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Nothing glitters like the modern city. In countless films, the opening scenes feature a panoramic view of the city by night, a thousand lights flickering to indicate the enclosed atomised worlds of millions of inhabitants whose lives unfold and intersect without ever meshing in the structured forms of the community. The magic of man-made light also stands for the artificiality of the metropolis and the opportunities it affords for individual self-definition. On the stage that is the city by night, everyone can radiate their own aura and assert their own identity. However, it is the glitter of the rich and the successful that is most enchanting. No one can ignore the dazzle of those who live in the glare of publicity, whose names appear in lights and who give material form to society's dreams.

In the nineteenth century, Paris was the leading city that dazzled and enchanted. Zola, Vallès and other writers offered accounts of the city lights as evoking a magical fairyland. The flickering lights of the shop fronts, creating the illusion of daylight and the blaze of gas lamps on café tables 'recapitulated the myth of the illuminated city' (Prendergast 1992: 40). Urban commercial culture first captured the attention of Baudelaire in the 1840s. The prince of the decadents was the first to investigate the elements that comprised the spectacle of the city. His careful descriptions of the surface splendour of café life bore witness to his own 'dazed enchantment' and revealed 'the dream-machine in action', in so far as they exposed 'the terms on which the city entices into a fantasy of comfort, luxury and gratification' (ibid.: 37).

Christopher Prendergast has pointed out that light, both literal and figurative, played a part in the utopian imaginings of the alternative city as a centre of progress and justice. But 'in terms of urban actuality, the essential preoccupation remained with light in its artificial rather than its natural or symbolic forms'. 'The lights of the city are linked to the lure of the city, the beckoning signs of what is deceptively promised by the new and fast-growing leisure and pleasure culture,' he argues. 'Paris as illuminated "spectacle" is Paris offered for consumption, and nowhere, of course, did gas and electric lighting more directly contribute to the function of the city as dream-machine than in the glitter it conferred on the commodity' (ibid.: 34). This began on a small scale in interiors and subsequently blossomed in large-scale displays, shop windows and exhibitions.
These phenomena were acutely analysed by Benjamin in his study of the Paris arcades. The arcade was seen as a city in miniature, an enclosed, glass-covered world in which the first gas-lighting was installed. Glass and iron were also used extensively for exhibition halls and railway stations, 'buildings which served transitory purposes' (Benjamin 1983: 159). Benjamin saw these new constructions and materials as symbolising the rise of the commodity. Glass and light made possible a range of presentational effects that enabled commodities to be 'theatrically transformed and magically reinterpreted' (Falasca-Zamponi 1997: 140). According to Prendergast, Boucicaut, the inventor of the Bon Marché, quickly grasped the commercial advantages of saturating merchandise with all manner of lighting, subtle or strong. These innovations affected the city as a whole. Lighting began by transforming department stores and window displays. It culminated with the large-scale employment of electricity through which 'the "phantasmagoria" of the commodity culture came finally to be represented as pure "fairyland" by means of the great fin-de-siècle light shows'. 'The "luminous fountains" introduced', Prendergast observes, 'along with the completion of the Tour Eiffel, in the 1889 Exhibition and, at the end of the century, the overwhelmingly impressive productions staged by the Palais de l'Electricité in the 1890 Exposition Universelle' (1992: 34-5).

What Benjamin called 'the enthronement of the commodity and the glitter of distraction around it' resulted in the enthancement of nearly everybody, including critics from the Left (Benjamin 1983: 165; Prendergast 1992: 35). The working class was amused and turned into consumers.

The world exhibitions glorified the exchange value of commodities. They created a framework in which their use-value receded into the background. They opened up a phantasmagoria into which people entered in order to be distracted. The entertainment industry made that easier for them by lifting them to the level of the commodity. They yielded to its manipulations while enjoying their alienation from themselves and from others. (Benjamin 1983: 154)

These techniques became part and parcel of retail marketing in the first half of the twentieth century. Gail Reekie (1993: 160) notes that in Sydney, David Jones Market Street store opened in 1938 with interior furnishings in marble, silver-ash woodwork and aluminium, while in the same year another store, Fletcher Jones, opened a
'Modern Manner Overcoat Style Exhibition' which presented male models against 'a futuristic, glittering metallic background'.

