

P O P C U L T U R E
R U S S I A !

Media, Arts, and Lifestyle

Birgit Beumers

A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California Denver, Colorado Oxford, England

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Consumer Culture

With the displacement of cultural objects such as books and art posters by consumer products in the aftermath of the reforms of 1991, freeing up prices that had so far been fixed by the state, a new consumer culture emerged. Vendors appeared on every street corner, offering goods cheaper than in the shops; underground passages converted into trade centers; prices rapidly escalated and inflation rose. Cultural objects became luxury goods, and foodstuff and other consumer goods replaced the cherished fetishes of the intellectuals. Almost overnight Russian society turned into a society of consumers, a transformation that trashed anything that was no longer functional or necessary. The impact that consumer culture had on the urban landscapes of major cities, especially Moscow and Petersburg, has already been discussed. Another phenomenon that changed the cityscape was the advertising billboards.

Advertising

The concept of advertising would appear to contradict the spirit of the Soviet economy, which excluded branding and competition. There were advertisements during the NEP (New Economic Policy) period (1921–1928) when a free market was introduced temporarily to remedy the economic crisis in the aftermath of the civil war and the Revolution. Many avant-garde artists and poets pledged their service to the Revolution and helped create advertisements: the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky wrote slogans, the artist Alexander Rodchenko designed posters, and they even received awards for their work at the international exhibition in Paris in 1925. Since the introduction of five-year plans, there had been no advertisements in the proper sense of the word. Rather, advertisements functioned as educational spots to explain new products, introduce new inventions, and guide the viewer. They did not have the function of selling a product—those products that were in demand tended to be in short supply. Moreover, printing facilities for posters were rather limited due to poor-quality paper, and most posters for concerts or shows were hand



Moscow, 1992. A street seller selling souvenirs on the Old Arbat Street in Moscow. (Photo by Andrey Golovanov/Kommersant)

painted or hand printed. Journals were subsidized and did not rely on revenue through advertising. Some products, however, were advertised—for example, products that were in sufficient supply, but expensive (Pacific fish). Electric lighters for gas stoves were advertised in order to explain how to use them when there was a shortage of matches. Milk and dairy products, fruit and vegetables were advertised as a “healthy diet,” since people did not eat enough of these. More significant is the fact that 73 percent of food goods were sold unwrapped (for liquids, customers often had to bring their own containers; no cling film or carrier bags were available in the shops). The absence of packaging meant that there was no space for brand-

ing. Only a few goods, such as television sets, some electrical products, perfumes, and chocolates, had brand names.

Advertising entered Soviet culture with Gorbachev. The first ad featured Michael Jackson advertising Pepsi Cola (17–23 May 1988). Pepsi Cola hardly needed any advertising to the Soviet consumer, so the spot was rather of symbolic value: advertising was viewed as part of the images of Western culture that were becoming available in the media. This is also true of the first advertising clips on television, which were synchronized versions of Western clips for Western products. They revealed to the spectator (not consumer) the full extent of the dream world of Western consumerism. Full-blown advertising started after the fixing of prices by the state had ceased on 1 January 1992. Advertising ranged from newspaper ads to billboards in the streets; from banners across the street to advertisements on buses, in the metro, on escalators, on houses, and in other public spaces; and from television ads to movie trailers. Companies and traders began to bid for customers’ attention, but Russian companies had no previous experience of supply and demand or the stimulation of consumer dreams, whereas Western companies had no idea of the realities of life in post-Soviet Russia.

The best example is the reception of the massive advertising campaign of Procter and Gamble, competing in the Western world over customers in the cosmetics sector. The Always advertisements for *prokladki* (the collective term for pantyliners and sanitary towels) bombarded the Russian spectator with product information—as if she or he had never heard of feminine hygiene before. The problem was exactly that: people had heard about such prod-



Advertising on a tram, which has just left a stop, with the advertising board reading “This space is for rent.” Moscow, 2002. (Photo by Alexey Myakishhev/Kommersant)

ucts, but they had not been available in Soviet times. Now they were on the market, but people could barely afford them. The same is true for the much-sought-after tampons or disposable diapers. The advertisements were doubly absurd: by their frequency they seemed to suggest an “indoctrination” with a product that was known, and yet they were showing the consumer the world of the West, distancing the—now available—product from the Russian context.

The advertisements for antiperspirants and deodorants played on the notion of sociability, completely misunderstood in the

advertising campaign. One spot featured a woman in an elevator; everybody else runs away to avoid the odors of her perspiration, leaving her on her own in the elevator. When she uses Rexona, her colleagues join her in the elevator (and congratulate her on her birthday): she is no longer alone. A parody of the advertisement shows the way in which it was understood in Russia: A man enters an elevator, having used a “perfume” that emits a stench. Everybody gets out of the elevator, and the man has it to himself. In a society where crowded trolleybuses and crammed apartments were reality, private space, space for oneself, was a sought-

after treat, not a sign of isolation. The Rexona advertising campaign ignored the habits of the Russian consumer. The slogan was parodied: “When you boarded the metro train, everybody else got off. Rexona never lets you down.”

Similarly, the advertising campaign for the cat food Whiskas bluntly ignored the circumstances of Russian life and was most unsuitable for the Russian consumer. The slogan “*Vasha koshka kupila by Viskas*” (Your cat would buy Whiskas) for the Western consumer implied that the cat made a choice, ridiculous enough as a concept. But on the Russian market, the imported product cost more than the average person could spend on pet food, so never mind what the cat would buy. The advertising campaigns for Western products created by Western ad agencies clearly ignored the realities of post-Soviet Russia, where on top of rising inflation, communal charges were introduced for electricity, gas, and water. The ads created a parallel world: a world that Soviet citizens had dreamed of, that Russians could reach and touch, but that was beyond the financial scope of the ordinary citizen. Advertising therefore showed a dream world; as such, it replaced the ideological propaganda of Soviet times with “propaganda” for Western consumer goods, replacing the socialist value system with a value system of achievement of a different type: consumerism and capitalism.

The Mars chocolate corporation launched a campaign for its products, which took up 87 percent of advertisements for sweets in 1993; this went down to 63 percent in the following year, only because Cadbury’s claimed its share of the Russian market. Mars, Snickers, and Twix, along with a whole range of other choco-

late bars, entered the media. The advertising for the “protein-laden roasted peanuts, soft caramel and a wonderful milk chocolate,” which became “more and more tasty with every time” (*s kazhdym razom vse vkusnei i vkusnei*)—in short, the Snickers bar—dominated the media in more than one way. The Snickers chocolate bar, a product of a foreign company, became the symbol for political and economic reform, representing the invasion of foreign products on the Russian market, which was met with huge hunger by the population. The advertising campaign became a point of discussion for the political parties of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and Gennadi Ziu-ganov in the 1995 parliamentary and 1996 presidential electoral campaigns, when both leaders promised to remove American trash (advertising and films) from Russian television.

When President Putin announced during his electoral campaign in March 2000 that he would not—like his predecessor Yeltsin—market his image between advertising spots for Tampax and Snickers, he thereby made an important policy statement. On the one hand, he distanced himself from the mass media, from the campaigns both the Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov and Yeltsin had conducted in the run-up to elections through “their” television stations (the Russian state owned a majority of shares in ORT and RTR, and NTV’s head was part of Yeltsin’s electoral campaign team; Luzhkov owned TV6). Putin not only dissociated himself from the mass media and their powerful influence upon public opinion, but he also defined himself neatly between advertising production and advertising placement companies. In this way, he detached himself from those figures that ruled the advertising

market, which is one of the most powerful economic structures in Russia, as well as from the “oligarchs.” In this respect, Putin’s campaign against the mass media embodied by Boris Berezovsky and Vladimir Gusinsky was not wholly unexpected. On the other hand, he distanced himself from Zhiuganov and Zhirinovskiy, who took advertising seriously enough to make it an item in their political agenda.

The Snickers advertisements not only dominated the advertising time for sweets on television in the early days of advertising and featured on almost every other billboard in central Moscow but also created the first ever product-verb in Russian with its slogan: “*Ne tormozi, snickersni*” (Don’t stop, Snickers). In fact, this was not the first infiltration of foreign words and product names into the Russian language. Words for products that had not been previously available, such as *printer*, *konditioner* (air conditioning), *iogurt* (yogurt) and others, were abundant in the first half of the 1990s.

Product Advertising

Vodka and Other Booze Advertising spots for alcohol and cigarettes were still allowed in the early days of television; they would be withdrawn later. The advertisements for alcohol, and vodka in particular, were hugely popular, to the extent that one campaign inspired a filmmaker to make a series of films on “the peculiarities of the Russian national character.” Most of these advertisements glorified the delirium tremens induced by excessive alcohol consumption. This pattern applied to one of the earliest vodka advertisements on Russian television: the clip for Smirnoff vodka. The clip is set during a ball, in which the



A bottle of Putinka vodka presented at the Leaders of Russian Alcohol Market 2003 awards ceremony in the President Hotel, Moscow. (Photo by Sergey Mikheev/Kommersant)

“product representative,” a middle-aged man, is seated at the table on his own, drinking vodka while the other guests dance cheerfully. The lonely individual, alienated from society (a common character of the Russian advertising world) takes to the bottle. And once he has (almost) emptied it, he looks through the bottle glass and the clear spirit and begins to perceive the party guests as wild beasts, with animal features that expose their real natures. In fact, the clip-maker here drew on the device of intellectual montage, exem-

plified in Sergei Eisenstein's *The Strike* (Stachka, 1924). When the man looks again at the bottle, he sees his own face distorted in the same way; thanks to Smirnoff he has become part of the social group in which he had previously been isolated.

The vodka label Rasputin featured the mystic's image on the bottle. Grigori Rasputin is animated, speaking from a ghostly world that becomes crystal clear and comes alive. Alcoholic intoxication makes communication with the lost past possible. Moreover, the world of ghosts seems clearer and more real than reality. White Eagle (Belyi orel) had three clips created by the famous clip-maker and filmmaker Yuri Grymov. The first was set in Chicago during the Prohibition period, where some men engage in the illegal trade of alcohol. A Native American chief arrives, claiming he is White Eagle (the label they trade with) and collapses—presumably having drunk himself to death. The second clip was set in Russia in the seventeenth century, when a man tries to construct wings to fly toward the sun (Russia as a player in ancient mythology). The man climbs onto a church tower and falls, crashing onto the soil, while three Russian men sit in the field and drink vodka. "How can he manage to fly," one of them comments, "without fuel." He raises his glass, drinks, and floats up into the skies. The third clip portrayed a man asleep and snoring during a performance of *Swan Lake* in the Bolshoi Theatre. He is elbowed, and woken from his sleep, by his rather fat and unattractive wife. This leads him to engage deliriously in the performance: he imagines himself on stage as a disheveled ballerina, who is reprimanded by the conductor. He is the "white eagle" among the swans. The advertisements for White Eagle are appallingly

appealing: they are beautifully designed, esthetically perfect, as they advocate the beauty of the world seen under alcoholic intoxication and depict reality as chaotic, boring, and doomed by the all-powerful Russian matron. White Eagle is the Russian man's escape from her commanding voice.

Vodka is Russia's national drink. The label Flagman makes use of the national pride associated with the drink in its slogan "There is something to be proud of" (*Est chem gorditsya*). The poster shows a bottle with its logo in the shape of the order of the star, with beams radiating to the side of the bottle over the dark blue background. The advertisement draws on Russia's pride, clearly lost in the flood of consumer products from the West. The television clip alludes also to the drink's ability to discern between good and evil in the criminal world.

Vodka is a drink that allows the consumer to see reality for what it really is and makes man part of the chaos, the facade, and the criminal world that surrounds him. Vodka has also been widely used to convey an image and enhance the market value of contemporary cinema. After having been awarded an Oscar for *Burnt by the Sun* (1994), Nikita Mikhalkov launched his own vodka brand, KomDiv—the divisional commander he had played in the film featured on the label. This would be followed by the label Russkii Standart (Russian Standard), reflecting the high demands placed on the cadets who star in his epic *The Barber of Siberia* (Sibirskii tsiriul'nik, 1999). The association with vodka, then, is an added value to any film, but it also facilitates the double existence in two realities simultaneously, cinematic and economic.

Beer is a relatively new acquisition of the Russian market. A whole host of Russian



Bottles of different brands of beer in a kiosk display and an announcement “Beer not for sale!” Moscow, 2004. (Photo by Alexander Miridonov/Kommersant)

beer labels appeared in the 1990s. Interestingly, Russian advertisers perceive beer as a soft drink, almost a replacement for breakfast. In an early advertisement for beer and soft drinks, the popular singer and producer of musicals Alexander Tsekalo was depicted in a bathtub filled with beer: it is so cheap that you can bathe in it, but so good that you won't sell it. It speaks of availability and volume rather than taste.

The brand names of beers betray their indigenous Russian character: Afanasy is a man's Christian name; Klinskoye, Ochakovskoye, and Ostanskinskoye refer to place names; Krasnyi Byk (Red Bull) is a parody on the alcoholic drink of the same name; Tolstiak (Fatty) and Tri Medvedia (Three Bears) allude to Russian folk tales. Bochkarov (*bochka* is barrel) is the “right beer” (*pravil'noe pivo*). Staryi Melnik (Old

Miller) and Sibirskaya Korona (Siberian Crown) draw with their names on ancient Russian heritage, which the products clearly do not have.

Baltika has its brand name prominently displayed across the legendary monument to Stalinist architecture in the center of Moscow, the Hotel Moscow. It is Russia's “golden” beer, referring with its brand name to the Baltic states, once the Soviet Union's most Westernized republics, just as Nevskoye (Neva-Beer) refers to the river Neva of the northern capital Petersburg. Zolotaya Bochka (Golden Barrel) has the “golden taste that you deserve” (*zolotoi vkus, kotorogo ty dostoin*). Beers tend to advertise themselves with reference to their color and therefore largely use a beer glass or the bottle as illustrations of the advertisements on a sumptuous dark green or

blue background. The private brewery Tinkoff (Petersburg) advertises its products as unique and singular: one of the most impressive ads is a double page in a magazine, with a bottle of Tinkoff on the far left, leaving the entire page white; on the bottom of the right side appears the text: “only he’s like that” (*on takoi odin*), emphasizing the uniqueness of this brand. The pronoun *he* also personifies the bottle.

“The Health Ministry Warns—Smoking Is Dangerous for Your Health”

Smoking in Russia is a widespread habit. Tobacco is often of inferior quality (*makhoraka*), but even Western brand cigarettes are of a different price and a different quality when purchased on the Russian market. A number of new Russian cigarette brands have emerged in recent years, while many Soviet brands have been revamped. The cigarettes Belomor-kanal are the old style *papirosy* with a filter that consists of half of the cigarette and has to be folded before smoking. They have always been the cheapest and most affordable cigarettes.

Although there are advertisements for Western cigarette brands, the Russian brands offer a rather curious advertising campaign. They draw on Russia’s past, and the Soviet past, to give their products clout and a pseudo-history that their Western counterparts can genuinely boast of. Russkii Stil (Russian Style) is a brand that uses packaging in the color of the Russian flag (blue and red packs, white for the light cigarettes) and golden ornaments and embossed crests on the package. The slogan “If you shine, then do” (*blisat’ tak blisat’*) comments on the brilliance of the golden logo. The slogan “style determines quality” (*stil’ opredeliaet kachestvo*) is used on a series of billboards showing a modern inte-



A girl smoking in front of a publicity screen for Russkii stil cigarettes with the warning “Smoking is dangerous for your health.” (Photo by Alexey Kudenko/Kommersant)

rior with abstract red and white shapes as the classical and richly patterned cigarette pack features in a corner. The poster emphasizes that the question of style is not between modern and classical, but that quality matters. Another paper advertisement features three packs of the brand in blue, white, and red next to each other (making up the colors of the Russian flag). Or the blue and red packs feature in a picture on the side, with a golden cigarette case (this is a product not for the poor), whereas on the other half of the page a young couple is shown against the backdrop of a Stalin skyscraper, the university: the brand is for the young and successful business people. “Life in the style of perfection” (*zhizn v*

stile sovershenstva) is another slogan for the cigarettes, which this time are placed on a red leather working surface of a desk, next to an open book and a golden clock. This is the habitat of the successful and rich, with distinctive style; the golden cigarette case and the crystal ashtray testify to wealth. A magnifying glass is placed over the filter to highlight this innovation. The cigarette brand Fabergé uses a similar method: it appeals to the consumer's "passion for perfection" (*strast k sovershentsvu*), showing two packets, lavishly decorated with ornaments and a golden double-headed eagle, set against the backdrop of a Fabergé egg. The texts praise the special sepiolite filter of the brand.

