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**VISUALIZING ATTRACTIVE
SPOTS FOR VISITORS AND THE
MAKING OF THE TOURIST
PLACES AT THE BLACK SEA
COAST OF RUSSIA (THE END OF
THE 19TH AND THE BEGINNING
OF THE 20-TH CENTURIES)**

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VISUALIZING ATTRACTIVE SPOTS FOR VISITORS AND THE MAKING OF THE TOURIST PLACES AT THE BLACK SEA COAST OF RUSSIA (THE END OF THE 19TH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20-TH CENTURIES)²

The article deals with the process of emergence of tourism in Russia and focused on a visual pattern in the making of tourist places. Being an essential part of mass printed culture, travel guidebooks, along with travel literature and postcards, were in demand during the late imperial period. They were produced and replicated intensively and circulated widely. At the turn of the 19 – 20th centuries the Black Sea coast of Russia was evolving into a popular place for travel and a recreational destination. A set of images of attractive spots of this region, which were reproduced in Nikolai Lender's guidebooks, as well as on postcards in 1880s - 1910s formed the empirical basis of this research.

Keywords: travel guidebooks; images of attractive spots, tourist spaces, tourism history, the Black Sea coast, late Imperial Russia

JEL Classification: Z.

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The emergence of tourism in the Russian Empire was a prolonged process. It began about the mid-19th century and was intertwined with the commodification of travel and leisure practices. It was shaped by the development of transportation, recreational and tourist service sectors and closely interrelated with rapid industrial and infrastructural development and urbanization as well as with crucial social transformations, -- processes, which intensified over several decades in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries and resulted in the growth of a mass-oriented culture. Those processes laid the foundation for the tourism industry, which would reach its maturity during the Soviet period. As Louise McReynolds convincingly demonstrated, thereby evolving into the phenomenon of mass culture; tourism as well as other leisure practices like sea-bathing and recreation became effective laboratories of 'modernity'.³

Travel guides became essential accoutrements of travel in Russia by the end of the 19th century. It played an important role in the process of making the act of travelling and was an indispensable part of social practice. Business travellers, vacationers, and eventually tourists bought guidebooks that became much in demand. Travel guides proved to be highly sensitive to the economic, technological and social changes taking place during the 19th century. To make their publications more practical, utilitarian and attractive, authors and publishers of guidebooks began supplying them intensively with visual materials -- plans, maps, photographs and other illustrations. The same types of conventional images of natural and historical sites were reproduced also on postcards, which were printed in large numbers and were circulated widely. Acquiring practical dimensions and being reprinted regularly, guidebooks became popular publications for a broader audience and along with postcards were part of mass printing culture. Analyzing guidebooks published in Russia as an integral part of the body of travel literature and the general historical and geographical description of particular regions, a number of scholars focused on their role as a phenomenon of mass culture, closely connected to the social and economic development of particular regions of the Russian Empire.⁴ Russian guidebook narratives are used for the analysis of Russian landscape as a cultural construction and the emergence of new aesthetic norms to accommodate its perception.⁵ Moreover, the travel guides

³ Louisa McReynolds, *Russia at Play: Leisure Activities at the End of the Tsarist Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Idem. "The Prerevolutionary Russian Tourist: Commercialization in the Nineteenth Century," in *Turizm: The Russian and East-European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. A. E. Gorsuch, D. P. Koenker. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 17-41.

⁴ William G. Lywood, "From Russia's orient to Russia's Riviera reimagining the Black Sea coast Caucasus from romantic literature to early tourist guidebooks" (Masters diss., Ohio State University, 2009); Irina Rutzinskaia, *Putevoditel' kak fenomen massovoi kul'tury: obrazy rossiiskikh regionov v provintsial'nykh putevoditeliakh vtoroi poloviny 19 – nachala 20 veka* (Moscow: Lenand, 2014); Liubov' Kiseleva, ed., *Putevoditel' kak semioticheskii ob'ekt* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus, 2008); Andrei Mal'gin, *Russkaia Riv'iera. Kurorty, tourism i otдых v Krymu v epokhu Imperii. Konetz 18 – nachalo 20 veka* (Simferopol': SONAT, 2004).