In all the great cities, it was the rich, the aristocrats of money, who shone most brightly. For although 'the lustre of a crowd with a motion and a soul of its own' was 'the glitter that had bedazzled the flâneur', (Benjamin 1983: 154), in reality the glitter was not democratic. In the new city of the commodity, the crowd was no longer the spectacle that it had been for Baudelaire. Rather 'the poor are excluded, [the] spectacle and the pleasures it promises are a matter of class' (Prendergast 1992: 38).

Under new conditions, what Prendergast calls 'one of the great fictions of Second Empire Paris', that is 'that the culture of the boulevard has been fully democratized, and that the city of pleasure is available to all', was undone (ibid.: 39).

The emergence of a new category of plutocrats was an international phenomenon. Edward Spann notes that in New York in the 1840s social observers first began to give their attention to 'a comparatively small number of wealthy men and women who attempted to set the fashions and establish the tone of their society'. At a fancy dress ball held at the beginning of the decade at a new mansion on Fifth Avenue, around 500 people competed with each other to wear the most lavish and spectacular costumes. Although some observers 'had the bad manners to note that the glittering and expensive affair was held during a period of mounting poverty ... sensitivity to social problems was not a conspicuous trait among the fashion-loving rich' (Span 1981: 222-3). Such balls became a means whereby the rich struggled to impress each other and to provoke awe in the wider society. 'What was apparent was that the rich were prepared to spend lavishly in order to embellish their lives ... In a free and open society, without established classes and ranks, strivings for exclusiveness brought that conspicuous display of wealth which Edward Chapin, minister and reformer, referred to as "a vulgar spirit of social rivalry blossoming in lace, brocade, gilding, and fresco"' (ibid.: 223-6). Yet by no means all Americans were averse to the emergence of fashionable life. The activities and antics of the trendsetters of the 1840s (dubbed the `Upper Ten' by Nathaniel Parker Lewis), Spann argues, `was of as much interest to an awed public as those of the later fabled, fabulous Four Hundred' (ibid.: 224).

What had developed in America was a money-driven version of the life of the salons which Stendhal (1959: 92) saw in the Paris of the restoration period. He referred, disparagingly, to `the titillations of style', `the lustre of civic dignitaries', 'career[s] of celebrity' and `all this glitter of success'. Everywhere that commerce flourished and
cities expanded in the nineteenth century witnessed forms of competitive display. The rich and the fashionable stood out on account of the opulence of their dress and the splendour of their lavish social life. Richard Bushman notes that, with the decline in America of the genteel culture of the eighteenth century, bright rich colours ceased to be the prerogative of people of high birth. ‘Bright colors instantly marked a person of fashion,’ he observes. ‘Poorer people wore the dull, natural browns, greens, and off-whites of homespun clothing colored with vegetable dyes which blended with the hues of the natural world’ (1992: 70). Buckles and buttons became an obsession, although there were still resistances to display in certain formal contexts. ‘Brocade rarely appeared in portraits,’ Bushman observes, ‘and buttons did not usually glitter’ (ibid.: 71).

It was above all the fashionable woman covered in jewels and expensive fabrics who attracted attention. Fashion was a competitive terrain, just like business and the professions and, in this special sphere, with its complex paths to influence and success, women asserted their preeminence. By definition, a woman of fashion did not work and fashion implied pleasure and indulgence. ‘It was an outgrowth of the cosmopolitan milieu of cities, particularly of Paris, already a transatlantic symbol of sophistication and vice,’ Lois Banner writes.

It was emblematic of the way elite life was supposed to be: 'a dainty, bonbon, spun-sugar world,' a setting of 'endless carnival,' where dress was a 'round of disguises.' 'The glitter of fashion,' according to Mabel Cummings in The Lamplighter, a best-selling novel of the 1860s, had a 'dazzling, blinding effect.' Its hallmark was glamour - a word grounded in the ancient Scottish culture of magic, witches, and spells and transmogrified into the modern meaning of elusive, sophisticated attraction. (1983: 24)