Yava, an old, Soviet cigarette brand, addresses a younger, more urban consumer with its appeal that it is "newer than you think" (*novee chem ty dumaesh*), detaching itself from its Soviet past, further enhanced by the use of images of New York. The brand appeals to younger smokers. Although using a historically laden brand name, Peter I is produced by R. J. Reynolds. It appeals to a younger consumer with its slogans "life in pleasure" (*zhizn' v udovolstvie*), or the very plain billboard showing half a face of a man (or a woman) against a black backdrop with the slogan "look ahead" (*smotri vpered*). The poster featuring the phrase "always first" (*vsegda pervyi*), showing a young man on a boat holding a pair of binoculars, alludes with the sailing theme to Peter I's favorite pastime and features the Liube singer Nikolai Rastorguyev.

Although beer, vodka, and cigarette advertisements have now been banned from television, they still feature on billboards and in the print media. The majority of print ads concern these products and the above-

mentioned chocolates. There are also some advertisements for mobile telephones and networks, usually laden with information on tariffs; some advertisements for radio stations and a few newspapers.

Idylls of the Past A widespread tendency in advertising for Russian products is the return to nineteenth-century (or earlier) Russia. The chocolate Rossiya (made by Nestlé, a foreign corporation) runs with the slogan "Russia, the generous soul" (*Rossiia—shchedraia dusha*). In a television advertising campaign, the company used period costume and reverted to the traditions of the pre-Revolutionary period in its clips featuring a nineteenth-century ball scene and a duel, which is called off when a chocolate block is found in the pistol case. Several milk and dairy products, such as Milaya Mila (Dear Mila), Lianozovskoye Moloko (Lianozov Milk), Doyarushka (the Milkmaid), and Domik v Derevne (House in the Village) heavily rely on folk themes and the memory of an idealized past for their campaigns. Life in the countryside is idealized but never presented as a modern experience.

Numerous advertising campaigns draw on the golden Soviet years when advertising products that clearly were not available in those days. The advertisements for Savinov sweets were created by a team of young animators and draw on the experience of renaming places, so common in the post-Soviet period. They view this process as something positive: the village Gorkoye (Bitter) becomes Savinovo. The advertisement for Indian Tea (*Indiiskii chai*) draws exclusively on memories of the Brezhnev years brought on by the consumption of the tea, although the brand was not widely available in the Brezhnev period. The slo-

gan “the same taste, the same tea” (*tot samy vkus, tot samy chai*) also gave rise to a parody, in which two ants are nibbling away at a dead elephant. The story mocks both how long this tea has been around and how bad it tastes. Ten years later they are still at it, and one comments that it’s still the same taste. The other replies that it’s still the same elephant. Particularly comic here is the fact that the tea wrapper features colorful images of Indian elephants. The insurance group Rosno not only features the solar eclipse of 1999, but their slogan is a paraphrase of the pioneer song “Let there always be sunshine” (*Pust’ vseгда budet solntse*). The advertisement for Hershey Cola taps into this nostalgia for a Soviet past. The clip reminisces about the days when the schoolboy Sidorov, a red-head sporting jeans, was an outsider in his class. The advertisement for Sprite comments on the facade that was created in the Soviet era: a fashion clip is being filmed on Red Square, with a male and female model dressed in Russian-style garments. The voice-over comments that nothing is what it seems: her eyes are not blue, her hair not blond, her breasts false, the young man is gay. The only thing they want is Sprite. Russia is facade only, what it really wants are Western consumer goods.

Overall, there is a strong tendency to draw on memories of the past to market Russian food products as if to create a fictional product history. The world of advertising replaced the West: the formerly inaccessible Western world had lost its exotic varnish, and the unaffordable products shown in the world of advertising took over the function of the utopian world, the world of the ordinary Russian citizen’s dreams. Advertising also offered stability in a period of chaos: the state control had

gone and left anarchy to reign over the ordinary citizen’s life. Advertising laid the blame for the social chaos at the feet of the state. It proposed a way of—virtually—spending money to offer an escape from everyday life and the surrounding poverty. It invited money to be squandered rather than spent sensibly.

Investment and Banks

Banks commissioned the first major televised advertising campaigns in Russia. Some were competing for customers; other just wanted to create an image. The MMM campaign (1992–1994) is probably the most significant single advertising campaign in Russian history. A/O MMM (Joint Stock Company MMM) was a pyramid scheme invented by Sergei Mavrodi, based on the principle that the first investors would be paid out with the deposits of later investors while share prices were growing constantly. The outcome is quite clear: when shares become too expensive, no more investments are made and the pyramid collapses. The scheme is safe as long as the invested money is withdrawn in time. For many Russians, inexperienced in stock markets, unfamiliar with dividends, and uncertain about banks in general, MMM became a sort of wizard system that dished out unexpected goodies. The success of MMM was created exclusively through its advertising campaign, which featured the fictional characters Lyonia (diminutive of Leonid) Golubkov; his wife, Rita; and his brother, Ivan. Lyonia Golubkov, an unassuming man, small, uneducated, lower in social rank than any likely spectators, and as such very much an Ivan-the-Fool character, was elevated to the status of a hero in the best socialist tradition: the working-class man turned hero. Golubkov was no

intellectual and no New Russian, but a simple man, at a time when most product advertisements were aimed at the upper classes, the “New Russians,” the young and successful.

The author of the clips, Bakhyt Kilibayev, deliberately drew on working-class people and created a whole series of clips, telling a full-blown story of the impact of MMM on three generations. MMM drew on soap opera, creating a miniseries of everyday life with normal, everyday characters. They suddenly make money, but this does nothing to their lifestyles or their personalities. Apart from Lyonia and Rita, there were the student couple, Igor and Julia, to represent the young generation and the elderly couple, Nikolai Fomich and Yelizaveta Andreyevna, to represent the older generation. There was also a single woman, the middle-aged Marina Sergeyevna, who—thanks to MMM—finds her man, Volodia. MMM provides help for those who cannot be properly looked after by the state: the young, the old, and singles.

In the first set of clips, Lyonia talks with his brother Ivan about making money without doing anything for it. Marina Sergeyevna dreams about happiness. Nikolai Fomich and Yelizaveta Andreyevna have acquired a dog. Igor and Julia have taken a loan they need to repay. The introduction presents the protagonists, representatives of three generations (students, pensioners, married working people, and single woman) with their present state of affairs, which is far from satisfactory. But they neither complain nor act. Part two has the protagonists confess their dreams, and they confess to the star of the Brazilian soap opera, *Simply Maria*: Rita wants a child; Nikolai Fomich and Elizaveta Andreyevna take pride in their grandchildren; Marina

Sergeyevna likes Volodia. The appearance of the Golubkovs’ family tree stresses the need to think about the future, about children. MMM will facilitate the realization of dreams and invest in the future. The third set of ads gets more specific and outlines how the protagonists would use additional funds: Nikolai Fomich and Yelizaveta Andreyevna would top up their pensions; Lyonia would buy boots for his wife; Igor and Julia would top up their student grants. The advertisements here point out the state’s inefficiency and inability to provide for pensioners and students and to allow people to buy not luxury goods, but essentials.

The fourth part shows the results of the investment, the first “harvest”: Marina has trusted the scheme; Igor and Julia will do it again; Rita has new boots, and now would like a fur coat. In the fifth part, Rita has acquired boots and a fur coat and begins to think of other major purchases, such as furniture and a car. Marina looks better; Nikolai Fomich and Yelizaveta Andreyevna advise the young “to do what parents advise,” and Igor and Julia worry that they might be reprimanded. The scheme has inspired trust, the results are there, and doubts that it won’t continue are dispersed. MMM has brought material well-being. In the final part, personal happiness is achieved because of the scheme: Marina and Volodia marry; Igor and Julia are in love; Nikolai Fomich and Yelizaveta Andreyevna feel much better; and Lyonia and Ivan invest more. On this happy ending the soap opera concludes, following the pattern of Socialist Realist plots where commitment to the right cause is rewarded by personal happiness.

A further socialist principle used by MMM was that of partnership: everybody rejoices in the profit and happiness of oth-

ers, Lyonia does not just want to gain money (without working, *na khaliavu*) for his own sake but to buy his wife a pair of boots and a fur coat and to invest in an excavator (with a view to later buying a factory with his brother Ivan), and he needs a growth chart to plan what to do next with his wealth (in a scene that features the television soap-opera star Victoria Ruffo of *Simply Maria*). The legitimate reasons for seeking profit in MMM shares are the collective social good that Lyonia will bring to others and society at large: they are not “lazy bones, but partners” (*ne khaliavshchiki, a partnery*).

MMM was soon in trouble for tax evasion, and its subsidiary MMM Bank was closed in 1993; Invest Consulting, another MMM arm, had a tax debt of 49.9 billion rubles. In July 1994, Mavrodi threatened to close MMM, and by 29 July 1994 shares had dropped from 115,000 to 950 rubles. Yet people continued to support MMM and Mavrodi, who compared himself in the press and on the final television ad for MMM to a saint and a martyr, who had tried to help the poor and was now a victim himself. In the final “farewell” clip, he associated himself with another popular hero surrounded by a similar myth, the actor and bard Vladimir Vysotsky, whose music accompanied the five-minute spot. MMM was presented as the target of a political campaign, as a force fighting against the state. Popular support for Mavrodi went as far as his election to the state дума in October 1994 (which he used to gain political immunity). Mavrodi had created for himself the image of a popular force against the state and as such appropriately identified himself with the dissident voice of Vysotsky. Mavrodi has since been found to be behind an Internet scheme of the same kind, with

its head office in the offshore Dominican Republic, and is sought after by Interpol.

The disaster with MMM, the August crisis of 1998, and the bumpy curves of the ruble exchange rate did not exactly inspire trust in the Russian banking system. The advertisement for Hermes Credit suitably drew on this mistrust by offering a fireproof bank. In another ad, Hermes Finance used the slogan “*Vashi pribyli*”—“your profits”; however, the noun *profit* in Russian only has a singular form, and this phrase therefore means “your people have arrived.”

Most interesting, though, is the first bank to advertise itself on television, Bank Imperial, with its series *World History* (*Vsemirnaia istoriia*, 1993–1997), created by the filmmaker Timur Bekmambetov. The bank had no dealings with the public at all (it is a business finance corporation) and used advertising merely for decorative purposes. The advertisements reflected the wish to return to a stable past, not Soviet, but pre-Revolutionary, and to draw on the past’s moral superiority to enhance the standing of the bank and its relation to customers. The advertisements drew on figures of world history, all rather absolute rulers, who appeared in these ads as people of power but endowed with wisdom, humor, and benevolence. The Russian empress Catherine the Great featured in one ad, hosting a dinner at the palace. One of her guests, General Suvorov, is not eating: he observes the rules of Lent. When asked by the empress why he is not eating, he points out that it is Lent (a hidden criticism of the others, who do not adhere to Lent) and that he must not eat before a star rises. Catherine thereupon asks for the “star of order” to be given to Suvorov, who raises his glass to her and joins the dinner. Another ad features Alexander II in 1861, the year of the

emancipation of the serfs. His manservant reports that the serfs are leaving and troops will hold them back. The emperor demands that the wings of his swans should not be clipped but to prevent them from flying away they should be well fed. The swans fly away for the winter, but a voice comments that 1861 was the year when the first metropolitan line opened in London, while in Russia the serfs were freed.

In other nations' history, dictators are proven weak by the humanism of their victims. The Inca live in the land of the sun and of gold until the Spaniards—in black and white—invade their golden lands. The Inca chief will be killed, but he forgives his executioner. In Germany, Konrad III orders the release of all the women taken into captivity and allows them to take with them what they can carry. One woman carries her injured man on her back. The warrior Tamerlane tells each soldier to lay down a stone before going to battle and collect it on return, so he can see how many warriors he has lost. He then mourns every warrior by holding each stone. The cruelty of history is juxtaposed to humanism.

The advertisements for Alfa Bank were created between 1993 and 1996 by Bekmambetov. They marketed the bank as a modern enterprise, with a splendid interior design. When a young backpacker marches into the bank and admires the design, he is treated in a friendly and welcoming manner by the “New Russian” bank manager in an elegant suit, showing him around as a “serious client.” The advertisement is designed to take away the fear of modern banking from the young—the target audience that least needs to be won over by banks. Another spot shows a birthday party for a bank employee being prepared as a customer is quizzing her at the end of

the long working day. Nevertheless, she kindly replies to his queries, until the manager phones the customer, who is invited to join in the party. A spirit of collectivity governs the bank, where the customer is part of the bank's team. The bank cares for individuals, both clients and employees, not profit. The 2002 campaign for Alfa Bank, created by Bekmambetov's Bazelevs studio, was based on the slogan “with each client we find a common language.” The clips are set at bank counters, where the employees of Alfa Bank competently handle a range of customers: an Eskimo (eternal subject for anecdotes); a young man using street jargon; a pseudo-professional, who really sells ice cream; a young New Russian girl with her pet dog; and a locksmith using such coarse language that every other word is bleeped out. The bank's employees speak all these languages, and in the final clip the employee's response has every word bleeped, signaling that the bankers speak the same language as their customers.

Bank Moskv (Bank of Moscow) uses some print advertisements, mainly to publicize its special offers. “Collect serial numbers” (*soberi kolleksiuiu seriinykh numerov*) advertises deposit accounts with the image of a magnifying glass on the serial numbers of some U.S. banknotes. Confidence in the ruble is not great. The bank also advertises the “favorite cards” (*liubimye karty*), lining up its credit cards with a picture of the wife and the car keys. Another poster advertises the “keys to all continents”: a purse, a passport, and credit cards. Sberbank (Savings Bank), too, markets its credit cards: “the best frames of the summer season” (*luchshie kadry letnego sezona*) appear on three stripes (or a roll) of photo negatives, mixing summer holiday

pictures with credit cards. The campaign appeals to those who are better off, who can travel abroad. The print advertising campaigns are both held in the color schemes of the banks (red for Bank Moskvyy, green for Sberbank). The function of these ads is twofold: on the one hand, they are designed to boost confidence in a particular bank and create its credentials, which is particularly important after the August 1998 crisis. On the other hand, they make the customers aware, Soviet-style, of a product they are unfamiliar with and bring to their attention the credit card and bankcard.

Social Advertising

Very rapidly, two other domains of advertising were discovered: social advertisement and political advertisement. Political advertising has been dealt with above; social advertising was in theory closest to Soviet propaganda. Therefore, social ads tend to use rather old-fashioned, and ineffective, tactics. Advertising campaigns that encourage a certain social behavior appeal largely to the individual as a member of society. In Russia, such advertisements use a technique of pleading rather than demanding (or threatening punishment). Advertising agencies appeal to the audience for support of the Russian economy.

The best-known campaign is that of the tax police: one set of advertisements was made with the slogan "Pay your taxes and live in peace" (*Plati nalogi, zhivi spokoino*), showing people in situations where they are unable to perform, because their consciences (concerning unpaid taxes) trouble them. A hit in this campaign was the spot where a man is sitting on the bedside at night, his wife asleep, and clearly unable to sleep (or have sex?) be-

cause of his bad conscience. Another campaign was targeted at the danger of illegal alcohol consumption and the detrimental effect that illegal production of alcohol has both on the health system and on the state, which loses tax income. A third campaign of cartoons referred to world history for a legitimization of tax collection, asserting that there has never been an escape from tax. It is worth noting the individual, social, and global framework for these three simultaneous campaigns.

The recourse to the Soviet past is reaffirmed by slogans in street advertisements, encouraging the purchase of Russian produce and emphasizing the state's need for support: "VVTs (Exhibition Centre)—continuation of tradition"; "The Russian producer is the future of the fatherland" (*Rossiiskii proizvoditel'—budushchee otechestva*), "Nobody will help Russia if we don't do it ourselves" (*Nikto ne pomozhet Rossii krome nas samikh*), "Buy Russian—help Russia" (*Pokupat' rossiiskoe—pomogat' Rossii*), and "Let's support the Russian producer" (*Podderzhim rossiiskogo proizvoditelia*). An advertisement for the chocolate Korkunov taps into this vein: "Buy Russian and help Russia: Buy what is made in Russia" (*Pokupat' rossiiskoe, pomogat' Rossii: Pokupaite chto sdelano v Rossii*). The underlying principle of Russian advertisements is not to emphasize the quality of the product but to ask for help and support of the economy; not to deduct tax at source but to appeal to the individual to pay; not to act against illegal alcohol production and video piracy but to plead for help with the Russian industry. The pleading manner, imploring and begging rather than demanding for tax payments, is summarized beautifully in another parody of the advertising campaign:

“We have deceived you in 1991 and shot at you in 1993; we thrust you into the arms of MMM and vouchers; we betrayed you in 1996 and 1997; we took your last possessions in August 1998; but we’ve run out of money again. So please pay taxes.”

Needless to say, the result of such pleading campaigns is nil. If people buy Russian products, they do so not because they are better, but because they are cheaper. If people pay taxes, they do so anyway, or because they are caught by the tax police, but not because they can’t sleep. Yet the underlying mode of most advertisements for Russian products (except for food) remains the technique of appeal and pledge rather than seduction and temptation.

