

2006

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Recommended Citation

Qualls, Karl D. "'Where Each Stone Is History': Travel Guides in Sevastopol after World War II." In *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, edited by Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, 163-85. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

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“Where Each Stone Is History”

Travel Guides in Sevastopol after World War II

Karl D. Qualls

“Sevastopol—City of Glory” and “Hero-City Sevastopol” adorn books, posters, buses and trolleys in the city of Sevastopol, Ukraine. The ubiquitous image of heroism and glory is neither new nor passively remembered. During two centuries of tremendous political change in Sevastopol, the city’s image has changed little. Within the course of a century Sevastopol was part of the Russian Empire, of the Russian and then Ukrainian federations of the Soviet Union, and now of independent Ukraine. Into the twenty-first century, the population of Sevastopol has been overwhelmingly Russian by nationality, although it is now Ukrainian by citizenship. The shift in ruling ideologies and countries to which Sevastopol has belonged has done little to alter the dominant identity of the city.

Sevastopol has been, first and foremost, a Russian naval city. Peter the Great wanted to control the Black Sea for his new empire, but only in 1784 did Catherine the Great found the city on what used to be the ancient Greek city of Chersoneses (Khersones to Slavs) as an outpost against the Turks. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Sevastopol and the rest of the Crimean peninsula played a vital role in defending imperial Russia in the Crimean War (1853–1856) and the Soviet Union in World War II (or the “two great defenses” as they are called in Sevastopol). Naval warfare and, especially, fighting against great odds and sacrificing for the Motherland became the hallmarks of Sevastopol and led to the Soviet “hero-city” designation.¹ The scuttling of ships to prevent Great Britain’s entrance into the bays during the Crimean War and World War II soldiers who threw themselves under tanks and charged machine-gun nests became defining moments for the city’s identity.² While the latter defense was fought during the Soviet period in which the regime declared all nationalities to be equal, the call to arms and the greatest praise was reserved for Russians. Thus the predominately Russian popula-

1. Sevastopol received the title “Hero-City” along with Odessa and Stalingrad in 1945. Nine other cities joined the list in the next forty years.

2. *The Heroic Defence of Sevastopol’* (Moscow, 1942); *Sevastopol’: November, 1941–July, 1942: Articles, Stories and Eye-Witness Accounts by Soviet War Correspondents* (London, 1943); Karl D. Qualls, “Imagining Sevastopol: History and Postwar Community Construction, 1942–1953,” *National Identities* 5, no. 2 (2003): 123–39.



8.1. Khersones Archeological Preserve. Sevastopol, Ukraine, November 2005. Photographed by Karl D. Qualls.

tion in Sevastopol could continue its fight for the Motherland—Russia—and thereby maintain an affinity with the city's past.³ The last fifty years of travel guide literature and tourism has reinforced the image of the Russian defender, although Sevastopol has been part of independent Ukraine since 1991.

Sevastopol has developed in a way unlike most other cities. Sevastopol was not a resort city like nearby Yalta; rather, it had become an open-air museum of monuments, memorials, and plaques even before World War II. The war catalyzed a resurgence of mythmaking during the second half of the twentieth century, so that the city has roughly 2,015 monuments today. Moreover, for six decades ending in 1996, Sevastopol was a closed city, open only to those who gained permission from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Residents' relatives or tour groups of veterans, workers, or party activists could visit the city, but armed border guards at the military city's outskirts hindered the "wild tourism" of individual or small groups outside official channels.⁴ Just as au-

3. As of 2001, 74 percent of Sevastopol's population was Russian, 21 percent Ukrainian, and 5 percent Belorussian, Crimean Tatar, Jewish, Armenian, Greek, German, Moldovan, Polish, and more. See Alexander Dobry and Irina Borisova, *Welcome to Sevastopol* (Simferopol, 2001), 5.

4. Of course, deviations from planned itineraries could still happen, even in Sevastopol. For more on "wild" tourists, see the chapters by Noack, Maurer, and Moranda in this volume. The

thorities circumscribed tourism in the highly sensitive military city, so, too, guidebooks circumscribed the "reading" of the city. Few stayed within the city boundaries, so guidebooks did not have to include information about hotels and other conveniences. Outsiders came to the city either to visit family or to celebrate the city's history and traditions. Sevastopol had been marked as a city of Russian military valor since the mid-nineteenth century; therefore, guidebooks directed readers to sites of memory and not frivolity. With further research on other cities, we might conclude that Soviet tourism mirrored the specialization of Soviet industrial development; each region or city served a specific function in the larger system. Whereas Yalta and Sochi became resorts, Sevastopol became an outdoor museum of military history.

Wartime propaganda and postwar reconstruction built on prerevolutionary images of the city. Leo Tolstoy's famous Crimean War sketches, *Sevastopol Tales*, provided generations of readers with a portrayal of the hero-city. An 1857 travel guide noted that the "subject and source of inquisitiveness of visitors in Sevastopol is its defense [during the Crimean War]."⁵ The tragic and heroic military past assumed center stage instead of the beautiful bays and beaches of the city. As World War II raged, newspapers carried stories of the new heroes and linked them to the heroes of a century earlier. After the 97 percent destruction of World War II, toponyms highlighted the foundation of Sevastopol's nineteenth-century legacy; and renaming streets, parks, and squares aided urban identification.⁶ Central streets and squares after World War II were more often named for nineteenth-century admirals than for revolutionary leaders. Tourists today, however, can still find Vladimir Lenin, whose name marks the central region and one of its main streets.

Why has the identity of Sevastopol persisted despite ongoing political and economic turmoil, and what role have guidebooks played in maintaining the city's identity? Travel guidebooks were one medium for transmitting an official image of the city to readers throughout the USSR. Guidebooks instructed readers where to look and how to interpret what they saw and how it fit into a larger urban and national biography. Because World War II destruction and dislocation—physical, psychological, and ideological—was of the highest magnitude in cities like Sevastopol and Stalingrad, it was imperative in the postwar decade to rebuild not only structures but also ties that bound state and society. The regime's legitimacy and power had been questioned during

historian and guidebook author Emiliia Doronina claimed that three million people visited the city each year by the 1980s, but she gave no indication of how many were individual tourists and how many came with organized groups. Likely the largest visitation period would have been the May holidays of Victory Day and Liberation Day when thousands of veterans descended on the city. See Emiliia Doronina and Alexander Liakhovich, *Po ulitsam Sevastopol'ia* (Simferopol, 1983), 4.

5. D. Afanas'ev, *Putevoditel' po Sevastopol'iu* (Nikolaev, 1857), 1. See also A. N. Popov, *Pervaya uchebnaia ekskursiia simferopol'skoi muzhskoi gimnazii: Sevastopol'* (Simferopol, 1889); and Anna Petrovna (Munt) Valueva, *Sevastopol' i ego slavnoe proshloe*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1904).