⁵ See for example: Christopher Ely, *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002)

reflected the interests of diverse social and professional groups that interacted with each other with regard to both the creation and the use of such publications.⁶

In his inspiring study of tourism, Dean McCannell argued that being an essential part of the everyday life, local sights are commercialized through tourism practices and transformed into commodities of the global tourist market.⁷ In his influential sociological study, John Urry focused on the 'tourist gaze' as social construction.⁸ He argued that the tourist's experience and the way of looking (or gaze) is specifically structured by the intensive circulation of travel literature, guides, popular images. Contributors to the volume on the history of tourism and vacations in Europe and North America from the early 19th century revealed their importance for constructing modern cultural meanings of experience, visibility and mobility, as well as for representing the benefits of consumerism.⁹ Addressing how water is used for relaxation and how it intersects with ideas about class, gender, nationality and consumption, contributors to another edited volume deal with European history case studies and focus on the following research questions: "what kind of relationships exist between recreational usage of water and cultural, social, or political practices? How have such relationships found representation in art, landscaping, or architecture? Who visits water resorts or beaches and what role have these places played in the emergence of collective identities or in lending authority to social distinctions?"¹⁰ Analyzing the development of guidebooks printing industry in Germany in comparison with Great Britain, Rudy Koshar convincingly demonstrated that tourism practices were very much related to the formation of national and social identities as well as to emergence of consumer culture.¹¹ Among other historians, who are working with guidebooks, John Mackenzie deals with the role of tourism in the process of empire building and focuses on cultural imperialism.¹² Studying the complex relationship between development of tourism, leisure practices and imperialism, scholars analyzed impressive bodies of visual sources: photographs, postcards,

⁶ Evgenii V. Anisimov, Alexandra Bekasova, Ekaterina Kalemeneva. "Books That Link Worlds: Travel Guides, the Development of Transportation Infrastructure, and the Emergence of the Tourism Industry in Imperial Russia, Nineteenth–Early Twentieth Centuries," *The Journal of Tourism History* 8, (2016): 184–204.

⁷ Dean McCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: The MacMillan Press LTD, 1976), 159–160.

⁸ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (SAGE Publications, 2011).

⁹ Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, ed., *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001).

¹⁰ Bruce H. Tabb, Susan C. Anderson, ed., *Water, Leisure and Culture. European Historical Perspectives* (Berg Publishers, 2002).

¹¹ Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford and NY: Berg, 2000); Idem. "'What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, (1998): 323–340.

¹² John M. Mackenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries," in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. John K. Walton (Toronto: Channel View Publications 2005), 19–39.

maps, etc.¹³ However, in spite of the fact that the scholarship on tourism studies is extremely rich and continue to grow rapidly, scholars not yet paid substantial attention how habits of visual perceptions of recreational and tourist spaces and sites came into existence.

The empirical body of the documentary materials for this research is formed by photographs and other images, which were printed in the guidebooks devoted to the Black Sea region (mostly focused on descriptions of coastal spaces of the Crimean Peninsula and the Caucasus) as well as those reproduced on postcards in the period of 1890s -1910s. We focus on analysis of the body of images in the context of narrative descriptions of attractive spots for visitors of the Black Sea coast, which were reproduced in guidebooks completed by Nikolai Lender. Lender was a novelist and journalist, who collaborated with the well known and prosperous publishing house of Alexei Suvorin and frequently published his essays in several popular magazines. Writing and editing guidebooks, he actively cooperated with the Russian Society of Shipping and Trade (ROPT) and the International Society of Sleeping Carriages (Companie International des Wagons Lits, CIWL). He acted as an author and editor of about twenty publications of original guides and their reprints with the focus on the Black Sea region. While working on reissues, he made significant additions and sometimes changed slightly the title of the updated version of a guide. He supplied these publications with visual materials. Usually it was about thirty various illustrations in each edition. Three groups of Lender's original guides and their reprints were analyzed: "Vseobshchiy illyustrirovannyi putevoditel'" (1910-1911, 1913-1914)¹⁴, "Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel' po Chernomu moryu, Krymu i Kavkazu" (1897-1914)¹⁵ and "Putevoditel' mezhdunarodnogo obshchestva spal'nykh vagonov i yevropeyskikh skorykh poyezdov" (1913-1914).¹⁶

¹³ For example see, John Taylor, *A Dream of England. Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹⁴ Nikolai Lender, ed., *Vseobshchiy illyustrirovannyi putevoditel* (Saint-Petersburg: A. S. Suvorin, 1910); Idem. *Vseobshchiy illyustrirovannyi putevoditel* (Saint-Petersburg: A. S. Suvorin, 1911); *Vseobshchiy illyustrirovannyi putevoditel*. Besplatnoye prilozheniye k illyustrirovannomu zhurnalu "Yevropeyskaya zhizn' i Rossiya" (Saint-Petersburg., 1913); *Vseobshchiy illyustrirovannyi putevoditel*. Besplatnoye prilozheniye k illyustrirovannomu zhurnalu "Yevropeyskaya zhizn' i Rossiya" (Saint-Petersburg., 1914).