In Nana Zola describes the ball given by the Comtesse de Muffat to celebrate the renovation of her house and simultaneously mark the signing of her daughter's marriage contract. The party was not exclusive; rather, 500 invitations had been issued to all levels of polite society. 'In this smart, permissive society dedicated purely to pleasure, full of people whom a society hostess would pick up in the course of some short-lived intimacy', Zola (1992: 360) wrote, the sanctity of the family was destroyed and the primacy of the fashionable crowd asserted. Dukes mixed with crooks and 'girls in low-cut dresses flaunted] their bare shoulders', while one woman
'was in such a skin-tight skirt that people were following her progress with amused smiles'. The 'decline of the ruling classes brought about by their shameful compromises with the debauchery of modern life' was, however, disguised by the sheer magnificence of the occasion and the setting (ibid.: 358). In one splendid drawing room 'the chandeliers and crystal sconces lit up a luxurious array of mirrors and fine furniture' (ibid.: 353), providing an ideal frame for such a 'dazzling, crowded evening'. As the dancing began, 'Women in light-coloured dresses were going past, mingling with the dark patches of the men's tail-coats, while the large chandelier gleamed down over the surging heads below with their sparkling jewels and the rustle of white feathers, a whole flower garden of lilacs and roses' (ibid.: 355-6). The sparkle of the fashionable woman was captured in belle époque Paris by painters like John Singer Sargent and Giovanni Boldini. Boldini in particular, with his trademark dramatic brushstrokes and unique ability to convey both edgy modernity and the beauty of fashion, became the preferred portraitist of the cosmopolitan elite. By the 1910s one or two photographers could also capture the surface elegance of a fashionable woman and make the image conform to an idea of grace and distinction. Baron De Meyer was one of these. 'His was the triumph of mind over the matter of mechanism,' Cecil Beaton observed. By using a soft focus lens of particular subtlety he brought out the delicacy of attractive detail and ignored the blemishes that were unacceptable. Utilizing ladies in tiaras and silver lamé as his subject matter, he produced Whistlerian impressions of sunlight on water, of dappled light through trees. As in the instance of many true artists, De Meyer managed to convey his enjoyment of a subject, and shade' (Brayfield 1985: 76). This could not be caught with a lens unless it formed part of the effect sought by a photographer, like De Meyer, who allowed for it. People were impressed by opulence and grace, but what they also saw in the shimmer of the city and the blaze of fashionable life was the glimmer of perfection, and possibly a hint of the divine. When Homer described the appearance of the gods, he referred to their glittering beauty and bright eyes. Athena, the goddess of war 'of the flashing eyes', equipped Achilles for battle by shedding 'a golden mist around his head' and causing 'his body to emit a blaze of light' (quoted in Warnwe 1985: 106-7). In his short story 'Useless Beauty', Guy de Maupassant refers to the eyes of the Comtesse de Mascaret as being 'grey as a frosty sky'. 'In her night-black hair', he continued, 'the diamond coronet scintillated like a milky way' (1997: 184). In the Paris arcade, David Frisby suggests that the sense of space was enhanced by 'its
wealth of mirrors which extended spaces as if magically and made more difficult orientation, whilst at the same time giving them the ambiguous twinkle of nirvana' (1989: 241).

Although the glitter and opulence of the belle époque would, as Benjamin observed, be drowned in the mud of the First World War, the media of advertising and cinema showed no hesitation in the 1920s and 1930s in portraying the wealthy as a separate, gilded elite. Even more than before, America's wealthiest families acted as 'a mirror of the social fantasies of the public'. According to Ronald Marchand, 'The "smart set" was still a highly visible and relatively cohesive group. Whether or not the pre-1929 rich truly "glittered as they walked," as Caroline Bird later recalled, advertising writers and artists strongly encouraged American consumers to think of them that way. Advertising not only reflected but exaggerated and embellished the steeper social pyramid of the late 1920s' (1985: 198).

In the early twentieth century, the most glittering city was New York.' As skyscrapers became the dominant form of urban architecture, so money and ambition dwarfed the city inhabitant and his or her concerns. Many initial observers of the phenomenon were perplexed. Frank Lloyd Wright, the pioneer in low-lying architectural design, acknowledged the skyline's night-time beauty - 'a shimmering verticality, a gossamer veil, a festive scene-drop hanging against the black sky to dazzle, entertain and amaze' - but he could not forget, he wrote in *The Disappearing City* (1932), that the skyscrapers were 'volcanic crater[s] of blind, confused human forces ... forcing anxiety upon all life' (quoted in Douglas 1996: 438-9).

