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Alexandra Köhring, Manfred Zeller (eds.)

Modern Sport in Soviet Culture and Society

Euphoria and Exhaustion

campus

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Campus Verlag
Frankfurt/New York

Printed with a subsidy by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)

Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.
ISBN 978-3-593-39290-5

Cover illustration: R. Karmen, In the Stadium, Sovetskoe Foto (1928), 7.
Cover design: Guido Klütsch, Köln

Printed on acid free paper.
Printed in Germany

For further information:
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Foreword

Nikolaus Katzer

The innumerable records set and medals won by Soviet sportsmen and women belong to the most impressive achievements of the first socialist state in history. In post-Soviet Russia, there is an increasing move towards resurrecting this part of the Soviet legacy with new glory, transforming it into a national accomplishment by the current state. The desire among the political administration and social elites to give Soviet sport, divested of its shadier aspects, a firm place in the Russian culture of remembrance has long been evident, even before the IOC's decision to grant the 2014 Winter Olympics to Sochi on the Black Sea coast. Nevertheless, almost twenty years after the end of the Soviet Union, there still has not been a critical reappraisal of not only the origins and glorious successes but also the imperfections and costs of this idiosyncratic and elaborate sports system. In Russia itself, there is little official inclination to do this. The international research has, on the other hand, only recently taken up this important and exciting topic.[1]

1 Edelman, Robert (1993). *Serious fun: a history of spectator sports in the USSR. New York: Oxford University Press;* O'Mahony, Mike (2006). *Sport in the USSR: physical culture – visual culture*. London: Reaktion Books; McReynolds, Louise (2003). *Russia at play: leisure activities at the end of the Tsarist era*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; Windhausen, John D. and Irina V. Tsypkina (1995). National identity and the emergence of the sports movement in late Imperial Russia. *International journal of the history of sport*, 12, 2, 164–82; Frykholm, Peter A. (1997). Soccer and social identity in prerevolutionary Moscow. *Journal of sport history,* 24, 2, 143–54; Peppard, Victor (1982-1983). The beginnings of Russian soccer. *Stadion*, 8–9,151–167; Dahlmann, Dittmar, und Anke Hilbrenner (eds.) (2006). *Überall ist der Ball rund: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart des Fußballs in Ost- Südosteuropa*. Essen: Klartext Verlag; Hoffmann, David (2002). Bodies of knowledge: physical culture and the New Soviet Man. In Igal Halfin (ed.). *Language and revolution: making modern political identities*, 269–86. London: F. Cass; Prozumenshchikov, Mikhail Iu. (2004). Bol'shoi sport i bol'shaia politika. Moscow: Rosspen; Malz, Arie et al. (eds.) (2007). *Sport zwischen Ost und West: Beiträge zur Sportgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Osnabrück: fibre Verlag; Wagg, Stephen and David L. Andrews (eds.) (2007). *East plays west: sport and the Cold War*. London: Routledge.

Consequently, this collection of articles aims to redress the glaring deficit in the research. Scholars from different generations and countries, who have conducted archival research and, for the first time, offer here a glimpse at newly discovered materials, are trying to establish and promote the history of Soviet sport as a field of research. Because a satisfactory depiction of physical culture and sport in the context of Soviet cultural history does not yet exist, this collection strives to conduct preparatory work, lay foundations and help widen the international debate in this area. The existing historiography reflects the very patchy level of knowledge achieved before the opening of the Russian archives and was conditioned by the political and ideological limitations of the Cold War; even the mass of published materials only received sporadic attention. Most studies did not go much further than the intentions of state policy, the creation of the institutional framework or the self-description by the various apparatuses and individuals involved. They were general surveys seeking to reconstruct central decisions, their inner logic and direct practical consequences.[2] In contrast, the contributions to this collection present aspects and approaches that demonstrate how one can describe the social and subjective levels of different sporting milieus on the basis of a rich source of archival materials.

The underlying idea of the collection draws on an understanding of modern sport developed primarily in new studies from outside East European history. It understands sports history as a form of modern cultural history that takes into account the overarching social context. Within this, concepts from the history of medicine and the body play an important role.