The New Russia still lacks confidence to boast of its products and its industry; the economy is not presented in a way that indicates the strength of the state. Instead, the New Russia advertises itself as a society that will respond to pleading rather than seduction and that prefers to reinvent the past rather than look at the present or dream of the future.

Leisure

In the leisure sector, tremendous changes have taken place since the collapse of the Soviet Union. If in the 1980s international hotels could not even be accessed by Russian citizens and were at the same time the only place that had half-way decent restaurants, then the number of restaurants and cafés that have sprung up since is impressive. The service that most of them offer can easily compete with Western standards, but many of these venues have Western prices too, making them unaffordable for the “ordinary” Russian with a

monthly salary of US\$500–1,000. Some parks have been turned into entertainment centers, whereas others have retained their old-world charm as gardens. Many *dacha* settlements have been turned into housing for the New Russians. And Russian holiday resorts have been abandoned by Russian holidaymakers, who prefer foreign destinations. Above all, the pattern of celebration and holiday-making has changed along with the holidays themselves.

Restaurants

Many of the large international hotels offered excellent catering in the Soviet era. In the New Russia, the large hotel chains still boast expensive restaurants, and many new restaurants, from culinary to fast food, have appeared in the cities. In Moscow the Hotel Prague (Praga) has one of the most luxurious restaurants, with nine rooms for dining. Restaurants specializing in a national cuisine were once a way of showing the integration and diversification of Soviet culture, with the famous Uzbekistan, the Georgian restaurant Aragvi, and the Budapest in the hotel of the same name. The restaurant in the writers’ and journalists’ clubs (House of Writers and House of Journalists) were good dining places for a visitor in the Soviet period and offer some of the most expensive menus and an exquisite setting in the New Russia.

Most Russians used to dine at home or in the canteen, however, and this still remains the case for the majority of people who cannot afford eating out. The first signs of change were cooperatives, such as the co-op restaurant on Kropotkinskaya Street, or joint ventures, especially with Irish enterprises, such as the Shamrock bars or other Irish bars (as on the New Arbat). It is, incidentally, also a Russian-Irish joint stock

company that runs the airport duty free shops and the catering at Sheremetievo II airside.

Moscow Restaurants In the Soviet era, the most fashionable restaurants were the Seventh Heaven (*Sed'moe nebo*) on the top floor of the Moscow Hotel, closed for "refurbishment" and then demolished in 2004, and the Ostankino Restaurant, closed after the fire on the television tower in 2001. Instead, a range of new restaurants has emerged, making eating out in Moscow both fun and pleasure.

National cuisine dominates a number of restaurants in Moscow. Exotic settings dominate such restaurants as the Limpopo, an African restaurant with fountains and an artificial hippo and crocodile in an interior bordering on kitsch, or the Amazonia, offering a tropical interior with straw mats. Caucasian cuisine has always been popular in Russia. Noah's Ark (*Noev kovcheg*) is an Armenian restaurant with an orchestra, where waiters dress in traditional costumes. The Aragvi is an old Georgian restaurant, not known for its service but rather for its central location on Tverskaya Street. Its interior contains a balcony and frescoes depicting the Caucasus mountains. The restaurant has a legendary reputation as the favorite restaurant of Stalin's "henchman," the Secret Service chief Lavrenti Beria, who—like Stalin—came from Georgia. The Genatsvale on Kropotkinskaya Street is a more expensive Georgian restaurant, and Mama Zoya offers cheap and excellent food and has become a popular Georgian restaurant. Mama Zoya began in a basement flat of an apartment block and now has a proper restaurant on Frunze Street.

Italian restaurants have become increasingly popular in Moscow in recent years.

There is a range of small and expensive restaurants but also pasta and pizza places such as Patio Pizza and Sbarro. It has to be said, though, that pasta and pizza have not really conquered the hearts and palates of Muscovites.

Theme restaurants became immensely popular in the late 1990s. They refrained from imitating Western and foreign themes, however, drawing instead on their indigenous popular heritage. The *Traktir na Piatnitskoy* (Pub on Piatnitskaya Street) is named after the film of the same title. It is a cheap snack restaurant with a homely atmosphere. The *Balaganchik* (Fairground Booth) is named after Alexander Blok's symbolist play. The restaurant is located in a separate house on *Trekhpрудnyi* and *Mamontov Lane* next to the Moscow Youth Theater (*MTYuZ*), using a carnival decor for its interior design. The restaurant is popular among actors and the theatre community. The Grand Opera in Petrovsky Lines is a more expensive restaurant designed in opera style. The restaurant *Mesto vstrechi* (the Meeting Place) is named after a popular film of the 1960s. This restaurant is located in the basement of a building on Tverskaya Street but does not offer any particular ambience or menu. Unlike this, the restaurant *Kavkazskaya Plennitsa* (Prisoner of the Caucasus) is a Georgian cuisine restaurant on *Prospekt Mira*, set in the ambience of Leonid Gaidai's famous comedy of the same title. *Beloye Solntse Pustyni* (White Sun of the Desert) is a similar enterprise run by the same company, themed along the style of 1960s Red Westerns and offering Uzbek cuisine. The restaurant is part of the former Uzbekistan, which still occupies the other half of the building on *Neglinnaya* and offers more sophisticated dishes. Also themed around



The restaurant “White Sun of the Desert” is themed along the lines of Vladimir Motyl’s 1969 film of the same title. (Photo by Yury Martianov/Kommersant)

popular films of the 1960s are the restaurants Pechki-Lavochki, with fairy tale and film characters as part of the decor, and the restaurant Pokrovskie Vorota (Pokrovsky Gates), echoing the atmosphere of the mid-1960s.

Classical Russian literature informs the design of the restaurant Pushkin on Tverskoi Boulevard, with an old oak library as part of the restaurant. The Pushkin attracts the elite of politics and business, with its halls expanding over five levels. The Oblomov is named after Ivan Goncharov’s novel and divided into two halls after the principal characters, Oblomov and Stoltz, with waiters dressed up as Zakhar, Oblomov’s manservant, offering a pensive and well-paced service. Khlestakov on Frunze Street, named after the main character in Gogol’s comedy *The Government Inspec-*

tor, is owned by Sergei Gazarov. Gazarov made a film with star actors based on Gogol’s play.

Zapasnik (the Store) is a small restaurant off Maroseika, offering a range of dishes named after paintings and art styles. The restaurant U Petrovicha (at Petrovich’s) is located in a basement off Miasnitskaya Street. The dishes contain references to the patronymic Petrovich, and the walls and tables carry inscriptions parodying and mocking the common patronymic.

The Central House for Literature was one of the most famous restaurants in the Soviet era, when access to it was restricted to members of the Writers’ Union and their guests. The Oak Hall has now been restored, and the restaurant is open to the public; it is no longer for writers, but the newly rich. The Spets-bufet No. 7 (Special

Buffet No. 7) is located in the basement of the House on the Embankment, the gray concrete building opposite the Kremlin that Stalin had built for the Party elite. The menu cites politicians and political slogans of the 1920s.

The United Humanities Publishers (Obedinennye gumanitarnye izdatel'stva; OGI) was started by two scientists who began publishing, combined with restaurants at affordable prices. They first opened a restaurant-club with a bookshop on Potapov Lane (near Chistoprudnyi Boulevard) in the mid-1990s. As it was cheap and open late, the place became very popular among students and intellectuals. The Project OGI was followed by PirOGI (*pir* is *feast*, but *pirogi* means *pastry*) on Novokuznetskaya, which closed in 2002 and moved to Dmitrovka Street. Ulitsa OGI (OGI Street) is located off Petrovka Street and combines a gallery with a restaurant that is slightly more expensive than the other OGI venues and has been designed with a modern glass-metal style by the architect Alexander Brodsky. A shabby trailer-type entrance belies the interior of the restaurant. The PirOGI and the Project OGI also have bookshops, and they occasionally offer concerts.

After an invasion of Pizza Huts and other American and Western restaurant chains that were too pricey for average Muscovites and too unsavory for Russian taste, a number of Russian self-service and service restaurant chains started up in the late 1990s, with menus that catered for Russian eating habits: soups and salads, meat and fish for the main course, with potatoes and vegetables as optional. MuMu (pronounced moo-moo), with its typical black-and-white-cow pattern, is a typical chain of Russian cuisine self-service restaurants. Drova

(Firewood) is a chain of restaurants with a buffet service, running with the slogan "eat as much as you can." The first typically Russian restaurant chain with waitress service is Yolki-Palki (*yolki-palki* is the equivalent term for oh-dear-me). Luzhkov's answer to McDonalds was the formation in 1995 of a chain called Russkoye bistro (Russian Bistro), offering instant soup, a variety of pastries (*pirogi*), and salads.

Haute cuisine is available too in a number of Moscow restaurants. Le Gastronom is an expensive restaurant set in a luxurious interior in the high rise on Vosstanie Square. Red Square No. 1 is set in an interior of the period of Ivan the Terrible with vaulted ceilings. Its chef, Alexander Filin, offers a menu composed of historical recipes. Kumir (Idol) on Trekhprudnyi Lane is run by the French chef Michel Truargot.

One of the more clubby restaurants is the Labardance, owned by the actor Maxim Sukhanov and located in the basement of the Mayakovsky Theater. The menu lists all its dishes, spelling them back to front. Another is the Serebrianyi Vek (Silver Age), situated in the former central baths, which preserves the design of the early twentieth century.

Japanese restaurants are growing in number and popularity: the GinoTaki offers a fast service, replicating a fast-food chain in other South East Asian countries, as does the Yakitoria, with restaurants on Arbat and Tverskaya Street. The American fast food chain McDonalds was the first to conquer the Russian market, and the chain has expanded significantly across Russia. It was followed by Pizza Hut, Louisiana Steakhouse, Fridays, and other fast-food chains.

A number of coffeehouses have sprung up in Moscow in the new century. Kofe



Inauguration of the fast food restaurant chain Russkoye Bistro in 1995. (Photo by Dmitry Dukhanin/Kommersant)

Khaus (Coffee House) is a chain that operates across Russia. Coffee Bean is another chain that styles its interiors in old venues, such as the old Phillipov Bakery on Tverskaya Street or a second-hand bookshop on Kuznetskii Most. Zen Coffee offers a modern coffee culture. Two new Russian coffee networks are the Shokoladnitsa (Chocolatesse) and Coffeemia. The Kofe-In with its Viennese chairs and free newspapers creates the atmosphere of a continental coffeehouse on Dmitrovka Street, not unlike Donna Clara on Malaya Bronnaya Street. The Alexandria is a special teahouse on Tsvetnoi Boulevard. The Café Tun on Pushkin Square is one of the largest and most central cafés in Moscow. It is located next door to Arkadi Novikov's Pyramid, a restaurant with the design of Luc Besson's 1997 blockbuster *The Fifth*

Element, the front of which is a famous meeting place for biker clubs. The old Artistic Café used to be a gay meeting place in the days when homosexuality was illegal. The Café des Artistes is now an artistic café, whereas gay culture has moved to other venues. The American Starbucks has not yet arrived on the Russian market, and neither have the Italian chains Café Nero, Costa, and others.

Eating Out in Petersburg The city on the Neva offers a similar range of restaurants and styles as Moscow, albeit on a smaller scale. Exotic restaurants include the Kongo (Congo) with an interior made of black wood and straw mats; the Vasabi, a Japanese restaurant with waitresses in kimonos; and Le Paris, a French gourmet restaurant. The Afishka (Playbill) is a stu-

dent restaurant near the Theater Institute and European University.

National cuisine can be found in such restaurants as La Strada (Italian), La Cucaraca (TexMex), Karavan (Caucasian), and the Tblisi (Georgian). In the Uzbek restaurant Kalif, diners can smoke the hookah and watch belly dancers. Theme-based restaurants in Petersburg include the Dvorienskoye Gnezdo (Nest of Gentlefolk) in the Yusupov Palace; the restaurant Zolotoi Ostap (Golden Ostap), named after the figure of Ostap Bender from the 1920s satire *The Twelve Chairs*; Zov Ilyich (Ilyich's Call), with Soviet and anti-Soviet propaganda posters and objects for its interior; and the Idiot, a restaurant with bookshelves and an early-twentieth-century interior, located on the Moika canal. The SSSR on Nevsky boasts an exclusive high-tech-style interior design as the "new Soviet" style. The Landskrona restaurant is situated in the Nevsky Palace Hotel and offers a view over Petersburg. There are also numerous restaurants on boats. Petersburg restaurants have also made good use of old locales: the Camelot, situated in a basement on Bolshaya Koniushnaya, offers a medieval setting with stained glass decor and heavy oak chairs. The Senate Bar is located in the cellars of Senate House. The Metropol is the oldest restaurant in town, founded in 1847 and situated in its original premises on Sadovaya Street. Koniushnyi Dvor is located in an old stable, and Staraya Tamozhnia occupies the old Customs House; the restaurant is run by a French chef.

Coffeeshouses also abound in Petersburg. Particularly noteworthy are the Abrikosov coffeeshouse on Nevsky 40 and the Nord (formerly Sever [North]) patisserie, which is famous for its cakes and gâteaux. The

Idealnaya Chashka (Ideal Cup) is Petersburg's American-style coffeeshouse chain. Zhili-byli (Once upon a time . . .), located on Nevsky, is one of the trendiest coffeeshouses, and the Lavka Smirdina (Smirdin's Store, Nevsky 22/24) is famous for its ice creams. Most popular among children is the Sladkoyezhka (Sweet-eater) cake shop on Sadovaya Street.

Petersburg can also boast of two famous beer restaurants. The Chaika (Seagull) is owned by the German brewery Jever and was one of the first cooperative restaurants to open on Leningrad's Griboedov Canal. Tinkoff is a genuine Russian brewery offering filtered and unfiltered beer; the restaurant is located in the brewery off Kazan Square.

Most other cities in Russia have undergone a similar development, with a number of Russian and home-based restaurants competing with national or international chains.

Eating and Drinking

Russian food and drink differ in substance from Western European products; moreover, eating and drinking habits vary greatly. Russians have a substantial breakfast, often consisting of a form of porridge (kasha), followed by bread with sausages or meat and often peas. They lunch between 2 and 3 PM, and this is the main meal of the day. Lunch commonly consists of three courses: soup, a main dish, and a small dessert with tea. Dinner follows after dusk and may consist of a hot main dish or a lighter dish. On holidays such as Easter or Christmas, special meals are cooked; these are dealt with elsewhere in this book.

Russian Specialties: Food There are Russian variants of most dairy products.

Russian cheeses traditionally come from Kostroma or Vologda, regions to the north-east of Moscow that are well known for dairy products (also butter, milk). The most common breakfast cereal is kasha: this may be made from oats (*ovsyannaya kasha*), from corn (*kukuruznaya kasha*), or from buckwheat (*grechka*).

Russian soups are usually made from meat or fish. *Solyanka* is based on meat or fish, whereas the soup *ukha* is made from fish only. *Shchi* is based on vegetable stock and consists largely of cabbage, whereas *borshch* contains cabbage and beets but is made with meat (beef) stock. The *okroshka* is a cold soup popular in the summer, made on a *kvass* or *kefir* basis and containing some fresh greens as well as sausage. A meal often starts with *zakuski* (appetizers), including pickled vegetables and mushrooms as well as salads, such as the popular Olivier (named after an eighteenth-century French chef) or *Vinai-grette*, which accompany the vodka toasts. A variety of breads is offered with each meal (usually at least comprising one sort of white bread and rye bread).

Main dishes often consist of fish or meat, and vegetarian dishes are not common in Russia. Beef Stroganoff is probably the best known Russian dish, but there is a variety of other meat dishes. Pasta and rice are less common than potatoes. Mushrooms are popular in all forms, as soup, pickled, or roasted. Vegetables are usually scarce with a Russian meal. A *butterbrod* (from the German word for sandwich) is a common evening dish, as are *pelmeni* (filled with meat) and *vareniki* (filled with potatoes or cherries or cream cheese), which are the Russian version of the Italian ravioli but served with *smetana* (sour cream) instead of tomato sauce. Pastries (*pirogi*) with a

variety of fillings, from meat to cabbage, potatoes to cream cheese, are a common side dish. Regional popular dishes include the Caucasian dishes *chebureki* (pastry with meat), *lavash* (flat bread), and *khachapuri* (cheese-filled pastry).

Chocolates and sweets were of high quality in the Soviet period, when the state standard (GOST) specified a higher than usual cocoa content in chocolate, making Russian chocolates very rich. The leading chocolate factories Krasnyi Oktiabr (Red October), Babayevsky (Babaev), and Rot-front are thriving, continuing their traditional chocolates such as the praline range Vecherniy zvon (Evening Bells), the chocolate bars Alyonka, and sweets of all kinds (*karamel*). They have found competition from the company Rossiya with the slogan "Russia, the generous soul," which is, however, owned by Nestlé. Another competitor on the praline market is Korkunov, which claims a long-standing tradition in chocolate-making that goes back to pre-Revolutionary years and makes exquisite chocolates at prices that match those of Western chocolatiers such as Lindt.