¹⁵ Nikolai Lender, ed., *Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel' po Chernomu moryu, Krymu i Kavkazu* (Moscow: Izdaniye L. Dekroz, 1897); Idem. *Ilyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu, Gretsii, Turtsii i Yegiptu* (Moscow: "Russkoye tovarishchestvo pechatn. i izd. Dela", 1898); *Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: Tip. Aktsionernogo Yuzhno-Russkogo obshchestva Pech. Dela, 1899); *Ilyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: izdaniye Barona E. E. Shteyger, 1900); *Ilyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: izdaniye Barona E. E. Shteyger, 1901); *Ilyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: izdaniye Barona E. E. Shteyger, 1902); *Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: Tip. Aktsionernogo Yuzhno-Russkogo obshchestva Pech. Dela, 1903); *Ilyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: izdaniye Barona E. E. Shteyger, 1904); *Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: Tip. Aktsionernogo Yuzhno-Russkogo obshchestva Pech. Dela, 1905); *Ilyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Odesse, Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: Izdaniye I. G. Blyaushteyna, 1906); *Ilyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Odesse, Krymu i Kavkazu* (Odessa: Izdaniye I. G. Blyaushteyna, 1907); *Ilyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Odesse, Krymu i Kavkazu* (Odessa: Izdaniye I. G. Blyaushteyna, 1908); *Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel*. Russkoye Obshchestvo Parokhodstva i Torgovli. (Odessa, 1909); *Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel*. Russkoye Obshchestvo Parokhodstva i Torgovli (Odessa, 1911); *Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel*. Russkoye Obshchestvo Parokhodstva i Torgovli (Odessa, 1912); *Ilyustrirovannyi putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i*

Analyzing set of images, which included natural and historical sites as well as local inhabitants, holidaymakers and their occupations, we, on the one hand, consider the making of tourist spaces and places through the lens of their visual representations and construction of conventional visual modes of their perception. On the other hand, we focus on the process of the making a tourist identity. We examine visual representations of recreational spaces and tourist sites situated in the coastal region of the Black Sea in Crimea and the Caucasus and then focus on the processes of a tourist identity formation and tourists' perceptions in context of the analyses of visual materials and ego-documents.

Visual Representations of Attractive Spots of Crimea, of the Caucasus Coastal Region and the City of Odessa

The growing attraction of the Black Sea region among the Russian nobility, which included the Crimean Peninsula and the Caucasus, can be traced from the end of the Napoleonic Wars, although visits to the region became customary following the end of the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Caucasian War (1817-1864).¹⁷ After the royal family bought Livadiia, an estate in Crimea by the Black Sea close to Yalta, the family members began spending time there regularly from about the 1870s followed by the members of Russian aristocracy close to the imperial Court. After the railway line that connected St. Petersburg and Moscow with the Crimean Peninsula began to operate, a coastal area was evolving into popular recreational place and tourist destination. These processes began to develop at the Caucasus coastline later, only several years before the outbreak of the First World War. Several types of tourism flourished in the region: mineral water spa resorts and mountainous areas in the Caucasus, excursions along the Black Sea shore, visiting of the Crimean coastal towns and manors.

Nikolai Lender's travel guides on the Black Sea region were not unique, about a hundred other publications of this kind devoted to various parts of the Black Sea area exist. We argue, however, that the list of tourist sights and their descriptions, practical information, and the general character of narratives were rather similar in so called 'practical' and 'illustrated' guides

Blizhnemu Vostoku. Russkoye Obshchestvo Parokhodstva i Torgovli (Odessa, 1913); *Illyustrirovannyi putevoditel'. Russkoye Obshchestvo Parokhodstva i Torgovli* (Odessa, 1914).

¹⁶ Nikolai Lender, ed., *Putevoditel'. Mezhdunarodnoye obshchestvo spal'nykh vagonov i yevropeyskikh skorykh poyezdov* (Saint-Petersburg: Tip. T-va A. S. Suvorina "Novoye vremya", 1913); *Putevoditel'. Mezhdunarodnoye obshchestvo spal'nykh vagonov i yevropeyskikh skorykh poyezdov* (Saint-Petersburg: Tipografiia tovarijestva A. S. Suvorina "Novoye vremya", 1914).

¹⁷ Mal'gin, *Russkaia Riv'iera*; Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

published by the very end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Moreover, many guidebooks contained information about the entire Black Sea region, which was the only way to reach a broader audience.¹⁸ Until about the mid of 1850s the guides were published without any visual content, then illustrations began to appear on the pages of guidebooks from time to time. But it was only in the 1890s when dozens of illustrations were printed in guidebooks and photographs began to dominate in comparison with other visual materials.

The Black Sea region serves as a vivid example of the close cooperation of different actors in creating guides to promote and develop tourism. The process of constructing a tourist space through visualization and replication of images of attractive spots included the activities of different actors. Publishers, authors and compilers of these publications were engaged in collaboration with photographers, painters, as well as transportation companies. Following the activities of Lender and his collaborators, we are analyzing how recreational places and local landscapes were represented, how their images became recognizable and conventional through replication and circulation, how special tourist places were created and used, and how they were adapted by visitors in the process of making new practices and identities.