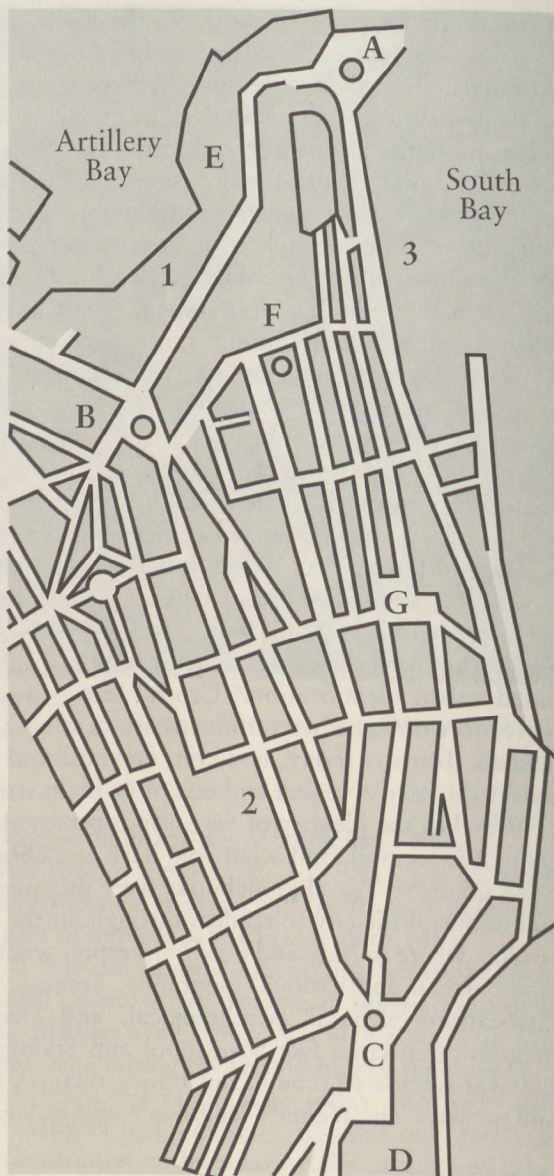
6. For a comparative perspective of other Soviet name changes, see John Murray, *Politics and Place-Names: Changing Names in the Late Soviet Period* (Birmingham, UK, 2000).



- A. Nakhimov Square
- B. Lazarev Square
- C. Ushakov Square
- D. Historical Boulevard
- E. Primorskii Boulevard
- F. Vladimir Square
- G. Petropavlovskaiia Square

- 1. Nakhimov Street
- 2. Bolshaia Morskaiia
- 3. Lenin Street

Korabelnaia due east
Severnaia due north
Black Sea outlet northwest



Map of Sevastopol's city center

8.2. Map of Sevastopol city center. Drawn in Adobe Illustrator by Karl D. Qualls. Used by permission of University of Pittsburgh Press.

the war, and it was imperative that new identities be (re)constructed to restore allegiance. The rebuilding process restored the necessities of life, but monuments, toponyms, and the travel guidebooks that discussed them also reoriented people's thinking about a city's place within the Soviet world.⁷ Although much of the postwar architectural style varied little from one urban area to the next, guidebooks clearly delineated a unique history and contribution for each city.⁸ This was a paradoxical attempt to reimpose authority by celebrating uniqueness. For Sevastopol, this also meant disaggregating the city's naval character from the image of Crimea as a peninsula of pleasure and resorts and thereby giving residents a special role.⁹ The "individuality" of a given city supported and complemented the greater Soviet identity and helped to reestablish authority and traditional culture. While some cities, like Magnitogorsk, had primarily an economic identity, others, like Novgorod, based their myth primarily on their heritage. Whether as a center of mining and metallurgy or of ancient Russian culture, each city served as a component of the larger Soviet whole. Thus city residents could celebrate the unique and special role of their locale while still supporting central Soviet ideals of labor and culture.

This study of Sevastopol's travel guides since World War II continues the work of scholars investigating other cities and countries, but in many ways it highlights the particularities of Soviet (and Sevastopol's) guidebooks. Soviet guidebooks in general promoted knowledge-based travel, especially to cities not known as resorts. Local history, in a truncated and politically selective form, dominated. When authors addressed leisure they usually focused on cultural pursuits, and rarely did readers find much discussion of the restaurants and shops, a feature that clearly separates Soviet guides from their capitalist counterparts. In Sevastopol's guidebooks, entertainment was almost completely absent. Local history made the entire city into a museum to valor, sacrifice, and heroism. The blood of fallen soldiers and sailors had sanctified the soil for two centuries, thereby making Sevastopol a city of reverence, not revelry, for visitors.¹⁰

7. Iuliia Kosenkova, *Sovetskii gorod 1940-kh–pervoi poloviny 1950-kh godov: ot tvorcheskikh poiskov k praktike stroitel'stvo* (Moscow, 2000); Karl D. Qualls, "Local-Outsider Negotiations in Sevastopol's Postwar Reconstruction, 1944–53," in *Provincial Landscapes: The Local Dimensions of Soviet Power*, ed. Donald J. Raleigh (Pittsburgh, 2001), 276–98.

8. In addition to the books under investigation here, the author has found strong similarities in Smolensk and Novgorod. For example, see *Novgorod: putevoditel'* (Leningrad, 1966); I. A. Zaitsev and I. I. Kushnir, *Ulitsy Novgoroda: spravochnik* (Leningrad, 1975); I. Belogortsev and I. Sofinskii, *Smolensk* (Moscow, 1952); and *Smolensk: spravochnik-putevoditel'* (Smolensk, 1960).

9. In this volume Layton shows Crimea as part of the "pleasure periphery" in nineteenth-century military tourism.

10. V. Khapaev and M. Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol': uvlekatel'nyi putevoditel'* (Sevastopol, 2002), 37. On battlefields as sacred spaces, see Stephen L. Harp, *Marketing Michelin: Advertising and Cultural Identity in Twentieth Century France* (Baltimore, 2001); David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1913–1939* (New York, 1998); Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone: Death and*

This volume is one of the first forays into the history of tourism in eastern Europe, but scholars of tourism elsewhere have framed a discussion of important issues. Dean MacCannell, Rudy Koshar, and Stephen Harp advance one interpretation of tourists' motives that suggests tourism was essentially a quest for knowledge and/or an authentic experience.¹¹ John Urry, however, argues that the quest for pleasure and an escape from the everyday is at the heart of the tourist urge.¹² The obsession with Soviet workers' "active leisure" based on knowledge and culture ironically links it with the turn-of-the-century bourgeoisie in Europe. Only in the last decade has pure pleasure tourism emerged in Sevastopol and the former USSR.

Scholars also have debated the relationship between modernity and tourism. MacCannell argued that the dislocation of modernity leads to a "search for authenticity" and that tourism is a process of "self discovery."¹³ As research on World War I has shown, the dislocation and dissociation of the "Great War" led many people to travel to battlefields searching for meaning and for collective mourning.¹⁴ Travel guides directed visitors to "what ought to be seen" on pilgrimages to near-sacred sites.¹⁵ Authorial selectivity created a set of shared sites and experiences but in no way represented the full range of events and interpretations about the war experience. Even when visitors followed the same path to memorial space, their assumptions, expectations, and experiences led them to different understandings.