Physical culture and sport are understood as phenomena of modernity closely bound up with those social, political and cultural developments triggered by industrialization, urbanization and the construction of centralized administrative structures. The Soviet modernist project was accompanied by intense state sponsorship of sport. At the same time, the political authorities intervened heavily in the rapidly expanding sports sector, using its innovative

2 Morton, Henry W. (1963). *Medaillen nach Plan: Der Sowjetsport*. Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik; Sendlak, Peter (1972). Leibesübungen und Sport in der Sowjetunion. In Horst Ueberhorst (ed.). *Geschichte der Leibesübungen. Vol. 4*., 65–122. Berlin/Munich/ Frankfurt/ M.: Bartels & Wernitz; Riordan, James (1977). *Sport in Soviet society: development of sport and physical education in Russia and the USSR*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Riordan, James (1980). *Sportmacht Sowjetunion*. Bensheim: Päd.extra Buchverlag; Riordan, James (1991). *Sport, politics and communism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Ruffmann, Karl-Heinz (1980). *Sport und Körperkultur in der Sowjetunion*. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.

potential for a sweeping policy of mobilization, spreading via a managed media idealized images of health, strength and fitness that seemed able to transform both society as a whole and the individual along scientific and aesthetic norms. In this sense, sport and physical culture had a central role in the reformatting of mankind. Both areas—one more concerned with performance, the other more with gymnastic exercise—offer the authors a focus through which they can understand the codification of the "Soviet body," the delineation of communicative networks and the visual culture of the twentieth century.

The articles in this collection deal with the social dynamics of Soviet physical culture and Soviet sport in historical perspective and analyze them from various viewpoints. They investigate physical culture and sport as means of social discipline, as a space for the construction of new social hierarchies, as constitutive elements of collective or national self-images and as a medium for the state to project an image of itself. Critical studies of modernity have, to date, addressed especially the newly emerging hierarchies and mechanisms which brought about shifts in power within society and culture. In the research on the Soviet Union, the concept of social discipline has become the central category for examining the elements of Soviet modernity that defined body, media and space. The collection's investigation of sport and physical culture takes up this approach and extends it considerably, ascribing to sport not only disciplinary and integrating but also destabilizing and subversive functions. For this reason, the authors pick up on those lines of research that highlight the tension between discipline and emancipation, control and deviation, euphoria and exhaustion and the affirmative and subversive/subcultural impulses in Soviet sport. As an instrument of state-run social engineering, sport has a socially incendiary content and can be an indicator of lingering traces of social fatigue, particularly in the period after the 1960s: the original enthusiasm to participate actively in the opportunities for exercise gradually weakened—first imperceptibly—among the population; the arrival of the television replaced it with passive consumption.

The collection is divided into three sections that build upon one another. The first chapter "Sites and Media" describes the cultural processes through which sport became a component of public life. The articles deal with the construction of spatial, urban and architectonic structures, that is the conditions for the staging as well as for the media depiction and popularization of sport. The second part "Milieus and Memory" examines the social developments and repercussions that unfolded within various milieus and groups

connected to sport. Several contributions evaluate methodologies, for example oral history. The last chapter "Gender and Science" investigates the perpetuation of gender norms in sport, above all by the press and reconstructs the use of scientific concepts to legitimize these norms.

In this way, the collection approaches sport as a cultural and social apparatus (*dispositif*) which contributed to the delineation of private and public spaces and the opportunities to use them in the Soviet Union. The focus on Soviet sport encapsulates perfectly the problematic constitution of the subject in the process of media reflections and socio-political labeling. Some of the contributions also demonstrate, however, the successful integration of subjects in the socialist framework of meaning (*Sinnwelt*).

The collection of articles is based on revised and extended papers presented at an international workshop at the Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg, on 5 and 6 September 2008. Several articles and the commentaries on the three sections were written specially for the collection.

The editors are especially grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for funding both the workshop and the publication of this collection. The cooperation with Campus-Verlag was extremely constructive and pleasant, for which thanks are due to Dr. Tanja Hommen. Dr. Christopher Gilley rendered admirable services as translator, Michael Bölke created the printer's copy with utmost thoroughness and reliability, Dr. Sandra Dahlke, Esther Meier and Anita Zeller gave their support with proofreading and invaluable advice. I will remember the stimulating and dependable collaboration fondly.

Hamburg/Moscow, May 2010

I. Sites and Media

Sites and Media: Introduction

Mike O'Mahony

In October 1920, at the Third All–Union Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, the role that sport and physical culture should play in the newly established Soviet state was enshrined in an official declaration: "The physical culture of the younger generation is an essential element in the overall system of communist upbringing of young people, aimed at creating harmoniously developed human beings, creative citizens of communist society."[1]

More pragmatically, the declaration continued to outline two practical goals that the development of sport should work towards: (1) preparing young people for work; and (2) preparing them for military defence of Soviet power. Just over two decades later, as men and women from through-out the Soviet Union exchanged their sports outfits for military garb and marched, sometimes straight from sports parades, to the military front to defend the nation from Nazi invasion, few citizens were in any doubt regarding the officially approved associations between sport, labor and military training. As one military leader argued in an article published in the journal *Fizkul'tura i sport* in 1941, the conflict would provide both the culmination and ultimate testing ground for this policy.[2] Yet, it should be noted, this idealistic vision of the value of sport for society was one that was not necessarily shared by all participants in and spectators of, sport.

