period pozdnego Stalinizma, 1945-1953*, ed. by Jorg Baberowski and Lynn Viola. (Moscow, 2015), 114-115.

²⁸ Elena Zubkova, *Poslevoennoe Sovetskoe Obshchestvo: Politika i Povsednevnost’ 1945-1953*. (Moscow, 1999), 54.

²⁹ Zubkova, 54.

³⁰ Ibid.

process regulated by Moscow? How did the LDMO want to detach its working process from Moscow? This section argues that the Leningrad Fashion House had a significant level of autonomy from Moscow, which allowed it to construct and elaborate an original form of design.

1.1 Making Clothing for Leningraders

The establishment of the Soviet fashion system went through a few stages. Between 1944 and 1948 several regional fashion houses appeared in the major cities of the Soviet Union.³¹ The Moscow Fashion House (*Moskovskii dom modelei odezhdy*, the MDMO) was located in the heart of the city, in the historical building of the trading house of A.M. Mikhailov on Kuznetskii Most Street, 14.³² This was a Soviet version of fashion houses in Europe, where all fashion houses and companies were united by the *Chambre Syndicale de la Haute Couture*.³³ In 1948, the Moscow Fashion House received the status of All-Union Fashion House (*Obshchесоiuznyi dom modelei odezhdy*, the ODMO) and unified several fashion houses, located in Leningrad, Kyiv, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Riga, Baku, Tbilisi, Chisinau, and other Soviet cities.

In Leningrad, fashion was institutionalized right after the end of the siege of the city, officially on September 11, 1944.³⁴ Like the ODMO, it obtained a historical building in the city center. This was a former building of Mertens Trade House (*Dom Mertensa*) on Nevskii Prospekt, 21.³⁵ As Zhuravlev and Gronow briefly explain, “knowing that the final victory was approaching the Soviet government gave an unusual present to its people, thus concretely showing that they took care of their own”.³⁶ Specifically in Leningrad, the introduction of fashion to everyday life was understood among local authorities as an excellent medicine for the

³¹ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 79.

³² Today this building belongs to premium clothing store “Poduim Concept Store”.

³³ Veronique Pouillard, “Keeping Designers and Brands Authentic: the Resurgence of the post-war French Fashion Business under the Challenge of US Mass Production”, *European Review of History: Revue europeene d’histoire* 20, no. 5 (2013), 818.

³⁴ Tsentral’nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sankt-Peterburga (TsGA), coll. 1910 (Leningradskii dom modelei odezhdy leningradskogo glavnogo upravleniia shveynoi promyshlennosti (“Lenglavshveiprom”) ministerstva legkoi promyshlennosti RSFSR. Leningrad. 1944–1994), inv. 1, f. 32 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 12 apreliia 1948 g.)

³⁵ Today this building belongs to the Spanish clothing brand ZARA.

³⁶ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 78.

wounds of the difficult times during the siege.³⁷ However, fashion in everyday life was a rhetorical figure from authorities rather than a reality: after three years of war, the market for clothing and shoes had been destroyed. Later, demand for commodities among city residents became different: while one part of the citizenry was exhausted by the purchase of anything, the other demanded modern fashionable clothing.³⁸

Each fashion house had a similar organizational structure. In the context of the planned economy, fashion institutions worked according to the five-year-plan and had different departments: a finance office, *kantseliaria*, staff office, planning office, and art group (*khudozhestvennaya gruppa*) and others. Apart from bureaucratic and technical issues, the key player in their structure concerning design were the Art Councils (*khudozhestvennye sovety*), which consisted of party members, employees of the fashion house, professionals from museums and galleries, and representatives of trade unions, and enterprises of the textile industry. In the 1950s, the Leningrad Fashion House introduced a new section which was called as “an experimental design section” (*ehksperimental'nyj tsekh*) where designers discussed and invented new ideas in clothing design before showing them at the meetings of the Art Council.

New designs and fashion trends could not proceed to the production line without the approval of the Art Council - they aimed to correct models of clothing in accordance with technology abilities and aesthetic perceptions of its participants. Seasonal divisions at Soviet fashion houses were similar to Western ways of presenting collections at any fashion week: fall/winter and spring/summer. Garments for each season were discussed in advance. In the ODMO, the first Art Council consisted of 23 members and met 12 times per year.³⁹ In the LDMO there was a Small and a Grand Art Council as a part of the art group. Each model of clothing had to receive approval from both Council, one after another. Archival documents do not reveal how the meetings of the Small Grand Council were held. However, they shed light on

³⁷ Elena Zubkova, *Poslevoennoe Sovetskoe Obshchestvo: Politika i Povsednevnost' 1945-1953*. (Moscow, 1999), 55.

³⁸ Pyankevich, 115-116.

³⁹ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 90.

the working process of the Grand one. Each meeting started with the chairman's speech. In this speech, he or she gave a summary of clothing discussed at the last meeting, presented the results of research on customers' demand, explained major problems in clothing production, and introduced new designs.⁴⁰ The participants of these meetings were shown recent models of clothing which they discussed and criticized together. Their criticism was connected to both aesthetic and technical details. It is unclear how the models of clothing were presented but presumably, as it is shown in the photo, live models demonstrated them.⁴¹

The membership of the Council was never stable. Sometimes local authorities attended. For instance, the members of *gorkom* and *obkom* often visited the Leningrad Fashion House.⁴² There are two possible explanations for this. First, the representatives of Soviet authorities also wanted to follow fashion trends and to learn of new perspectives in clothing design. Second, as the Leningrad Fashion House was considered an enterprise, their working processes had to fulfill the plan. Besides, if there was a question concerning clothing for international exhibitions, their approval required the presence of the CPSU representatives.

All fashion houses designed patterns for new clothing and sent them to the garment factories with technical specifications.⁴³ They worked with a variety of factories located in the city and the province; in Leningrad, the fashion house sent design patterns with enclosed documentation to such enterprises as “*Bolshevichka*”, “*Pervomaika*”, “*Fabrika im. Slutskoi*”, “*Krasnaia Rabotnitsa*” and others.⁴⁴ Although the Art Council selected models for further production, many new designs could remain only a prototype.⁴⁵ In 1958, the Council member from the Russian Museum Margarita Kaminskaia said that it was impossible to indicate which fabrics the factories could use in this or that model since they did not know which fabric would

⁴⁰ TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 32 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 12 apreliia 1948 g.).

⁴¹ See: Appendix 1, Figure 1.

⁴² TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 204 (Stenogramma soveshchaniia rabotnikov Doma modelei s rabotnikami apparata Gorkoma i Obkoma KPSS o napravlenii modelirovaniia na 1955 god. 14 ianvaria 1955 g.)

⁴³ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 80.

⁴⁴ TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 190 (Stenograficheskie otchety zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta Doma modelei. 1963), III.

⁴⁵ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 91.

be available in 1959.⁴⁶ Thus, the deficiency of goods and poor technical equipment made many designers' decisions meaningless.

Surprisingly, but all the fashion houses had competitors in clothing design. In the early 1950s, the All-Union Fashion House cooperated with *Indposhiv* which headed the best ateliers in Moscow but when it began to open its own offices of clothing design with professional designers and pattern-makers, the fashion house stopped sending them their sewing patterns.⁴⁷ Another competitor of the All-Union Fashion House in Moscow was the fashion office in GUM opened in 1954 by the head of the Ministry of Trade Anastas Mikoyan.⁴⁸ Its showroom (*demonstratsionnyi zal*) at GUM became popular among Moscow citizens. Unlike the ODMO, this institution organized open fashion shows with live music and comments from professionals.⁴⁹ Thus, by the early 1950s, the ODMO was no longer the dictator of Soviet fashion.

A similar story happened in Leningrad in the mid-1950s. The establishment of chains of ateliers and tailor shops belonged to *Indposhiv* helped the fashion house to distribute new designs through the supplement of sewing patterns (see a photo below). The most famous atelier *Leningradodezhda* often used these sewing patterns.⁵⁰ The Grand Art Council was anxious about the fact that the ateliers did not offer customers new models.⁵¹ Since the fashion houses had two tracks for clothing distribution - individual and mass – the atelier customers for them were very important; many people could not afford clothing in the department stores.

⁴⁶ TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 37 (Stenograficheskie Otchety Zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta, 1958 g.), I.

⁴⁷ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 84.

⁴⁸ See: Sergei Zhuravlev, "Demonstratsionnyi zal GUMa v Seredine 1950-kh – 1970-e gody: Osobennosti Vizual'noi Reprezentatsii Sovetskoi Mody na Mikrourovne" in *Vizual'naia Antropologiya: Rezhimy Vidimosti pri Sotsializme*, ed. by Elena Iarskaia Smirnova, Pavel Romanov. (Moscow, 2009). 158.

⁴⁹ Zhuravlev, 163.

⁵⁰ Lebina, 88.

⁵¹ TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 204 (Stenogramma soveshchaniia rabotnikov Doma modelei s rabotnikami apparata Gorkoma i Obkoma KPSS o napravlenii modelirovaniia na 1955 god. 14 ianvaria 1955 g.).

1.2 Education, Inspirations and Soviet Designers

The Leningrad Fashion House had around 30 designers. They were expected to experiment with accessible materials, forms, and colors to make a new socialist design. The designers' creativity had regulations which that place at the meetings of the Art Council. The Art Council consisted of the employees of the fashion house, the representatives of trade companies and textile factories, and "those who are wishing to see what the house of models produces".⁵² In general, each discussion had a similar structure which started with the opening speech of the chair of the meeting or the chief of the fashion house. Usually, these speeches were devoted to recent trends or directions (*napravleniia mody*) in clothing design and fashion and the already produced number of garments. After the opening speech, the participants of the Art Council evaluated the prototypes of clothing in terms of fabrics, decorations, style, shape (*fason*) et cetera. Most experts' concerns were more connected with the abilities of industrial mass production rather than with aesthetics. Every new idea of shape, decoration, or use of fabric went through criticism from the representatives of trade companies and textile factories. There were too many reasons why the prototype would be denied for further production: the lack of necessary fabrics at the factories, the impossibility to implement handmade decorations at garment making machines, and so on.

But who were these designers? As at any other Soviet enterprise, the main principle of hiring people was based on the system of distributing of alumni.⁵³ Graduated students with specializations in modeling (*modelirovanie*) and textile design (*khudozhnik po tekstilyu*) came from the Leningrad Institute of Textiles and Light Industry named after S.M. Kirov, Leningrad State University named after A.A. Zhdanov, Higher School of Industrial Arts named after V.I. Mukhina, Imperial Academy of Arts and Leningrad Institute of Painting.⁵⁴ Apart from that, the

⁵² TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 33 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 23 apreliia 1948 g.).

⁵³ Viacheslav Zaitsev, *Moda. Moi Dom*. (Izdatel'stvo AST, 2017), 41.

⁵⁴ Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), coll. A74 (Glavnoe upravlenie shveynoi promyshlennosti (Rosglavshveiprom)), inv. 1, f. 1086 (Otchet Leningradskogo doma modelei po osnovnoi diatel'nosti za 1956 g.).

fashion house was in contact with textile technical high schools and FZU whose students often visited lectures on Soviet fashion in the showroom⁵⁵. The designers were divided into men's and women's groups. There was no similar division concerning clothing for children.

From the late 1940s, Soviet fashion aimed to produce the most advanced developments in clothing design.⁵⁶ These goals were connected to the concept of modernity; in socialist countries, the design was a characteristic of modernity and was understood as a tool for modernization. As Yulia Karpova claims, in the Soviet context modernity can be associated with the sense of “contemporaneity” or “being-up-to-date” (*sovremennost'*).⁵⁷ Thus, for clothing designers “fashionable” was usually a synonym for “contemporaneity”, and it perfectly corresponded to the state's ideology. This notion guided designers; and it is supported by the fact that designers were obliged to study the history of fashion, to visit museums and galleries, to participate in courses offered by the fashion houses, and to follow the news about the activities of leading designers and fashion houses in the West. In the 1950s, it was a part of their advanced training during their employment. As an illustration, designers in Leningrad visited lectures and workshops organized by the fashion house in cooperation with the Hermitage, the Russian Museum, and the Ethnographic Museum.⁵⁸ These lectures were devoted to the history of Russian and Soviet sculpture, Petrine Baroque, and Russian folk and applied art.