Nevertheless, many enthused about the energy of New York, and in particular of Manhattan -'the electric town' Wallace Stevens called it in the early years of the century. It was the spectacle of the city, especially at night, that most stimulated its muses. Although Stevens soon moved to Connecticut, New York lived on in his poetry as 'an aesthetic principle and an ideal'. `Like Fitzgerald', Ann Douglas writes, 'Stevens favored verbs like "bloom," "gust," "flash," "glitter," "enlarge," "flock," "buoy," "blow," and "flutter," - all suggesting matter effacing its boundaries, extending its promise, rearranging its relationship with gravity, matter in a state of translation' (ibid.: 439-40). Skyscrapers were associated directly with energy and communication. They hosted radio antennae and provided publicity for the industries that commissioned them. `The selfpromoted "frankly spectacular" RCA Victor Building culminated in a series of clustered Victrola-needle-like points. The Chrysler Building
sported hubcaps amid its decoration, and the Radiator Building was lit at night to glow softly in the dark like an incandescent radiator' (ibid.: 439).

New York was enveloped in an overwhelming opulence. It had a glitter that was likened to that of Constantinople or Baghdad. The city had never been tasteful. Although prominent citizens in the middle of the nineteenth century founded many cultural institutions including libraries, academies and theatres, money always dazzled. According to Edward Spann,

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Wealth and culture combined - thus was raised the prospect of a metropolitan culture which would call the talents of the nation to it and fuse them into a gleaming model of beauty and grace that would raise the tastes and so improve the collective life of all of America. It was a nice dream, but the realities of the metropolitan marketplace indicated that the glitter of the new wealth was not necessarily cultural gold. (1981: 220-1)```

The popular fiction of the period is full of depictions of the rich and fashionable set against cityscapes. In *Glitter and Glamour*, a novel by Ameryl Clyde, a dowdy 25-year-old schoolteacher, is contrasted with a London actress who has caught the attention of the former's fiancé. The latter, Daryl, was fascinated by `the other woman [who] dazzled him by her personality and by the atmosphere with which she contrived to surround herself. There was a certain magnetism about her. She was part of the London life which fascinated him' (1935: 25). At the theatre, the alluring Aurea Harding was `beautifully dressed in a wonderful amber gown, with an elusive glitter about it' (ibid.: 55).

It was appropriate that it should have been an actress who sparkled, for in the twentieth century it was the professional performer who took on the fascinating glitter of the appearance of wealth. This occurred for a set of interlocking reasons: the rise of mass entertainments and electronic communication, the development of highly profitable cultural industries, the reproducibility of the appearance of wealth, and the social and political risks involved in flaunting riches. This meant that the relationship between performer and audience changed. The large auditoria which housed the theatres of the Baroque period were half-audience, half-stage. `It was not, however, the case of a dull, undifferentiated throng watching a glittering show: both halves were in balance,' notes Anne Hollander. Both were gorgeously decorated, well-lit and magnificently dressed. The glamour, therefore, was shared between all parties within
an enclosed environment. Candles and reflectors contributed to ingenious stage lighting, but there were also `thousands of candles in chandeliers and sconces illuminating the glittering house' (Hollander 1978: 274). In the modern context, the glamour was concentrated entirely on the performer, while the audience, whether of the theatre or the cinema, was swathed in the anonymity of darkness. This did not mean that performers ceased to be receptive to the tastes and aspirations of audiences, but it did result in a rupture between the stage and ordinary life. `There is a recurring motif on the stages of the music halls,' writes Andrea Stuart, `that of a shimmering showgirl, emerging from an egg, or a birdlike creature with wings about to take off. With its connotations of birth and flight, transformation and new beginnings, this was a striking image for mesmerised early twentiethcentury audiences at the Folies Bergère and the Moulin Rouge. As they watched the revelation of this ravishing creature rising from her restrictive shell, it must have seemed as if the modern woman was performing herself into being before their very eyes' (1996: 71). The prototype of this figure was none other than Zola's Nana, whose final public appearance was at the Gaîté as Blanche in Mésuline: `The grotto round her, made up entirely of mirrors, was glittering with cascades of diamonds, streams of white pearl necklaces amongst the stalactites of the vaulted roof, and in this sparkling mountain spring, gleaming in a broad beam of electric light, with her skin and fiery hair she seemed like the sun. Paris would always see her like that,' Zola concluded, `blazing with light in the middle of all that crystal, floating in the air like an image of the good Lord' (1992: 415).