Beverages à la Russe Dairy products offer a greater variety and diversity than in many other countries. There is milk, cream (*slivki*), and sour cream (*smetana*); *ryazhenka* is a milk drink with wheat supplement; *sgushchennoe moloko* is condensed milk with sugar; *tvorog* is a firmer form of yogurt made from boiled milk, which is drained (similar to the French fromage frais or the German quark); *kefir* is a liquid sour milk product.

Kvass is a popular drink that is an alcohol-free fermented beerlike drink, made from fermented rye bread. Several regional branches of the eleven Coca-Cola factories

set up in Russia to provide the population with the once sought-after Western drinks (Coca Cola, Sprite, and Fanta) have switched to producing *kvas* in an attempt to recoup the losses as Coca-Cola fails to sell as well as traditional beverages. One Coca-Cola plant has even resorted to producing the cheaper and more traditional Soviet era beverages Tarkhun and Buratino, both variations of lemonade. Tarkhun has a distinct green color, as it contains woodruff extract. Indeed, in the aftermath of the August default (1998), many Russians on the one hand could no longer afford expensive Western brands, while on the other hand the excitement with the once-forbidden and inaccessible Western products had dwindled and made way for a return to more homegrown tastes. Coca-Cola's sponsorship of the arts also ceased after 2000, as the coffee label Nescafe stepped into that niche. *Kisel* is a starched fruit juice often made from sour berries such as the cranberry, containing vitamins that are in this way preserved for the winter in drinks liked by children. *Mors* remains a very popular berry juice made from red berries with sugar and water. Typical Russian drinks that have lost their popularity are the egg-flip (*gogol-mogol*) and the *sbiten*, a drink made of honey and a variety of spices.

The most popular drink in contemporary Russia is beer, even if this is often imported beer. Russian-brewed beer is cheaper than Coca-Cola and has outdone the U.S. beverage in popularity. The old Soviet beer factory Trekhgornoye competes with a number of new Russian beer brands, such as the Petersburg labels Tinkoff and Baltika, Sibirskaya korona, and others, which are dealt with in the section "Vodka and Other Booze."

Vodka is an extremely popular drink, and many people continue to distill their own (illegal) *samogon*, or add fruit to the vodka to create a *nastoika*. The vodka business, which had always been in state control, was privatized in the 1990s and brought back under state control after a threat of arrest against the vodka magnate Yuri Shefler in August 2002. Shefler had managed the company Soyuz-plodo-import, converted to Soyuz-plod-import (SPI, dropping the "o" in the second syllable of the acronym) in 1997, with the production of 43 brands, including Stolichnaya and Moskovskaya. The business, with a value of \$1.5 billion annual revenue, was renationalized, although Shefler's Swiss SPI export outfit remained in control of vodka exports. The distillery Kristall also produces a variety of vodka labels, including Russkii standart.

Armenian cognac is world famous, even if it had to relinquish the name cognac, which is reserved to French distillers, and resort to the label brandy. The same applies to the Russian sparkling wines of the Crimea, no longer available as *shampanskoye* but as *igristoe vino* (sparkling wine). Wines from Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia can easily compete in quality with French and Italian wines.

Clubs and Bars

The Soviet Union cherished cultural activities such as theaters and cinemas, but even though the Moscow and Leningrad metro would run until 1 AM, there was no nightlife to speak of other than cultural evenings and parties at home. Nightlife was a new activity for post-Soviet youth. Many music clubs emerged from the underground rock and jazz movement of the 1980s and engaged the former subculture of dissident

intelligentsia, maybe closest to the 1968 generation in the West. Rock and jazz clubs offered live music and catered for a mixed audience. These clubs are relatively inexpensive and continue the rock movement of the 1980s. Examples are the OGI clubs or the Bunker with cheap food, performances, and concerts. Other newer popular clubs among students and young people are the Club na Brestskoi, Ministerstvo, and Propaganda in the center of Moscow.

During the latter half of the 1990s the number of expensive restaurants grew, and so did the number of clubs for the New Russians, such as the Palkin restaurant, casino, and club in Petersburg on Nevsky Prospekt 47. There are also clubs for the richer classes. The English Club is a reminder of the tsarist era, located on Chistye Prudy Boulevard and destined for rich businessmen, with an annual fee of US\$7,000. Luzhkov offered to enter all club members on the mayor's list for the duma elections. The club published the journal *Litsa* (Faces) that served to put a spotlight on the rich and famous. There are also branches of the Rotary Club and Monolith in Moscow and Petersburg. The Automobile Club is sponsored by Slaviya Bank, and membership includes a discount on repairs and the service of driving a member home when drunk after partying. Political clubs exist, such as the parliamentary club that convenes after duma plenary sessions on Wednesdays and Fridays, organized by Gennadi Burbulis in 1994. There are also professional clubs for lawyers, oil magnates, and other business groups.

At the same time the young generation that had grown up after the rock movement of the 1980s and that was not yet part of the new Russian business world looked for entertainment and chose dance clubs or night-

clubs. Many of these grew out of dance parties, playing "house" music presented by DJs. The young generation, both "ravers" and trendy young people, frequented night clubs that encouraged an atomization of society, generating isolation instead of reinforcing the Soviet sense of a collective. The most popular hop and youth magazine is *Ptiuch*, which has been going since 1995 with a print run of about 80,000. The Metelitsa (Blizzard) complex in Moscow is one of the most popular nightclubs, despite its expensive entrance fee of US\$40. Prostitution is a part of its services. The club life offers a meeting place for groups with the same interest or behavior, mostly to dance to loud music in a reaction against Soviet conventions. Often spaces for special events are hired, such as sports arenas and old palaces or cinemas. Such venues are rented on a nonofficial contract basis, which is overseen by the Mafia (*krysha*), taking a share of the profit in return for ensuring that the agreement between a venue manager and the event organizers is kept. The nightclubs largely cater for a restless young generation and are busiest after midnight, offering loud music, stroboscopic light, and tight security. Some clubs organize fashion shows or present revues of animal dressage and children's entertainment. Some also offer prostitutes.

Moscow Clubs The Yar in the Hotel Sovetskaya is one of the oldest night clubs, operating since 1848, when its revue was frequented by nineteenth-century businessmen. The variety show *Moscow, Golden Cupolas* is a historic landmark in the club. The Manhattan Express in the Rossiya Hotel attracts mainly foreign tourists.

The Pilot club, owned by Anton Tabakov, the son of Moscow Art Theater director



The Metelitsa night club, here pictured in 2001, is one of the most popular nightclubs despite its expensive entrance fee of forty U.S. dollars. (Photo by Alexey Kudenko/Kommersant)

Oleg Tabakov, is located on Krasnaya Presnya in the former Zuyev Culture House, near the Trekhgornaya Beer Factory. The interior reflects the aviation theme, with a model cockpit and the wings of an aircraft. The Bunker was first founded in Prague in the 1980s, and in 1993 it opened in Moscow near Riga Station. Later the club moved to a basement on Tverskaya Street, and in the new millennium Bunker 2 opened on the Garden Ring (Sadovoe kol'tso), with a larger stage for performances and concerts. The club offers cheap lunches and reasonably priced entrance fees for its events, targeting largely an audience of students and intellectuals. The Kitaisky letchik Dzhaao Da (Chinese Pilot Jao Da) was established by Alexei Paperny and uses a wing of an aircraft as the bar. The history of the Chinese pilot Jao Da is dis-

played in prints on the walls, recounting episodes from his life. The club is mainly frequented by the media and the artistic elite. The Dom Kukera (Cooker's House) is often visited by the father of rock music, the DJ Artyom Troitsky; it is located near Lubianka. The Studio club on Tverskaya Street is frequented by pop singers Alla Pugacheva and Filipp Kirkorov as well as the extravagant designer Andrei Bartenev.

The club Ot Zakata do Rassveta (From Dawn to Dusk) opened in 1997 and was inspired by Quentin Tarantino, not only in terms of its design but also in the criminal connections of its guests. The club's prices are extortionate, and strippers perform for the guests. Moscow had and has a number of erotic clubs and strip bars. The Hungry Duck (which later closed, and then reopened under different management) near



The pub and restaurant Kitaisky letchik Dzhao Da (Chinese Pilot Jao Da) was established by Alexei Paperny. The wing of an aircraft forms the bar. (Kommersant)

Lubianka opened in 1995 as a den of drink and drugs. It was owned by the Canadian Doug Steele. The Hungry Duck offered a show of male strippers, attracting a largely female audience—after all, Moscow had never been exposed to striptease, not to speak of male strippers. Men were admitted to the club only after the striptease, and numerous stories and reports bear witness to acts of sex under the restaurant tables.

This open flaunting of sexuality was unknown and unheard of in Soviet Russia. Indeed, the NTV program *Pro eto* (About That), hosted by the Russian, but exotically dark-skinned Yelena Khanga, explored issues of sex and assisted largely in the creation of a sexual discourse, encouraging people to verbalize their experiences after a taboo on sexual terminology in the Soviet era. Papers such as *Speed-Info*, begun as

an information bulletin about venereal and sexually transmitted diseases including acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS [SPID]), has turned into a “speed” informational outlet, which claims to supply express information while promoting sex as pervading all aspects of everyday life. The first Russian pornography magazine, *Andrei* (1991), distinctively used a more medical vocabulary while avoiding the obscene language of its Western equivalents, making its task to verbalize, not stimulate, sex. It was duly followed by a host of men’s journals of Russian and foreign provenance, including *Playboy* and *Men’s Health*. Nightclubs with erotic shows abound. The Rasputin is an expensive club with an erotic theater. The Garage offers business lunches and turns into a strip club at night. The Nochnoi Polet (Night Flight)

is a central nightclub under Swedish management on Tverskaya Street and a central venue for prostitutes. It opened in 1992 and caters largely for a foreign clientele, offering women at US\$200 per night. Male prostitution is also common and offered to single women in many nightclubs. The Tsentralnaya Stantsiya (Central Station) is a club with a travesty show.

Although homosexuality was prohibited by law until 1993, a number of gay clubs have now surfaced. Krasnaya shapochka (Red Riding Hood) is one of the many gay clubs that sprang up in Moscow in the late 1990s; another is the Kazarma, which applies face control and admits members only, offering tables in separate chambers and male prostitutes. The Elf is the oldest gay bar, located near Kursk railway station.

Discos are also common in Moscow. Some of the most eccentric are the Biblos, with different national rooms as interior design themes. The XII and Papa John's are discos that change their décor once a week. Their select elite audiences can often be found relaxing in the summer on Ibiza.

Nightlife in Petersburg The nightlife in St. Petersburg has a slightly different history and context than the Moscow scene. In the late perestroika years, Timur Novikov (1958–2002), the guru of the youth scene, shared his experience of foreign travel with his compatriots and squatted in a derelict building on Fontanka 145, using the premises for parties between 1989 and 1991. In the “parties,” he experimented with music, fashion, and art. From here the DJs begin to emerge in the St. Petersburg music scene, which had hitherto known only the Latvian DJ Janis. Novikov invited foreign DJs to the Fontanka parties before they moved out to the observatory (plane-

tarium). Later the organizers went to the Pavilion of the Cosmos in Moscow's VDNKh (Vystavka dostizhenii narodnogo khoziaistva, All-Union Agricultural Exhibition) for the Gagarin Party (named ironically after the Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin) on 14 December 1991, followed by the Gagarin Party II in spring 1992. Both events were privately produced and attracted more than 2,000 people, creating the first mass events not controlled by the state. Indeed, nightlife evaded state control. The parties used the Soviet symbols of Gagarin and cosmic walks in a play with Soviet iconography. Further large events followed. These early parties were known for their use of hallucinogenic “magic” mushrooms (a mushroom that grows in the northern forests and contains psilocybin).

The River Club (*rechniki*) members were anarchists and squatters, who in 1994 squatted on a trawler and transmitted radio programs from there. They made furniture from discarded metal. The art critic Timur Novikov had founded the New Academy of Fine Arts in 1991 and coined neoacademism, an art form that combines classical grandeur with technology and junk. Novikov died in May 2002 after an illness that left him blind during the last years of his life.

Petersburg, like Moscow, had known clubs and cabarets before the Revolution, which had seen their heyday in 1912–1915. The Brodiachaya Sobaka (Stray Dog) was a famous artistic cabaret and club, which was closed in the late 1920s. The basement of the now reconstructed building has been preserved and operates a literary and artistic café. The Internet café Tetris and the Sobaka (*sobaka* is *dog* but also the word used to describe the character @) are popular venues.

Exploiting the attraction of the setting, the Tunnel was founded in 1993 by Alexei Haas, using a former fall-out shelter near a factory as premises for his club. Fischfabrik is an old underground club on Ligovsky Street. Numerous erotic nightclubs occupy the Petersburg nightlife scene, such as the Golden Dolls or the Maximus, offering a strip show in a Greek and Roman interior. The Money Honey offers dance to music played by DJs in Apraxin Yard. There is also a Hollywood entertainment complex on Nevsky Prospekt. The Hulli Gulli is a cabaret, often offering erotic shows, with the presenter Roman Trachtenberg. The Magrib is a nightclub and restaurant with belly dance located on Nevsky Prospekt. Petersburg nightclubs thus offer the variety of entertainments that would be found in most European and U.S. capital cities.

Games

Gambling, like betting, was not encouraged in the USSR. Card games and dominoes were condemned in the Soviet period, although these have now gained a certain amount of popularity. Even today there are few bookmakers. People have stopped trusting lotteries and pyramid schemes after a number of economic and financial debacles. A number of popular games, especially children's games in the open, continue to be played, however.

Children's and Adults' Games The old games *gorodki* (a kind of bowling, where the players try to knock out figures with the help of a stick) and *lapta* (a form of baseball or cricket) were turned into "proper," competitive disciplines. There are also numerous open-air games that are known in many countries, but under different names, such as hide and seek (*igra v*

priatki), cat and mouse (*koshki-myshki*), or blind man's buff (*igra v zhmurki*). Children in Russia also play hopscotch (*igra v klassiki*), tags (*salki*), and skittles (*kegli*). The game breach (*proryvaty*) is played by two teams, each of which forms a line. At the words "Tary-bary give us Max," the person (called Max) must run across and try to break the chain formed by the other team. If Max breaks the line, he can pick one of their players to join his team; if not, he has to stay with the "enemy" team. Cossacks and robbers (*kazaki-razboiniki*) is a form of hide-and-seek; only when the robber is spotted by a Cossack can he run and hide again. When the robber is caught, he is brought home and becomes a Cossack, until no robbers are left.

Indoor games include the well-known checkers (*shashki*), the Japanese game go, and the English game backgammon (*nardy*). Rough sea (*more volnuetsia*; similar to musical chairs) is a game where all the players sit on their chairs, which are positioned with the backs against each other in a row. When the leader says "the sea is rough," all the players walk around the room. Then the leader calls "the sea is quiet" (*more utikhlo*), and each player has to try to find a chair. The player who remains standing has to take the lead and steer the boat.

Billiards, pool, and snooker are gaining in popularity as more facilities are available in hotels, restaurants, and bars. Billiards in particular was reserved for the party elite in the Soviet period but has grown in popularity in the New Russia. Russian billiards has traditionally been played with five balls, whereas the French version known as *carambole* in Russia is played with 15 balls. The most widespread games are American billiards, with eight

balls that have to be placed in the pockets, and pyramid, where the player has to score 70 points. There are a number of billiards clubs in the cities, many of them attached to restaurants.

The fifth wheel (*Piatoye koleso*) is an intellectual game where the players have to mark the odd one out of a group of five items. In order to jog their memories, children play lotto, and such games as adding on words to a list of items: "I went to the shop and bought . . ." (*Ia khodil na bazar i kupil*). Black and white (*cherny i bely*) is a game where one player asks questions, and the second player must answer without using the words *white*, *black*, *yes*, and *no*.

Paper games include crosses and circles (*Krestiki-noliki*) and hangman (*Palach*), where for every letter placed in a word to be guessed, the team comes closer to being "hanged." Forfeits (*igra v fanty*) is a very common game, where a *fant* (a sweet-wrapper) is used, or a piece of paper, to write down a wish. The wrapper is then thrown into a hat. The players then pull out a wrapper each and read the wish as if it were now his/her own, picking another player to fulfill the wish.

Video and computer games are hugely popular in Russia, especially since the mid-1990s when pirated copies of major computer programs and games were easy prey for the—in those days not-so-well-off—customers.

Gambling Casinos abound in Russia. There are casinos in most major hotels. In Moscow there is also a row of clubs and casinos on the New Arbat near the globe that decorates the end of the shopping mile between the Hotel Prague and the Garden Ring: they include the casino-clubs Metelitsa, Korona, and Arbat. In Peters-

burg numerous clubs are located on Nevsky Prospect, the city's main artery. All of these venues offer blackjack, poker, roulette, and a variety of games. The Shangri-La on Pushkin Square is a central casino below the Pushkin Cinema. Entrance fees vary around \$200 in chips for the most popular casinos. There are also gambling machines, such as one-arm-bandits and others, which have been located in public spaces of the halls of the Moscow Games Systems chains Jackpot since 1999 and Vulcan since 1991.