The effectiveness of travel guides in creating a unified experience or identity is also open to debate. MacCannell's assertion that attempts to create a unified experience are "doomed to eventual failure" because of the need to create uniqueness is suspect.¹⁶ It is true that Koshar has shown that the success of the Baedeker guides in Germany bred competing "travel cultures" from people who felt that their travel desires had been unmet. But Harp has also shown how the Michelin gastronomic guides that celebrated French regions actually supported nation building.¹⁷ Battlefields and monu-

Memory in Twentieth Century Russia (New York, 2001); George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990); and Jay Winter and Sivan Emmanuel, eds., *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1999).

11. Developing from discussions of the search for "authenticity" in Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1976), 3-5, Rudy Koshar (*German Travel Cultures* [Oxford, 2000]) argues against John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London, 1990) and the supposition that tourists only seek novelty. Harp, *Marketing Michelin*, 101, argues that French battlefield tourists were seeking "supposed authenticity."

12. Urry, *Tourist Gaze*.

13. MacCannell, *Tourist*, 3-5.

14. John Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*; Winter and Sivan, *War and Remembrance*.

15. Rudy Koshar, "What Ought to be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 323-40. On the use of the model of religious pilgrimages, see Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*.

16. MacCannell, *Tourist*, 13.

17. Harp, *Marketing Michelin*; Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*.

ments are central in much of this research on identity in the interwar period, but the research generally investigates national identity rather than local. When repeated and reinforced (as in highly ritualized Soviet travel, obligatory wedding-day visits to monuments and school trips with veterans to memorial sites), it can become part of a larger collective memory. Whether in the didacticism of Soviet guidebooks or the free press of capitalism, the past is always reimagined and constructed both intentionally and by the selectivity necessary for a portable guidebook. Modern mass production and consumption (travel included) have led to "mass deception" of populations searching for authentic experiences even in democratic, capitalist societies.¹⁸ The instructive nature of Soviet travel in general and the didactic motives of its guidebooks created a mythologized world into which the reader/traveler could write him- or herself. Travel guidebooks showed an eternal past and future, which provided the comfort of continuity and a sense of belonging during turbulent times. Guidebooks generally balance past and present, but Soviet guidebooks devoted more attention to orienting visitors to the usable past.

The Soviet censorship regime complicated issues of authorship and intent. In the Soviet model, powerful institutions at the national, republic, and local levels were able to craft much of the urban biography. Authors wrote texts understanding the censorship regime. We do not know if guidebook authors had to follow a model or provide multiple revised versions like tour group leaders, but there is a high degree of consistency across time and authors.¹⁹ This makes those variations that do exist, important, and it is in part the nature and significance of these that I explore in this chapter. Guidebooks helped readers to navigate their way through cities, but the same books also helped readers navigate a sometimes shifting past by educating, commemorating, and mythologizing the city and its image. They told readers what was important about the city and why visitors should visit.

The Expository Soviet Travel Guidebook

The vast majority of Soviet travel guidebooks written after World War II followed the expository model of introduction, body of evidence, and conclusion. This model provided the reader with a quick and efficient way of learning what was most important, according to the authors, about Sevastopol's past and how that past informed the present and future. The expository guidebook

18. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York, 1999), 121.

19. For more on Soviet travel, see Anne E. Gorsuch, "'There's No Place Like Home': Soviet Tourism in Late Stalinism," *Slavic Review* 62, no. 4 (2003): 760-85; and Diane P. Koenker, "Travel to Work, Travel to Play: On Russian Tourism, Travel, and Leisure," *ibid.*: 657-65. Gorsuch provides information on the editing process of the scripts for tour leaders.

presented the argument, used "evidence" from the monuments and sites, and concluded with suggested excursions that reinforced the portrayal of the city's special heritage. In this way, the reader was supposed to be convinced that the argument was true and that there was only one understanding of the past. The density and clarity of presentation and seeming completeness of the text lent an air of authority, and the mostly black-and-white editions provided a documentary feel. In short, the very form of the guidebooks suggested that there was no need to look for alternate explanations.²⁰

Introductions, although often quite different in length and style, consistently highlighted a number of topics that authors deemed central to the city's identity. In Sevastopol's guidebooks the "hero-city" formed the foundation for all other reporting on the city and its history. Sevastopol's naval exploits in defending Russia and the Soviet Union during the Turkish Wars, the Crimean War, and World War II dominated. This selective presentation of the past that omitted peaceful times projected continuity and causality; focus on Sevastopol's exploits during times of national emergency suggested a preordained fate to stand at the ready and sacrifice to protect the Motherland.

Most guidebooks concluded with a suggested set of excursions that reinforced themes and allowed one to understand the city's heritage and identity without ever visiting. In the concluding sections, precise directions about where to turn and when and at what one should look further circumscribed the "reading" of the city. Excursions varied among guidebooks, but all show a conscious attempt through descriptions or the order of the excursions to relate the sites of one period to another, especially the "two great defenses." In doing so, guidebooks reinforced the idea of continuity in the hero-city and aided remembering, forgetting, and recapturing.

In addressing the issue of continuity and change over time, this chapter analyzes the most prolific authors of the postwar period, Zakhar Chebaniuk and Emiliia Doronina and her co-authors, and three recent post-Soviet texts. The frequency with which Chebaniuk published in the 1950s and 1960s made him the primary voice on travel in Sevastopol. Likewise, Emiliia Doronina and her co-authors dominated the travel literature of the late 1970s until the end of the Soviet period. They became, in essence, the official voices of two generations. Although other authors published at this time, the nature of Soviet publication led to a standard model illustrated most often by Chebaniuk and Doronina. The post-Soviet era's free press has led to a multiplicity of voices, three of which are discussed below because their approaches differ more than the Soviet texts. The following examples thus address the presentation of Sevastopol in three eras roughly bounded by the reigns of Khrushchev and the interregnum (Chebaniuk), Brezhnev (Doronina), and independent Ukraine.

20. For more on the aesthetics of guidebooks as a method of persuasion, see Anne Bush, "Reviewing Rome: The Guidebook as Liminal Space," *Visual Communication* 1, no. 3 (2002): 369-74; Harp, *Marketing Michelin*, chap. 3; Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*.

Forgetting

Although monuments, plaques, and other common foci of guidebooks evoke remembering, they also enable "forgetting" through an active process of omission when an author excludes a landmark from the text or removes material from subsequent editions.²¹ Forgetting about leaders who fell from favor is but one example of rescripting the political past in Soviet guidebooks. Discussion of present politics is rare, but mention of the regime's leaders alongside the author's introduction of the "proper" understanding of the city's identity equated the political leadership with the city's glory. While one could pass this off as the Soviet norm of refashioning history, a more balanced interpretation could see it as part of a normal process of inventing tradition and history common in capitalist democracies, too.²²

The multiple editions of Zakhar Chebaniuk's *Sevastopol': istoricheskie mesta i pamiatniki* (1955, 1957, 1962, 1966) offer the best example of "forgetting." In the chapter "Hero-City Sevastopol," Chebaniuk set out the general framework for understanding the city's past. In the 1955 edition he noted Stalin's approval of the "selfless struggle of the Sevastopol residents [who] serve as an example of heroism for all the Red Army and Soviet people."²³ Despite Stalin's praise of Sevastopol's heroism, the 1956 "Secret Speech" of his successor Nikita Khrushchev, in which he denounced Stalin's cult of personality and numerous crimes against the party, necessitated the omission of any direct reference to Stalin in the 1957 edition.²⁴ We may never know if censors demanded the change, but Chebaniuk likely exercised internal censorship rather than risk running afoul of authorities.