The widespread notion that the growth of sport in the Soviet Union might simply be read as little more than a means by which the state coerced the masses to serve its needs, has proven to be a pervasive one, especially dur-

1 Quoted in Riordan, James (1991). *Sport, politics and communism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 25.

2 "We owe it primarily to the sports organizations that Soviet people were trained and had imparted to them such qualities as courage, persistence, willpower, endurance and patriotism. The soldier needs such qualities in the war we are fighting. The same qualities will be very much needed in peacetime too." Quoted in Riordan, James (1977). *Sport in Soviet society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 154.

ing the Cold War period. Here, Soviet successes in international sport, most notably at the Olympic Games, served further to shape Western interpretations of the Soviet state's official attitudes towards sport as a social practice. However, as many of the essays in this section reveal, the transformations that Russian and Soviet sport underwent, particularly during the period from the late Tsarist era up to the Second World War, were in fact far more diverse, complex and nuanced than the model of the great Soviet sports machine might suggest. Indeed, as many historians of Soviet sport have shown in recent years, sport during this period might best be regarded, perhaps appropriately enough, as a contested arena, rather than simply as one of totalitarian command. For whilst the authorities, as the notional producers of sport, may well have aspired to promote sporting activities for the objectives proposed above, the public at large, frequently consumed sport in a manner that did not necessarily fulfil these aspirations. Thus, whilst the authorities valued sport as a means, variously to strengthen the organism and develop specific and pragmatic physical skills and regarded sports spectatorship as a means to educate and enhance a notion of collectivity, for the public, sporting activity could equally serve as a vehicle for personal physical expression and competition for competition's sake, whilst spectatorship frequently manifested itself in the form of a fan culture where team loyalty was based on a desire to celebrate heroes or be part of a smaller, more exclusive counterculture.[3] Put more simply, whilst the state promoted sport as a social duty, it could equally be engaged with as a personal and pleasurable distraction and even a form of passive resistance.

Inevitably, many of the key debates about sport were conducted amongst high ranking officials and members of state–sanctioned sports organizations. However, these debates also filtered out into a broader public arena, not least in the pages of the national and sports press, thus generating a widespread public discourse on sport. Thus, to gain a broader understanding of what sport may have signified to the public at large, a wider set of research resources needs to be examined. Visual culture, in its broadest sense, provides one such set of resources. Each of the essays in this section recognizes and highlights the ambiguous nature of sport. More importantly, they cast light on the various ways in which visual representation, whether in the form of photographs (both public and private), architectural plans, paintings and

3 See Edelman, Robert (1993). *Serious fun: a history of spectator sports in the USSR*. New York: Oxford University Press.

sculpture, contributed to this wider discourse concerning the potential of sport to be an agent of transformation within society as a whole.

Beginning in the pre-revolutionary era, Ekaterina Emeliantseva examines the social topography of sport in St. Petersburg during the latter period of Tsarist rule. By analyzing contemporary photographs of the physical spaces inhabited by the burgeoning sports clubs and organizations—from the elitist exclusivity of the *St. Petersburg Rowing Club* to the one ruble spectator spaces of the city's hippodromes—Emeliantseva reveals how these visual representations of key sports sites contributed towards, or resisted, the kind of social interaction and intermingling that was an integral aspect of the urbanization and industrialization of the imperial capital at the turn of the century and thus played a vital role in the construction of a new social geography.

Sandra Budy's analysis of photographs of sport in the popular and specialist press and in public exhibitions during the 1920s and 1930s usefully charts the ways in which changing political agendas can be traced in the shifting emphases of sports photography and photojournalism. Whether focusing on the athlete in action, portraits of individual sporting heroes or the anonymous collective of sportsmen and women at the infamous sports parades of the Stalin era, these images amply articulate and negotiate the shifting debates and concerns of the early Soviet period.

Adopting a different starting position, Alexandra Köhring's essay offers a detailed account of the various manifestations of the project for the planned, but never completed, International Red Stadium. By comparing and contrasting the concepts and ideological underpinnings of the numerous proposals put forward by architects and social theoreticians throughout the 1920s, Köhring highlights the diverging notions of both sports participation and spectatorship for the new Soviet regime and how these tensions informed architectural ambitions. As she argues, the disparate proposals "implied different hierarchies in the interaction of body and space" and suggest radically different notions of how sport and the physical and metaphorical spaces it occupies might best serve a public that itself was regarded as undergoing a process of transformation into new citizens.