Relaxation and Holidays

The ways and locations of relaxation and holidays have changed significantly since the collapse of the Soviet Union, when travel to foreign destinations became possible, but not always affordable. Traditionally parks had offered respite in the big cities, alongside the dacha (summer-house), mostly located on the outskirts of the cities.

Gardens and Parks Parks were an important aspect of urban planning throughout the twentieth century. Green spaces were deliberately dotted around Moscow and Leningrad, as well as other large cities, and these parks also had an important social function: to provide a breathing space for the healthy urban population and offer collective and publicly accessible (and controllable) leisure time activity. Most parks have ponds that form ice rinks in the winter and can be used for boat rides in the summer. In the 1980s luna parks were introduced, offering the attractions of an amusement park on a Western models. Not all parks have mechanical attractions, but most of those that did were in need of maintenance and repair in the 1990s, when

commercial exploitation of these attractions began.

The Gorky Park in Moscow is one of the oldest in the city, set up on the embankment of the Moscow river in the late 1920s. The park is probably better known for its setting of the spy thriller *Gorky Park* by Martin Cruz-Smith than for its attractions, which contain swings, merry-go-rounds, a Ferris wheel, and some children's entertainment. The park leads onto the rather charming and wild Neskuchny Garden with some eighteenth-century buildings. The park in Sokolniki (named after the tsar's falcons, *sokol'y*) has a more nostalgic atmosphere, with a fountain in its center, from which several alleys lined with elms and birches radiate. There are some ponds and dachas in the park. The park in Fili, created in the area of a nature reserve in the 1960s, also preserves much wilderness. The park of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition (VDNKh), renamed the Russian Exhibition Center (VVTs) in the 1990s, contains sales pavilions alongside entertainment attractions such as bouncing castles and a hill for tobogganing, as well as a Ferris wheel. The park in Izmailovo is partly used by the *vernissage*, the weekend sales exhibition of Russian crafts and antiques that is held at the western end of the park. The park itself covers a forest area and is, with more than 1,000 hectares of space, one of the largest in the world. The park in Bitsa in the south of Moscow is also known for art exhibitions, painting in particular. Kolomenskoye is an open-air museum with a church and the tsar's wooden summerhouse in a park with deep slopes toward the Moskva River; it is located in the south of Moscow. The Delphinarium and the zoo offer further respite and entertainment for children. Park Pobedy (Victory Park) was

planned in 1958 to mark the victory in World War II. The plans were implemented only in 1983, however, when the obelisk and the museum were built and then completed under Mayor Yuri Luzhkov in 1995 with input from the sculptor Zurab Tsereteli. The memorial chapel is located on the top of Poklonnaya Gora. The ensemble of monuments also contains a statue of the patron of Moscow, St. George.

Tourism: The Russians on Holiday In the Soviet period, financial support of the trade unions made it possible for most people to have a three-week holiday in a holiday resort. The trade unions would issue vouchers for hotels and sanatoriums that belonged to the unions, making holidays very cheap and extremely affordable; travel was subsidized by the state, and both rail and air travel were cheap. The agency Intourist looked after foreign tourists, and it was KGB-controlled so that the movement of foreigners could be monitored.

With the collapse of the Soviet system, Intourist was no longer the sole agent for offering package tours to foreign operators, opening the market and making prices soar. Simultaneously, hotels were noticeably lacking standards of service when compared with other countries, and as the political and economic climate was more and more destabilized in the 1990s, tourism to Russia dropped sharply. The internal scheme for vouchers for trade union resorts gradually crumbled, as the funds for maintaining sanatoriums and hotels were dwindling, membership contributions were no longer sufficient, and travel became increasingly costly as well. By the mid-1990s, numerous travel agencies came onto the Russian market, offering package tours to foreign destinations such as Spain,



People carrying advertising boards for last-minute holidays on Pushkin Square, Moscow, in 2001. (Photo by Alexey Kudenko/Kommersant)

Turkey, and Egypt for prices that were almost the same as those that people would have to pay for a holiday within Russia. Therefore foreign tourism increased significantly, despite the visa requirements. Certain tourist destinations have remained extremely popular, such as Croatia, the Red Sea, and Egypt (Sharm el Sheikh and Hurghada) as well as Spanish resorts.

By the mid-1990s, tourism revived: more than 5 million foreigners visited Russia and more than 8 million Russians traveled abroad. Nevertheless, the influx of tourists represents only 1 percent of tourist movement worldwide. By 1995, more than 8,000 firms and travel agents with licenses had established themselves in Russia to sell

package tours as well as airline and rail tickets.

The resorts on the Black Sea are restricted, as Yalta and the Crimea now belong to Ukraine. The once-famous resort of Pitsunda now belongs to Abkhazia. Sochi and adjacent resorts have developed, with new international hotels built (Radisson Lazurnaya) and Russian-owned hotels developing. The city of Sochi has also invested in an aqua park for leisure time activity and a number of seaside activities. On the Baltic Sea, the once-popular resorts have also fallen to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia: the peninsula of the Kurische Nehrung with the village of Nidden (once the domicile of Thomas Mann), the Latvian resort of Jurmala, and the bay of Tallinn are no longer “internal” destinations, and the resorts on the Russian shore are too far north to offer any real opportunity for swimming in the sea.

The areas of the meandering river Volga and the lakes north of Moscow, the lakes north of Petersburg, and the region of the Baikal offer, however, multiple opportunities for holidays for local residents, and these facilities are being expanded all the time.

Hotels in Russia In most Russian cities, except Moscow and Petersburg, there is a variety of former Soviet hotels, some restored, others not; the first are usually affordable for the Western traveler, the latter are cheap and often substandard. Most large cities also have a growing number of international hotels, depending on the city’s location and its interest for businesses and industries.

In Moscow many hotels have been refurbished and correspond to high international standards. The old pre-Revolution-

ary hotels nowadays all form five-star hotels. The Savoy is a hotel that has preserved its old interior and antique furniture in all of its 84 rooms. The Metropol was originally built in 1850, restored in 1905, and again refurbished during 1986–1990. The hotel was built by the Scot William Walcott with assistance from Lev Kekushchev; the ceramic panels on the facade were designed by the famous Russian artists Alexander Golovin and Mikhail Vrubel in the style of art nouveau. None of the 367 rooms is identical. The Metropol can boast of a restaurant where the opera singer Fyodor Shaliapin once performed. It belongs to the Intercontinental chain. The Hotel Nationale has 221 rooms and is part of the Meridien chain. The hotel, designed by the architect Alexander Ivanov, is more than 100 years old and furnished with furniture made of Karelian birch. Winston Churchill resided here during his visit to Moscow. The hotel Sovetskaya is a historical hotel on Leningrad Avenue with 75 rooms. The Ararat Hyatt, located on Neglinnaya Street, is an old hotel with its 219 rooms entirely refurbished.

Only a few old, Soviet-style hotels have remained open without undergoing major refurbishment: the Ukraina, located in the high-rise opposite the White House, has 1,000 rooms. The hotels Belgrade and Golden Ring are located in two post-1960s towers on Smolensk Square. The Intourist was built in 1970 on Tverskaya Street near Red Square; it was pulled down in 2003. The hotel Minsk was built in 1963, offering cheap and central accommodation until its closure in 2004. The 27-floor semicircular concrete construction of the hotel Cosmos was built jointly with a French company for the 1980 Olympics. It is located opposite the VDNKh. The famous hotel Moscow,

with an asymmetrical facade designed by Alexei Shchusev, was built in 1932 and closed in 2002 for major reconstruction work. The Pekin on Mayakovsky Square is also in a 1950s Stalinist building, but most of its rooms have been refurbished. The Izmailova overlooks the park and consists of five 30-floor towers built in 1979–1980. Finally, the Rossiya is the largest hotel in Europe, with 3,000 rooms, and probably the cheapest and most central hotel that remains open. It was built on an area where several small buildings and churches were demolished. The space was supposed to be used for an administrative complex, but the construction work was frozen under Khrushchev, and when reactivated, the much lower building of the hotel was erected here. After its completion, many of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century buildings and chapels on Varvarka Street were restored.

New hotels built in the 1990s include the Sheraton Palace with its 200 rooms on Tverskaya Street. The Marriott Grand Hotel on Tverskaya Street with 391 rooms opened in 1998 and was built in Luzhkov style that imitates Stalinist classicism in architecture. The Marriott Aurora Royal has 230 rooms in a reconstruction of the original building on Petrovka Street. The Marriott Tverskaya is a modern building with 162 rooms. The Balchug Kempinski with a Berlin-style Café Kranzler has 202 rooms and is situated across the Moskva River from Red Square in a reconstructed building. The Radisson Slavianskaya is a modern 400-room hotel and conference center near the Kiev Railway Station. The Mezhdunarodnaya (International) Hotel adjacent to the World Trade Center was built in the 1980s to offer office space and accommodation to international firms. The Presi-



The Hotel Balchug-Kempinski in central Moscow, 2004. (Photo by Alexey Kudenko/Kommersant)



Façade of the Hotel Europe in St. Petersburg, 2000. (Photo by Sergey Semyenov/Kommersant)

dent Hotel on Yakimanka Street is a modern building with 200 rooms. The Renaissance (formerly Olympic Penta) has 500 rooms and is located near the Olympic stadium on Prospekt Mira.

Overall, there is very little affordable accommodation in Moscow. Most new or refurbished hotels aspire to five-star accommodation that remains affordable to only a select few, as hotel prices in Moscow rank among the highest in the world.

The situation in Petersburg is somewhat similar to that in Moscow: most hotels have refurbished their rooms and facilities to gain the highest possible ranking and charge extraordinary prices. The Astoria Hotel, built in 1910 by Fyodor Lidvall, has 223 rooms; it is connected with the adjacent Hotel Angleterre that reopened in September 2003 with 193 rooms designed by Olga Polizzi. The two hotels share some facilities for their guests and are owned by the Rocco Forte group. The Grand Hotel Europe with its baroque facade by Carlo Rossi of 1875 and its famous art-nouveau interiors has 301 rooms and is one of the classiest and oldest in Europe. The Radisson SAS on Nevsky Prospect is a new hotel built behind an old facade, with 164 rooms. The Nevsky Palace Corinthia has 282 rooms and was also built behind an old facade of apartment blocks.

The Soviet-era hotels are the St. Petersburg, formerly the Leningrad, on Pirogov Embankment with 710 rooms and the Hotel Moscow near Alexander Nevsky Monastery with 777 rooms. The Sovetskaya is an 18-story building of modern architecture with 1,000 rooms. More recent hotels are the 1980s buildings of Pribaltiiskaya on the Finnish Gulf with 1,200 rooms and the Pulkovskaya (near the airport) with 840 rooms. The Oktiabrskaya was built in the

mid-nineteenth century near the Moscow Railway Station, and some of its 563 rooms have been renovated and upgraded. Apart from such large hotels, however, Petersburg has—unlike Moscow—a number of bed and breakfast places and smaller hotels, both central and peripheral, that offer good-value accommodation.

Dachas: Living in the Country Since the eighteenth century, wealthy Russians have had a summerhouse that they owned or rented in order to avoid the heat in the cities. In the Soviet era, summerhouses persisted, and many Russians owned a plot of land with the appropriate wooden house outside the cities. Most summerhouses had neither heating nor electricity nor indeed any facilities, with water available often only from a well or a rivulet. The dacha nevertheless has remained a favorite occupation of many city inhabitants, both for growing vegetables and plants and for fresh air. At the same time, many New Russians have begun to build brick houses in former dacha settlements, using the car to get in and out of town and making the out-of-town villas their permanent domicile, preferring this to a city apartment.

There were entire dacha districts near Moscow and Leningrad/Petersburg. Most dacha settlements are located near a major railway line: Kuskovo, Malakhovka, and Udelnaya on the Kazan Line; Kuntsevo, Serebrianyi Bor, Zhukovka, Nikolina Gora, and Zvenigorod on the Smolensk Line; and Pushkino, Abramtsevo, and Sergiyev Posad on the Yaroslavl Line. The village of Tarussia is a prominent dacha and summerhouse region. In Petersburg the dacha settlements of Repino and Komarovo toward the north, as well as the Lake Ladoga region, are very popular.



Dachas and garden plots around Moscow. The dachas are summer residences, and gardens are used to grow fruit and vegetables. (Wolfgang Kaehler/Corbis)

The dacha was a given, donated plot of land handed out by the tsar in an act of grace. It served as a retreat during the Revolution and the civil war. In the 1930s, new dachas were built for factory workers and the party elite, but dacha regions lacked a proper infrastructure so that the use of suburban settlement for permanent accommodation was impossible, although living space was badly needed in the cities during the drive on industrialization. Party echelons had their own dacha settlements in Malakhovka, Serebrianyi Bor, and Nikolina Gora, and the writers settled in Pere-delkino, where a dacha colony was established to encourage creativity. The dacha was often received as a reward from the party or obtained by using connections within the party hierarchy (*blat*). Many dachas were private properties (owned by cooperatives); others were owned by the

state or rented. By the 1980s it was common for people to have a dacha. The dacha plot was used to grow vegetables and potatoes during and after World War II, and despite shortages of seeds and tools, the *ogorod* produced fresh vegetables that could partly be sold. As people left the countryside, many village properties, which had been built with brick and were equipped with some facilities (heating, electricity), were purchased for summer relaxation during the 1970s. The land reform of October 1993 meant that land could be bought, and New Russians began to build their cottages and brick houses next to the old dachas; most of these cottages are used as permanent domiciles.

Housing Developments in the City

New accommodation has been built and is being built not in central Moscow, but



A couple skating during Christmas celebrations at Sokolniki Park, January 2003. (Photo by Pavel Smertin/Kommersant)

mostly on the outskirts. It is apparently assumed that most people who can afford property in the new apartment buildings have a car to travel (along the overcrowded roads) to work. Such new areas are often situated in former dacha regions, where new villas sit next to old wooden summerhouses and shacks. The Triumph Palace, a monumental piece of Stalinist architecture on Leningrad Prospect, is the highest apartment building in Europe with a height of 264.1 meters. The complex on Sparrow Hills near the embassies and Mosfilm studios consists of seven buildings and represents a self-contained village with the appropriate facilities. The Red Sails (Alye

parusa) complex is located on the embankment of the Moscow River with a yachting club attached and a sauna, fitness center, and cinema on site. A new block in Sokolniki overlooks the park and is built in high-tech style in the shape of a semicircle. Elsinor is a business complex with apartments and town houses, copying a European architectural style with gothic forms and facades in the northwest of Moscow.

Celebrations

Although most people enjoy a variety of opportunities for relaxation, leisure-time

activities, and holidays, Russian society remains firmly in the grip of rituals and traditions that rule the celebration of anniversaries and public and religious holidays alike. In the Soviet era, religious practice was suppressed by the atheist state, which elevated Communist ideology and replaced God with Marx or Lenin. Political leaders were revered like saints, as is best indicated by the way in which Lenin's corpse was embalmed like that of a saint and displayed in a mausoleum. Indeed, a corpse that did not putrefy was deemed to be saintly.

Public Holidays

Even if the new Soviet regime wanted to abolish religious practice, it soon became clear that celebrations were important for the people: they were a vital element in popular culture and a relief channel for the hardships endured during the civil war. The young Soviet regime therefore decided to introduce a number of secular holidays that subsumed religious holidays and prescribed celebrations that would satisfy the people's need for a release of energy. Choreographed mass celebrations replaced the spontaneous street celebrations of folk rituals. In the first instance, this concerned the celebration of Christmas. The figures of Grandfather Frost (*ded moroz*) and Snow Maiden (*snegurochka*) were pagan enough to remain functional, at least in the children's world, to continue the jobs carried out in Western cultures by Santa Claus: bringing presents and celebrating his arrival with a Christmas tree (*yolka*). Although Christmas was on 7 January, these celebrations took place on New Year's Eve (31 December). The other two important religious holidays, Easter and Pentecost, were scrapped. Easter was sub-

sumed by the May Day holidays, and Pentecost was feebly echoed in the pagan Whitsun celebrations.