In 1955 Khrushchev, Voroshilov, and others attended the city soviet meeting celebrating the centenary of the Crimean War. Voroshilov celebrated the "city of glorious warriors and revolutionary traditions" that "personifies the greatness and glory of our people." Khrushchev praised the military feats of the "glorious sons of our great Motherland" but also the "glorious activity of laborers in the struggle for the restoration of the city . . . and further strengthening of the military forces of the Black Sea Fleet."²⁵ Khrushchev thus linked the military feats with the equally daunting reconstruction tasks of the post-war decade and the ongoing need for military strength during the Cold War.

21. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7-25.

22. David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985). Harp has also shown that the Michelin guides declared their "authenticity" in presenting World War I battlefields in opposition to the alleged lies of the German guidebooks like Baedeker. Michelin, however, "offered readers a very specific, politically loaded interpretation of the recent past." Harp, *Marketing Michelin*, 115. On Baedeker, see Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*.

23. Zakhar Chebaniuk, *Sevastopol': istoricheskie mesta i pamiatniki* (Simferopol, 1955), 27.

24. Zakhar Chebaniuk, *Sevastopol': istoricheskie mesta i pamiatniki* (Simferopol, 1957), 26-27.

25. *Ibid.*, 30-31.

In the 1962 edition only Khrushchev remained, and the text enumerated the numerous economic and industrial changes in the city, which reminded the reader that Khrushchev's economic decentralization would make Sevastopol even more prosperous in the near future and "transform hometown Sevastopol into a city of communist labor, of exemplary order and high culture."²⁶ Readers found that the new political elite were mindful of Sevastopol's importance to the larger Soviet Union and recognized the city's special mission, traditions and heritage of sacrifice, hard work, and high culture.

Chebaniuk's 1966 edition, following Khrushchev's ouster two years earlier, merely eliminated reference to Khrushchev and Stalin and refrained from taking sides in the struggle for power eventually won by Leonid Brezhnev. Greater elaboration on local cultural institutions and opportunities replaced paeans from and to the political leadership. Chebaniuk's discussion of increased housing construction in the 1960s failed to note the efficacy of Khrushchev's campaign to eliminate the much-hated communal apartment in favor of private space. He concluded the section with a generic declaration of Sevastopol's latest awards. Rather than note that Anastas Mikoian—one of Khrushchev's possible successors and a leading functionary under both Stalin and Khrushchev—signed the award decree, Chebaniuk merely told the reader that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, an institution he believed would outlive its membership, bestowed the honor on the city.

Although no one likely read these editions side by side, the reader of any given volume except the 1966 edition found the leader du jour lauding Sevastopol's heroic past and its long history of selflessly serving the Motherland. Statements praising Sevastopol's past served to legitimize the city's importance to residents and nonresidents alike and to provide a context for the newly arrived workers and sailors. How readers actually understood and interpreted the signals is impossible to tell. Because descriptions of the historical sites and their meanings remained intact in Chebaniuk's multiple editions, political changes must have necessitated reprinting in order to legitimize the new leader and discredit his predecessor. Political leaders functioned as constantly changing window dressing; Sevastopol's role and place in history remained consistent while the leaders who praised it fell from favor. When we see such changes over time yet key themes persist, it reinforces the central importance of ever-present sacrifice and heroism.

Remembering

While guidebooks reinforced the process of forgetting discredited leaders, they also actively created a selective "remembering" of the past based on the needs

26. Zakhar Chebaniuk, *Sevastopol': istoricheskie mesta i pamiatniki* (Simferopol, 1962), 32.

of the present. In addressing the Turkish Wars and the Crimean War, authors across the decades could remain consistent in the types of sites they highlighted and the language they used to describe the themes of heroism and sacrifice. Coverage of the revolutionary period and World War II, however, varied dramatically among guidebooks as the World War II generation moved into and out of power.

Post-World War II guidebooks emphasized sacrifice, teamwork, unity, and symbolic defiance against great odds in describing Sevastopol's earliest monument.²⁷ In May 1829 Captain Alexander Kazarskii decided to blow up his ship's magazine rather than surrender to two Turkish battleships. Chebaniuk reminded his readers that "in an uneven fight an eighteen-gun Russian brig won a victory over an enemy that had more than a tenfold superiority in artillery."²⁸ Likewise, Emiliia Doronina, writing in the late 1970s and 1980s, called Kazarskii's feat an "example of fortitude to the warriors of the two defenses," which the Soviet Black Sea Fleet was continuing.²⁹ Doronina not only consciously connected her readers to the past but showed the continuity of behavior from Kazarskii to the present. A 2001 guidebook noted that the inscription "An example for posterity" on Kazarskii's pedestal came from Tsar Nicholas I, an admission unthinkable in Soviet times.³⁰ Moreover, Kazarskii now represented a democratic choice because the city's first monument was "dedicated not to an emperor or an admiral, but to a captain-lieutenant!"³¹

Veneration of the Crimean War became the first full-scale memorialization project in Sevastopol with three sites of memory dominating guidebooks: the Monument to Scuttled Ships, Malakhov Kurgan, and the Panorama and Museum of the Great Defense. The monument to ships scuttled to prevent the British and French navies from entering Sevastopol Bay, although not the first monument, is undoubtedly the most beloved in Sevastopol. It is the "emblem of the city of Russia glory—Sevastopol," and it "reminds everybody of the sorrowful but important event."³² It continued the legacy of "the sailors [who]

27. For more, see Petr Garmash, *Gorod-geroi Sevastopol': ocherk putevoditel'* (Simferopol, 1972); Vitalii Olshevskii, *Sevastopol': spravochnik* (Simferopol, 1977); Vitalii Olshevskii, *Sevastopol': putevoditel'* (Simferopol, 1981); Nikolai Orlov and Igor Gassko, *Gorod-geroi Sevastopol': fotoal'bom* (Simferopol, 1985); Boris Rosseikin, *Sevastopol': al'bom* (Simferopol, 1960); Boris Rosseikin and Georgii Semin, *Sevastopol': putevoditel'-spravochnik* (Simferopol, 1961); Boris Rosseikin, Georgii Semin, and Zakhar Chebaniuk, *Sevastopol': putevoditel'-spravochnik* (Simferopol, 1959); and E. V. Venikeev, *Arkhitektura Sevastopol'ia: putevoditel'* (Simferopol, 1983).