Burcu Dogramaci's contribution to this section shifts attention away from the Soviet Union to the new Turkish Republic established under Kemal Atatürk during the 1920s. As Dogromaci argues, the promotion of sport within the new state signified "a political and social paradigm shift" placing a strong emphasis on youth, body culture and an affinity with Western mo-

dernity. Here, the influence of western figures, including the German sports administrator Carl Diem and the Italian stadium architect Paolo Vietti–Violi helped to establish this new culture whilst the powerful photographs of the Austrian, Othmar Pferschy, later to become an official state photographer for Kemalist Turkey, reinforced this new emphasis by providing a modern vision of the sporting body as a metaphor for Turkish independence.

For Bettina Jungen, the intersections between the Foucaultian concept of discipline and the practices of sport and dance are explored in the representation of such concepts in the medium of sculpture. Here a celebration of the physical control and "effortless execution" of the body in motion is linked to both the educational and transformational capacities of dance as a 'sportive' activity. Focusing on key sculptural works by Vera Mukhina and Elena Ianson–Manizer, Jungen demonstrates how, during the 1930s, the energy and strength of sport was aligned to the grace and beauty of dance to provide a broad role model for Soviet citizens, one based on metaphorical notions of control and discipline.

Finally, Christina Kiaer's enlightening analysis of the personal photographs of swimmer Liudmilla Sergeevna Vtorova, alongside the paintings produced by the officially approved Soviet artist Aleksandr Deineka, for whom she posed, provides a fascinating dialogue between two distinct forms of cultural production. As Kiaer argues, Vtorova's snapshots emphasize an intimacy and personal motivation that might be read as far more revealing of lived experience than the visual documents produced within more state–sanctioned practices. Yet, as Kiaer also establishes, Vtorova's private photographs simultaneously draw upon the ideological imperatives and visual conventions for the representation of sport during the Stalinist 1930s, thus making these images a rich and highly valuable source for historians.

Sports Visions and Sports Places: The Social Topography of Sport in Late Imperial St. Petersburg and its Representation in Contemporary Photography (1890–1914)

Ekaterina Emeliantseva

Reporting about a match between two English football teams in September 1901 in the periodical *Sport*, Grigorii Diuperron, one of the sports enthusiasts and pioneers in late imperial St. Petersburg, commented that only few would visit such a remote place to attend a game—the field of the *Nevskii* club located in Bolotnaia Street 11.[1] To be sure, the distance between the *Nevskii* playground and the city center was actually slightly shorter than that from the city to the clubhouse of Diuperron's own sport club *Sport*, located on Krestovskii island, quite far away from the town. The playing fields of *Sport* were, however, less remote in Diuperron's eyes; it was an issue of perception whether the bourgeois recreation area on Krestovskii island to the north of the center was "central" and the industrial site with the Bolotnaia Street in the eastern part of the town "peripheral." Diuperron's comment clearly demonstrates that the allocation of sports infrastructure was closely connected to the issue of social identification and representations of social distinction.

The spatial dimension of sport has been widely discussed by sports historians within the framework of urban development and modernity in general.[2] Research on leisure culture has focused on the social significance of sport for the segmentation of different social groups, on the emergence of spectator sport as a mass entertainment that transgressed social barriers and on the gendering imprint of sports. Within this research context, studies on sports and leisure infrastructure in urban centers and its socio–topographical significance have largely focused on the reproduction of social hierarchies within the cityscape. John Bale argues in his works on the topographic development of modern stadiums that in the course of the twentieth century this

1 *Sport* (1901), 36, 10.

2 For an overview of the literature on sports and urban environment, see Koller, Christian (2008). Einleitung: Stadt und Sport. In Christian Koller (ed.). *Sport als städtisches Ereignis*, 7–27. Ostfildern: Thorbecke.