The Fashion House in Moscow should have been the institution, that set down most of the principles of clothing design for other branches. In general terms, these principles were characterized by comfort, practicality, hygiene, and functionality.⁵⁹ In 1945, the MDMO organized the Art Council whose responsibilities were to discuss the standards of design work and consult with the other fashion houses.⁶⁰ The members were invited to meet monthly for the approval of new models. In the late 1940s, the All-Union Fashion House began to organize

⁵⁵ GARF, coll. A74, inv. 1, f. 1086 (Otchet Leningradskogo doma modelei po osnovnoi diatel'nosti za 1956 g.).

⁵⁶ Gronov, Zhuravlev, 88.

⁵⁷ Yulia Karpova, *Comradely Objects: Design and Material Culture in Soviet Russia, 1960s-80s*. (Manchester University Press, 2020), 35.

⁵⁸ GARF, coll. A74, inv. 1, f. 1086 (Otchet Leningradskogo doma modelei po osnovnoi diatel'nosti za 1956 g.).

⁵⁹ Zakharova (2013), 403.

⁶⁰ Zhuravlev, Gronov, 90.

annual meetings for designers from various regions of the Soviet Union; the main aim of these meetings was to present and discuss recent trends in fashion and shape common standards. In particular, the ODMO used these meetings as an instrument to regulate the creativity of designers in other fashion houses. As Zhuravlev and Gronow conclude, these events had contributed significantly to the unification and centralization of Soviet fashion and the improvement of designers' qualifications.⁶¹ However, it does not mean that fashion houses strictly followed Moscow's advice. The Leningrad Fashion House did not organize any meetings of the Grand Art Council with the representatives of the ODMO; at this point, no archival documents indicate that the ODMO strictly enforced the rules with the LDMO. At the meeting of the Art Council in 1963, the creative director of the LDMO Valentina Ivanova said:

Recently we visited Moscow and were interested in the lengths [of hems] that apply there. And it turned out that all models in Moscow are much shorter than ours!"⁶²

It shows that designers and employees defined differences in clothing design and constructions, but they did not always adopt Moscow's ideas. All of these activities were also organized to educate and to inspire designers to make new, contemporary design decisions. Studying Russian art and culture was important in the late 1940s and the 1950s; the approach towards national embroidery in Soviet design aimed to distinguish it from Western clothing.⁶³ In the 1940s, designers had been searching for inspiration in Western haute couture. Their main source was foreign fashion magazines which were not available outside the fashion houses.

1.3 Towards Western trends

In the 1950s, shaped by the general historical context of the Thaw and intensification of Soviet trade relations with capitalist countries, fashion houses too benefited, importing goods to compensate for shortages in the domestic market.⁶⁴ Soviet designers also preferred to draw on the innovations of Western fashion houses. The All-Union Fashion House organized meetings

⁶¹ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 84-86.

⁶² "Недавно мы были в Москве и интересовались длинами [подолов], которые там применяются. И вот оказалось, что в Москве все модели значительно короче наших!". TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 190 (Stenograficheskie otchety zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta Doma modelei. 1963), III.

⁶³ Zakharova (2010), 106.

⁶⁴ Zakharova (2013), 407.

with foreign specialists and business trips abroad. The ODMO collected best models of models designed by regional houses and sent them to the exhibitions in Leipzig, Hankow, Zagreb, Budapest, Thessaloniki, and Warsaw.⁶⁵ In Leningrad, designers visited fashion congresses in Poland and Sweden in 1956.⁶⁶

In the context of the Cold War, the competition with capitalist countries existed in fashion industry as well. But it is hard to say that designers attempted to catch up with Western trends in fashion. However, the task of fashion houses was to criticize and outperform the best models of Western clothing.⁶⁷ Their mission was to demonstrate the superiority of socialism within an adaptation of luxury haute couture to mass production.⁶⁸ As an illustration, the Leningrad Fashion House often used clothing which their employees had seen at the meetings with foreigners:

A group of Italians came to Leningrad. Have you seen their coats? They are made from cotton with a warm cloth backing and a fur collar. Why cannot we make them from poplin and cotton batting?⁶⁹

Apart from the following internationalism in fashion, Soviet fashion houses tried to set up “future trends”. The prognoses of trends were a tool to make fashion more predictable for the needs of the planned economy.⁷⁰ Notwithstanding, Western models of clothing were not the only thing to which designers adhered. Besides, they had to be informed about the recent directions in consumers’ demands and to satisfy their needs. To reach this goal, each fashion house organized internal events devoted to “research on customers demand” (*issledovanie potrebitel'skogo sprosa*) and “a trip to share the experience” (*komandirovka po obmenu opytom*) as a part of the advanced training of the designers.⁷¹ The report of the Leningrad Fashion House in 1954 says:

⁶⁵ GARF, coll. A74, inv. 1, f. 1086 (Otchet Leningradskogo doma modelei po osnovnoi diatel'nosti za 1956 g.).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Zakharova (2010), 106; Zakharova (2013), 409.

⁶⁸ Zakharova (2013), 409.

⁶⁹ “В Ленинград приезжала группа итальянцев, у всех пальто - хлопчатобумажный верх, теплая подкладка, меховой воротник. Почему мы не можем из поплина сделать, положить ватин?”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 37 (Stenograficheskie Otchety Zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta, 1958 g.), I.

⁷⁰ Gronow, Zhuravlev, 88.

⁷¹ Bartlett, 116.

The improvement of models' quality was facilitated by several events held with designers during weekly days of creativity and the period of creative trips: there were critical analysis of models at the presentations of designers' business trip reports, the meetings of a Small Art Council, the research of demand in department stores and closer work with lines of industry.⁷²

Thus, the LDMO wanted designers to be fully involved in the construction and production of clothing. However, designers' creativity often was limited by the planned economy. Unfortunately, due to shortages of textile materials, it was almost impossible to introduce some models into mass production.

Designers from other Soviet fashion houses often went to Leningrad. The main goal of these business trips was to get acquainted with methodology and technologies and to "share the experience". As an illustration, a group of designers from the Kiev Fashion House came to Leningrad in 1960. The report given after this trip reveals interesting details concerning the process of modeling at the LDMO. It was a long coherent process with the participation of a designer, a technologist, and a cutter.⁷³ Their primary aim was to minimize the consumption of fabrics. A Ukrainian representative pointed out in her report that she admired the method of economizing on fabric, introduced by Leningrad designers, and suggested adopting it in Kiev.⁷⁴ Moscow set tasks to fashion houses and provided them with recommendations but it was the responsibility of the individual fashion house which methodology would help to fulfill the plan.

1.4 Concluding Remarks

The system of fashion houses in the Soviet Union played a huge role in the restoration of everyday life in the post-war years. Fashion was a part of everyday life, but in the Soviet context, the institutions used the concept of everyday life as a specific rhetorical figure which the institutions used on behalf of the state. Fashion and design were associated with modernity, and

⁷² "Улучшению качества моделей способствовали мероприятия, проведённые с художниками в творческие дни, предоставляемые еженедельно и в период творческих командировок: критические разборы моделей при заслушивании творческих отчетов художников и на заселениях Малого Художественного совета, а также изучение спроса в магазинах и более тесная работа со смежными отраслями промышленности". GARF, coll. A74, inv. 1, f. 919 (Otchet leningradskogo doma modelei po osnovnoi deiatel'nosti za 1954 g.).

⁷³ Derzhavniĭ arkhiv mista Kieva (DAK), coll. 1219 (Kievskii dom modelei. Upravlenie legkoĭ promyshlennosti Kievskogo sovarkhoza), inv. 1, f. 161 (Otchety o tvorcheskoĭ komandirovke po obmenu opytom v g. Moskvu i Leningrad, 1960 g.).

⁷⁴ Ibid.

the designers had to create comfort and contemporary clothing which was moderated by the Art Council. The fashion houses arranged various activities for designers, from educational events to trips abroad, which were supposed to advance their professional skills and inspire them to new design decisions. Clothing design in Moscow and Leningrad had been developed in accordance with international trends; however, sometimes the designers in Leningrad wanted to distance their inventions from Moscow and Western fashion houses. Although the All-Union Fashion house headed the chain of fashion houses around the Soviet Union, the LDMO had a certain kind of autonomy in their activities. The ODMO made some attempts to regulate and to control new inventions in clothing design but usually, there were only recommendations which that not imposed by the strict rules. Thus, even though the LDMO received advice and sent reports to the head office in Moscow, it had a certain level of autonomy.

Chapter 2. The Myth of Petersburg and Soviet Fashion: Slavic Folklore, the Russian Culture, and the Imperial Past

The myth of Petersburg rests on a legendary account of the city's foundation. The traditional narrative of such myth represents that "a city of culture arose where once had been only desolate nature".⁷⁵ In the 18th century, Petersburg and the legends of its foundation played a key role in legitimizing myths of the Russian Empire. The Petersburg myth became an obsession to Russian intellectual life at the beginning of the 19th century.⁷⁶ Aleksander Pushkin's poem *The Bronze Horseman* (*Mednyy Vsadnik*) and its negative perception of the city opened ways for various interpretations of the myth which were expressed in thousands of creative works, from films to paintings.⁷⁷ Even when Petersburg no longer existed in name, its myth continued to challenge the imagination and provoked new interpretations in response to a changing reality.⁷⁸ Thus, after October 1918, there were new ways for understanding the myth in the context of its imperial past and the role in the Revolution. Leningraders continued to view their city as a civilized cultural center, and were often blamed in having a "superiority complex".⁷⁹ As in the 19th century, Soviet art and culture resembled different interpretations of the myth of Petersburg.

The current chapter seeks answers to the following questions: can we speak of a specifically Leningrad fashion? Can such a concept be identified in the way the participants of the Art Council discuss clothing among each other? What kinds of discussions were there? What they thought clothing was about? Which kind of garment was constructed at the fashion house in Leningrad? How were the city residents expected to look? Were there any specific features of fashion in the city? Here I focus on the perceptions of the Art Council participants of city residents' outfits. My basic argument is that the Leningrad Fashion House aimed to construct "Leningrad fashion" and to detach it from Moscow. To begin with, it should be explained the

⁷⁵ Clark, 4.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 6.

⁷⁹ Kirschenbaum, 31.

basic features and principles of Soviet fashion in between 1944 and 1964 and how they were used in Leningrad and incorporated to the city context.

2.1 The Role of Russian Culture and Imperial Past in Soviet Clothing Design

Soviet clothing was supposed to be rational, practical, and elegant. This primary agenda of the fashion house was emphasized in the beginning almost at each meeting as early as in 1948:

A Soviet man (*Sovietskii chelovek*) must get beautiful, elegant, durable and cheap clothing.⁸⁰

Our task is to create a formal, elegant, beautiful, and comfortable form, which will reflect a Soviet man's dignity.⁸¹

The use of inexpensive fabrics is also a positive thing, and it should be welcomed. We should strive for the creation of beautiful and comfortable clothing from inexpensive material.⁸²

These ideological statements in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist rhetoric show that the meetings of the Art Council proceeded as any other official event in the Soviet Union. They always had a similar structure: an opening speech, a presentation of models of clothing and comments from the participants, final discussion, and results of the meeting at the end. But discussing the clothing, the experts did not speak only the ideological language. At the same time, the ideological clichés about the use of cheaper materials were also used as a marker of the distance between Moscow and Leningrad fashion. In the late 1940s, a representative of textile factories stressed how Leningrad was different in terms of clothing production:

If we talk about the Moscow Fashion House, there is a desire for more spectacular and expensive things. The fact that the Leningrad Fashion House does not follow this path and widely uses less expensive materials is undeniably positive and pleasant.⁸³

⁸⁰ "Советский человек – красивая, изящная, прочная и дешевая одежда". TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 32 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 12 apreliia 1948 g.)

⁸¹ "Задача поставленная в разрешении первого пути - это создать строгую, элегантную, красивую и удобную форму, отражающую достоинство советского человека". TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 33 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 23 apreliia 1948 g.)

⁸² "Использование недорогих тканей тоже является положительным качеством и это нужно приветствовать. Создать красивые и удобные вещи из недорогого материала - это как раз то, к чему должны стремиться". TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 35 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta po prosmotru modelei vessne-letnego sezona 1949. 16 noiabria 1948 g.)

⁸³ "Если говорить о Московском Доме Моделей, то там заметно стремление к более эффектным, дорогим вещам. То, что Ленинградский Дом Моделей не идёт по этому пути и широко использует более дешёвые фактуры, является несомненным положительным и отрядным фактом". Ibid.