The steamship company ROPT ordered Lender to compile a guidebook on the Black Sea area, which later was reprinted several times from 1897 to 1914. This guide included not only descriptions of the most popular routes and attractions, but practical details on timetables, prices and services as well as illustrations. The narrative in Lender's illustrative travel guide was structured in such a way, that for the reader-traveler it was comfortable to use it while traveling by ship. Cities and towns on the coastline were described from the position of a traveler-observer, who sailed by them or moored at some place to go ashore. The travel guide's narrative was intended for those passengers who used the services of a transport company.

The visual content of this guide and its reprints included various images of towns and port cities from the sea side (Figure 1). Tourist attractions were constructed through the process of replication of urban and natural sights, monuments, buildings, which were depicted from a recognizable perspective when they were published in travel guides along with their narrative descriptions. Moreover, they were reproduced from the same points and perspectives both by photographers, and by painters. For example, the main quay of Sebastopol -- the Grafskaya Wharf (or the Count Wharf) with granite stairs descending to the sea surface was one of the most popular spots, its image was reproduced numerous both in guidebooks and on postcards. Being one of the first constructions of the port city of Sebastopol and being rebuilt several times, the quay was

¹⁸¹⁸ Anisimov, Bekasova, Kalemeneva, *"Books That Link Worlds,"* 15-18.

inseparably intertwined with its history and already in 19th century became a kind of emblem of the city. Marine painter Alexei Hanzen (1876-1937), who was the grandson of a well known painter Ivan Aivazovsky, painted this place, depicting it from the sea (Figure 2). As Hanzen cooperated with Lender in the process of publishing guidebooks, this image was regularly replicated in the guides along with about ten other reproductions of his painting. Moreover, it was replicated on the postcards as well. Circulated widely this image of the main quay in Sebastopol painted by Hanzen became a conventional visual model not only for his contemporaries but even for artists nowadays.

Owners of estates, which were situated on the sea coast of the Crimean Peninsula ordered architects to build palaces and houses in a stylized oriental style, which was very popular. The authors of travel guides paid attention to this fact. Lender described attractions of Alupka in the following way, "...the main place of interest in Alupka is the richest palace of the Princes Vorontsov (now Shuvalov), abounding with marble ornaments and tropical verdure. This palace with domes was built in pure 'Arab style'"¹⁹. The seafront façades of the buildings were depicted on paintings or reproduced on photographs, and then regularly reprinted in guidebooks as well as on postcards. (Figure 3, 4). Through the process of mass replication and circulation of these images the 'oriental' style of the resort towns of the Black Sea coast of Crimea became conventional. Probably, it was in demand by tourists who wanted to see something unusual and exotic in comparison with those places where they came from to spent time at the resort.

The urban space of coastal towns and port cities in Crimea was described in such a way in the guidebooks that it represented a step-by-step instruction for a walk. Describing Sebastopol, Lender mentioned, "... opposite the main entrance to Primorsky Boulevard, on the square in front of the Maritime Assembly is the monument to the hero of the Sebastopol Defense P.S. Nakhimov. From the boulevard two main streets begin: Nakhimovsky prospect and Ekaterininskaya street. On Ekaterininskaya street, in a new elegant building the museum of Sebastopol Defense is situated"²⁰. Urban sights were often represented on photographs, which were printed on postcards. Moreover, there were often some city dwellers and/or visitors on these photographs. (Figure 5). Using a method of reportage photography, photographers stressed that scenes of everyday street life were not staged, and, consequently, the images represented the 'real' urban space. Through replication of the images of various people in urban environment, a notion of security was constructed for potential visitors of the resorts, since these spaces looked at the photographs friendly and safe.

¹⁹ Nikolai Lender, ed., *Illyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Odesse, Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: Izdaniye I. G. Blyaushteyna, 1906), 33.

²⁰ Ibid. 30.

Recreational space included baths, beaches, sanatoriums, boarding houses, etc. Moreover, nature and climate were represented in guides as important attractions. Lender advertised the city of Odessa in the following way, "...the main charm of Odessa is the sea. The sea gives beauty to the city landscape, the sea with its estuaries is the pride of Odessa as a resort"²¹. Natural sites were important for the construction of recreational spaces. As natural sites were used for recreational purposes, the seaside was transformed into recreational beaches, where special places were organized in such way that it was convenient to swim in the sea. The natural attractions were not only limited to the sea and estuaries, but also included parks, gardens, rocks and even plants. Lender stressed the role of a human beings in the transfiguration of nature, and argued that through this activity, it became attractive for tourists. Visual representations of natural sites in guidebooks reinforced the author's point of view. The images of cultivated trees testified that planted trees and other vegetation help to create more pleasant and comfortable atmosphere for visitors of the resorts. (Figure 6).