As time went by, the Soviet government decreed a number of holidays to celebrate Soviet achievements. International Women's Day, 8 March, was celebrated by men's presenting flowers to women, independent of their relationship. In other words, a factory manager could give flowers to his colleagues, a husband to his wife, a boy to his mother. This way, the holiday combined Mothering Sunday and Valentine's Day in one nonconspicuous holiday. Of course, it was a working holiday, unlike 23 February, which has in contemporary Russia turned into a proper public holiday. In Soviet times it was the Day of the Armed Forces (Defense of the Fatherland)—that is, a men's holiday (to match the women's day two weeks later). The first of May was the classical socialist holiday: International Workers' Day. As 1 May was celebrated widely with official demonstrations and parades, followed by mass walks, and accompanied in Russian style by a lot of alcohol, 2 May was also a public holiday (for recovery). The first two days of May remain public holidays in post-Soviet Russia, but the holiday is called the Day of Spring and Labor (*Den' vesny i truda*). Victory Day on 9 May remains a public holiday with parades of veterans of World War II. The 22nd of August is the Day of the Russian Federation State Flag and is a relatively new public holiday. The first of September is not a public holiday, but the Day of Knowledge marks the beginning of the school year. The seventh of November was the day of the October Revolution (25 October old style) and was celebrated with official parades in grand style during the Soviet era. In contemporary Russia it has remained a

holiday, the Day of Accord and Conciliation (*Den' soglasiia i primireniia*), although no celebrations take place. Holidays devoted to organizations were noted almost every Sunday: for the police, the army, and the miners and days of theater, cinema, and museums.

In the new Russia, 12 June is a national holiday, Independence Day, when the Russian Federation became independent with the election of its first president, Boris Yeltsin, in June 1991. The 12th of December is the Day of the Constitution, which came into force in 1993 (the constitution was approved by parliament on 12 December).

Religious Holidays

The New Russia also observes religious holidays. Although Christmas presents are still delivered on 31 December/1 January (*Novy God*), 7 January is a religious holiday when people usually attend a night mass to celebrate the birth of Christ (*Rozhdestvo Khristovo*). Christmas is the second most significant holiday of the Orthodox church after Easter, which is a flexible holiday that does not normally coincide with Easter in the Western Hemisphere but follows the orthodox (Julian) calendar. The Gregorian calendar was introduced in 1918, and the difference is 13 days. A further important holiday is Pentecost, or Holy Trinity. The time between Christmas and Epiphany (7–21 January) is known as the *sviatki* (Christmas Tide); these are the “holy evenings,” when traditionally no work would be done after dark. Before Christmas the revelers (*koliadki*) go around to houses and bless the households and receive small gifts. They are comparable to the *Sternsinger* of Germanic tradition.

Easter is the main holiday of the Orthodox Church, celebrated in a night mass when people walk around the church three times in expectation of the Resurrection. It follows seven weeks of fasting, or Lent (*velikii post*), when many people fast before the Resurrection of Christ, abstaining from meat, fish, and dairy products (and eating only once a day, if following the fast rigidly). Before Lent, however, there is Shrovetide (*maslenitsa*), with street celebrations and rather fat food, including a Pancake Day, or Shrove Tuesday, when people make pancakes (*bliny*) that have the shape of the sun and recall the pagan holiday from which the church borrowed the festival: the celebration of the sun. At the end of *maslenitsa* stands Forgiveness Sunday (Proshchenoe voskresenie). The strictest week of the 40-day fasting is the week before Easter, Passion Week (Strastnaia nedelia). Easter is celebrated with colored Easter eggs and a *kulich*, a round sweet bread with icing. The *kulich* and the eggs are normally taken to church for a blessing the day before Easter. The *paskha*, a cheesecake with raisins, is another popular Easter dish. Pentecost follows 50 days after Easter. Other times of fasting that are not widely kept by people are Peter's Fasting (*Petrov post*), which begins a week after Trinity and lasts until 12 July (Peter and Paul); the Fasting of Assumption (*Uspenski post*), from 14 to 28 August; and the Christmas fast from 28 November until Christmas.

Orthodoxy was brought to Russia from Byzantium in 988 by Vladimir (remembered on 28 July), when the country then called Rus was Christianized. After the fall of Constantinople, Moscow became the Third Rome. Russia's history was ridden with attacks from the Turks, the Mongols,

Orthodox Holidays

Dates that vary from year to year are shown in italics.

7 January: Christmas (*Rozhdestvo Khristovo*).

19 January: Baptism of Christ and Epiphany (*Kreshchenie Gospodne, Bogoyavlenie*). At the age of 30, Christ was baptized in the Jordan by John the Baptist, and the Holy Spirit descended.

15 February: Candlemas (*Sretenie*). Forty days after the birth of Christ, Mary was purified in church.

24 April (2005) Palm Sunday (*Verbnoe Voskresenie*): Jesus arrived in Jerusalem, where his followers covered the road with branches and leaves (*verbnoe* comes from willow).

From Thursday night to Saturday night before Easter darkness reigns in churches.

1 May (2005) Easter, or Resurrection (*Paskha, Voskresenie Gospodne*).

9 June (2005) Ascension (*Voznesenie*). Forty days after the Resurrection, Christ ascended to heaven.

19 June (2005) Pentecost, or Holy Trinity (*Sviataya Troitsa*). Fifty days after Easter, the Holy Spirit appeared among the twelve apostles.

7 July: Birth of John the Baptist (*Rozhdestvo Ioanna Predtechii*), also the pagan festival Ivan Kupala.

12 July: Peter and Paul.

19 August: Transfiguration (*Preobrazhenie Gospodne*).

28 August: Assumption of Our Lady (*Upenie presviatoi Bogoroditsy*).

11 September: Beheading of John the Baptist (*Useknovenie glavy Ioanna Predtechii*).

21 September: Birth of the Virgin Mary.

27 September: Exaltation of the Cross (*Vozdvizhenie Kresta Gospodnia*). The cross, found 200 years after Christ's death in a cave, was erected by the Patriarch Makarius in Jerusalem.

4 December: Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (*Vvedenie v khram Bogoroditsy*). When Mary was three years old, she was taken to the temple by her parents.

and the Tatars. Icons were believed to offer protection from the "barbarian" attacks and invasions. In the seventeenth century the Orthodox Church split, when Avvakuum insisted on old traditions whereas Nikon wanted to modernize the church. The Old Believers, a sect still active in Russia today, separated from the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church has possessed, since the time of Peter the Great, a very rigid hierarchical structure, at the head of which stand the Holy Synod and the patriarch of all Russia: since 1990 this is Alexei II. The Russian Orthodox Church has always had a strong tradition of paying

respect to the *yurodivye*, people who renounce their worldly possessions and lead a life of poverty and devotion in the hope of salvation after death. This view of life as suffering for the reward of life in heaven is an underlying principle of the Orthodox faith. The *yurodivye* were blessed people, such as Basil the Blessed (*Vasilii blazhennyi*, 1468–1552), a God's fool under Ivan the Terrible, who earned the tsar's respect and in whose honor the cathedral of St. Basil's was erected on Red Square.

Other religions are tolerated in Russia, and the right to practice them is enshrined in the constitution. A large Jewish con-

stituency in Moscow and other major cities has its theaters, cultural centers, and synagogues. In the southern regions there are many Muslims. Catholics and Baptists are found in central and northern Russia. Shamanism is widely practiced in Sakha (Yakutia) and parts of Siberia. There are also numerous religious sects, but they are not widely supported.

The Russian church and people venerate a large number of saints. On the religious holiday of John the Baptist (birth and death on 19 January and 7 July), the water of the church is blessed, and people also collect tap water in containers, as that water is thought to have special power. Many saints are martyrs who have died for their faith. This is true for the children and wife of Adrian of Rome, Sofia and her daughters Vera, Nadezhda, and Liubov (faith, hope, and love). They were tortured for their Christian faith and died. Their day is marked on 30 September, which is also the name day of all the Veras, Nadias, Liubas, and Sonias. A Roman consul and his daughter Tatiana were burned at the stake for their Christian faith. Tatiana was blinded, given to a lion who did not touch her, then executed in 226. Tatiana's Day (*Tatianin den*) is celebrated on 25 January, and she is the patron of students, because Catherine the Great signed the decree to found an imperial university in Moscow on that day. Boris and Gleb (celebrated on 15 May, 6 August, and 18 September) were the first saints of the Russian church. They were martyrs who died for their faith and showed no resistance to evil.

Other saints have committed important feats for the church or their faith. Sergei of Radonezh (1314–1392) was the founder of the Trinity–St. Sergius Monastery (Troitse-Sergieva lavra, or Troitse-Sergiev mona-

styr') and is commemorated on 8 October and 18 July. Alexander Nevsky (1220–1263) defended the Neva, and his remains are kept in the Alexander-Nevsky Monastery in Petersburg. His nameday is 12 September. Nikolai Mirlikisky is the saint whose legend is similar to Saint Nicholas, and he is remembered on 19 December (6 December old style). Cyril and Methodius are marked on 27 February. Cyril (Kirill) and his brother created the first Slav (Cyrillic) alphabet in 863. Today Cyril and Methodius is also the name of an important online encyclopedia publisher. Georgi Pobedonovets (9 December and 6 May) is the bearer of various legends. He is said to have been a warrior who defended the tsar's daughter, and a saint who died for his faith, a man who fought evil (represented by a snake). His image is a symbol of victory over evil, and in the fourteenth century the figure of St. George became the emblem of Moscow.

Recently canonized figures include the priest Johann of Kronstadt (1829–1908) and Xenia of Petersburg (remembered on 6 January), who chose deliberate *yurodstvo* in the eighteenth century when she became a widow at the age of 26. She dressed like a man and renounced all worldly possessions. Her remains were laid to rest in the Smolensk cemetery in Petersburg, and she was canonized in 1988. The icon painter Andrei Rublev, who lived in the fourteenth century in the Trinity St-Sergius Monastery, became a saint in 1988.

Rites and Rituals

Pagan Practices and Popular Beliefs

Although religious practice and the following of religious rules are increasingly common in Russia, so is superstition. There are

Superstitions of Everyday Life

Do not shake hands over the threshold.
 Sit down for a minute before a journey.
 If you return home because you have forgotten something, look into the mirror before leaving again.
 If a boy sits on the threshold, he won't get married. If a girl sits on the windowsill, she won't get married.
 Do not put keys on the table.
 If you wipe breadcrumbs off the table with your hands, you'll have no money.
 If the blanket falls down from the bed, a guest will arrive soon.
 Don't put a ruler on the bed: it means death.
 Put out a candle with two fingers; don't blow it out.
 Open scissors or an open safety pin means a quarrel.
 Do not splash water from your hands; the drops spread little devils.
 Don't use somebody else's towel.
 Wipe the floor away from the threshold, not toward it.
 When you can't find something, tie a kerchief (preferably red) to the leg of the table and call the house spirit for help.
 If you give a mirror as a present, the recipient must wipe it with holy water.

When you give somebody scissors as a present, the person must pay a penny.
 A broken mirror means disaster.
 If you wipe your eyes, you will cry soon.
 If you have itchy palms, it means money: if the right palm itches you will get money; the left palm means you will give money.
 Cross your fingers when praising yourself or wishing good luck.
 If you step on somebody's foot, it means trouble. The person should step back on your foot to avoid it.
 Only spit over your left shoulder. Over your right shoulder is your guardian angel.
 To protect yourself from the "bad eye," wear metal.
 A thread on a girl's dress means she will get married.
 If a knife falls from the table, a man will come; if a fork falls, the guest is a woman.
 If you don't recognize somebody, he'll be rich.
 When giving an empty vessel (cup, bowl) as a gift, put a chocolate or a coin inside so as not to give something empty.
 Always give an uneven number of flowers.

different types of witches: the *koldunia*, who passes her witchcraft to her grandchild; the *vedma*, who bewitches people; and the *baba yaga*, who appears in fairy tales. Russian folk tradition believes in spirits. The *leshy* is the wood spirit; the *vodiano* resides in bogs and water; the *domovoi* is the house spirit; and the *rusalka* is the spirit of the water, the unborn child of a maiden. There are also regional spirits, as for example the *shelps*, spirits of the Urals, which bring out the positive or nega-

tive features in any man who encounters them.

People in modern Russia believe in fortune-telling as much as their predecessors did in the nineteenth century. There is a great demand for tarot, crystals, fortune-telling, but also for astrology and horoscopes in newspapers and on television. This is largely owing to the complete absence of any fortune-telling in the country of socialist plans and Communist dreams of party and state. The chain of Third Eye

shops, selling anything from aromatherapy and herbs to card and glass balls, prospers across the country.

Names Many Russian children were given names of Greek origin, such as Anastasia (resurrected), Galina (quiet), Gennadi (benevolent), or Anatoli (eastern). A few names were of Latin origin. In the twentieth century, Slavic names remained extremely popular, such as Bogdan (given by God), Boris or Borislav (brave fighter), Lada (pagan goddess of love), Liubov (love or charity), Liudmila (dear to the people), Nadezhda (hope), Vera (faith), Svetlana (light), Sviatoslav (saintly Slav), Vladimir (ruler over the world). In the last decade of the twentieth century, Russian names that had been popular in the nineteenth century came back into fashion, especially Daria (Dasha) and Glafira (Glasha).

An odd reminder of the Soviet era are the “Soviet” names Vilen (V. I. Lenin), Marlen (Marx-Lenin), Vladlen (Vladimir Lenin), Ninel (Lenin read backward), Dekabrin/a (in honor of the Decembrists), Noyabrin/a and Oktriabrin/a (in honor of the Revolution, October or November). The actress Nonna Mordiukova is called Noyabrina (Nonna); Alexei Balabanov’s patronymic is Oktriabrinovich, meaning that his father is called Oktriabrin. Other names were Liutsiya (derived from *Revoliutsiya*, revolution) and Neyya (derived from *Energiya*, energy). These people have no saints, clearly, and were born at a time when christenings too were replaced by civil (red) ceremonies.

Fashion

As fashion was considered a bourgeois pastime, it had no place in Soviet ideology.

Fashion designers became “costume artists” after the Revolution. Many avant-garde artists tried to bring a new style and new forms into dress conventions; one of these was Popova with her *proz-odezhda*, her industry wear. As with many of her fellow artists, however, her pursuits remained restricted to the “higher” arts, the stage, and never went into mass production. Nevertheless, the 1920s saw some of Russia’s most extravagant costumes designed for the silver screen, such as Alexandra Exter’s outfits for *Aelita*. One woman has left a remarkable trace on Soviet fashion and made the transition from Russian to Soviet fashion: Nadezhda Lamanova (1861–1941) was the first recognized Russian modelier and designer. She set up her own workshop in 1885 in order to support her sisters after their parents had died. After the Revolution, fashion boutiques were regarded with suspicion, and Lamanova went to work at the Vakhtangov Theater, where she made the costumes for Yevgeni Vakhtangov’s legendary opening show of *Princess Turandot*. In 1925 her dresses were shown at the International Exhibition in Paris. In the 1920s and 1930s, Lamanova also made numerous costumes for films, such as *Aelita* (1924) and *Circus* (1934). Her unique method of design on the client rather than on paper, draping textiles around the model, became a widespread innovation. Lamanova’s impact on Russian fashion design should not be underestimated, and it is no surprise that the first Russian fashion award established when fashion became again an occupation for designers and not artists was named after her.

After the Revolution, fashion became either an art form or else the production of dress turned into an industrial activity. Design was therefore taught at technical col-

leges and institutes, from which students graduated as graphic designers, designers, or constructors; or at theater and film schools, where students turned into costume designers (*khudozhniki*). The word *modelier* almost disappeared. This rigid division between art and dress has had a long-term effect on the status of fashion design in Russia today. One comment frequently made about the haute couture collections as well as prêt-à-porter is their unwearability. More and more fashion designers have trained under a new system and gained experience abroad, however, so that gradually Russian designers are producing wearable collections.

Even though the Soviet period witnessed fashion shows and exhibitions, the Soviet style always looked conventional and traditional, strict in form and lacking innovation. Yet what designers presented at these exhibitions never went into mass production. Most people actually wore clothes that were old-fashioned in shape and of poor quality; the exception was the party elite, who had access to better designs. Fur played a peculiar role in Soviet fashion: because of the climate in the Soviet Union, fur coats were no luxury, but a necessity. In the late 1990s a fur coat (not fashionable, not extravagant, but warm) could be purchased for as little as \$100. The Soviet Union ran a House of Models (*Dom modelei*) in Moscow and Leningrad. Natalia Makarova directed the Moscow House of Models on Kuznetsky Most; the Leningrad House was located on Nevsky 21. These houses had designer collectives that prepared collections for shows, but few of the designs went into production. They were for models, not for the people, and fashion was a myth, not a commodity.

The sale of Western clothes through *fartsovshchiki* (illegal dealers, black market

traders) was widespread in the Soviet era. Clothes were difficult to come by, and many items, such as Western jeans, the sheepskin coat (*dublenka*), or shoes, were best purchased in this way. And since many people had money, but there was little to buy in the shops, even such things were affordable to many. This explains also the astonishment of people when they encountered the exact inverse in market capitalism: the abundance of goods and the lack of money.