This suggests an interesting finding. It might be interpreted as the textile factory representative's attempt to show that Leningrad's light industry better coped with the requirements for clothing production in the post-war period. Presumably, such stress on the level of textile production was shaped by the socialist competition among enterprises.⁸⁴ Why did the Art Council need to emphasize this issue at the meeting if the same speech could have been published in the city newspapers? It was probably related to the mandatory presence of the Party members at those meetings. As mentioned in chapter 1, the members of Gorkom and the regional Obkom often visited the meetings, acting as bystanders rather than active discussants. However, their visits significantly shaped the atmosphere of the meetings, constraining the participants to use the patterns of the authoritative discourse.⁸⁵

Surprisingly, already in the late 1940s, the Leningrad Fashion House proposed a variety of clothing to its customers. Its collection included silk and wool dresses for work, suit-dresses, smart dresses, blouses, robes, suits, and shirts for men, outerwear, and sport suits. As fashion was treated as a female concern, the Art Council discussed primarily women's clothing and their appearance:

I would like to say what style the Leningrad Fashion House advises for fall-winter 1948-1949. Given the fact that Soviet art is aimed at beauty and at emphasizing this beauty, and emphasized femininity is certainly a beauty, we recommend dresses that emphasize the waist with the length just below the knee. We think that Leningrad women will not wear elongated dresses which are very popular in the West; this is not beautiful, this is unacceptable for us. The elongated dress makes her body look ugly, it makes her look plump and, most importantly, it is very impractical and uncomfortable for our Soviet woman.⁸⁶

The fashion house must do everything this year to give simple and elegant clothing. I say it as a consumer. I also have to say it about sport suits. Almost all our women do sports, and, besides, they wear trousers everywhere. This is ugly. The combination of wide trousers

⁸⁴ Katalin Miklossy, Melanie Ilic, "Competition in State Socialism", in *Competition in Socialist Society*, ed. by Katalin Miklossy and Melanie Ilic. (Routledge, 2014), 2.

⁸⁵ Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. (Princeton University Press, 2005), 43.

⁸⁶ "Заканчивая, я хочу сказать, какой стиль одежды рекомендует Ленинградский Дом Моделей на осень-зиму 1948-1949 гг. Учитывая, что все наше советское искусство направлено на красоту и подчеркивание этой красоты, а подчеркивание женственности является безусловно красотой, то мы рекомендуем платья, подчеркивающие талию, длиной чуть ниже колена. Мы думаем, что ленинградские женщины не пойдут на то, чтобы носить удлиненные платья, как сейчас носят на Западе, это является отступлением от красоты, это для нас неприемлемо, потому что удлиненное платье безобразит фигуру, очень ее увеличивает, и, самое главное, непрактично и неудобно для нашей советской женщины". TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 33 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 23 apreliia 1948 g.)

which gives the impression of a skirt makes women beautiful. Such models need to be noted.⁸⁷

These examples show two interesting things. First, as mentioned above, it represents an attempt to distinguish Soviet fashion from the Western one. Second, it sheds light on how the Art Council perceived femininity. At this point, it is hard to reconstruct the model they imagined in detail, but these quotations give a general idea of how Leningrad women were expected to look: to prefer a skirt to trousers, to emphasize the waist and to correct their bodies if they were plump.

The Leningrad Fashion House aspired to make clothing colorful. But very often it was impossible to produce them. As with other textile factories around the Soviet Union, Leningrad's enterprises suffered from shortages and basically could not accept some prototypes to further production. However, the invited experts did not care about these problems and expected the designers to present variable and colorful models of clothing:

Several dresses for older age [*dlia solidnogo vozrasta*] were shown. Except for one dress, all clothing was very gloomy – the only black. I would not like to see my mother in such a terrible dark dress, but all ladies of this age want to dress modestly and beautifully and they need to have an elegant dress. Out ladies of this age visit theaters, special occasions, and dinners, where it is necessary to be dressed modestly, like other people, but not so lugubrious.⁸⁸

This quote also shows that the fashion house in Leningrad aimed to create clothing for all categories of city residents: from children to elderly people. In the spirit of socialist ideas, it was perceived that Soviet clothing would not emphasize inequalities in society: everyone had to dress beautifully and modestly. Notwithstanding, this idea did not work in reality. Like other fashion houses in the postwar period, the Leningrad Fashion House suffered from shortages of textile

⁸⁷ “Дом моделей должны все сделать в этом году, чтобы дать простые и изящные вещи. Я это отмечаю как потребитель. Хочется ещё отметить спортивные костюмы. У нас почти все женщины занимаются спортом, и кроме того, в целом ряде работ ходят в брюках, а это некрасиво. Такая же комбинация из широких штанов, которая в первый момент производит впечатление юбки, красит женщину”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 35 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta po prosmotru modelei vessne-letnego sezona 1949. 16 noiabria 1948 g.)

⁸⁸ “Было показано несколько платьев для более солидного возраста. За исключением одного платья, все вещи были очень мрачные - чёрные. Я свою мать не хотела бы видеть в таком ужасно мрачном платье, а ведь дамы такого возраста хотят быть одетыми скромно и нарядно, и им нужно иметь элегантное платье. Наши женщины в таком возрасте бывают и в театре, и на вечерах и торжественных заседаниях, где нужно быть одетой народно, скромно, но не так траурно”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 35 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta po prosmotru modelei vessne-letnego sezona 1949. 16 noiabria 1948 g.)

materials, so it was impossible to produce clothing of high quality and, for instance, in bright colors, for masses.

Despite official declarations of rationality, elegancy, and simplicity, fashion in Leningrad referred to Stalinist pomposity:

We need to create interesting magazines and to borrow some elements for Ancient Greek to emphasized the virtues and flaws of a human body.⁸⁹

Greek crepe-de-chine tunic dresses were popular among the elites in Leningrad in the mid-1930s.⁹⁰ In the late 1940s, they came back to the scene but were not of course affordable for the general population. These models were a symbol of “the grand style” of the Stalin era. A similar situation occurred with clothing based on the Russian past:

We introduced the studying of our national folklore, the history of our clothing; and in particular Leningrad has great treasures: the Hermitage which is filled with national clothing of all nationalities, the Russian and the Ethnographic Museums. You will see a Pushkin coat: we have remade it in our Soviet form, enhanced the elegance and the beauty. This is a result of our laboratory work. You will see a suit stylized as a caftan of Peter the Great. Probably it will not be suitable for real life, but it is also a laboratory work for us. Clothing of the Northern people (*severnye narody*) will be used, and we will make it for mass production. The decoration will show its roots. The new dress stylized as a costume of Alexander Nevskii will be displayed.⁹¹

This quotation presents imperial dress as a mythical element of Soviet fashion. It is hard to imagine that such models were proceeded to mass production. Moreover, it is difficult to explain how a costume of Alexander Nevskii or Peter the Great combined with postulations on the simplicity of Soviet clothing. Thus, this clothing continued to be a simulacrum of “the grand style” and to present an imagined reality of Stalin’s socialism.

⁸⁹ “Нам нужно создать интересные журналы, и взять кое-что из античной Греции, чтобы подчеркнуть достоинства в фигуре и скрывать недостатки”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 32 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 12 apreliia 1948 g.)

⁹⁰ Lebina, 158.

⁹¹ “Мы введи изучение нашего народного фольклора, историю нашей одежды, тем более, что в Ленинграде есть колоссальные богатства. Это Эрмитаж, который наполнен одеждой всех национальностей, Русский и Этнографический музеи. Вы увидите пушкинское пальто, мы его переложили на нашу советскую форму, придали ему элегантность и красивую форму, и это является результатом нашей лабораторной работы. Вы посмотрите костюм, стилизованный по образцу кафтана Пётра Великого. Может быть это тоже не будет жизненным, для нас это тоже была лабораторная работа. Будет использован ряд других костюмов северных народов, которые были переложены на массовую работу, отдельной отделкой подчеркивали, откуда она взята. Будет показано платье, стилизованное по костюму Александра Невского”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 33 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 23 apreliia 1948 g.)

However, ethnic ornaments were used as decoration of clothing for mass production. The embroidery based on Russian and Ukrainian national dress in female garments played a role in distinguishing between Soviet and Western design. Slavic folk art was the only significant element which Soviet designers used to distance their clothing from the Western one. In particular, one of the main inspirations was Russian historical heritage and Russian art, and this explains why the fashion house organized additional training for designers at the museums.⁹²

The chief engineer Kachurin said at the meeting in 1948:

There is a question concerning the use of national motifs. There were a number of similar models shown at the last meeting of the Art Council. At the same time, it was noted that the task of modeling was not to copy national motifs but to make them look cotemporary and to correspond to the current level of production. In this case, the fashion house took a huge step forward.⁹³

Nevertheless, applying national motifs was not universal in men's and women's clothing design. In 1953, the business manager of *Lenodezhda* Nadezhda Gladkova, criticizing a boy's shirt, claimed:

How will the 12 years old boy wear the suit which has such kind of embroidery on the collar? It is beneath his dignity because he will think that this collar suits only for girls!⁹⁴

It shows that the embroidery was perceived as an element of women's clothing. In the Soviet context, the division between men and women was important since childhood. In this framework, mostly women's clothing was decorated with the variety of ornaments. However, excessive decorations violated beyond the notion of "rationality" and "modesty". Thus, the approach toward national culture in clothing was a distinguishing marker not only between East and West but also between males and females.

In the late 1940s, the use of motifs of the Russian imperial past and such stress on the difference between Soviet and Western fashion was shaped by the intervention of the Soviet

⁹² See Ch. 1.2.

⁹³ "Вопрос относительно применения народных мотивов. На прошлом Художественном Совете видели ряд целых работ в этом направлении. Тогда же отметили, что задача моделирования заключается не в том, чтобы копировать народные мотивы, а чтобы они отвечали современности и уровню производства. В этом деле Дом моделей сделал огромный шаг вперёд". TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 35 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta po prosmotru modelei vessne-letnego sezona 1949. 16 noiabria 1948 g.)

⁹⁴ "Разве 12-летний мальчик оденет костюм с такой вышивкой на воротнике? Это ниже его достоинства, ибо он считает, что такой воротник годится только для девочки". TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 142 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley po prosmotru modelei. 5 marta 1953 g.).

leadership into cultural and scientific spheres. This intervention resulted in the ideological campaign known as “*Zhdanovshchina*” lead by Andrei Zhdanov and the Central Committee’s Department of Agitation and Propaganda (*Agitpop*), which aimed at increasing the Soviet patriotism in the society.⁹⁵ The Leningrad House of Models treated fashion and clothing design as artistic production. As an illustration, the head Gubanova at the meeting in 1948 said:

Comrades, the letter of comrade Zhdanov, and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on *Zvezda* and on the opera by Vano Muradeli are related to our work. Those letters and decrees were related to art and music; modeling is applied art. Therefore, all of the instructions in the resolution of the Central Committee were fully taken into account by the house of models. We set ourselves as the task of the first necessity: we have to re-build the modeling of clothing for Soviet man in such a way as to move completely away from Western influence. We have set out two primary plans. The first one is aimed at searching for new paths, new sources, and new shapes for our modeling. The second way is to bring these new forms to reality, transferring them to the mass production of clothing.⁹⁶

The same narrative was presented at the discussion in May 1949:

At the time, comrade Mikoyan said: “Moscow and Leningrad models should be more beautiful and better than Paris and London!”. Foreign magazines are not indicators of what is “fashionable”; fashionable is what meets our Soviet reality.⁹⁷

This adherence to the “*Zhdanovshchina*” crackdown explains the use of Russian national motifs in clothing design. As the glory of Russia’s past was one of the crucial elements in the propaganda of Soviet patriotism, clothing should visualize it. The evaluation of artistic and cultural forms as correct or incorrect was manifested in the 1948 campaign against “cosmopolitanism” (*kosmopolitizm*).⁹⁸ If cosmopolitanism was bad, in opposition to it there was internationalism, which was treated as good and enriching. However, there were multiple ways

⁹⁵ Steven M. Maddox, *Saving Stalin’s Imperial City. Histori Preservation in Leningrad, 1930-1950*. (Indiana University Press, 2015), 174.

⁹⁶ “Товарищи, письмо тов. Жданова и постановление ЦК о журналах *Звезда* и *Ленинград* и постановление ЦК об опере Мурадели целиком и полностью относятся и к нашей работе там отстроилось к искусству, музыке: а моделирование - это прикладное искусство. Поэтому все указания в постановлении ЦК полностью были учтены в работе Дома моделей. Мы поставили перед собой, как задачу первой необходимости: перестроить моделирование одежды советского человека таким образом, чтобы целиком и полностью отойти в этом прикладном искусстве от влияния Запада. Нами было намечено два первоочерёдных пути. Первый - это найти как бы пути к моделированию, источник нашего моделирования, формы нашего моделирования; второй путь - это доведение найденных новых форм в массы и переложение в массовую одежду”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 33 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 23 apreliia 1948 g.)