This type of visual objectification of the showgirl, her enclosure within pure artifice of the spectacle, allowed her to reinvent herself and, paradoxically, secure a measure of autonomy from social expectations and restrictions. Colette wrote that the showgirl was not only observed but observer. Finding the power to look back at the audience from the other side of the spotlight, what she saw was

thousands and thousands of faces, simultaneously hidden and revealed by the light. It was almost as if, refracted back to herself in such a wide variety of eyes, the showgirl was finally liberated from those very special scrutinisers - husbands, parents, children - who proscribed most women's lives. Simultaneously diffuse and intensified, the nature of being looked at changed, and she was finally liberated from their gaze. (cited Stuart 1996: 71)
There was no more striking showgirl than Mae West. Whereas a rich young woman like Jay Gatsby's adored Daisy in Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* had a voice 'full of money' (with a 'jingle' and a 'cymbals' song' to it) and a porch that 'was bright with the bought luxury of starshine' (Fitzgerald 1991: 113, 139), Mae West created a persona which required her to be covered from head to foot in glitter and gold-dust. Even the new rich were tasteful when compared with the professional gold-digger. In her greatest stage success, West played Diamond Lil, 'a provocative, dazzling entertainer' who had 'risen from a shady past to a position of power' (Hamilton 1995: 90). West was known for her tart one-liners: her response to the remark, 'Goodness, what beautiful diamonds!' was simple: 'Goodness had nothing to do with it, dearie' (ibid.: 160). According to Mary Beth Hamilton, 'In a decade [the 1930s] short on material luxuries she showed girls the wealth that was theirs for the taking should they only make use of their bodies to follow her character's lead' (ibid.: 182-3). West created an unreal, ironical, teasing figure that coated in humour the suggestion of sex being exchanged for money. In her Hollywood films, the latter was confined to her celebrated double-entendres and her lavish, sparkling costumes. The Paramount Studio fashion chief, Edith Head, drew attention in her memoirs to the importance of this:

I designed thirty of forty pounds of jewellery for Mae to wear as 'Diamond Lil'. I first found pictures of period jewellery to show her. 'Fine, honey', she said, 'just make the stones bigger'. The period of the picture was one of the most beautiful in the world fashion-wise, and she was the one woman of the modern world who could offer the figure needed to round those fashions out. There was a walking costume of lace and ostrich feathers with a lace parasol to match ... . There was a white costume of satin embroidered in diamonds and trimmed with ostrich feathers and a dust ruffle of tulle. Her very favourite was a jewelled black satin worn with an ostrich feather boa. (1959: 59)

Many other stars were similarly decked out in the 1920s and 1930s. For the tango sequence with Rudolph Valentino in *Beyond the Rocks*, Gloria Swanson wore 'a gold-beaded and embroidered lace evening gown so shimmering and beautiful that moviegoers talked about it for a year'. 'I also wore a king's ransom in velvet, silk ruffles, sable and chinchilla', she later wrote, 'all dripping from shoulders to the floor with over a million dollars' worth of jewels' (Swanson 1982: 173). Jean Harlow was
habitually attired in a lavish fashion; 'a totally outré appearance, Harlow's glittering Christmas-tree image enchanted audiences and helped guide them through the gray Depression years' (LaVine 1981: 54). Greta Garbo often wore quite simple attire, but in *Mata Hari* she appeared in some of the most extravagant costumes ever made. 'Garbo's Byzantine-looking bugle-headed skull cap, designed by Adrian, was hung with glittering disks,' LaVine writes (ibid.: 58-9). According to Barry Paris (1995: 191), she too looked like a Christmas tree in the film as she 'shimmies around a huge Polynesian idol, balancing a triple-tiered hat ... on her head'. The glitter effect was deliberately cultivated by 'chiaroscuro lighting and Adrian's dazzling costumes - a backless lamé gown with metallic leggings, for example, and a host of other furbelows' (ibid.: 193).