28. Chebaniuk, *Sevastopol'* (1957), 34.

29. Emiliia Nikolaevna Doronina and Tamara Ivanovna Iakovleva, *Pamiatniki Sevastopol'ia* (Simferopol, 1978), 22–24.

30. Alexander Dobry and Irina Borisova, *Welcome to Sevastopol* (Simferopol, 2001), 74. The Russian-language edition is A. Dobryi, *Dobro pozhalovat' v Sevastopol'* (Simferopol, 2000).

31. Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*, 102.

32. Chebaniuk, *Sevastopol'* (1957), 61.



8.3. Monument to Scuttled Ships, Sevastopol, Ukraine. November 2004. Photographed by Karl D. Qualls.

served as examples for all participants in the defense” and has become “the emblem of Sevastopol, its visiting card.”³³ Whether on book covers, postcards, Web sites, or the many canvases of artists, this picturesque monument has remained the symbol of the city.

The gates of Malakhov Kurgan, the hilltop scene of bloody fighting in and the death of several Russian military leaders during the Crimean War, appeared on the cover of Chebaniuk’s 1955 text. The hill’s Crimean War complex remained “one of the most famous places of Sevastopol.”³⁴ Doronina validated the importance of the World War II memorial space at Sapun Hill by noting that its eternal flame was lit from that at Malakhov Kurgan, thereby “symbolizing the continuity of glorious combat traditions.”³⁵ In this way, Malakhov Kurgan and the Crimean War gave legitimacy to World War II veneration.

The Panorama building and painting, a “monumental memorial to the heroism of Sevastopol’s defenders in the Crimean War” and “the national

33. Doronina and Iakovleva, *Pamiatniki Sevastopol’ia*, 45; Dobry and Borisova, *Welcome to Sevastopol*, 54.

34. Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol’*, 126.

35. Doronina and Iakovleva, *Pamiatniki Sevastopol’ia*, 123.



8.4. Sapun Hill Museum and memorial complex. Sevastopol, Ukraine. May 1997. Photographed by Karl D. Qualls.

pride of this country and its people," drew forty million visitors from 1905 to 2004 and received extensive coverage in all guides.³⁶ The authors were consistent in describing the events memorialized in the panorama, its construction, the Nazis' devastation of it, and the postwar reconstruction of the building and the panoramic painting on the interior. It is the "main noteworthy site of our city," claimed one post-Soviet author, and "many tourists come more than once to touch the great art and history."³⁷ As one of the great military feats of the nineteenth century, along with the Napoleonic invasion, the Crimean defense became a defining moment for Russian military and political power, identity, and literature (such as the career of Leo Tolstoy).

Like Kazarskii, the scuttling of the fleet and other Crimean War tales served explicitly as "examples" of fortitude and sacrifice against a superior force. The focus on heroes as examples, however, also omits mention of cowardice; the necessity for examples implies a fear that in future conflicts not all will respond with such valor. Here, then, is a process of both "forgetting" and "remembering." How would one "read" what could be an ambiguous message? Because most people would rather be part of something heroic rather than

36. *Sevastopol': putevoditel'* (Simferopol, 2004), 35; Dobry and Borisova, *Welcome to Sevastopol*, 46-47.

37. Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*, 111-20.

cowardly, Soviet tourists likely chose not to ask whether all sailors lived up to examples of heroism and sacrifice. Visitors today may see it much differently. Would Ukrainian sailors stationed in Sevastopol relate to past Russian heroism and sacrifice? Would German, British, and American tourists see scuttling as folly, failure, or fortitude? Even in the Soviet period each viewer interpreted through the lenses of gender, age, profession, and more, but now international visitors come from backgrounds that rarely have recognized Russian/Soviet valor and therefore make multiple or muddled understandings more likely.

Unlike the Crimean War, the city's revolutionary heritage played a remarkably minor role in guidebooks despite the centrality of many local events to the Soviet revolutionary mythology. The 1905 revolution and the "Battleship *Potemkin*" are an important part of the city's biography and the residents' heritage, but coverage varied greatly among guidebooks. The November 1905 uprising, in which the monarchy arrested and punished hundreds without a trial, led to the bloody execution of the leaders. Chebaniuk, writing during the transition between Stalin and Khrushchev, was uncertain about the official interpretation of the revolutionary period, so much of which Stalin had rewritten to give himself a more prominent role. Chebaniuk felt compelled to show that some of the Bolshevik Party's opponents, the "Menshevik ringleaders," were the cause of failure and that the revolutionaries stood in court with "fortitude . . . knowing the deep feeling of the masses, millions strong, who were on their side."³⁸ Doronina, writing well after Stalin's version of history had been overturned, gave considerably more attention to the revolutionary period, but it still occupied quite a small portion of the book (only 23 of 143 pages). She noted that the First Sevastopol Soviet "endured a drubbing, but the revolutionary spirit of the people remained unbroken."³⁹ Thus death was a perfectly acceptable fate when it led to greater good. Guidebooks recast momentary losses as ultimate victories and presented courageous men and women who gladly sacrificed for the cause. This understanding of the past also served as a protection against current and future setbacks during the cold war. When times got hard, residents needed only remember the actions of their forebears.

In post-Soviet Ukraine, authors have further marginalized the revolutionary tradition, which has lost most of its importance. Alexander Dobry lamented that children in 2001 knew little about the revolutionary movement, but by devoting only three pages to it Dobry contributed further to its marginalization. Other post-Soviet authors have rejected the revolutionary past entirely, noting how it ushered in "one of the most excruciating periods" of Russian history—the Soviet Union.⁴⁰ Another author went further and called the 1917 revolution and civil war "a microscopic, laughable segment of time in the scale

38. Chebaniuk, *Sevastopol'* (1957), 98–101.

39. Doronina and Iakovleva, *Pamiatniki Sevastopol'ia*, 65.

40. Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*, 42.

of history. . . . Horrible! . . . Bloody! . . . Destructive!"⁴¹ After the end of the USSR, there was no editorial pressure to include what for many likely appeared as an anomaly (and a negative one) in Russian history. Of the only forty-six monuments, plaques, and memorial places dedicated to the events and people of these uprisings, most were erected only after World War II, which suggests that memorialization of the events had been an afterthought and not a deeply felt part of the city's character. Erected during a time in which the party was trying to recapture its dominance and recentralize authority, monuments to revolutionary heroes seemed both hollow and suspect.⁴²

As other scholars have noted, World War II became the defining event for a new generation of Soviet citizens, and guidebooks bear this out.⁴³ Two-thirds of the sites to World War II activities were erected in the 1960s and 1970s as the war generation moved into power and began to shift the use of the war myth.⁴⁴ Whereas Khrushchev had promoted a populist understanding of the war as the work of millions of heroic individuals in order to counter Stalin's "cult of personality," Brezhnev mobilized a "cult of the Great Patriotic War" in order to counteract youth culture, the Prague Spring, and other events that threatened to destabilize the regime. The mythic unity of Lenin and the revolution found less resonance after the war.⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, guidebooks began to place greater emphasis on the war during the Brezhnev years. Post-Soviet guidebooks, while still noting the importance of the war in Sevastopol's history, place World War II exploits in context as some of many moments of valor rather than the most important ones, as the war generation texts suggested.