⁹⁷ “В свое время на съезде партии тов. Микоян сказал: “Московские и ленинградские модели должны быть красивее и лучше, чем парижские и лондонские!”. Заграничные журналы не являются показателями того, что “модно”, а модно то, что отвечает нашей советской действительности”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 45 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. Vesna-letu. 20 ianvaria 1949 g.)

⁹⁸ Yurchak, 150.

of interpreting foreign culture in different contexts.⁹⁹ The Leningrad Fashion House also demonstrated the ambiguity in the judgment of foreign art and culture. While their official declaration was a retreat from the trends of Western fashion, the designers read Western fashion magazines which served as a source for inspiration.

2.2 Gendered Fashion: Embroidery and Colors in Men's and Women's Clothing Design

At the beginning of the Thaw, the assortment of Soviet garments left much to be desired. Women's dresses and blouses continued to reflect the late 1940s with its patterns based on Russian imperial and folk dresses; the canons of men's clothing were conservative.¹⁰⁰ In the early 1950s, the Leningrad Fashion House offered male city residents only double-breasted coats and suits with wide shoulders which were popular among the male Soviet population in the 1930s.¹⁰¹ After Khrushchev's declaring war on excessive aesthetics in 1955, Soviet fashion was supposed to gain a new form. Although "functional modesty" aimed to dominate Soviet fashion discourse, it seems that Stalinist aesthetics did not disappear completely.¹⁰²

In the 1950s, the Leningrad Fashion House tried to respond to changes in the daily life of the city residents, providing all categories of customers with comfortable and beautiful clothing. As an illustration, the fashion house started to pay close attention to men's models of clothing. Undoubtedly, men were also active agents of Soviet consumption practices. However, it was hard for them to find clothing and to follow the rules of good taste as the most advice was devoted to women. The reason lies in the social structure of late Stalinist society which was gender colored, a structure that did not significantly change during the Thaw. Susan Reid argues that women were usually defined by daily things, and their worth depended on the quality of

⁹⁹ Yurchak, 150-151.

¹⁰⁰ Natalia Leбина, *Sovetskaia Povsednevnost': Normy i Anomalii. Ot Voennogo Kommunizma k Bol'shomu Stiliiu*. (Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2015), 163.

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Bartlett, 117.

general domestic material environment.¹⁰³ Men's fashion was not a central topic among designers at the fashion house in Leningrad. As an illustration, the models of men's clothing consisted only of 10% at the discussion meeting held in 1958.¹⁰⁴ In 1959, the LDMO constructed 2054 models of clothing, out of which only 108 were for men.¹⁰⁵

One of the problems of men's clothing in the 1950s was its colorlessness. The color palette for men consisted of dull and dark colors. The use of light and bright colors was a sensitive topic for experts:

The model №42. Men's summer coat. The author: Aleksandrov.
Gladkova: And why do men need a white coat?
Hopper: This is a great thing!¹⁰⁶

Presumably, the stigma of colors in men's appearance was shaped by the style of youth subculture *stiliagi*. In the late 1940s, the *stiliagi* started to challenge the late Stalinist aesthetics, gathering in the city center wearing colorful clothing. The *stiliagi* were an important symbol of late Stalinist epoch; their appearance was a mediator of regimentation of men's look. Mark Edele and Olga Vainstein define the *stiliagi* as male culture, as women were less integrated or referred to them.¹⁰⁷ As *stiliagi* fashioned themselves in opposition to monotonous male fashion, and then the fashion houses reacted by carefully avoiding any possible associations with them. As an illustration, the *stiliagi* preferred to wear colorful clothing in the late 1940s – the early 1950s, whereas the official fashion discourse encouraged men to avoid bright colors in their appearance.¹⁰⁸ When the look of *stiliagi* turned to black and white colors, the fashion house “responded” to them by introducing and legitimizing bright colors in men's garments. At the

¹⁰³ Susan E. Reid, “Women in the Home”, in *Women in Khrushchev Era*, ed. by Melanie Ilic, Susan E. Reid and Lynn Attwood. (Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 152.

¹⁰⁴ TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 37 (Stenograficheskie Otchety Zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta, 1958 g.), I.

¹⁰⁵ Lebina, 85.

¹⁰⁶ “Модель №42 – пальто мужское, летнее. Автор – Александров.

Гладкова: Ну и для чего мужчинам белые пальто?

Хоппер: Это же прекрасная вещь!”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 143 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley po prosmotru modelei. 11 apreliia 1953 g.).

¹⁰⁷ Olga Vainshtein, “Orange Jackets and Pea Green Pants: The Fashion of Stilyagi in Soviet Postwar Culture”, *Fashion Theory* 22, no. 2 (2018): 175; Mark Edele, “Strange Young Men in Stalin's Moscow: the Birth and Life of the *Stiliagi*, 1945-1953”, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 50, no. 1 (2002): 39.

¹⁰⁸ Gurova, 7.

same time, the modesty of the color palette was an international trend which took roots in the “Great Male Renunciation” when men’s wardrobe had started to consist of dark formal suits, white shirts, and classic black shoes.¹⁰⁹

Quite the opposite, in the 1950s women’s clothing became more variable and colorful. Their clothing had to correspond to three main concepts: “simplicity” (*lakonichnost*), “modesty” (*skromnost*), and “elegance” (*elegantnost*).¹¹⁰ Soviet women were advised to wear comfortable but beautiful clothing and to match three colors, forms, and fabrics in a proper way.¹¹¹ The Leningrad Fashion House suggested that women wear bright (yellow, green, light blue, green, pink, purple), dark (brown, grey, dark green, dark blue) and pastel (peach, white, beige) colors, but in accordance to the social situation – work, library, vacation, sports et cetera. The fashion of a dress (*fason plat’ia*) was similar to Christian Dior’s “New Look” which was introduced in 1947 and gained popularity in Europe in the mid-1950s.¹¹² Besides, trousers were considered by the experts as unacceptable and ugly clothing for women. Thus, dresses and skirts continued to dominate.

In particular, this fashion of a dress or a skirt aimed to emphasize “a guitar figure” of the feminine body. The fashion house in Leningrad did not use words like “curve”, “slender” or “slim” at the meetings and in the fashion magazine. The only word which had been used by the experts was “plump” (*polnaia figura*) and by the late 1950s, these women became a separate category of customers. It seems that plump body shape was stigmatized in Soviet fashion discourse. Those years, a woman’s body was supposed to be slender; it was intersected with another problematic characteristic: age. In this case, there was a direct connection between age and weight. For example, obesity was associated with an attribute of older ladies while young

¹⁰⁹ Joanna Bourke, “The Great Male Renunciation: Men’s Dress Reform in Inter-War Britain”, *Journal of Design History* 9, no. 1 (1996): 23.

¹¹⁰ Bartlett, 115.

¹¹¹ Zakharova, 403.

¹¹² David E. Lazaro, “Dior’s New (England) Look. A Context for American Adoption of the Corolle Aesthetic, 1947-1948”, *Dress* 41, no. 2 (2015): 96.

and plump girls had not the right to exist.¹¹³ Thus, fashion and women's magazines always advised women to correct their body, choosing proper models of clothing and accessories.¹¹⁴ In particular, the Soviet feminine ideal presented in the fashion discourse resembled "New Look" like body with a thin waist and fuller hips. Fashion reflected changes in daily life, which is why the Leningrad Fashion House made an emphasis on the skirt as a main piece of clothing in a female wardrobe and advised women to correct their bodies to achieve "a guitar figure". In a broader context, such perceptions of a feminine body was not a unique Soviet phenomenon. After the end of the Second World War, European and American beauty standards placed an excessive interest on the female physique which was related to the return to the conservative view on women as "mothers" and "nurturers".¹¹⁵

It is fascinating that such a perception of femininity looked completely different from the Stalin era's athletic ideals while masculinity continued to articulate it. There were no plump men in the discussions nor the fashion magazines, but the Art Council worried that men's figure in clothing had to look solid. Such narratives were similar to rhetoric in sports magazines which stressed physical exercises and self-control as the defining values of masculinity.¹¹⁶ The depiction of muscular and slender men in the fashion magazine also contrasted with the appearance of Nikita Khrushchev.

The partial lifting of the Iron Curtain in the late 1950s helped designers to establish contacts with foreign creators.¹¹⁷ The paradox is that although the fashion house treated Western design as undesirable, Soviet designers stopped hiding the fact that they referred and copied the best models of Western clothing. In Leningrad, the visiting groups of foreigners served as an example for imitation. For example, there was a suggestion by one of the members at the

¹¹³ Gurova, 6-7.

¹¹⁴ Gradszkova, 136-137.

¹¹⁵ Reka C.V. Buckley, "National Body: Gina Lollobrigida and the Cult of the Star in the 1950s", *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 20, no. 4 (2000), 530.

¹¹⁶ Julie Gilmour, Barbara Evans Clements, "If You Want to Be Like Me, Train!": The Contradictions of Soviet Masculinity" in *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*, ed. By B. Clements, R. Friedman, D. Healey. (Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 221.

¹¹⁷ Zakharova (2010), 100.

meeting in 1958 to copy Italian coats but with the use of accessible and cheaper materials.¹¹⁸ In 1958 Yves Saint Laurent introduced the trapeze dress; already in the early 1960s, the Leningrad designers demonstrated similar models. Larissa Zakharova claims that the opinion on Western fashion was expressed in the politically correct clichés, while in internal reports they underlined the positive aspects of foreign haute couture to justify the need for regular visits abroad.¹¹⁹ The dichotomy Soviet-Western was still presented at the discussions, but the level of hostility towards foreign trends significantly decreased. The adherence to Western trends did not mean that Soviet designers gave up the reliance on folk art, but this approach had declined by the end of the 1950s.

In the late 1950s, the Art Council began to pay a lot of attention to clothing for young city residents. As in illustration, they discussed how to introduce models for young ladies to production and market:

I would like to ask the group of perspective design to work with clothing for teenagers. We are doing bad with clothing for them, we have nothing to offer. Factories produce very simple clothing, and we cannot supply young ladies. So, they go to the stores with clothing for adults, and they buy garments that do not suit them.¹²⁰

“Youth” as a category of customers appeared in the Soviet fashion discourse after the World Youth Festival held in Moscow in 1957. After the event, the Kremlin changed the strategy towards Soviet young men and women, lifting the old taboos. The project of communism had to appeal to the cultural needs of the urban youth; thus, the authorities decreed the production of fashionable garments for the young.¹²¹ Moreover, the festival provoked the emergence of the black market which distributed foreign clothing such as jeans, shirts, and other fashionable

¹¹⁸ TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 37 (Stenograficheskie Otchety Zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta, 1958 g.), I.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ “Я бы хотела пожелать перспективной группе поработать с одеждой для подростков. У нас настолько плохо с одеждой для подростков, что совершенно нечего мы можем им предложить. Все, что сегодня производят фабрики, настолько просто, что мы не можем обслужить девушек. Поэтому они идут во взрослые магазины и покупают вещи, которые им не подходят”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 188 (Stenograficheskie otchety zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta Doma modelei. 1963), I.

¹²¹ Vladislav Zubok, *Zhivago's Children. The Last Russian Intelligentsia*. (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 106.

items.¹²² In this context, Soviet light industry had to provide youth with “correct” fashionable models of clothing. Thus, like adults, Soviet youth got a lot of recommendations concerning their appearance at school, production, sports, special occasions, and home. However, as usual, most advice and models in the magazines were devoted to young ladies. Only in 1962, the Leningrad Fashion House published a special issue that combined clothing for both young men and women.¹²³

In the early 1960s, the masculine ideal continued to reflect the values of the late Stalin era and the early Thaw. But the feminine ideal turned from symmetric curvy forms towards Twiggy-like slender body with an emphasis to slim legs and narrow hips. There were some significant changes in the appearance of both men and women, justified by the fashion discourse. Since 1957, the Leningrad Fashion House produced women’s trousers for sports, leisure, and home. But they were not legitimized by the women’s magazines. Only in the 1960s, *Rabotnitsa* published a positive note on trousers for both mothers and daughters.¹²⁴ A similar situation was with the visibility of men’s legs. Men’s nudity was regulated by *kul’turnost’* as well, and wearing shorts in the urban areas, especially in “cultured” Leningrad, was considered as “indecent”. The appearance of Soviet men was constructed in opposition to sexuality, and men in shorts was a stigma even at the resorts.¹²⁵ However, in the early 1960s the fashion magazine reconfirmed men’s capacity to show leg’s in public, but they were advised to do so only at vacation and leisure time outside the city.