Vulgar, extravagant costumes were the stock-in-trade of many Hollywood films of the 1930s. Bracelets, jewellery, diamonds embroidered on satin, sequins and paillettes, gold and silver lamé all sparkled and glittered and contributed much to cinema glamour (see Bailey 1988: 24-39). Beads and sequins on a dress could add a swirl of glitter or act as a design accent that could be subtle, but was more frequently stunning. Gleam, glitter and shine were the epitome of Hollywood glamour. They were a crucial part of the make-believe; by constructing a fairyland appearance, Hollywood invited its audiences to dream, to escape their troubles and revel in the pleasure of excess. In historical films, a considerable effort was made to ensure the accuracy of costumes and the magnificent jewellery items were almost always genuine (see Prodow et al.: 1992). Whereas Chanel was a little too restrained for Hollywood tastes, Schiaparelli was 'tough and brash, offering sensational effects in bright and bold colours'. According to Palmer White, 'this hard, highly individual femininity was personified by Tallulah Bankhead, bolt upright, prancing to a brass band on parade in the circus' (White 1995: 94).

The studios did everything possible to promote the stars and the fabulous image of their lives. In the mid-1930s major stars were typically living in white-pillared plantation or Regency-style mansions fitted out with a projection room, tennis courts, swimming pools, three-car garages and fully equipped beauty salon and gymnasium (LaVine 1981: 42). Seeing these magnificent dwellings in magazines, the public believed that its favourites were a new aristocracy, chosen by the fans themselves. But although stars were often depicted in the company of nobility, they knew the difference. At the end of the day, Hollywood was 'tinsel town', a showy façade in
which the glitter was the substance and the glamour was not backed up by education, culture or breeding.

The surface appearance of wealth, and the sentiments of greed that were always aroused by the sparkle of gems and metals, formed part of a broader aesthetic in capitalist society. If the shimmer always contained an element of innocence, in so far as it hinted at perfection, it also contained a promise. This was the promise that, in theory, wealth and elegance was within everyone's grasp. All that was required was luck, uncompromising determination and the right look. Not surprisingly, therefore, Las Vegas is the glitter capital of the world. Brash, tacky and seductive, it is a hymn to greed and inelegance, an oasis of dreams in the Nevada desert. The nearest European equivalent was Monte Carlo, 'a dazzling center for chance and caprice ... with its casino ("a place of enchantment," Liégeard said, "where night descends in a robe of light")' (Blue 1994: 58). But whereas the Monte Carlo casino was a place where kings, millionaires and crooks expected to lose, Las Vegas drew those who deluded themselves that they could win. The gamblers were spivs, gangsters, high-rollers and low-lifers, prostitutes and obsessives.

Nevertheless, the appeal of glitz is enduring. Estée Lauder even aimed to incorporate it into the perfume to which she gave her first name.

Once at a party after Youth Dew came out, I saw the light from two crystal chandeliers shimmering in a glass of champagne. Imagine if I could capture that image in a fragrance, I immediately thought. For years I worked on that incredible light. I mixed hundreds of precious essences in every possible combination until, one day, I had what I searched for - the light in the champagne. (Lauder 1985: 109)

Ultimately, it was the nightclub that was the setting where glitzy irony meshed with accessibility. As Edith Head wrote (1959: 122), `Nightclubs have become the "theatre" of our day in terms of glamour, while pictures have become concerned with realism'. The disco boom of the late 1970s thrived on physical heat, drugs and sexual tension. For the wild-eyed patrons of Studio 54, the ne plus ultra New York nightclub of the 1970s, 'it was a hallucinatory vision: a surreal, arousing kaleidoscope of light, sound and sensuality' (Margulies 1999: 11). As the glitterball cast its random beams across the pulsating crowd, so the illusion of escape and exclusivity was renewed.
In the late 1990s, 1970s disco chic returned to the fashion pages, although in a cooler, less garish form. Sequins were used sparingly and appeared in unexpected places such as on bikinis. Metallic dresses by Donna Karan and Katherine Hamnett aimed to combine the sparkle factor with a sense of elegance (Murray Greenway 1997: 99; Richardson 1997: 173). 'Glitz is back, with a touch of class', The Times Weekend shopping supplement headlined in August 1998. But, in the final analysis, the combination of class and glitz could work only if a dose of irony was added. Even then, the uncompromising embrace of the tackier aspects of glitter was ultimately more honest and convincing. 'Dazzling Irresistible Supersexy Couture Outrageous (DISCO)' ran one Vogue title in 1994; 'It's about star-spangled glamour, blazing colour, high energy extravagance. It's mad, bad and dangerous to know'. Glitter no longer carried any meaningful connotations of exclusivity, but its shimmer was at least sexy, daring and fun.