Chebaniuk focused primarily on individual heroes and thereby personalized the war for his audience. In the first days of the 1941–1942 defense, Chebaniuk noted, five members of the naval infantry initiated an "unparalleled duel" as they destroyed sixteen tanks by themselves. In Chebaniuk's favorite phrase they "fulfilled their debt" as they fought to their death.⁴⁶ Doronina also recounted the feats of the "five daring Black Sea sailors" and their ability twice to repel the German advance against all odds.⁴⁷ The seven Communist Youth League members and three communists in Pillbox No. 11 likewise staged a valiant defense against all odds. Bombarded from the air and on the ground, they held out for more than three days until all but one were dead. Both

41. *Sevastopol': putevoditel'*, 22.

42. Doronina and Iakovleva, *Pamiatniki Sevastopol'ia*, 64.

43. Amir Weiner, "The Making of a Dominant Myth: The Second World War and the Construction of Political Identities within the Soviet Polity," *Russian Review* 55, no. 4 (1996): 638–60.

44. Dobry and Borisova, *Welcome to Sevastopol*, 64.

45. Nina Tumarkin, *The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia* (New York, 1994).

46. Chebaniuk, *Sevastopol'* (1957), 113–14.

47. Doronina and Iakovleva, *Pamiatniki Sevastopol'ia*, 103–4.

Chebaniuk and Doronina highlighted their feat and included their oath. Chebaniuk reported the full oath, but Doronina distilled it to its three main points: "Under no condition surrender to captivity. Fight the enemy the Black Sea way (*po-chernomorski*), to the last drop of blood. Be brave, masculine to the end." She conveniently omitted point one of the oath which repeated Stalin's infamous directive to take "not one step back."

Disregarding signs of compulsion and relating these stories of heroic deeds and others like them obscured the fact that many acts of heroism may have been resignation to fate. Knowing that blocking units would kill them if they retreated and hoping that their deaths would not be in vain, some Soviet soldiers likely sacrificed their lives hoping to kill some of the enemy. The World War II generation wanted to ignore the fact that those too frightened to fight had been compelled to do so. The younger generations reading these texts were to be told that all were brave and all were heroes and that when the time came, Sevastopol and its defenders would emulate those feats and fulfill their debt to future generations like a dying soldier named Kaliuzhnyi who wrote "My Motherland! Russian land! . . . I kept my oath. Kaliuzhnyi."⁴⁸ Not surprisingly for a city already near the center of Russian national identity for two great defenses in one century, Kaliuzhnyi's sacrifice was for his "Russian land."

Doronina and Dobry generally omitted detailed discussion of individual heroes and instead directed readers' attention to the larger complexes of communal remembrance that became more common during Brezhnev's reign. Perhaps as a reaction against the cult of personality of the Stalin years, monuments since the 1960s highlighted groups more often than individuals. Doronina and the post-Soviet authors followed suit and spread the umbrella of heroism over a broad audience. Doronina focused on monuments to military divisions; post-Soviet guides concentrated mainly on even larger groups. The most recent guides have omitted all monuments to individual World War II heroes and even the multiethnic rifle divisions discussed by Doronina. The individual still matters, however, because nineteenth-century naval heroes are discussed at length. Perhaps the location of the monuments Chebaniuk favored, which are located at the site of action in the city's outskirts, are too far off the beaten path for today's tourists. Also, authors may judge that contemporary tourists are too detached from the war to know or care much about individual feats. Instead, twenty-first-century guides have accommodated the time-sensitive tourist by including centrally located monuments. The Memorial to the Heroes of the Defense on the chief square and traffic node of the city lists various heroes of the Soviet Union, but with its eternal flame it honors all who fought and died for Sevastopol. The Hero-City Obelisk and Monument to Victory honor the city and all who fought for it. The Sapun Hill complex is the

48. Ibid., 104-5.

only World War II site outside the city center to merit inclusion in post-Soviet guidebooks.

Why this shift? It could be that the luster of hagiographic images of heroes has dulled and that guidebook authors are content with providing a few examples. Without state censorship authors are freer to include what they choose. Rather than laboriously cover each example of heroism, guidebook authors have opted for portraying the overall collective heroism of the defenders of World War II. The explosion of commemoration in the last quarter-century that added roughly five hundred monuments to the city landscape made comprehensive coverage impossible and likely seemed excessive for generations with no direct contact to the war.⁴⁹ Besides, as one guidebook noted: "one must judge that many monuments are either excessively grandiose or simplistic (*prostovaty*)."⁵⁰ With the war generation long out of power, post-Soviet monument construction has slowed, and authors are taking a more balanced approach to the city's military past. Therefore, recent guidebooks honor the war and the valor of fighting, but individual heroes have less meaning for them and their readers. With the passing of many World War II veterans, municipal officials have decided it is time to honor other servicemen in a collective fashion. For example, in 1999 a large cross atop a star represented the Sevastopol citizens who fought in Afghanistan.⁵¹

Recapturing the Past

After almost a decade of post-Soviet economic stagnation, the Ukrainian economy started to strengthen rapidly beginning in 1999.⁵² With this boom came more attention from the outside world and an investment in infrastructure (e.g., hotels and restaurants) catering to tourists. Sevastopol and much of the Ukrainian hinterland have developed more slowly than Kiev, but relative prosperity may be in sight. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, Sevastopol and the surrounding region began what could be a new economic industry to complement the fishing, wine-making, and ship construction and repair industries that have been central to the region for so long. In 1996, after roughly six decades as a closed city, Sevastopol began to welcome tourists from the former Soviet Union and further abroad, which caused a recent guidebook author to title his first chapter "Sevastopol-Open City!"⁵³ Approximately five hundred

49. In 1978 Doronina counted 739 monuments, and in 1999 there were 2,015 monuments registered with the city. See Doronina and Iakovleva, *Pamiatniki Sevastopol'ia*, 3; and Dobry and Borisova, *Welcome to Sevastopol*, 46.

50. *Sevastopol': putevoditel'*, 37.

51. *Ibid.*, 37; Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*, 95.

52. Jason Bush, "Will the Boom Last in Ukraine?" *Business Week*, 8 November 2004, 62.

53. *Sevastopol': putevoditel'*.

thousand tourists visit Sevastopol each year; about fifteen thousand visitors came from outside the former Soviet Union.⁵⁴ Although the gains so far have been modest, Sevastopol appears ready to tap into several tourism markets.

Early twenty-first century guidebooks, while retaining the focus on the city's heroic past, have started to cater to a new audience. As one guidebook notes, "Sevastopol is neither only a fleet nor only a museum. It is an incomparably beautiful and affable city, welcoming guests with its glow."⁵⁵ Three things separate most post-Soviet guidebooks from their predecessors: less attention to the individual heroes of World War II, greater elaboration on opportunities for leisure beyond historical tourism including renewed attention to the city's beauty, and slightly more discussion of ethnic and religious diversity.