2.3 The Petersburg Myth and Local Fashion

As the Leningrad Fashion House was a part of centralized system, Moscow set down the major principles of clothing design for regional fashion houses. However, its directives were

¹²² Zubok, 106.

¹²³ See: Appendix 1, Figure 2.

¹²⁴ Lebina, 115.

¹²⁵ Igor Kon, *Muzhchina v Menyayushchemsya Mire*. (Vremia, 2009), 143.

more related to technical issues; for example, in a 1958 discussion of the Art Council, they were informed that decided to use new fabrics, they should have to inform Moscow for their approval:

A letter came from Moscow, from the Ministry of Public Education, with a report of a special meeting at which it was discussed that both the shape and the fabric of the [Leningrad] model did not satisfy the requirements.¹²⁶

Thus, the All-Union Fashion House aimed to regulate the majority of models of clothing designed in Leningrad. But Moscow could not prohibit the designers from experimenting with materials, shapes, and decorations and from creating original designs for Leningrad citizens. There was no strict censorship of their creativity and aesthetics. Notwithstanding, due to the bureaucratic difficulties, many new designs were not allowed to proceed to the next step of production.

At the same time, it was hard to convince the Art Council to accept new ideas. The participants expressed criticism not only towards new models. As in case with Moscow, the criticism of the Art Council usually was caused by the inability of the textile factories to adopt and to produce original models. However, the Art Council members' personal perceptions of aesthetics could prevent the acceptance of a model:

The model №73, designer Kudriashova. A winter coat for women, season 1948-1949. The house of models slowly goes from the pointed shape of a shoulder to the rounded one.
/a voice from the hall/: It is not good that collar leaves are pointed.
/a voice from the hall/: I agree with the comment concerning the sharpness of these collar leaves, because the hat is made in old Russian style with the rounded side, and if both hat sides are a little bit rounded, the coat will get a gentrifying style, but it is not so good in the current form. We need the collar to align with the style of the hat.
/a voice from the hall/: I think we have to have a collar like this for a change. Coats have to have various collars. I think this is very elegant, and it should be approved.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ “Пришло письмо из Москвы, из Министерства просвещения, с протоколом специального совещания, на котором обсуждался вопрос о том, что в настоящее время и фасон, и ткань формы не удовлетворяют”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 37 (Stenograficheskie Otchety Zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta, 1958 g.), I.

¹²⁷ “Модель №73, художник-модельер Кудряшова. Зимнее дамское платье, демонстрируется на 1948-49 гг., Дом моделей постепенно переходит от заострённой на округлённую форму плеча.

(с места): не годится, что заострённые концы воротника!

(с места): я согласна с замечанием относительно остроты этих уголков воротника, потому что шляпка сделана в старом русском стиле с закруглённым бортиком, и если борты немного закруглить, то пальто получит облагороженный вид, а в таком виде не так. хорошо. Нужно, чтобы воротник гармонировал с фасоном шляпки.

(с места): мне кажется, что нужен и такой воротник пальто для разнообразия, мы не можем пальто приспособлять к шляпке, в пальто должны быть разные воротники. Я считаю, что это очень элегантно и

This quotation basically represents the way the members of the Art Council debated with each other. Their arguments were based on various definitions of “beautiful”, “elegant” and “comfortable”; in the context that no one knew what these terms meant; their understanding was very subjective. While some endorsed new models, others preferred to adhere to conservative views. Thus, there was no clear recipe of what Soviet fashion should be.

Some original ideas of the designers which got a positive feedback from the customers and were popular among the city residents were marked in the discussion as signs of a “purely Leningrad model”:

A model №5026. A man suit from tricot fabric. The author: Aleksandrov.

The chairman: This is a purely Leningrad model – wide trousers.

A.A. Ferbikov: This is a very good men’s suit which does not deform man’s body shape.¹²⁸

However, the Leningrad Fashion House was not unique in attempting to create a local fashion. Other regional fashion houses in various republics also exercised their aesthetics designs. As an illustration, Perm designers created the unique “Ural” look in the deep colors of nature with simple and strict forms of silhouettes.¹²⁹ In Leningrad, local fashion was described by Leningraders as “formal and elegant with attention to silhouettes, length, width, and fit of clothing, while Moscow was betting on color and details”.¹³⁰ At the same time, the notion that Soviet fashion to be “elegant” and “formal” was universal for all houses of models in the Soviet Union.

Whatever differences were claimed by regional fashion houses, they were not necessarily visible in the publications that displayed them. Moscow’s fashion magazine *Modeli Sezona* collected sketches from all houses of models and published them together with the description of the author and the location. In the 1950s, Leningrad models of clothing rarely appeared in this

нужно оставить”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 33 (Stenogramma zasedaniia Khudozhestvennogo soveta Doma Modeley. 23 apreliia 1948 g.)

¹²⁸ “Модель №5026 – мужской костюм из ткани трико. Автор: художник Александров.

Председатель: Вот это сугубо ленинградская модель – широкие брюки”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 204 (Stenogramma soveshchaniia rabotnikov Doma modelei s rabotnikami apparata Gorkoma i Obkoma KPSS o napravlenii modelirovaniia na 1955 god. 14 ianvaria 1955 g.).

¹²⁹ Papushina, Abramov, 174.

¹³⁰ Liya Kitts, interview by Elena Mihina, *Moskovskii Komsomolets*. Sankt-Peterburg, August 15, 2011. URL: <https://spb.mk.ru/articles/2011/08/15/614516-krasotka-52go-razmera.html>

magazine; instead, Moscow was much more interested in designs from Tallinn and Riga.¹³¹

Interestingly, the opening letter of *Modeli Sezona* in 1961 claims:

The methodological meetings holding annually in Moscow sets up a unite direction for the work of this large creative team of fashion designers. The models of clothing designed at the republican and regional houses of models are displayed here. The best of displayed models are taken to a unite collection, which express a new trend in fashion.¹³²

It illustrates that the All-Union Fashion House strived for the unity of Soviet fashion. However, the creation of the system itself referred to the possibility that at some point the local designers would want to depict their difference from the center. In Leningrad, the fashion magazine did not publish anything related to this distinction in “Soviet fashion”. At the same time, these claims of differences were only expressed in discursive forms at the meetings of the Art Council. It means these distinctions were imagined by the experts rather than existing in practice. It could be also assumed that the authorities would not accept such expressions of variability in public. Despite the official agenda of cultural and national diversity in the Soviet Union, the representation of Soviet fashion in magazines was homogeneous.

The desire of the designers to create a “Leningrad fashion” and the aspirations of its citizens to look differently from other Soviet people are related to their specific perceptions of their city. Through a series of commemorating events and references to the city’s historical landmarks, Leningrad’s leadership provided the idea which encouraged the residents to consider themselves as “heroic Leningraders” and to restore “glorious city”.¹³³ Thus, the imperial past was an important tool for the construction of the Leningrad identity. The creation of different fashion was that thing that started to contribute to this knowledge from the late 1940s. I assume that it was one of the reasons for such a strong accent on the motifs of imperial dress at the fashion house.

¹³¹ Zhuravlev, Gronow, 173.

¹³² “Труд этого большого творческого коллектива модельеров направляют в единое русло собирающихся ежегодно в Москве методические совещания. Здесь просматривают модели одежды, подготовленные республиканскими и областными домами моделей. Лучшие из показанных образцов отбирают в единую коллекцию, выражающую новое направление в моде”. *Modeli Sezona*. № 2 (1960/1961): Preface.

¹³³ Maddox, 169.

The discourse of good taste also depicted Leningraders as the residents of “the cultural center of our country”.¹³⁴ As an illustration, there was an extensive discussion of a women’s jumper and a scarf in the early 1960s:

The head of the meeting: A Leningrad citizen cannot walk around the city as a gypsy. Dear comrades, we can agree that this suit is perfect for vacation but when a person buys it, she wears it everywhere, even at Nevsky prospekt... If we would sell it, only with an advice. Tikhomirova: I think that we cannot sell this suit. It reminds me of a typical Gypsy national costume. It brings us an unpleasant feeling when we see a Gypsy woman walking through the city with a negligent shawl on her shoulder. What if we promote that our youth has to get dressed like this, with a negligent scarf and a mixed (*pestryi*) jumper? We cannot forbid the person to wear this suit in the city. She will buy it, and moreover, she will wear it anywhere she wants. I think it is not right if we advise this model to citizens.¹³⁵

These contradictory statements link to a curious finding. A quite xenophobic expression towards Roma culture demonstrates that the dichotomy of “us-them” was a part of the discourse of good taste. Despite the declaration on the use of various national ornaments, many people in the Art Council protested against the imitation of the culture of marginalized groups in Soviet society. Nevskii prospekt was understood as “one of the most beautiful areas of Leningrad” and so people could not appear there in clothing which was marked as “indecent” and “negligent”.¹³⁶ At the same time, clothing made in the spirit of a Russian national costume always got positive feedback and was advised for wearing in the city center. It shows the contrasts with the normative celebration of Soviet ethnic and cultural diversity. In this discussion, Roma people appear as ultimate others in terms of ethnicity, class and culture.

In addition, another famous narrative of the Petersburg myth was the “window on Europe”.¹³⁷ However, despite all these references to “cultural capital” and Leningrad identity,

¹³⁴ Kelly, 130.

¹³⁵ “Председатель собрания: ленинградец не может ходить по городу как цыган. Товарищи, можно согласиться с тем что костюм на отдыхе хорош, но когда человек покупает он надевает его куда угодно и появляется на Nevskom prospekte... если его продавать - то с рекомендацией. Тихомирова: я считаю что такой костюм нельзя продавать, он напоминает типичный цыганский костюм. Когда по городу идёт цыганка с небрежно брошенной шалью на плечах, то у нас это вызывает неприятное ощущение. А если мы будем пропагандировать, чтобы наша молодежь одевалась таким образом: небрежно брошенный платок, пестрый костюм... Мы не можем запретить человеку появляться в городе в этом костюме. Он купит костюм, и будет ходить в нем куда захочет. Я считаю неправильным рекомендовать такой костюм. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 3, f. 190 (Stenograficheskie otchety zasedanii Bol'shogo Khudozhestvennogo Soveta Doma modelei. 1963), III.

¹³⁶ Kelly, 93.

¹³⁷ Clark, 164.

there were no expressions among the experts which described the city and its fashion this way. “A gate to the West” in the popular imagination was the Tallinn Fashion House founded in May, 1957.¹³⁸ The Russian edition of its fashion magazine *Siluet* was very popular in Leningrad as a source of Western fashions.¹³⁹ The Leningrad Fashion House never had such sources of Western trends such as Tallinn did. One of the unofficial channels of importing fashion trends to Tallinn were parcels home with popular fashion magazines sent by Estonian emigrants settled in Sweden, Canada, and the USA. Another channel was the storeroom of Tallinn’s customers’ office.¹⁴⁰ Thanks to these unofficial relations with the West, the Tallinn Fashion House was better and quicker informed about the worldwide fashion trends.

The national republic of Estonia was considered as the “European” fashion center of the Soviet Union due to its reputation, with Soviet Lithuania and Soviet Latvia, for being an “internal Soviet West”.¹⁴¹ In particular, the Baltic states’ fashion institutions aimed to distinguish themselves from the other republics’ houses, especially Russian. For instance, although the Russian language was placed in a hierarchy above the indigenous languages in the Baltic republics, the Tallinn Fashion House was the only Soviet fashion house that used the local language as the official working language.¹⁴² Another example is that twice school uniforms designed by the fashion house were distributed only among all Estonian-speaking schools in the republic, while the Russian-speaking used the standard uniforms designed in Moscow.¹⁴³ In this case, the fashion house in Leningrad was perceived as “Russian”, and never was a part of “internal Europe”.

¹³⁸ Zhuravlev, Gronow, 188.

¹³⁹ Leбина (2015), 82.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 173.

¹⁴² Ibid, 174; Richard Mole, *The Baltic State from the Soviet Union to the European Union: Identity, Discourses and Power in the Post-Communist Transition of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*. (Routledge, 2012), 82.