Tourist spaces of the Caucasus and the Crimea Peninsula were formed in different political and economic contexts. The representations of Caucasus of the late 19th and the early 20th centuries were affected by the process of conquering these territories by the Russian Empire and consequently by the process of its colonization. Thus, it was only in the second half of the 19th century when economic colonialization intensified, and the region began to be integrated in the Russian Empire's economy. As a result, the development of the coastal region of Caucasus as recreational space stepped behind in comparison with the Crimean Peninsula. At the very beginning of the 20th century Lender described the settlements situated on the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea as follows, "Anapa is a nascent seaside resort, however it lacks proper amenities".²²

Leisure activities, travel and tourism were important for the development of this area, in which representatives of the Russian elite, academics, as well as members of amateur societies and tourist clubs participated actively. The analysis of the visual content of guides produced by Lender showed that set of images of attractive spots at the coastline of the Caucasus included many representations of private estates, cottages and dachas. These images were intensively replicated on postcards as well. Moreover, the names of owners of boarding houses and sanatoriums were often indicated on the postcards. It is important to mention that this information was not mentioned for the same kind of buildings in Crimea. Photographs of summer cottages and private houses of diverse types, which were accompanied by information

²¹ Ibid.11.

²² Nikolai Lender, ed., *Illyustrirovannyi Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: izdaniye Barona E. E. Shteyger, 1900), 52.

about their owners' names, provided evidence on the degree of habitability of seaside resorts. They were intended to construct the image of a cozy, domesticated and safe leisure space. Describing urban infrastructure and services at resort towns on the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea, Lender was mostly pessimistic, but at the same time he pointed out to the example of Batumi, which he considered to be better developed. Lender described that, "there was no sign of the former Turkish village that was in place of the present brilliant Batumi. Slender buildings, magnificent shops, beautiful hotels stand on the site of the old shacks".²³ Furthermore, the author emphasized that "the city of Batumi is the Caucasian Odessa".²⁴ He thereby stressed the liveness of Odessa, where urban environment was convenient to live in and considered it to be a kind of a model for other Russian coastal cities and towns situated on the Black Sea.

Flora of the Caucasus also became the subject of close attention of the author of guidebooks and therefore, worth mentioning tourist attraction. Through descriptions of the diversity of plant species, some of which were imported from some distant places, the specificity of the region was emphasized. For example, Lender noted, "...in Sukhumi, due to a wonderful climate and mighty soil, plants from Southern France and even from the Canary Islands grow beautifully".²⁵ The image of the exotic resort was created through constructing impressively beautiful nature with warm climate, charming landscapes and sea views, rich vegetation. Being integrated into the Russian Empire this region became to be identified as a 'Russian Riviera'. Due to its specific environmental characteristics it was comparable to similar resort areas in Europe. Emphasizing these similarities through making stories about bringing and acclimatizing various plant species from distant foreign places, Lender stressed the point that Russia was an integral part of an ensemble of European culture.

Inhabitants were often depicted on the photographs and on the paintings of the Caucasus attractive spots. As far as their appearance and clothes are concerned, it seems they were not visitors (representatives of ethnic and social groups from the central regions of the Russian Empire), but local inhabitants. (Figure 7). As Iver Neumann stressed in the preface to the Russian translation of his book, "collective identities exist because they separate people from others by using certain markers (indicators)".²⁶ In the process of construction, replication and circulation the image of the "Other" became recognizable and helped tourists to identify themselves as well as their own place in the social configurations. Making residents visible and

²³ Nikolai Lender, ed., *Putevoditel' po Odesse, Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: izdaniye I. G. Blyaushteyna, 1906), 95.

²⁴ Ibid. 57.

²⁵ Nikolai Lender, ed., *Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku (Konstantinopol'-Kair)* (Odessa: izdaniye Barona E. E. Shteygera, 1900), 55-56.

²⁶ Iver B. Neumann, *Ispol'zovaniye "Drugogo": obrazy Vostoka v formirovaniy yevropeyskikh identichnostey*, trans. Igor Pilshchikov and Vladimir Litvinov (Moscow: Novoe Izdatel'stvo, 2004), 14-15. Original publication see, Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other. «The East» in European Identity Formation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

depicting them as an integral element of the urban environment of the resort area, photographers, painters and author of guidebooks invested a lot to the process of the making collective identities.

The Making of a Tourist

The formation of the tourist space is unthinkable without the making of a tourist. Editors, authors and compilers, painters, photographers, as well as entrepreneurs, who were actively engaged in the process of making of tourism industry, at the same time also had their own experience of being travellers, holidaymakers and tourists. They creatively adapted the tourist and recreational space to their needs, endowed it with different meanings and used this experience in their professional activities. For example, Alexei Hanzen, a marine painter who traveled extensively on the Crimean Peninsula and spent a lot of time in the coastline area, was an experienced tourist. As it was mentioned earlier, reproductions from Hanzen's paintings were regularly published in Lender's guidebooks and travel essays. Moreover, Hanzen published the same reproductions of his paintings on the postcards. Analysis of his personal letters to his friends, which he sent from Saryi Krym (one of the resort towns he spent time during his trip in 1916) helps to understand how the traveler identified himself and how he perceived the resort's environment.