The German-based journal *Burda*, which offers sewing patterns, was a sought-after publication in the late 1980s. Many people could sew and fabric was available, but there was a shortage of designs and a lack of ideas. *Burda* therefore launched a Russian edition fairly early on in the perestroika era. People began to develop a desire to dress well, but they lacked experience in style. Having for decades worn *vatniki* (warm and formless padded jackets), donned *valenki* (felt boots) in winter to plow through masses of snow, and wrapped their heads in *platoks* (head scarves) or worn *ushankas* (fur hats with earflaps), clearly a sense of style did not come easily. In fact, the new sense of style went to the other extreme, in the sense that even today many Russian women wear evening dresses in the street and walk on high-heeled shoes, clearly not suited for everyday wear and tear. They went over to the extreme of dressing in style rather than in what is practical, wearable, suitable, and appropriate. This trend is also echoed in some designer collections.

If Lamanova maintained standards of fashion in the early Soviet era, then a major contribution to the reputation of Soviet dress was made by Viacheslav (Slava) Zaitsev. Zaitsev came from Ivanovo, where he



A model of Slava Zaitsev's collection. Zaitsev is strongly influenced by the Russian style for the accessories of his garments. (Photo by Valery Melnikov/Kommersant)

had trained as a craftsman in printing and painting fabric. In 1965 he joined the House of Models in Moscow and remained there for 13 years, heading the fashion design section. He was disturbed by the fact that the designs did not make their way into production, however, and so he left to found a workshop. In 1979 he also started teaching at the Technical Institute. In 1980 he designed the official uniforms for the Russian Olympic team, and in 1991 he re-designed the Russian police uniforms. When the Moscow Fashion House (*Dom mody*) on Prospekt Mira opened in 1982, Zaitsev headed it and became its director in 1988; in the same year he became a member of the *Maison de Couture* in Paris. During perestroika his garments were

worn by the intelligentsia and the party elite alike. In 1992 he launched the perfume range *Marusia*. Zaitsev has worked for European *prêt-à-porter* (ready-to-wear, as opposed to haute couture) companies. In 1994 he started a competition for young designers under the flagship of the great Russian modelier Nadezhda Lamanova. Since 1994 there have been Weeks of Haute Couture in Moscow, and special Russian Fashion Weeks are held in spring every year. In the first Haute Couture Week (*Nedelia vysokoi mody*), Andrei Sharov and Valentin Yudashkin represented Russia along with Inga Filippova and Irina Selitskaya. In the second competition, Zaitsev won the award, the Golden Mannequin, and Irina Krutikova took the award a year later.

Zaitsev's collections include a variety of theme-based shows, which always indicate his perception of the present (*Millennium of the Christianization of Russia*, 1988; *Russian Seasons in Paris*, 1988; *Agony of Perestroika*, 1991; *Recollections of the Future*, 1996–1997). Zaitsev's collections are characterized by generous forms, and the decorative element is important. The garments incorporate a classical component while aiming at the business world with trouser suits. Zaitsev usually emphasizes the waistline in his creations, which are essentially modern in form, with a decor element either as accessory or in print that make the garment typically Russian. His black velvet coats were a fashion hit in the early 1990s. His evening dresses integrate Russian folk elements into the design. He also occasionally works for the theater, as for example when he designed the costumes for *The Cherry Orchard* at the *Sovremennik*, starring the great Alisa Freindlikh and Marina Neyolova.



Couturier Valentin Yudashkin walks along the podium during the final ceremony of the Ninth Haute Couture Week at the Rossiya Hotel in Moscow in 2002. (Photo by Valery Melnikov/Kommersant)

What Slava Zaitsev has done for fashion, Irina Krutikova has done for the design of fur coats, an essential part of Russian dress. She is often referred to as the “fur queen.” Having studied in the Soviet era at the Berlin Art School, Krutikova returned to Russia to develop a new technique for the mass production of fur and innovations in the way in which fur was used. In 1967 her first collection was presented at a fashion festival, and it was the first time an author collection was exhibited from the Soviet Union. In 1992 Krutikova, who is a permanent guest of the Frankfurt fur fair, was awarded the State Prize.

Haute Couture

Valentin Yudashkin has his boutique on Kutuzov Prospekt 19. His boutique is not in

central Moscow on the main arteries (Arbat, Nikitskaya, Tverskaya, Dmitrovka, Petrovka, Neglinnaya, and Miasnitskaya), which are all inside the Garden Ring (Sadovoe koltso), but across the bridge from the center. Kutuzov Prospekt used to house a number of embassy accommodation complexes and foreign television studios and was the main road to the districts where the party elite had their accommodation.

Yudashkin has been a member of the Syndicat of Haute Couture (Paris) since 1996. His workshop was founded in 1987, and his Fashion House (Dom mody) followed in 1991. Yudashkin tends to present his collections first in Paris, before they participate in the Haute Couture shows in Moscow. As he refrained from opening a

boutique in France, he had to drop out of the Paris fashion shows in 2000 and has since demonstrated his collections at the Milan fashion week. Yudashkin's collections are usually centered around a historical theme that inspires the entire collection and signals very clearly style and form as well as color and material. Many of the creations of the early years were acquired by museums in Russia (the Anna Karenina collection was acquired by the Historical Museum) and abroad (among others, in the Louvre). The Fabergé collection (1991) was particularly noteworthy for the dresses made in the shape of Fabergé eggs. Often collections are inspired by contemporary events, such as the *Fin de Siècle* (1999), the *Journey from Moscow to Petersburg* (2003) to mark the 300th anniversary of St. Petersburg, or the collection *2001 Night*, associating the year 2001 with tales of 1,001 nights and creating the eastern magic of the Arabian nights in richly embroidered dresses. The *Moscow–St. Petersburg* collection consisted of colorful garments in shiny material, with frills, applications, and embroidery, bordering on the carnivalesque. *Corsets* (2003–2004) was essentially a black-and-white collection closely following the body contours while leaving large slits or using frilly transparent ornaments at the sides or on the shoulders to break away from the strict lines. The summer collection was in olive and light blue, using parts of bustiers and corsets as decor. In the 2004 *Deco* collection, dress functions as decor, not garment. Yudashkin received the Golden Mannequin in 1997.

Yudashkin uses exclusive fabrics, including fur, and rich decorative embroidery. He draws on historical Russian themes and is inspired by folk traditions, visual art, and architecture alike for colors and forms. His

forms are influenced by European fashion history and trends, however. His Russian bead embroidery is world-famous. He employs 250 staff and has showrooms in France and Italy as well as boutiques in Russia. He creates haute couture and prêt-à-porter collections as well as shoes, accessories, perfume, and jewelry. There is also a new, "young line" under the label VY, and he has begun designing china and silver for a "home line." Yudashkin designed the Olympic uniform for the Russian national team in 1994 and 1996 as well as the staff uniforms for the *Ukraine Hotel*, *Moscow*, and for *Aeroflot Russian International Airlines*. The use of fur in fashion design was boosted in Russia after several designers attended a workshop organized in 1999 by *Saga Furs* in their international design center in Copenhagen, showing ways of coloring and shaving fur.

Igor Chapurin is one of the most successful Moscow designers. In 1992 he took part in the *International Festival of Young Designers* and won the competition organized by *Nina Ricci*. He then turned to making evening dresses for models in beauty competitions, before presenting his first collection at the *Metropol Hotel* in 1995, called *To Russia with Love*. In the collection he used a special style of embroidery that combines beads, corals, and gold. The actress *Tatiana Vasilieva* was among the mannequins presenting the collection, which boosted its profile. In the following year Chapurin was invited to join the *Association of Haute Couture (Paris)*. While working for the Italian fashion house *Galitzine*, he also presented his own collections and created outfits for television presenters and figures of the artistic world, including the actress *Alla Demidova*. Chapurin's collections show a compromise between a desire for commer-

cial viability and recognition as well as artistic originality. Chapurin's style is quite European-oriented. He prefers taffeta, linen, and silk and keeps to rather cold hues of pink, green, bordeaux, and blue with a platinum and bronze effect. Chapurin innovated the role of computer design to print on fabric, introducing Russia to a new technology. He characteristically uses unusual materials or combines them in a new way; thus, he combined fur with chiffon and crepe georgette, or straw (1998). Chapurin has a boutique on Myasnikskaya Street and a second one in the Berlin House, a shopping mall on Petrovka Street and Kuznetsky Most. Chapurin twice received the Golden Mannequin, in 1998 and 2002. In his 2002 collection, the colors beige, gray, and black dominated, and feathery parts broke the otherwise straight and classical lines. Chapurin also used rings to string together part of the material.

Chapurin created the dresses for Oleg Menshikov's first independent production of *Woe from Wit* (*Gore ot uma*, 1999), consisting of almost exaggerated versions of historical costumes of the early nineteenth century. In Menshikov's second production, *The Kitchen* (*Kukhnia*), based on Maxim Kurochkin's contemporary play with echoes and references to the Nibelungen myth, Chapurin created modern outfits made from leather, wool, and metal that carried a medieval simplicity. His research for this production inspired his later collection, which drew on the wildness of the north and the history of the Vikings. Chapurin also worked on the costumes for the unfinished film *Vocal Parallels* (*Vokal'nye parallaly*, 1997) with the director and designer Rustam Khamdamov, whose sense of style has influenced many contemporary art-house filmmakers.

In his collection *Frenchwoman in the East* (2001), Chapurin combined European content with Eastern forms. This collection was largely in brown, beige, and gold tones that reflected the desert; materials included the lightweight fabric organza and suede, combined with local and regional material such as horsehair and muslin. His collection *Les Folies Arlésiennes* (2001–2002) clearly drew on van Gogh's paintings of the Arles period, bright in colors and using semitransparent materials as well as fur. The collection *Serenade of the Sunshine Valley* (2002–2003) was inspired by the Hollywood musical and told a tale of jazz music and neoromanticism on the catwalk, accompanied by the tunes of Glenn Miller. The models were all of earthy colors and used the forms and shapes of the fashion styles of the 1940s.

Tatiana Parfionova is an established designer from St. Petersburg. She opened her boutique on Nevsky 51 in 1995 after ten years of practicing as a designer. She produces two seasonal and two mid-season collections. After winning a competition of young designers in 1989 in London, she has designed clothes on a professional basis. More important for her career was the *Safron* collection (1995–1996) presented in Vilnius, where she received the Golden Button award from Paco Rabanne. In 1996 her collection, *Marat's Mountain*, was partly acquired by the Russian Museum, which exhibits a unique dress, consisting of 74 parts. In 1997 Parfionova participated in international fashion shows. In the collection *Demonstration* (1998), she used the red figures of Henri Matisse's paintings of *The Dancers* and embroidered them on fabric with silk thread. Her interest in visual art of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is a distinctive feature of her pat-



Viktoria Andreyanova and models with her design of new Aeroflot uniforms. (Photo by Vasily Shaposhnikov/Kommersant)

terns for printing and embroidery. She also brought back the silk armband that used to be worn by office workers in the nineteenth century as a fashion accessory. For the 1999 Tourmaline collection, she chose the theme of multiethnicity, combining elements of national Buryat, Tatar, and Chuvash costume in a collection made of silk, cotton, and wool. All fabrics were hand-colored in red terracotta and gold colors and richly decorated with glass beads. The collection Colorist of 2002 used bright colors on silk, creating stark impressions with simple forms. In 2004 her collection was dominated by red, black, and white, as frills were applied to otherwise plain simple forms.

Parfionova has a clearly modern style that shows no nostalgia for the heritage of the city of St. Petersburg, where she

works. She makes elegant fashion with a slight hint of hooliganism, eccentricity, the extraordinary. Her collections are made to be worn rather than shown, and many show business figures from Moscow and Petersburg wear garments by Parfionova. She also designed the uniforms for the staff at the Hotel Europe (1998) and the Moscow Kempinski Balchug (1999), where a contemporary, but classical, style was required. Moreover, she designed the costumes for Igor Maslennikov's film *The Winter Cherry* (Zimniaia vishnia) and for Vladimir Bortko's *The Circus Burnt and All the Clowns Have Left* (Tsirk sgoREL, a vse klouny razbezhalis'), both made in the late 1990s. She received the Golden Mannequin in 1999.

Viktoria Andreyanova has her boutique on Petrovka 19, where she sells her label

VA. Her early collections were inspired by her knowledge of South Asian fabrics and her visit to Scottish tweed factories, as well as a seminar attended at Saga Furs Scandinavia. Since 2001 she has also made prêt-à-porter collections, and in 2002 she designed the uniforms for the Ararat Hyatt Hotel staff. She debuted as a costume designer in her brother-in-law Alexander Strizhenov's film *Fall Up* (Upast' vverkh, 2001); her younger sister Katia Strizhenova is an actress. Andreyanova also worked on several commercial theater productions and dresses the ORT presenter Andrei Malakhov; the actor Georgi Taratorkin and the clip-maker Yuri Grymov are also among her customers. She was awarded the Golden Mannequin in 2000 and 2001.

Andreyanova's collections are entirely wearable. In the collection *The Traveling Aristocrat* (1997), she alluded to forms and decor of the 1920s aristocracy in a range of garments made from gray tweed material with traditional fur collars. *Snow Woman* (1998) was held in beige, white, and black and underlined feminine and flowing forms. *Happy End* (1999) again remained in black, gray, and white while following the 1950s style with short and plain dress and longer coats as well as tulip-shaped skirts or garments with a diagonal hem line. *Careful, a Woman!* (2000) was a colorful collection, using straight geometrical forms to create an asymmetry that did not underline feminine forms at all. *Census* (2002), which reminded of the census that took place in the same year, used printed textiles and focused largely on the black-and-white color range. Her collection *South Pole* (2004) again used bright colors, such as yellow, orange, and green, combined with flower applications and patterned fabrics.

Fashion Design

Although Yudashkin, Chapurin, and Parfionova are the best-known Russian designers, both at home and in the West, there are a number of other designers who have made an impact on fashion in a more general way.

Andrei Sharov is a painter and theater designer who is probably best known for the costumes he created for the productions of Andrei Zhitinkin, Oleg Fomin, and Sergei Vinogradov. Through the designs in their shows, which were intended for a large audience and created on a commercial or semicommercial basis and involving star actors, Sharov gained a reputation and won the prestigious Seagull (Chaika) award for his costumes for *My Dear Friend* (Milyi drug, 1997). He made the dresses for *The Adventures of Felix Krull*, staged by Zhitinkin at the Tabakov Studio and starring Sergei Bezrukov, as well as Alexander Domogarov in Zhitinkin's *Nijinsky* (1998) and *The Portrait of Dorian Gray* (2000). Sharov, who never graduated from his course at the Moscow Technical Institute, made a career in the fashion world (a boutique in the Smolensky Passage) and now teaches at Slava Zaitsev's school. Sharov created his style with the use of clocks and safety pins.

In his first fashion show *Tack Tick* (1994), he decorated his dresses lavishly with clocks and safety pins. The collection *Queen of Waste* (1994) used parts of windows, sugar spoons, metal rings, and door handles for decorations, and the collection *Not Everything's That Easy* simply used buttons. Sharov used leather and reptile skin, elements of armor and amber on black and shiny materials as well as fabrics of bright primary colors. Sharov's trademark, however, remains the safety pin. His

more wearable collection, Taisia (1996), consisted of puffed skirts in aniline colors, complemented with shoes with extra long noses. Great and Small Human Weaknesses (1997) used metal elements such as knives and forks to form the shape or construction of the dress. This Is All for You (1999) was made from material used in Russian crafts, such as birch and Orenburg lace. Zoo-room used animal patterns and such fabrics as ostrich skin and antelope leather. From 2001 on, his collections became more industrial, especially with the launch of Bureau 365, a prêt-à-porter collection made largely from linen, denim, silk, and cotton and using bright colors and simple forms. The collection Bonnie and Colt (2002) was inspired by the Hollywood of the 1940s, combining leather and fur (polar fox and mink) to create the chic of the Chicago-gangster style with its romantic view of the criminal world.

Andrei Bartenev is a fashion designer and performance artist. His performances and displays demonstrate eccentric and extravagant costumes of a challenging and provocative nature that inspire the observer to think about dress. His displays often accompany large public events, such as theater or film festivals. He also created the costumes for the Novosibirsk theater production of Witold Gombrowicz's *Ivonna, Princess of Burgundy* (1996), staged by Oleg Rybkin. His costumes have been exhibited in the Tretyakov Gallery (1993) and the Pushkin Museum (1997) as well as the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1996–1997). Natasha Naftaliyeva founded a theater of fashion (1989) and has been engaged in her own fashion house since 1992. She creates mainly evening and wedding dresses made predominantly from leather.

Katia Leonovich is a designer who paints her creations; she is based in Italy.

Razu Mikhina (Daria Razumikhina) presented her collection Paradigm in 1999. Having studied in London, she works for boutiques, including Liberty, as well as the Russian fashion chain Podium. She uses Russian materials, such as lace and folk ribbons, and also purchases her silk from the Russian cloth factory Krasnaya Roza. Her 2001 collection Dotted Line combined elements of world religion. Since 2001, her collections have clearly tended toward a country-style look, with No. 5 containing stripes as found in Norwegian sweaters. She uses linen stripes to create patterns, and as the dresses and skirts become longer, there are frills and laces of the Laura Ashley style. Resume (2003) integrated Russian folk patterns into forms of country style in the European manner.