¹⁴³ Zhuravlev, Gronow, 182.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

As I illustrate in this chapter, fashion and clothing design was perceived as a form of Soviet art and culture. The Leningrad Fashion House encouraged the designers to experiments with forms, materials and decoration, borrowing ideas from the culture of various nationalities of the Soviet Union. But in this case, the Russian motifs were in the privileged position. As fashion reflected the changes in domestic and foreign politics, the narratives of the 1940s – the early 1950s show a strong emphasis on the Slavic folklore and the Russian imperial past. Thus, as all Soviet art, fashion and clothing design were aimed to validate Russian culture and Russia's claims to sovereign nationhood.¹⁴⁴

At the same time, such tendencies in clothing design were quite common for the fashion houses in the RSFSR. In Leningrad, these tendencies were combined with the native's perception of the city shaped the Petersburg myth. In the spirit of this mythology, the local people considered the city as “unique” and “cultured”, and the experts adhered to these notions in the construction of Leningrad fashion. However, such differences were depicted only in the discursive expressions of the experts and were not visible on the pages of the fashion magazine in comparison to other models of clothing.

¹⁴⁴ Laura J. Olson, *Performing Russia – Folk Revival and Russian Identity*. (Routledge, 2004), 46.

Chapter 3. Fashion, Propaganda and Leisure in Leningrad

As fashion in the Soviet Union was closely connected to the *kul'turnost'* campaign, Soviet designers and employees of the fashion houses were actors who were expected to teach citizens the rules of good taste and provide them with advice. As the employees of the Leningrad Fashion Houses noted in their reports, fashion required propaganda.¹⁴⁵ Thus, in order to achieve these goals, the LDMO established channels through which fashion could be promoted to the wider population. I argue that these channels were important actors in the construction of “cultural myth” in Leningrad. The current chapter aims to describe these channels and to explore how they were supposed to promote fashion, and how fashion complemented cultural leisure in the city.

3.1 Leningrad Fashion in Press: Fashion Magazines

The first channel for fashion propaganda was magazines. The system of Soviet fashion houses had their own media in which they published the models of clothing, footwear, and accessories for men, women, and children. In particular, it is hard to identify the differences among these magazines as all of them had similar content. Some models of clothing were also published in women's magazines *Rabotnitsa* and *Sovetskaia zhenshchina*. In the 1930s, the narrative of women's magazines embraced a conventional understanding of beauty and femininity.¹⁴⁶ From that time, these magazines were full of reports on recent fashion shows and fashionable advice. But these magazines never aimed to position themselves as fashion magazines.¹⁴⁷ When the fashion houses were established in the postwar period, women's magazines continued to give advice with reference to the best models that were proposed there. Later the fashion houses launched their own fashion magazines.

¹⁴⁵ GARF, coll. A74, inv. 3, f. 5 (Materialy o rabote Leningradskogo doma modelei (plany, otchet, spravki, informatsii, svedeniia i dr.) 30 dekabria, 1956-29 maia, 1957).

¹⁴⁶ Lynn Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman. Women's Magazines as Engineers of Female Identity, 1922-1953*. (Palgrave MacMillan, 1999), 130.

¹⁴⁷ Attwood, 70.

In Moscow, there were two fashion magazines *Modeli sezona* and *Zhurnal mod* in 1945. The seasonal periodicals *Modeli sezona* existed before the war, while the monthly *Zhurnal mod* was a new publication, with covers created by the prestigious Soviet painter Iurii Pimenov.¹⁴⁸ Both magazines presented drawings and photographs of clothing created by the Moscow Fashion House and its regional branches (mostly Leningrad, Kiev, Riga, Sverdlovsk, and Tallinn). However, these printed media were criticized in the late 1940s because of the ambivalent status of fashion and its followers. Even after Stalin's death a woman reading a fashion magazine was a satirical and grotesque character.¹⁴⁹

Like in Moscow, in Leningrad the first fashionable models and fashion advice appeared on the pages of women's magazines and city newspapers. Materials published in women's magazines became a subject for discussion at the fashion house. For instance, there was a meeting of the Art Council in May 1949 devoted to the article on the "Contemporary style of clothing" in *Sovietskaia zhenshchina*. At this meeting, the experts discussed "recent trends in clothing design" and "understanding Soviet dress [*Sovetskii kostum*]"¹⁵⁰ In order to define a prospective track for Soviet clothing design, they read letters to the editor and analyzed the customers' demands. Thus, women's magazines had a double purpose for the fashion house in Leningrad. On the one hand, they promoted recent models of clothing created at the LDMO; on the other hand, the LDMO used these magazines as a source for researching customers' demands.

In 1952 the Leningrad Fashion House launched its own fashion magazine *Al'bom mod*. As this fashion magazine had training and educational functions for both men and women, it contained drawings of clothing for men, women, and children; but unlike Moscow's magazines, there were no photographs. In 1952-1953 the drawings in Leningrad's fashion magazine left a lot

¹⁴⁸ Bartlett, 99.

¹⁴⁹ Lebina, 82.

¹⁵⁰ TsGA, coll. 9610, inv. 1, f. 48 (Soveshchanie po obsuzhdeniiu stat'i o sovremennom stile odezhdy (napechatannoe v zhurnale «Sovietskaia zhenshchina» №2) Doma modelei. 23 maia 1949 g.).

to be desired – just indistinct black-and-white pencil drawings.¹⁵¹ But the quality of these drawings rose quickly. By 1954 the fashion magazine included beautiful colorful pictures of models of clothing.¹⁵² As the magazine published only prototypes of clothing, artists could experiment with colors and forms of drawings.

As Moscow's *Modeli sezona*, *Al'bom mod* in Leningrad was a seasonal periodical; its issues were devoted to season fall/winter, winter, spring/summer, or summer. Each picture of a model of clothing had a number, a title, a technical description and the designer's name. There were also drawings of a model from the back in the corner of the page. There were no advertisements for fabrics, ateliers, or department stores; neither were other texts. But some issues had a preface with information on recent trends and advice from a designer and the magazine enclosed a sewing pattern at the end. This fashion magazine was entirely dedicated to the prototypes of clothing created by the Leningrad Fashion House.

The clothing was presented with city landscapes in the background, and ladies in fashionable Soviet dresses were depicted in front of the Russian Museum, the Alexandrinsky Theater, and the Field of Mars.¹⁵³ These pictures were to demonstrate the proper appearance of the Soviet people on the streets of the Soviet city. In the city context, the use of the most famous and recognizable places presumably should reflect the “cultural” element of the myth and contribute to the formation of a “Leningrad identity”. This Leningrad identity mattered in the postwar period, as it was offered to newcomers by the city authorities after the end of the siege in order to create a sense of attachment that would encourage them to restore the city.¹⁵⁴ Already by the 1960s, the city residents were convinced that they were Leningraders and their city was unique.¹⁵⁵ However, this tendency is traced in *Al'bom mod* only in three issues between 1952 and 1954. Later all models of clothing were depicted on a neutral background.

¹⁵¹ See: Appendix 1, Figure 3 & 4.

¹⁵² See: Appendix 1, Figure 5.

¹⁵³ See: Appendix 1, Figure 6 & 7.

¹⁵⁴ Maddox, 146.

¹⁵⁵ Kelly, xiii.

The fashion magazines aimed to teach citizens the rules of good taste with the advice given in the preface. Fashion distinguished social activities: there was advice on how to dress for work, theater, sports, beach, home, and leisure time. At the same time, fashion was supposed to be universal which means that the advice did not differentiate by the class. On the one hand, it could be interpreted as an attempt to present Soviet society as a classless society. On the other hand, fashion set up different consumption strategies and, thus, more social distinctions. Privileged groups of Leningrad could afford to buy ready-to-wear clothing, while the working class was basically infuriated by the inequalities of postwar society.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, the fashion magazine presented mythological outfits rather than real ones. In order to demonstrate provisional models of clothing, the artists used a variety of colors, lines, textures, and, most importantly, their imagination.¹⁵⁷ Although each model was supported by the description, it did not mean that such models or necessary fabrics for them existed in the shops or ateliers. Thus, there was a significant distortion between these images and Soviet reality.

In the mid-1950s, Leningrad's *Al'bom mod* was re-named *Mody, Leningrad*. The magazine was available for sale in the showroom at the Leningrad Fashion House, but it was quite expensive for the average Soviet city resident. Each issue cost 20 rubles before the monetary reform of 1961 and 2 post-reform rubles after that. But the fashion magazine was accessible in ateliers. The fashion house distributed them to several ateliers and tailor shops around the city. In particular, the complexity of buying clothing increased the popularity of these small institutions among city residents.

The clothing by the Leningrad Fashion House was available at the leading department stores – DLT and *Passazh*. As mentioned above, clothing at these stores was affordable for only privileged groups in the city. Apart from high prices, there was another problem: a lack of colors and sizes. Most city residents preferred to go to ateliers or to sew clothing at home, using examples from fashion magazines and movies. A Leningrad native Margarita G. (born in 1937)

¹⁵⁶ Zakharova, 428; Kelly, 130.

¹⁵⁷ See: Appendix 1, Figure 8.

said that she was inspired by pictures in the fashion magazines and dresses of actresses and wanted to obtain a poodle skirt (*iubka-solntse*). Instead of buying it at the department store, she sewed it herself.¹⁵⁸

Ateliers and the fashion house had intense relations expressed by ateliers' dissatisfaction with the fashion house. Customers and the invited experts complained that the ateliers did not receive magazines, and, as a result, they were not informed about new designs:

Hopper: Magazines should be in ateliers. Most of the models presented will proceed to the mass production.

Kozlova: You have to visit shops and to see what winter coats are in sale now. I repeat that I was in the atelier №1 and there were absolutely no new designs. Apparently, you do them only for display but not for the reality.

Hopper: We do only for the people. I advise you to write to *Leningradskaia pravda* that ateliers do not have new designs while they are available in the Leningrad Fashion House.¹⁵⁹

Cooperation with the ateliers made the leadership of the fashion house anxious. Even though these images in the fashion magazine presented a fictitious reality, the customers expected to see similar clothing in the ateliers' wardrobes. A lack of new fashionable designs in the ateliers and in the shops seriously damaged the reputation of the LDMO and their fashion propaganda strategies. This distortion prevented the fashion house to espouse the imagined reality with socialist abundance to which the people were supposed to believe.

3.2 Fashion, Newspapers and Soviet Youth

The promotion of Soviet fashion and the rules of good taste for Soviet youth was important for the Soviet authorities, in particular to the Komsomol. The youth was invisible on the fashion magazine's pages till the late 1950s; in fact, young men were shown the same models as adults and elderly people. It seems that the artists tried to represent a diversity of Soviet men

¹⁵⁸ Margarita G. in discussion with the author, November 2018.

¹⁵⁹“Хоппер: Журналы должны быть в ателье. Большая часть показанных сегодня моделей пойдет в производство на швейные фабрики.

Козлова: Вы пройдитесь по магазинам и посмотрите на что похожи зимние пальто, которые сейчас продают. Повторяю, что я была в ателье №1, и там совершенно не было ни новых фасонов, ни зимних пальто. По-видимому, Вы делаете только для показа, но не для внедрения в жизнь”. TsGA, coll. 1910, inv. 1, f. 204 (Stenogramma soveshchaniia rabotnikov Doma modelei s rabotnikami apparata Gorkoma i Obkoma KPSS o napravlenii modelirovaniia na 1955 god. 14 ianvaria 1955 g.).

and women in the magazines, but it was hard to understand which models were supposed to be worn by young males or females, and which by adults, without any discursive references.

Well-known newspapers and magazines often ran columns devoted to fashion and appearance of both male and female citizens. Such articles appeared almost in each newspaper or magazine, except those devoted to technical and scientific topics, for example, *Nauka I Zhizn'* or *Iunyi Tekhnika*. Undoubtedly, the Komsomol press played a key role in the promotion of the proper appearance of Soviet youth through printed media.¹⁶⁰ Such youth newspapers and magazines as *Komsomol'skaia Pravda*, *Moskovskii Komsomolets*, *Smena*, *Iunost'* and others acted as social control agents in the criticism of *stiliagi*, the promotion of the rules of good taste and the prototypes of clothing. As Gleb Tsipursky argues, *Komsomol'skaia Pravda* actively promoted the idea that Soviet youth needed to be cultured.¹⁶¹ Other youth newspapers had similar narratives.