Describing his impressions, Hanzen focused on the everyday life of local inhabitants and the public at the resort. He clearly considered himself as being separated both from the public and from the locals, whom he had encountered during his stay at the resort town. As Svetlana Malysheva argued, "... in their leisure activities - more than during working hours - people were given the opportunity to accept and approve their social identities".²⁷ Hanzen mentioned in one of the letters, "... what inertia is in small towns, and how all needs self-activity. There is no artistic thinking and communication here".²⁸ Analysis of his personal correspondence showed that a process of his self-fashioning was rather complicated. Hanzen-tourist did not identify himself with any of the community at the resort.

Analysis of memoirs of Makarii Boborykin, a notary from Khar'kov, who travelled to Crimea for vacations with his wife helped to understand more deeply how a tourist identified himself through articulation of his belonging to a certain social milieu. Boborykin undertook several trips to the Crimean Peninsula, which he described in detail. He carefully observed how

²⁷ Svetlana Malysheva, *Prazdnyy den', dosuzhiy vecher. Kul'tura dosuga rossiyskogo provintsial'nogo goroda vtoroy poloviny XIX - XX veka* (M.: Academia, 2011), 16.

²⁸ A. V. Hansen's letters E.P. Jurgenson (2), 1914-1916 // Department of Manuscripts. The National Library of Russia in St.Peterburg. Fond. 124. Delo. 1064. List 3.

visitors and tourists distinguished themselves by financial possibilities. For example, he mentioned, “We [Boborykin and his wife] used the postal train, since our finances did not allow us to travel by the luxury speed train. We had only about 100 rubles to spend during vacations”.²⁹ In this case, Boborykin concretized what means of transportation wealthy tourists could afford in comparison to those with more modest income as well as how much money they were planning to spend on a holiday. Moreover, being in a resort town Yalta, he paid attention to the nuances in appearance, and modes of behavior and “tastes” of various vacationers.³⁰ According to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu taste was one of the important criteria for self-fashioning. Bourdieu defined “taste” as “acquired disposition to establish and mark differences”.³¹ Boborykin described the tourists and holidaymakers as well as local inhabitants at the resort, paying attention to their social backgrounds and professional activities. Boborykin mentioned that on Sundays and holidays, the public was simpler and had more democratic appearance, as it was replenished by employees of small shops and offices, who lived in the specific neighborhood of the town. On those days the fashionable public desisted from walking along the embankment and spent time in the garden near the luxurious hotel “Russia”.³² Interestingly enough, Boborykin did not identify himself with any of the communities he described, but constructed self-identity through articulating his belonging to the “higher” intellectual culture, using the citations from the literary works of well known Russian writers like Alexander Pushkin, Alexander Ostrovsky, Anton Chekhov.

Conclusions

The emergence of the tourist industry in late Imperial Russia was closely interrelated not only with commercialization of travel and leisure practices. Moreover, when travel and tourist experiences were becoming a commodity, visual perceptions were gradually transformed into a commercial product. Seeking for profits, authors and publishers of guidebooks as well as producers of postcards, photographers and painters, booksellers and entrepreneurs collaborated and competed, being involved in the making of the market of mass visual products.

As our analyses of the set of images of attractive spots of the Black Sea coast in Crimea and the Caucasus, which were published in Nikolai Lender’s guidebooks and on postcards, showed, production, replication and intensive circulation of images played a significant role in

²⁹ Makarii M. Boborykin, *Vospominaniya o Kryme. 1897-1920* (Simferopol': N. Orianda, 2015), 25-26.

³⁰ Ibid. 53.

³¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A 'social critique of the judgement of taste'*, trans. Richard Nice. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 466.

³² Makarii M. Boborykin, *Vospominaniya o Kryme. 1897-1920* (Simferopol': N. Orianda, 2015), 53.

the making of tourist places. Being circulated widely, the sets of images of natural and historical sites, urban and natural environment, local inhabitants, made these places rather exotic, attractive and inviting. They were also important for ‘domestication’ of tourist spaces and recreational areas as they helped to construct an image of safe, friendly and comfortable environment. As our analyses revealed, most of the photographs and paintings were made from the same spots and similar visual perspectives. As these pictures were reproduced regularly and were replicated intensively, images of attractive spots of the tourist space became visible and recognizable. Becoming conventional, they influenced the modes of visual perception, as well as tourist experiences and practices, affecting their self-fashioning and identity formation processes. It is important to mention, that through the construction of these imaginary and material assemblages they were given new meanings, acquired value and gradually became objects of natural and cultural heritage.