The city's premiere symbols like the Monument to Scuttled Ships, Kazarskii's memorial, and the Crimean War Panorama remain the focal points of post-Soviet guidebooks and carry on the tradition of noting the heroism, courage, and sacrifice of the city's defenders. The trends continue of placing sacrifice at the center of Sevastopol's mythology, while avoiding mention of disasters that could not be redeemed by leading to an ultimate victory or greater good.⁵⁶

The change to profit-driven publication also has greatly decreased the length of guidebooks, which necessitates an even more selective portrayal of the past. Tourist-consumers are likely demanding more attention to the comforts that they now associate with vacations. With the opening of the city came a need for guidebooks to tell nonresidents about transportation, accommodations, and leisure. Some guides reproduce extensive train schedules and maps of train, trolleybus, and fixed-route taxi lines.⁵⁷ Rarely does one find this level of detail in postwar Soviet-era guides, because a touring agency arranged transport. The list of excursions in Sevastopol's Soviet-era guidebooks often included trolley numbers for various destinations, but as a rule these guides contained no detailed maps for reasons of military security.

In a shift from "active leisure," post-Soviet guidebooks also provide much more attention to restful places, like beaches, and highlight the natural beauty of the city and region as is common in general descriptions of Crimea. With a nod to more consumer-driven tourism, guidebooks provide locations and working hours for markets, souvenir stands, restaurants, and stores.⁵⁸ Several guidebooks tell the readers about vineyards and retailers.⁵⁹ Authors note the

54. "Travel Ukraine" (2004), www.ukrtravel.com/Sevastopol/main.htm (last consulted 21 December 2005).

55. Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*, 3.

56. *Ibid.*, 46-48.

57. *Ibid.*, 152-57.

58. *Sevastopol': putevoditel'*; Dobry and Borisova, *Welcome to Sevastopol'*; Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*.

59. For example, see *Sevastopol': putevoditel'*, 88-89; and Dobry and Borisova, *Welcome to Sevastopol'*, 118-22.

location, sometimes with maps, of the city's various beaches and enumerate some of the amenities of each. Beaches in Sevastopol were wildly popular in Soviet times for locals, but they were rarely mentioned in guidebooks because the focus remained on knowledge, not pure pleasure in Sevastopol.⁶⁰ Post-Soviet authors seem to understand that many tourists want to relax and therefore promote Sevastopol's beaches in an attempt to lure tourists away from Yalta. The city government has acted in concert to beautify recreation areas to appeal to the foreign visitor. For example, in 2004 city officials began the process of demilitarizing Balaklava, the site of much Crimean War tourism, and cleaning up ordinance and other ecological dangers "for further development of Balaklava as a resort-recreation zone."⁶¹

From the outset, post-Soviet guides made natural beauty a complement to the city's historical attractions. After noting that "Sevastopol, 'where each stone is history,' is a unique museum under an open sky," one publisher asserted that it has everything for "any taste and purse."⁶² He described the bays, hills, numerous cafes and shops, tree-lined streets and more. Not wasting a chance for hyperbole, another author concluded that "Sevastopol is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. . . . It is right to consider Crimea the most museum-like (*muzeinyi*) region of Ukraine, and in Crimea—Sevastopol."⁶³ The chance for romance was a new lure for tourists, too: "The incomparably romantic aura of this city penetrates the soul and remains there forever. It wants to come back to breathe this velvet air, dip into the waves of the tender sea, and look at the silhouettes of the ships."⁶⁴ This type of boosterism was imperative as Sevastopol fought for tourist dollars. "Sevastopol," asserted one guidebook, "is almost unknown to the wider resort public." Most view it as a "military city, the great port of Crimea, a city of ships and sailors. Not more than two people out of a hundred identify Sevastopol as a resort."⁶⁵ The author even tried to personify the city, asking the reader to "feel its pulse, its vibration, its breathing."⁶⁶

The most striking changes in the twenty-first century, outside of topics dealing with Soviet-era politics, have come in the treatment of Sevastopol's multi-ethnic past. Whereas Soviet guidebooks minimized or excluded the understanding of the city's ethnic past, post-Soviet guidebooks have embraced much of it and even expanded the perceived borders of the city to incorporate nearby

60. Beach restoration and maintenance were key points in the accommodation plans of post-war reconstruction. For one such discussion see Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomii, f. 9432, op. 1, d. 387, ll. 371–75.

61. "Demilitarizatsiia Balaklavskoi bukhty uspeshno vypolniaetsia," *Sevastopol'skaia gazeta*, 28 October 2004.

62. Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*, 1.

63. *Sevastopol': putevoditel'*, 26.

64. Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*, 1.

65. *Sevastopol': putevoditel'*, 76.

66. *Ibid.*, 26.

Tatar and Karaite sites. While this could be seen as finally admitting the non-Slavic past of the region, it appears to be more profit motivated than a step toward reconciliation. Guidebooks, in short, began to meet the needs of the developing capitalist tourist industry and the various travel cultures it has engendered. Renewed attention to non-Slavs may draw visitors hoping to reclaim some of their own past and others who desire a sense of the exotic, for which Crimea has been known since Pushkin's famous poem "The Fountain of Bakhchisarai."

Most post-Soviet guides recognize the city's multiethnic, multid denominational character. Taking advantage of the near absence of the ethnic "other" after the slaughter of Jews and the repression and deportation of Tatars, Greeks, and others in World War II, authors initially omitted or at least minimized the past influence of non-Slavic groups. It was only after the collapse of the Soviet Union that many people rediscovered Sevastopol's multiethnic past. "The history of the defense of the city," according to a 1995 memorial book, "is full of examples of massive heroism of its defenders—sons and daughters of various peoples."⁶⁷ Post-Soviet guidebooks have become more explicit in retelling part of the history of the "small peoples" of Sevastopol and its region. One book, for example, includes a discussion of the Crimean Khanate in its "Great History" section. Moreover, the authors provide an extended discussion of Sevastopol's Karaite tradition, even noting that several prerevolutionary Karaites "played a significant role in the fate of the city, becoming honorific citizens."⁶⁸

Persistence of Memory

Over a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union, many of the images created during the Soviet period and the guidebooks it produced should have faded as the generation that survived the war and supported the Soviet Union dies out. Because much of the postwar cult of victory was orchestrated to bolster support of the regime, World War II has started to lose some of its power, although sixtieth anniversary celebrations of Victory Day (9 May) still find their way into political discourse. Just as the memory of the Crimean War persisted into the Soviet period, so, too, the images of the Soviet Union and World War II persist in now independent Ukraine. A giant statue of Lenin still towers over the city from the high central hill, and his name still graces one of the streets that make up the central ring road and the central administrative region. The street named for his brother remains near the ancient ruins of Khersones. Heroes from the Crimean War, the revolutionary period and World War

67. *Gorod-geroi Sevastopol': kniga pamiati*, 2 vols. (Simferopol, 1995), 2: 14–15.

68. On the Crimean Khanate, see Khapaev and Zolotarev, *Legendarnyi Sevastopol'*, 17–19, 86–87.

It continue to be honored with streets in their names as Sevastopol has shunned the iconoclasm so common in eastern Europe in the 1990s.