As an illustration, the youth newspaper *Smena* published the article “Watch over your honor while you are young” (*Dostoinstvo beregi smolodu*) with the discussion of young women's clothing. In that article, the designer of the LDMO Liudmila Babushkina said:

Sometimes the one who keeps pace with contemporary fashion looks unattractive. It is undesirable, of course, to wear clothing with 5-10 years old shapes (*fason*). But no less ridiculous are those who exaggerate fashion, rashly copying the worst Western examples. <...>

Well, it is fine [for ladies] to wear trousers. <...> but you have to know where and when to wear them. For example, trousers are very comfortable on the drive, on a touristic trip, but not on Nevskii prospekt”.¹⁶²

This quotation refers to the special meaning of Nevskii prospekt for Leningraders. As women's trousers were not legitimized yet as a normal daily thing of women's wardrobe in 1959, it was inappropriate to wear them in the heart of the “cultural capital”.

¹⁶⁰ Gleb Tsipursky, “Citizenship, Deviance and Identity: Soviet Youth Newspapers as Agents of Social Control in the Thaw-era leisure campaign”, *Cahiers du Monde russe* 40, no. 4 (2008):631.

¹⁶¹ Tsipursky, 1402.

¹⁶² “Порой непривлекательно выглядит тот, кто отстал от моды. Нежелательно, конечно, носить одежду фасонов пяти- и десятилетней давности. Но не менее смешно выглядят и те, которые утрируют моду, необдуманно копируя худшие западные образцы. <...> Что ж, брюки [девушкам] носить удобно <...>, но нужно знать, где и когда носить их. Брюки, например, очень удобны в дороге, в туристском походе, но не на Невском проспекте”. *Dostoinstvo beregi smolodu!* // *Smena*. March 13, 1959.

As this example shows, by the 1960s Leningrad culture had “the instability of taste characteristics of late modern fashion regimes.”.¹⁶³ Youth newspapers criticized “Western” youth styles as deviant and labeled them *stiliazhnechestvo*.¹⁶⁴ *Stiliagi* was one of the main reasons why the Soviet authorities paid attention to people’s appearance and why the Komsomol launched cultural enlightenment and introduced education measures.¹⁶⁵ But their culture was not confined only to their different appearance. It included a number of various practices: they danced, watched colorful Western movies, listened to jazz, hanged out in cafeterias, and gathered in the city center together.¹⁶⁶ However, among all of these activities and preferences, the appearance was that element that marked *stiliagi* as distinct from the others.

The fashion magazine did not criticize *stiliagi* in a direct way, but Soviet youth newspapers and satiric magazines always devoted articles to them. The image of *stiliagi* existed in the narratives in order to demonstrate “correct” and “deviant” forms of fashion and appearance. In addition to *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, which is mentioned above, “revealing” texts about *stiliagi* or advice of proper fashion existed in *Smena* and *Krokodil*. In 1955, *Smena* published a picture of a man and a woman in extravagant “stylish” clothing with a poetic description:

Don’t be like these freaks (*urody*)
Love simple beautiful fashion¹⁶⁷

Komsomol also used the press in order to intimidate “deviate elements” and to display shame publicity. The bands *reidy družhnikov* were created in order to watch out for order on the streets and in the public spaces and to act against hooligans and other forms of deviance. These raids were a form of performance of social activity, and embedded to the Khrushchev’s

¹⁶³ Kelly, 182.

¹⁶⁴ Tsipursky, 1402.

¹⁶⁵ By “cultural enlightenment” I mean a series of the Komsomol’s programs and measurements (*kulturnoe prosveshchenie*) which was a form of socialist education and aimed to exhort the masses to uphold socialist values. See: Theodore Craig Levin, *The Hundred Thousands Fools of God: Musical Travels in Central Asia*. (Indiana University Press, 1999); Sheila Fitzpatrick, “The ‘Soft’ Line on Culture and Its Enemies: Soviet Cultural Policy, 1922-1927”, *Slavic Review* 33, no. 2 (1974), 276-287; Gleb Tsipursky, *Socialist Fun. Youth, Consumption and State-Sponsored Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1946-1970*. (University of Pittsburg Press, 2016); Ann Todd Baum, “Komsomol Participation in Education”, in *Komsomol Participation in the Soviet Five-Year Plan*. (Palgrave MacMillan, 1987).

¹⁶⁶ Furst, 201-202

¹⁶⁷ “Не будьте похожи на этих уродов.
Любите простые красивые моды”. *Smena*, 1955.

populist program for a renewal of socialism in the Soviet Union¹⁶⁸. *Reidy druzhinnikov* often caught young male citizens on the streets, accusing them of being *stiliagi* and took violent actions such as head shaving against them. Pictures in the press were another form of this violence towards *stiliagi*: *druzhinniki* spoiled their clothing, made photos and published them in the printed media for public shaming.¹⁶⁹

In terms of printed media, the main enemy for *stiliagi* was the satirical journal *Krokodil*. *Stiliaga* became a popular subject of satire in the middle of the 1950s. The articles and pictures were aimed to demonstrate the inferiority of *stiliagi* within a number of elements such as the outer look, bad taste, and comparison with animals.¹⁷⁰ It is interesting how *Krokodil* depicted both male and female *stiliagi*. Although the subculture was considered as male, the journal usually showed them with inappropriate behavior such as drinking or smoking rather than with fashion attributes. As Yulia Karpova shows, cosmetics and fashion magazines were considered to be female elements of *stiliagi*, which returns us to the point that women were much often defined with material daily things; even in terms of *stiliagi* criticism, fashion discourse supported the idea of gendered lifestyle.¹⁷¹

Coming back to the LDMO's fashion magazine, the first issue *Al'bom dlia Molodezhi* was published in 1962. The issue started with introductory words by the designer Olga Gubanova:

Young men and women! You are striving for beautiful things; you are interested in new things, and not only in technologies, but also in art. And it is shame that the lack of experience and education you dress up without good taste.¹⁷²

In this passage, the designer referred to the educational purpose of fashion magazines and to the necessity for young citizens to adhere to the “rules of good taste”. Gubanova also highlighted

¹⁶⁸ Roth-Ey, <http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2004/4/ra4-pr.html>; Oleg Kharkhordin, *Oblichat' i Litsemerit': Genealogiia Rossiiskoi Lichnosti*. (EUSP PRESS, 2002), 351.

¹⁶⁹ Roth-Ey, <https://magazines.gorky.media/nz/2004/4/kto-na-pedestale-a-kto-v-tolpe-stilyagi-i-ideya-sovetskoj-molodezhnoj-kultury-v-epohu-ottepeli.html>

¹⁷⁰ Karpova (2009), 33.

¹⁷¹ Karpova (2009), 35.

¹⁷² “Юноши и девушки, Вы стремитесь к красивому, Вас интересует все новое не только в технике, но в искусстве. И как обидно бывает, когда видишь что только от недостатка опыта или воспитания Вы одеты без достаточного вкуса”. *Mody. Albom dlia Molodezhi* (1962-1963), 1.

that as young people were active in labor, studies, and sports, their clothing had to meet the next requirements: simple, comfortable, inexpensive, and beautiful. She also strongly advised young citizens to avoid copying of Western trends. Her main argument was that Western clothing was uncomfortable and pretentious (*vychurnaia*) and made for the upper classes.¹⁷³ However, although the fashion discourse aimed to demonstrate that one of the differences of Soviet clothing from Western one is its accessibility, in terms of price, it was not so.

Also, Gubanova provided young readers with a detailed explanation of the choice of clothing. She criticized the tendency among youngsters to choose garments that did not correspond to the situation; instead, Gubanova advised them to think carefully about their appearance, especially at university.¹⁷⁴ It is interesting that in the letter she claimed that young men could choose bright fabrics for their clothing; however, later in the same letter, she changed this line of thinking, saying that it was necessary to choose soft (*neiarkie*) colors. For special occasions, the fashion magazine asked young male citizens to choose suits in grey, brown, and blue colors.¹⁷⁵ A classic black suit was dedicated only to weddings or ceremonies. In particular, this advice to young men had fewer distinctions than fashion advice to “adults”. However, the tone of a letter was absolutely different. Gubanova used such phrases and forms of sentences as if she tried to make a good impression on and to “influence” youngsters. Apart from that, the text shows morality codes which would serve an example for youth. It was a typical narrative, and the party mouthpiece in the person of fashion house helped to achieve the status of a good Soviet citizen.¹⁷⁶

The narrative presented in Soviet youth newspapers discursively drew a clear line between *stiliagi* and the rest of the youth.¹⁷⁷ The satirical language used binary categories in order to distinct *stiliagi* from proper *komsomoltsy*, placing its relations in a dichotomy of normal-

¹⁷³ Mody. *Albom dlia Molodezhi*, 1.

¹⁷⁴ Mody. *Albom dlia Molodezhi*, 1; See: Appendix 1, Figure 9.

¹⁷⁵ See: Appendix 1, Figure 10.

¹⁷⁶ Gleb Tsipursky, “Conformism and Agency: Model Young Communists and the Komsomol Press in the later Khrushchev Years, 1961-1964”, *Europe-Asia Studies* 64, no. 7 (2013): 1398.

¹⁷⁷ Tsipursky, 641.

abnormal.¹⁷⁸ Notwithstanding, unlike the youth newspapers, the fashion magazine did not construct a clear picture of “abnormal” appearance, using abstract norms and phrases. In contrast, the fashion magazine focused on the representation of “correct” appearance for youth, and rarely referred to the shortcomings of the Western fashion.

3.3 Catwalk Shows and Cultured Leisure

Another channel for fashion propaganda was a series of educational events for city residents, including lectures and catwalk shows in a showroom (*demonstratsionnyi zal*) at the fashion house and in the houses of culture (*doma kul'tury*). Archival documents do not show whether there was a similar strategy for fashion propaganda in the late 1940s, but it was one of the main tasks of the Leningrad Fashion House in the early 1950s:

The propaganda of Soviet modeling was carried out by showing models to city residents in *Demzal*, presenting models and public talks about fashion at workers' clubs and the houses of culture [*doma kul'tury*], organizing exhibitions and distributing the albums of fashion, sketches and sewing patterns of new models.¹⁷⁹

The propaganda of fashion took place for all social groups, from the working class to intelligentsia. To be more precise, these public talks and exhibitions visualized the rules of good taste on the concrete examples. Another aim of these events was increasing sales in the department stores.

The Leningrad Fashion House held catwalks shows. As Tatiana Dashkova says, the conception of catwalk shows was quite problematic in the context of Soviet fashion as it was perceived as “bourgeoisie practice” and required adaptation to socialist conditions.¹⁸⁰ The concept of socialist catwalk show (*sotsialisticheskoe defile*) and the people who worked as “models” requires additional explanation here. In the late 1940s-early 1950s, the status of defile was ambivalent in the Soviet state. For instance, newspapers did not use the word “runway” as it

¹⁷⁸ Карпова (2009), 34-35.

¹⁷⁹ “Пропаганда советского моделирования осуществлялась путём показа моделей населению в Демзале, проведения просмотров моделей и бесед в клубах и домах культуры, организации выставок, а также путём издания и распространения альбомов мод, зарисовок и выкроек моделей”. GARF, coll. A74, inv. 1, f. 919 (Otchet leningradskogo doma modelei po osnovnoi deiatel'nosti za 1954 g.).

¹⁸⁰ Tatiana Dashkova, “Nesluzhebnaia Pokhodka: Defile v Sovetskikh Filmakh Ottepeli i Zastoia”, *Teoriya Mody* 4, no. 46 (2017). https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/teoriya_mody/46_tm_4_2017/article/19304/

had bourgeoisie connotations, substituting it with “the exhibition of models [of clothing]” or “the demonstration of clothing”.¹⁸¹ Thus, in Soviet rhetoric, models (persons) were called *demonstrator odezhdy* or *manekenshchik* (a male model) or *manekenshchitsa* (a female model).¹⁸² Their role was to act as a mannequin for a designer and to display new models of clothing at the fashion shows.

The requirements for male and female models (persons) were completely different from the contemporary situation.¹⁸³ Dashkova and Zakharova claim that the main distinction of the socialist runway and their way of walking the catwalk was the principle of vitality (*zhiznennosti*).¹⁸⁴ This was a reason why the models should not be radically different from “ordinary Soviet people”. A former model Liya Kitts says that there were no strong requirements for gender, age, and body shape. However, there were specific height measurements: lack of tall men forced the fashion house to hire women between 167 and 175 cm.¹⁸⁵

Gender asymmetry among models (persons) was a problem for the Leningrad Fashion House. There were only 2-3 men to about 15 women, a similar proportion to the ODMO and other Soviet fashion houses. First, fashion was perceived as a woman’s prerogative. Second, this profession was stigmatized in Soviet society. Thus, many people hesitated to talk about their work in a fashion house.¹⁸⁶ A former model Evgeniia Hartleben-Kurakina also says that it was easy to be hired without specific education or knowledge. But she hid her work at the fashion house and told everyone that she was an assistant in the store.¹⁸⁷ However, this profession had some privileges. Soviet models (persons) traveled around the whole Soviet Union and even abroad but predominantly to socialist countries.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² See: Appendix 1, Figure 11.