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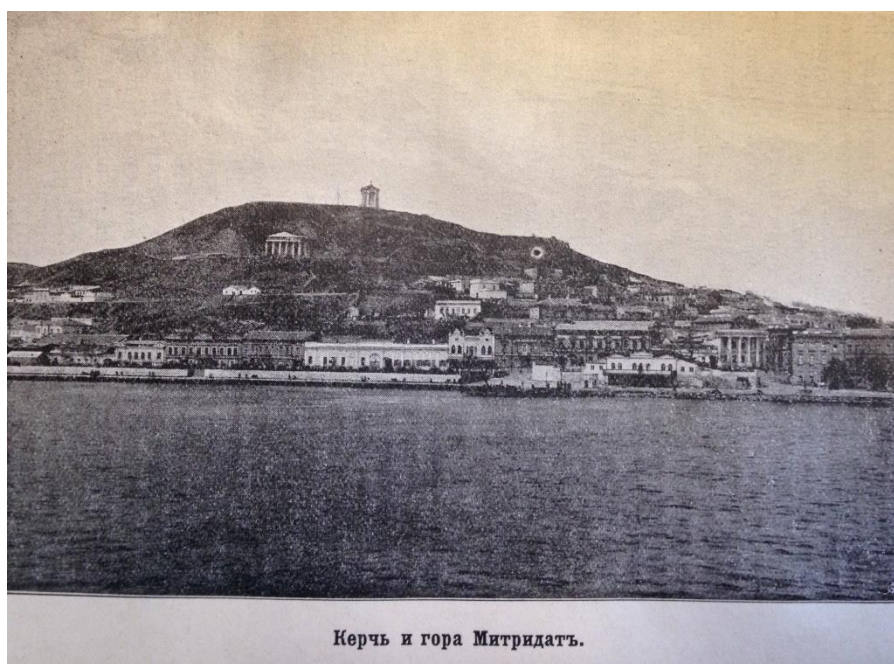


Figure 1. “Kerch and Mithridates” in *Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu i Vostoku* (*Konstantinopol'-Kair*), ed. Nikolai Lender (Odessa: izdaniye Barona E. E. Shteyger, 1900), 49.



Figure 2. “A. V. Hanzen. “Grafskaya Wharf” in Sebastopol” in *Vseobshchiy illyustrirovannyi putevoditel*, ed. Nikolai N. Lender (Putnik) (Saint-Petersburg: A. S. Suvorin, 1910), 137.

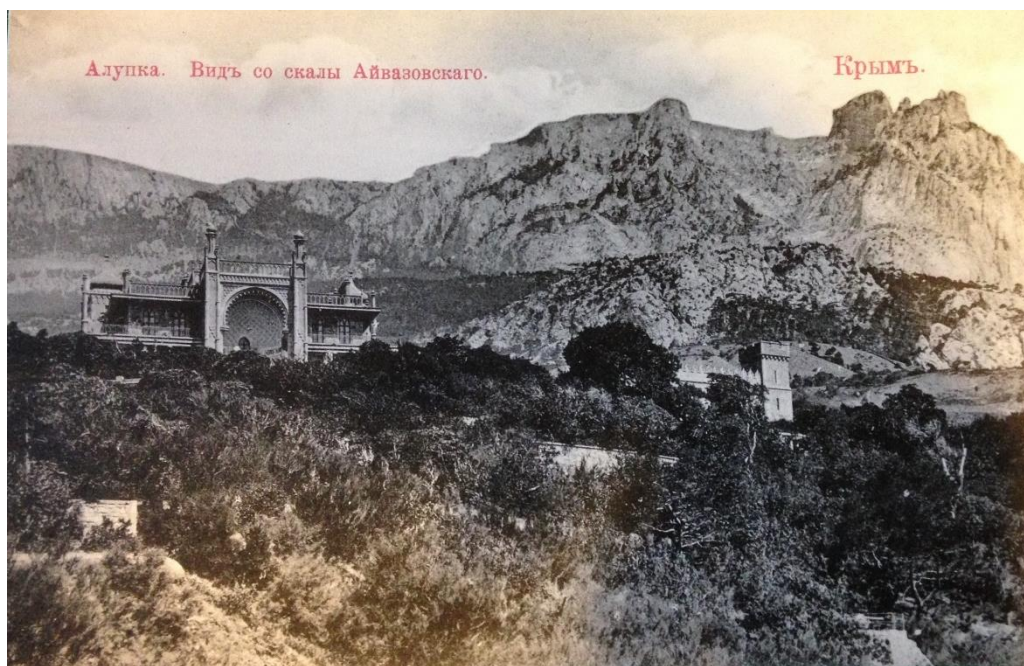


Figure 3. Alupka. View from the Aivazovsky's rock. Postcard. 1907.