The persistence and perpetuation of memory reached a crescendo in 2003–2004. As Sevastopol turned 220 years old, it celebrated the 150th anniversary of the Crimean War and the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Sevastopol (May) and Ukraine (October). Tourists, including Prince Phillip of Great Britain, flocked to the city to commemorate various events. Newspapers from the communist *Sevastopol'skaia pravda* to the more mainstream *Slava Sevastopol'* (Glory to Sevastopol) and *Sevastopol'skaia gazeta* carried historical articles about the two mid-century defenses and remembrances from veterans of the latter one. Television channels also aired reports on the various celebrations as well as brief documentaries. Posters lined store windows, and publications on the Crimean War and World War II filled bookstore shelves. The interested buyer could even buy multilingual postcards celebrating the 150th anniversary of the Crimean War. The fold-out cards had historical images adjacent to the same scene from the present.⁶⁹ Thus the education of the traveler about Sevastopol's past continues.

At least a dozen private tour agencies have established an international presence and actively promote the city as a tourist center. But although there may be economic benefits, some residents also see problems. The communist newspaper notes that the city is "advertising Sevastopol as a tourist center. Despite that, the city cannot arrange to pick up the trash in the city center."⁷⁰ The question that only time can answer is whether tourism will continue to increase after this momentous anniversary year, and if so, will it have a positive or negative effect on the persistence of memory? Will, for example, the need to attract foreign tourists begin to turn the city's history into a "greatest hits" package that can easily be consumed in a two- or three-day stay? Guidebooks have already distilled the city's history; focused tourism could further narrow the scope. The advent of ecological and extreme tourism could also draw visitors away from the central naval identity of the city that has persisted for two centuries. Conversely, some events deemed politically taboo in Soviet times (like Tatar deportations) may be discussed more openly and engender more tourism. Will increased tourism bring the past closer to the younger generation of residents who have grown up without the proximity of the war that their great-grandparents fought? The city's history is still taught in school and young couples still make the obligatory tour of monuments on their wedding day, but do they understand them with the same depth as their elders?

Interest in local history is still prominent, but the depth of remembrance may indeed be giving way. In 2004 forty-two teams of students from the city

69. "Sevastopol': 150-letiiu Krymskoi (Vostochnoi) voiny" (n.d.).

70. "Pochemu pod rukovoditeliam lomaiutsia stul'ia," *Sevastopol'skaia pravda*, 18 October 2004.

matched wits in "intellectual games" about ancient and medieval Khersones, the Crimean War, and the region's nature.⁷¹ Over seven hundred young students from Donetsk Oblast "visited historical and memorial places, [and] placed flowers at the Memorial of Hero Defenders of Sevastopol in 1941–1942."⁷² The naval news program "Reflection" also reported on the visit of a school group from St. Petersburg studying the city as a Russian naval outpost and the birthplace of Orthodox Christianity for the East Slavs.⁷³ Despite these events, teenagers interviewed at various sites of memory around the city generally recognized the names of some of the prominent events and people in the city's history like those discussed above, but few could elaborate on why they had been honored with monuments. Conversely, most residents in their mid-thirties and older provided detailed (if not always completely accurate) synopses of the events in question.⁷⁴ For visitors, however, there can only be positive benefits from greater openness.

One also wonders whether the further "Ukrainianization" of the city will change attitudes. At the beginning of the new millennium, at almost the same time that Presidents Putin and Kuchma appeared at the reopening of St. Vladimir Cathedral, the city placed a statue to the Ukrainian literary hero Taras Shevchenko in front of the Gagarin regional administration building. Local citizens, the overwhelming majority of whom do not speak Ukrainian, were less than happy about a monument to someone with no connection to the city. Several people explained that this was more than Russophilia or Ukrainophobia because they fully accepted monuments to Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, and more who fought and died defending the city. What they resent, they say, is a revered Ukrainian artist standing figuratively alongside military heroes simply because he has become the one clear symbol of the Ukrainian nation.

One plausible explanation for this persistence of memory is that the repetition of a standard set of images over five decades has created an indelible mark on public remembrance. Guidebooks surely played a role in educating residents and nonresidents alike. Whereas schools and local newspapers reinforced the central images, nonresidents had to rely on guidebooks as one of their main sources for understanding Sevastopol and its role in Russian and Soviet history. Even faced with the momentous collapse of the Soviet Union, the city's identity has changed little. Of course, it is no longer defender of the Soviet Union, and many of the Russian nationalists would say that it should not defend Ukraine either. Much like in the guidebooks themselves, politics

71. "Nachinaiutsia turniry znatokov-kraevedov," *Slava Sevastopol'ia*, 23 October 2004.

72. "Spetspoezd s donetskimi det'mi," *Sevastopol'skaia gazeta*, 28 October 2004.

73. "Otrazhenie," NTS (Independent Television of Sevastopol), 22 October 2004.

74. The author conducted informal interviews with teenagers at memorial sites, as well as some formal interviews with adults. Interview with Mikhail Mironov (Sevastopol, Ukraine, 2004); interview with Vladimir Semenov (Sevastopol, Ukraine, 2004); interview with Liliia Korchinskaia (Sevastopol, Ukraine, 2004).

was a mere veneer over the more deeply felt affinities. Some specific events like World War II may rise and fall in prominence as the generation in power changes, but the heritage of courage, valor, and sacrifice, despite the city's peaceful present, will continue.

Guidebooks changed with the times. World War II valor became a new chapter in invented tradition; and by the 1960s the frontline soldiers had become political leaders, and sites of memory to the war proliferated at a staggering rate. Likewise, guidebook authors began to shift the war to the foreground in their retelling of local histories, but the prewar and prerevolutionary past remained strong currents in urban biographies during and after the Soviet period. The collapse of the Soviet Union ushered in the greatest change in guidebooks with the birth of a profit-driven tourist industry that must cater to the demands of the market. While capitalism and democracy in independent Ukraine have led to changes in the balance between past and present, knowledge and entertainment, much of Sevastopol's identity as a hero-city has remained intact while city and business leaders try to layer on a new image of resort par excellence to rival Yalta and other more familiar Crimean attractions. Sevastopol's guidebooks created or reaffirmed its image as the defender-city of heroism and sacrifice, but for whom?⁷⁵ How readers made sense of what they read and saw, we can only speculate.

Sevastopol is in the midst of reinventing itself as a tourist resort destination. While the sacred heroes of World War II have not yet had their hagiographies questioned, they are being marginalized in current guidebooks and Web sites. Although we cannot predict how Sevastopol's identity might change in the future, the repetition of heroic myths certainly created an identity for the city that is still strong and will likely remain for some time, especially if the population remains three-fourths Russian by nationality.

75. Bush, "Reviewing Rome." Francine Hirsch calls this "virtual travel" in "Getting to Know 'The Peoples of the USSR': Ethnographic Exhibits as Soviet Virtual Tourism, 1923-1934," *Slavic Review* 62, no. 4 (2003): 683-709.