Julia Dalakian has run her own workshop and the label D-Julia since 1996. Her 2000 collection consisted of loose garments, often transparent fabrics. Her 2001 collection All You Need Is Love and Me Again presented loose trouser suits and transparent dresses, blouses with large décolletés, made from materials in black, white, and beige-yellow. In 2004 Dalakian used strings to create a blouse, rings to hold the material together, combined with slit skirts and hot pants. Her collections have a sexy, hippie touch while remaining sophisticated in the choice of fabric and the color schemes.

Irina Selitskaya is a designer who specializes in shoes and works with leather to create accessories. The former art director of the shoe department of the Model House in Moscow founded her own company and a design school after the collapse of the So-

viet Union. Her shoe collections are used by Yudashkin and Sharov in their fashion shows. In 1994 she used fish skin for the first time, with a new patent discovered to produce this fabric. Selitskaya also designs fashion.

Liudmila Dobrokhotova from Tula began her career in a knitwear factory. She then created designer collections, before moving from machine knitting to hand knitting and setting up her own company. Although she has international contracts, she remains based in Tula. Dobrokhotova's knitted dress with themes and motifs of Russian life, decorated with bells (1999), received special attention, and in the same year she won the special prize in the Lamanova competition for her collection *Mirrorland*. She uses thin ribbons of fur or strips of material (silk, linen, chiffon) for her knitting. Her collection *Reportage* (2001) was made from chiffon strips, sewn together or providing the thread for knitwear in silk, wool, and fur while remaining in white and pale colors.

VASSA is a company with a designer's concept. Vassa studied in Moscow and was sent to Virginia on an exchange program in 1990, before moving to New York, where she worked for Fashion Source International for several years while also studying merchandising. Her first collection was presented in New York in 1996, and it was purchased by Manhattan boutiques. In 1997 Vassa presented her collection in Moscow. After her following collection was shown in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, she set up the Vassa company and opened Russian branches with Viacheslav Granovsky. Granovsky had worked at Uzbekfilm as a costume designer, before working for Neiman Marcus in the United

States and returning to Russia in 1994. Vassa is one of the most widely available designer brands, sold in more than half a dozen stores in Moscow in a high-tech interior, at affordable prices.

VQ (Vladimir Perepelkin) worked in the textile industry in Europe and North America before setting up business in Moscow. He has worked for the Moscow Youth Theater, creating historical costumes for their performances, as well as working with the Bolshoi, the Helicon Opera, and the New Opera. He uses fur, leather, and fabric. Although his collections of 2001 and 2002 were based on a play with bright and intense colors, his collection *Farces* (2002) was essentially black, classical in style but using the magic of Eastern forms. Both Vassa and VQ, with their experience of Western markets, create highly wearable and marketable collections. Down the scale from their collections remains the cheap and reasonably fashionable knitwear of Vladimir Zubtsev's *Paninter*.

Natalia Drigant studied in France and founded her own fashion house with her father, an economist. She offers haute couture, prêt-à-porter, and a young line. Her collections usually reveal the naked body under loose warps and tulle, and longer dresses tend to follow a straight bodyline. She almost seems to bare women's lingerie and corsages to semicover them through her creations. Nina and Donis (Nina Neretina and Donis Papis) create collections that have an effect of deliberate carelessness, using ribbons. The collection of black dresses with an application of poppies created a storm in the press, not because of the costume but because they sent invitations with poppy seeds, and one paper sent this for an anthrax test. Inga Filippova

worked with Slava Zaitsev on the knitwear collection. She also works on graphic design for greeting cards and book design and leads a fashion column in the newspaper *Moskovskaya Pravda*. In 1996 she established her own fashion label. Yelena Makashova set up a label of Shirpotreb (Mass Production), which sells more than 15,000 garments per year. Tatiana Beliakovskaya has worked at Mosfilm on costume design but creates black evening dresses under her own label. Alisa Tolkacheva is a designer and image maker who works for show business people such as Angelica Varum and Tatiana Bulanova. The Kiev-born graphic designer launched her own collections: Wild Swans (2001) used coarse silk and sand grass colors. Irina Zima creates collections made from old materials and dresses. In her 2001 collection she was inspired by Portobello Road in her style of the 1950s and 1960s. In 2002 she used elements of the nineteenth century.

Models Even if we may want to associate modeling with the Western markets, there were fashion models in the Soviet Union. Indeed, this was a highly prestigious job, as it involved international travel. Filmmaker Nikita Mikhalkov's second wife, Tatiana, worked as a model before their marriage, and she remains associated with the fashion world to the present day. The Soviet Union knew no proper cover girls or "faces" for perfume, cosmetic, or fashion labels, however. In 1989, as the consumer industry began to emerge in Russia, Tatiana Koltseva founded the Red Star Model Agency, which later represented Elite Models in the CIS. In 1994 the agency started to prepare models for the Elite Model Look competition, and in the same year Natalia Semanova took first place. She made a ca-

reer as a model, appearing on numerous editions of glossy journals and advertising Escada, Armani, and Yves Saint Laurent. In the following year Irina Bondarenko won second place in the Elite Model Look. In 1996 Diana Kovalchuk gained the first prize. She subsequently adorned international editions of the glossy fashion magazines. The agency represents the highest-rated models, who appear on the covers of Russian and international editions of the glossy magazines and make international careers. They include Liudmila Isayeva, the wife of the hockey player Vladimir Malakhov and model for Guerlain and Escada; and the St. Petersburg Olga Pantiuschenkova, who has featured on *Vogue*, *Elle*, *Marie-Claire*, and *L'Officiel* and represented Dior and Shiseido; she is also the "face" of Cacharel's Eden perfume. Red Star collaborated with the Moscow Haute Couture weeks.

Another agency is Modus VivendiS, established in 1992 and headed by Elena Ermolaeva. The agency works with Western clients and provides models for fashion shows. Their models appear more in Russian-language editions of glossy journals, however, such as *XXL*, *Ona/She*, *Yes*, *Oops*, *Krestianka*. Although Modus VivendiS runs a school for models as well, the main "visagiste" (makeup stylist) is Lev Novikov, who has worked with Igor Chapurin and other designers.

Fashion is still very much an art and design business in Russia, rather than an exercise that leads to the creation of clothes for the wider population. It is often still cheaper to buy foreign rather than Russian labels. There is nothing but Pan-inter for mass consumption, whereas Russian designers have worked on haute couture, and only a few have created lines for the con-

sumer. Only the VASSA collection is really affordable at around \$100 per item. The gap is with the mass market, where people still purchase inferior-quality garments at markets while beginning to realize that quality clothes last longer.

Consumer Future

The development of consumer culture has changed Russian culture most profoundly. Although it may have been possible to talk about “popular” culture in the Soviet era with reference to those things that were in demand but unavailable or that were not nurtured by Soviet ideology, in the last decade of the twentieth century Russians were exposed to the full range of consumer culture and gradually formed a taste for things they like, want, and desire. Russian culture stood on its head, turning the underground into popular entertainment; trashing Soviet forms of culture through parody, mockery, and anecdotes; and creating new cultural values. These are no longer aimed at raising the level of education but at entertaining, relaxing, and amusing.

A to Z

Andreyanova, Viktoria: Designer (label VA) with her own boutique on Petrovka 19. In 1984 she graduated from the theater school MTXTU (Moscow Technical Artistic-Theatrical Institute, Moskovskii tekhnicheskii khudozhestvenno-teatral'nyi institut), doing her diploma work for a show at the Malyi Theater. In 1989 graduated from the textile academy. Extensive stays

in Singapore and Indonesia during 1991. In 1992 she founded the firm Victoria A. Her collections have included *Traveling Aristocrat* (1997), *Snow Woman* (Snezhnaia baba, 1998), *Happy End* (1999), and *Careful, a Woman* (2000). In 2002 she designed the uniforms for the Ararat Hyatt staff. [www.niv.ru]

Bekmambetov, Timur: b. 1961 in Kazakhstan. Studied art and design and graduated from the Tashkent College for Theater Design (1987). Worked as designer with Tashkent's Ilkhom Theater. Moved to Moscow, where he worked as film director and clip-maker. He directed, with Gennadi Kayumov, the film *Peshavar Waltz* (Peshavarskii val'ts, 1994) about the Afghan war. He made advertisements, among others for Bank Imperial and Alfa Bank. [www.bazelevs.ru] He is the general director of Imperial Film and the film studio Tabbak. In 2000 he made the film *The Arena* (Gladiatriksy). In 2004 he made *Night Watch*, the first Russian blockbuster to reach a box office (more than \$12 million in 18 days) that was higher than that of U.S. films. [www.dozorfilm.ru]

Chapurin, Igor: b. 1968. Fashion designer. Boutiques on Miasnitskaya Street (1999) and in Berlin House (2002). Graduated from Vitebsk Technical School and in 1991 from the Vitebsk Technical Institute. In 1992 won competition of young designers in Paris. In 1995 presented his first collection at the Metropal Hotel: *To Russia with Love*. Since 1996 member of the Association of Haute Couture, Paris. Collections: Chapurin 96, Chapurin 97. From 1996 to 1998 designed for Galitzine (Italy). Costumes for theater productions in Moscow. Since 1999, also jewelry. Collections:

Frenchwoman in the East (2001); Les Folies Arlésiennes (2001–2002); Future through the Present (2003); Serenade of the Sunshine Valley (2003). [www.niv.ru]

Easter (*paskha*): Easter is the main celebration of the Orthodox church. The date of the holiday moves according to the moon calendar and is calculated on the basis of the Julian (not the Gregorian) calendar. Therefore orthodox Easter does not normally coincide with Christian Easter. Easter Dates: 1 May 2005, 23 April 2006, 8 April 2007, 27 April 2008, 19 April 2009, 4 April 2010. The Easter celebrations are preceded by the Great Fast, when people should abstain from meat and dairy products. The resurrection of Christ is celebrated at church with a night service, leading the community round the church and greeting with the words: “Christ has risen.”—“He has truly risen.” Since Easter is the most important and brightest holiday, the Easter service is one of the most beautiful church services in orthodoxy, when almost all candles and lights in churches are lit. The Sunday is marked with coloured Easter eggs; the *kulich*, a plain cake with raisins; and the *paskha*, a cheesecake with raisins.

Lamanova, Nadezhda (1861–1941): Born in Nizhny Novgorod, she opened her first workshop in 1885 in Moscow. By 1901 she worked for the tsar. In 1919 she began teaching at VKHUTEMAS (Vysshie gosudarstvennye khudozhestvenno-tekhnicheskie masterskie, Higher Artistic-technical Workshops). She married the actor Yuri Kayurov, who later returned to his original career as lawyer. In 1921 she joined the Vakhtangov Theater as costume designer.

In 1925 her models participated in the International Exhibition in Paris. Lamanova made numerous film costumes. She died as the theater was evacuated from Moscow during the war, suffering a heart attack as she was seated on a bench in front of the Bolshoi Theater.

MMM: Pyramid scheme of the early 1990s run by Sergei Mavrodi. The scheme collapsed, leaving many Russians without their pay-out in the early days of free enterprise. The advertising campaign by Bakhyt Kilibayev (b. 1958, scriptwriter for Rashid Nugmanov’s glasnost film *The Needle*, 1988) for MMM was one of the first original and most successful for a Russian product.

Orthodoxy: Christian faith is represented in several religions: the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Orthodox Church are three of the main Christian religions. Orthodox faith arrived in Russia in 988, which is the year of the “Christianization of Rus.” Russia subsequently had to defend its territory and its faith against “barbarian” invasions by the Mongols and Tatars. Orthodox Christians believe in the protective power of icons as images that, like the words of the Bible, create a direct link with God. The veneration of icons in the orthodox tradition contributed to the split between the Western churches (Rome) and the Eastern church (Constantinople). The Orthodox Church separated from the Old Believers (*staroobriadtsy*), who refrained from modernization. In orthodoxy the church is a space where man comes close to God, and His presence suggests the rich decoration of the church and the abundance of candle light to celebrate this closeness. Certain strands of Orthodox

thought also believe in the need for man to lead a humble and meek life, even to renounce possession, in order to be admitted to heaven after death. This is evident in the heroes of Dostoevsky's novels and also in the figure of the *yurodovy*, the fool-in-God.

Parfionova, Tatiana: b. 1956. Fashion designer, St. Petersburg. Boutique on Nevsky 51. Studied painting at Serov school and then graduated from Moscow Technical Institute; 1989 competition of young designers, London; 1995–1996 Safron presented in Vilnius; Golden Button from Paco Rabanne. Collections: Marat's Mountain (1996); Lela, Lialia, Liusia (1996); Guards (1997); White Pavilion (1997); A Chinese in the Courtyard (1997); Stepanida (1998); Demonstration (1998); Urban Details (1999); Female Usurper (1999); Another (1999); Tourmaline (1999); Rose and Rose (2001); Mushka (2001); Veratrek (2002), Colorist (2002). She designed the uniform for staff at the Kempinski Balchug (1999) and Hotel Europe (1998). [www.niv.ru]

Mikhina Razu (Daria Razumikhina): Born in Moscow, Daria Razumikhina studied at the Moscow State University and received a master's degree before studying at St. Martin's College, London from 1995 to 1999. In 1999 she presented her first collection of prêt-à-porter, and in 2001 she participated in the Haute Couture Weeks in Moscow. She works for boutiques such as Liberty (UK) and Podium (Moscow). [www.niv.ru]

Red Star: This model agency was founded by Tatiana Koltseva in 1989 and represents Elite Models in the CIS. Since 1994 the agency has run the Elite Model Look, which has produced numerous cover girls

for international editions of glossy journals and for Western and Russian fashion and style. [www.redstarsmodels.ru]

Sharov, Andrei: b. 1966. Fashion designer, painter, theater designer. Boutique in Smolensk Passage opened in 2001. Sharov studied at MTI (Moscow Technical Institute) without receiving a diploma. He has worked extensively in the theater with Andrei Zhitinkin, Oleg Fomin, and Sergei Vinogradov. In 1994 he presented his first collection, Tack Tick (dresses with clocks and safety pins). The collections Queen of Waste (1994) and Not Everything's That Easy (1994) followed. In 1995 the collection Joke (Shutka) received third place in the Lamanova competition. Other collections have included Taisia (1996), Great and Small Human Weaknesses (1997), This Is All for You (1999), Zoo-room (2001), Spring Challenge (2001), Leather Summer (2002), Bonnie and Colt (2002), Too Second (2002), and Autumn Challenge (2003). In 2002 he launched the prêt-à-porter label Bureau 365. [www.niv.ru]

VASSA: Fashion label. Vassa studied at the MTI (Moscow Technical Institute) and in 1990 went to Virginia on an exchange program. Then she moved to New York, where for three years she worked for Fashion Source and for Anne Klein, Calvin Klein, and Forecast America. She also worked with Federated, Inc. In 1996 she presented her first collection in Soho in New York City, and the collection was subsequently sold in Manhattan boutiques. In 1997 she presented a collection in Moscow and soon thereafter opened a Russian branch. In 1999 the Vassa Company was set up, and by 2000 there were five shops in Moscow

with a high-tech interior design and including a store in GUM. [www.vassatrend.ru]

Yudashkin, Valentin: b. 1963. Boutique on Kutuzovskiy 19. Since 1996 member of the Syndicate of Haute Couture, Paris. Founded his own workshop in 1987 and opened his fashion house in 1991. Collections: Early Rus (1987); Peter's Ball (1988); Fabergé (1991); Music (1992); Nature Morte (1993); Frescoes (1994); Catherine the Great (1994); Ballet (1995); Birds of Paradise (1996); Silent Cinema (1996–1997); Russian Moderne (1998); Anna Karenina (1998–1999); Fin de Siècle (1999); Show Me Love (1999–2000); Impressionists (2000); Byzantine (2000–2001); Night (2001); Journey from Moscow to Petersburg (2003); Corsets (2003–2004); Deco (2004). Design of Olympic uniform (1994 and 1996). Design of staff uniforms for the Ukraina Hotel, Moscow, and for Aeroflot International fleet. Young Collection VY.

Zaitsev, Viacheslav (Slava): b. 1938 in Ivanovo. He trained as a craftsman in printing and painting fabric. In 1965 he joined the House of Models in Moscow and remained there for 13 years, heading the fashion design section. He left in 1978 to set up his own fashion label. In 1979 he also started teaching at the Technical Institute. In 1980 he designed the official uniforms for the Russian Olympic team, and in 1991 he redesigned the Russian police uniforms. In 1982 the Moscow Fashion House opened on Prospekt Mira, headed by Zaitsev, who became its director in 1988. In 1988 he became a member of the Maison de Couture in Paris. In 1992 he launched the perfume range Marusia. Zaitsev remains an important designer in contemporary Moscow. [www.zaitsev.ru]

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