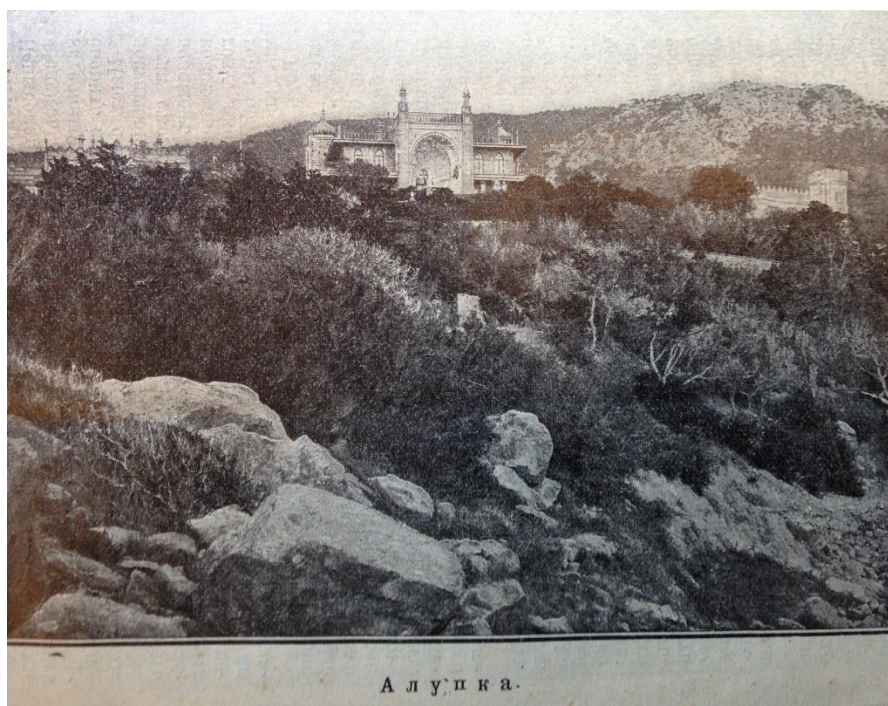


Figure 4. “Alupka” in *Putevoditel' po Krymu, Kavkazu, Gretsii, Turtsii i Yegiptu*, ed. Nikolai Lender (Moscow: "Russkoye tovarishchestvo pechatn. i izd. Dela", 1898), 82.



Figure 5. Odessa. Monument to Duc de Richelieu. Postcards. Beginning of the 20th century

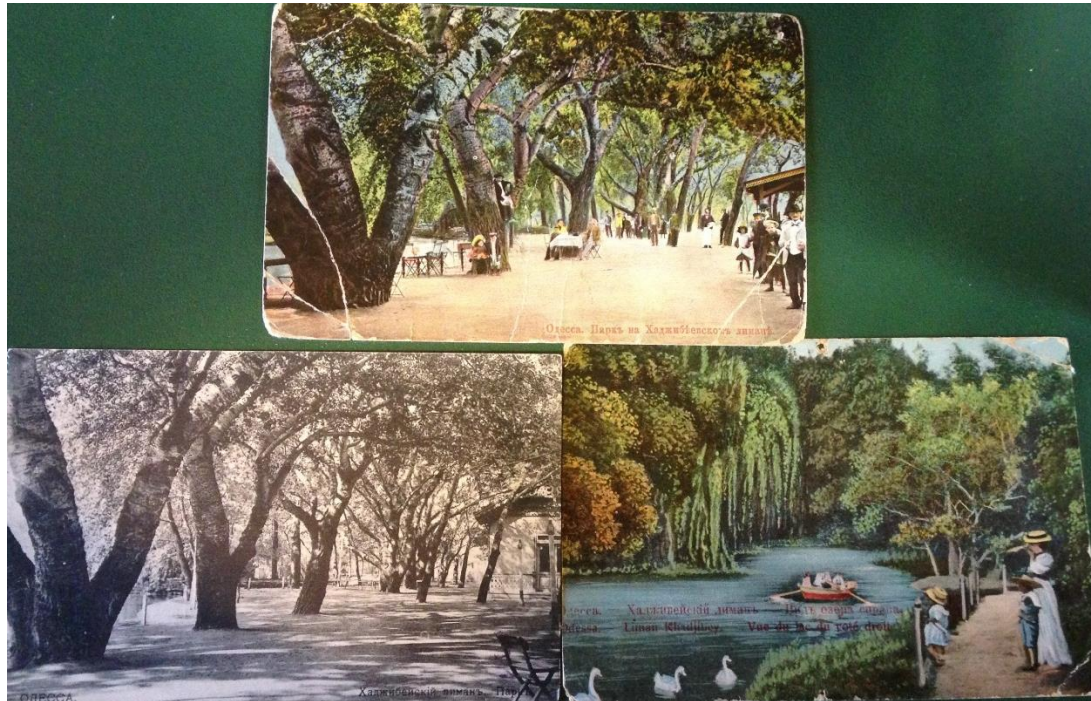


Figure 6. Khadzhibeyskiy Liman. Park. Odessa. Postcards. Beginning of the 20th century



Figure 7. Sukhumi. Turkish bakery. Postcard. Beginning of the 20th century

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