¹⁸³ Liya Kitts, interview by Elena Mihina, *Moskovskii Komsomolets. Sankt-Peterburg*, August 15, 2011. URL: <https://spb.mk.ru/articles/2011/08/15/614516-krasotka-52go-razmera.html>; Natalia Lebina, “Sportivnost’ – Trend Epokhi Destalinizatsii”, *Theoria Mody* 3, no. 33 (2014). URL: https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/teoriya_mody/33_tm_3_2014/article/11082/

¹⁸⁴ Dashkova, https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/teoriya_mody/46_tm_4_2017/article/19304/

¹⁸⁵ Liya Kitts, interview by Elena Mihina, *Moskovskii Komsomolets. Sankt-Peterburg*, August 15, 2011. URL: <https://spb.mk.ru/articles/2011/08/15/614516-krasotka-52go-razmera.html>

¹⁸⁶ Evgeniia Hartleben-Kurakina, interview by Irina Tarasova, *Vzgliad. Delovaiia Gazeta*, August 11, 2011, URL: <https://vz.ru/culture/2011/8/11/514071.html>

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

At the same time, it was not a glamorous job. There are several representations of this profession in contemporary TV-shows and movies which depict Soviet models as women who were surrounded by money and fame. For instance, the Russian-Ukrainian TV-series *Krasnaia Koroleva* (2015) tells a story about Soviet model Regina Zbarskaia (*Kseniia Luk'ianchikova*) who became very popular in West as the “Soviet Sophia Lauren”. The representations of her life refer to a glamorous, successful, and rich lifestyle, but these images were not universal for all fashion houses.¹⁸⁸ Both Evgeniia and Liya remember that it was hard to stay several hours in one position some days. They were sent to Vyborg and other cities in a truck and did not spend time in limos and luxury hotels. Notwithstanding, male and female models were more liberated from Soviet puritanical public principles, and eventually, as actors and actresses, they were treated as sexual objects.¹⁸⁹ In the 1960s many Soviet models, like Regina, were widely known as sex-symbols of the Soviet Union.

In Leningrad, catwalk shows were held several times a year. For instance, there were 7 shows in Leningrad and 12 in other regions in 1954.¹⁹⁰ The Industrial Cooperation Palace of Culture (*Dom kul'tury Promkooperatsii*) was one of the main houses of culture where the LDMO and foreign visitors held their shows. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct these shows in detail; but some of them were not free of charge. The admission to *Demzal* was by ticket, but the price was not high and affordable for many city residents. These shows were very popular. As an illustration, in January-March 1957, 10 thousand Leningraders visited the catwalk shows in the *Demzal*.¹⁹¹

The Leningrad Fashion House also presented their clothing at shows organized in cooperation with the clothing trades. One of their main partners was *Lenodezhda*. In 1963, there was a presentation of men's clothing at the meeting of customers with the employees of

¹⁸⁸ See: Appendix 1, Figure 12 & 14.

¹⁸⁹ Lebina, 84.

¹⁹⁰ GARF, coll. A74, inv. 1, f. 919 (Otchet leningradskogo doma modelei po osnovnoi deiatel'nosti za 1954 g.).

¹⁹¹ GARF, coll. A74, inv. 3, f. 5 (Materialy o rabote Leningradskogo doma modelei (plany, otchet, spravki, informatsii, svedeniia i dr.) 30 dekabria 1956-29 maia 1957 g.).

Lenodezhda in the special store for men “*Sokol*”.¹⁹² The hall was crowded; it seems that many people wished to visit this show. There were people of different gender and age: it is possible to notice young men at the back, a mature man and woman in the middle, and a young girl with a toy at the front row. Such differences genders and ages point to the fact that Soviet catwalk shows were interested in a wide range of city residents.

Lectures and fashion shows became essential in the late 1950s, when the official discourse started comparing Soviet and Western achievements, promising to overtake the adversaries.¹⁹³ In this context, cultural events held by the Soviet fashion houses took on a new meaning. In order to demonstrate Soviet achievements in terms of fashion, the fashion houses invited Western designers to present clothing in the Soviet Union. As an illustration, there was a presentation of the Dior Fashion House’s clothing in Moscow in 1959 which rather showed Soviet shortcomings in clothing design than highlighted its superiority.¹⁹⁴ However, although the groups of foreigners visited Leningrad, there were no similar large Western fashion events in the city. It could be related to the provincial status of the LDMO in the Soviet fashion system.

As Gleb Tsipursky says, the transformations in official cultural offerings went away from enlightenment and ideology toward cultural entertainment originated in the early 1950s.¹⁹⁵ In 1957 the LDMO held several lectures and public talks on the topic “How to dress beautifully” at the Nevskii House of Culture (*Nevskii dom kul'tury*), the Leningrad Officer House (*Leningradskii dom ofitserov*), the club named after Karl Marx (*Klub imeni tov. Marksa*), the textile factory “Svetlana” and other educational and cultural institutions.¹⁹⁶ However, their original idea was still to enlighten the city residents with the notion of being cultured and the rules of good taste. There were not originated as entertainment events but it does not mean that city residents did not perceive them as such. Besides by the late 1950s, such events were

¹⁹² See: Appendix 1, Figure 13.

¹⁹³ Tsipursky, 79.

¹⁹⁴ Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War*. (The Pennsylvanian State University Press, 2003), 130.

¹⁹⁵ Tsipursky (2016), 77.

¹⁹⁶ GARF, coll. A74, inv. 3, f. 5 (Materialy o rabote Leningradskogo doma modelei (plany, otchët, spravki, informatsii, svedeniia i dr.) 30 dekabria 1956-29 maia 1957 g.).

legitimized as a normal urban practice in newspapers and movies.¹⁹⁷ Many could not afford clothing in the shops but they wanted to follow fashion and enjoyed watching the presentations of clothing on a podium. The Thaw cultural policy expanded leisure time and, as Diane Koenker argues, the official ideology claimed that leisure should be “public, collective, regulated, educational and morally uplifted”.¹⁹⁸ I assume that the fashion house’s events were a form of cultured leisure.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

The analysis of the fashion propaganda strategies of the LDMO prompts the following findings. The experts’ aimed to promote fashion to the people through two channels: printed media and educational events. Like newspapers and women’s magazines, the fashion journal acted as a social control agent, providing city residents with the variants of proper appearance. In the late 1950s, the fashion magazine paid attention to youth as to a separate category of customers and began to promote them the rules of good taste as well. A series of events, from lectures to catwalks shows, had the same functions as printed media. The fact that these fashion shows were available to everyone links to the idea that Soviet fashion was supposed to be for everybody, not for the bourgeoisie. But the holding of the official line could not guarantee that these shows could not be used as a form of cultural entertainment; moreover, they corresponded to the official’s perceptions of socialist leisure time.

¹⁹⁷ Dashkova, https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/teoriya_mody/46_tm_4_2017/article/19304/

¹⁹⁸ Koenker, 424.

Conclusion

The Leningrad Fashion House was a leading fashion institution in the city that designed and produced fashionable clothing for city residents and the Leningrad region. Organized in 1944, the fashion house aimed to restore the post-war *byt* and to provide the people with new civil clothing. The key player in the fashion house was the Art Council, which consisted of Party members, invited employees from museums and galleries, representatives of clothing trade unions, and employees of the LDMO. These experts discussed and evaluated new models of clothing; new designs could not proceed to the production line without their approval. The designers of LDMO followed the rules and principles of clothing design set by the All-Union Fashion House, but sometimes they wanted to detach their design ideas from Moscow and other Soviet fashion houses. As Moscow's recommendations were not strict, the designers experimented with colors, forms, shapes, and materials. Thus, the Leningrad Fashion House had a certain level of autonomy in the Soviet fashion system.

Despite the fact the Moscow strived for the unity of Soviet fashion, the local designers tried to depict differences from the center. Similarly, the experts in Leningrad emphasized the uniqueness of some models of clothing from the All-Union one. However, such differences were expressed only in discursive forms at the meetings, which points to the assumption that they were imagined rather than existed in reality. As fashion was used in constructing the identity of a Soviet person, it played a significant role in the formation of the Leningrad identity as well. One of the important tools in constructing of the Leningrad identity in the postwar period was a reference to the city's imperial past. The Leningrad Fashion House encouraged the designers to use the Russian imperial motifs in clothing; thus, they presented dresses in the spirit of costumes of Aleksander Nevskii, Peter the Great, and Aleksander Pushkin. It is hard to imagine how these models combined with the key concepts of Soviet fashion – elegance, rationality and practice. Another important element of clothing design that time was Slavic folklore. Slavic ethnic embroidery was used as decoration of clothing for masses and played a role in distinguishing

between Soviet and Western design. These motifs in clothing were not unique in Leningrad; other republican and provincial fashion houses also produced dresses and blouses with Slavic embroidery. In a broader context, as fashion was considered as a part of art and culture, such decorations served as a simulacrum of Stalin's socialism. The Russian motifs in clothing design was shaped by the propaganda of Soviet patriotism in the late 1940s; but in the city context, their use got a special meaning, aiming at the glorification of Leningrad's past.

This was combined with Leningrad local's perceptions of their city as special and unique, which made fashion designers aspire to reflect the narratives of the Petersburg myth. As the prevailing narrative of this myth was the "cultural capital", the experts stressed the importance of the people's appearance on its streets, giving the city landscapes a special meaning. In order to educate city residents, the Leningrad Fashion House organized educational lectures and catwalk shows about Soviet clothing and the rules of good taste, which later presumably became a form of cultural leisure for Leningraders. Printed media, including youth newspapers and the fashion magazine, acted as social control agents, providing the youngsters and the adults with the examples of "cultured" look. Although these guidelines were not strict, the people who violated the rules could face misunderstanding and indignation from others and were marked by the experts as "uncultured".

The analysis of Soviet fashion in Leningrad through the prism of the Petersburg myth prompts interesting results. Fashion was perceived as a form of art and culture and reflected the changes in the cultural policy throughout the period. But although the Leningrad Fashion House used the motifs common to all fashion houses of the RSFRS, the experts gave them new meanings. It also shows that the experts of the Leningrad Fashion House had a certain level of agency.¹⁹⁹ They followed their own opinions about people's appearance. These opinions were shaped by the ideological doctrines on the "cultural" purpose of fashion combined with their perceptions of the city as the "cultural capital". Thus, the narrative of the "cultural capital"

¹⁹⁹ Yurchak, 32.

became a determinative element in constructing the rules of good taste for Leningraders. Finally, it points to the fact that Soviet fashion was not homogeneous, and its differences depended upon the social and cultural environment.

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Appendix 1



Figure 1

The demonstration of the model of women's dress. Leningrad, 1950s. (TsGAKFFD SPb).



Figure 2

Front Cover. *Mody. Leningrad* (Al'bom dlia molodezhi), 1962-1963.



Figure 3

Women's Coats. *Al'bom Mod* (Fall-Winter), 1952-1953.



Figure 4

Silk and Woolen Dresses. *Al'bom Mod* (Fall-Winter), 1952-1953.



Figure 5

Summer Dresses. *Al' bom Mod* (Summer), 1954.



Figure 6

Front Cover. *Al' bom Mod* (Spring-Summer), 1954



Figure 7

Summer dresses. *Al'bom Mod* (Spring-Summer), 1953.



Figure 8

Smart dresses. *Mody. Leningrad* (I), 1962.



Figure 9

Uniforms for school and production. *Mody. Leningrad* (Al'bom dlia molodezhi), 1962-1963.



Figure 10

Young men's coats. *Mody. Leningrad* (Al'bom dlia molodezhi), 1962-1963.



Figure 11

Manekenshchitsy present women's outwear from synthetic materials. Leningrad, January 29, 1964. (TsGAKFFD SPb).



Figure 12

A shot from Russian-Ukrainian TV-series *Krasnaia Koroleva* (2015).



Figure 14

A shot from Russian-Ukrainian TV-series *Krasnaia Koroleva* (2015).



Figure 13

The demonstration of a new model of men's suit at the meeting of the *Lenodezhda* employees with the customers at the special men's suits store *Sokol*. Leningrad, 1963. (TsGAKFFD SPb).