urban sporting space lost its initially open, multifunctional character with different spatial interactions between players and spectators and became increasingly a highly segmented, monofunctional space defined by firm boundaries.[3] Bale refers to Foucault's theoretical framework on the emergence of the modern prison and claims bold parallels to the development of the stadium. In order to describe the social practice related to this development, Bale applies the concept of "territoriality" as described by geographer Robert David Sack. Sack understands under territoriality the process whereby individuals and groups acquire social power by defining and delineating particular geographic locations. In his definition, it is "a primary geographical expression of social power".[4] Whilst this concept can be usefully applied to describe the development of sports infrastructure within urban environments, Bale's notations of the early stadium's social space as an open area with permissive boundaries between poor and rich suffers, however, from its romantic retrospective mythologization.[5] A relatively firm social segregation within clearly defined boundaries was characteristic for the early stadium, as well as for other sports sites in general. As Pierre Bourdieu has stated in his theory on social distinction for cultural practice, sport was another social field where distinctions between social groups, different lifestyles and identities could be reproduced and represented.[6]

By applying Sack's concept of territoriality and Bourdieu's ideas on reproduction of social distinction, this chapter aims to trace the patterns of the social topography of sports in late imperial St. Petersburg and its visual representation in contemporary photography.

3 Bale, John (2009). Raum und Sport. Die topograpfische Entwicklung des modernen Stadions. In Matthias Marschik et al. (eds.). *Sport studies*, 149–61. Wien: facultas; Bale, John (2005). Stadien als Grenzen und Überwachungsräume. In Matthias Marschik et al. (eds.). *Das Stadion. Geschichte, Architektur, Politik, Ökonomie*, 31–48. Wien: Turia & Kant; Bale, John (1993). *Sport, space and the city.* London: Routledge; Bale, John (1989). *Sports geography.* London: Spon.

4 Sack, David Robert (1986). *Human territoriality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 5.

5 A discussion of Bale's thesis on the development of the stadium up to the present is beyond the scope of this chapter.

6 Bourdieu, Pierre (1982). *Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft.* Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp; Bourdieu, Pierre (1992). Programm für eine Soziologie des Sports. In Pierre Bourdieu (ed.). *Rede und Antwort,* 193–207. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp. Cp. Schmidt, Robert (2009). Soziale Ungleichheit und Sport. Körperliche Repräsentationsarbeit und Unterscheidungskämpfe. In Matthias Marschik et al. (eds.). *Sport studies*, 162–73. Wien: facultas.

St. Petersburg's social topography: Between segregation and intermingling

The social cityscape of late imperial St. Petersburg prevents one from discerning clearly marked divisions between different quarters of the city.[7] Unlike European capital cities such as London, there were no socially homogeneous city districts marked out as slums or noble neighbourhoods. Inhabitants from all social strata were scattered throughout the city, although in different levels of concentration. Nevertheless, a clearly structured social cityscape did exist in the mental map of St. Petersburg's population. The representation of imperial power in the city center with its spaces for military parades, noble palaces and impressive administrative buildings dominated the image of St. Petersburg's center well into the early twentieth century. From the late nineteenth century onwards, with the beginning of industrialisation, new images of the city began to form the cityscape: railway stations, banking and office houses, apartment buildings and shopping facilities, cinemas and amusement parks became much more visible in the city center; new factories shaped the images of the outskirts. As Karl Schlögel has argued, a new industrial bourgeois metropolis, where peasant migrants constituted the majority of the city dwellers, gradually came to overlap the old imperial aristocratic capital.[8]

7 Bater, James H. (1986). Between old and new. St. Petersburg in the late Imperial era. In Michael F. Hamm (ed.). *The city in late imperial Russia,* 43–78. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; McKean, Robert B. (1990). *St. Petersburg between the revolutions. Workers and revolutiona-ries, June 1907–February 1917*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 36–42. Contrary to that, Iukhneva, N. V. (1984). *Ėtnicheskii sostav i ėtnosocial'naia struktura naseleniia Peterburga. Vtoraia polovina XIX–nachalo XX veka. Statisticheskii analiz.* Leningrad: Nauka, 108–11.

8 Schlögel, Karl (1988). *Jenseits des Großen Oktober. Das Laboratorium der Moderne. Petersburg 1909–1921.* Berlin: Siedler, 25–61. On the social structure and the social topography of St. Petersburg after the Great Reforms, also Bater, James H. (1976). *St. Petersburg: industrialization and change.* London: Arnold; Neuberger, Joan (1993). *Hooliganism. Crime, culture and power in St. Petersburg, 1900–1914.* Berkeley: University of California Press; Economakis, Evel G. (1998). *From peasant to Petersburger.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; Goehrke, Carsten (2003). *Russischer Alltag. Eine Geschichte in neun Zeitbildern vom Frühmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart, Vol. 2: Auf dem Weg in die Moderne*. Zurich: Chronos, 304–59; Bohn, Thomas (2004). St. Petersburg/Leningrad–Bauernmetropole und industrielle Großstadt. In Helmuth Hubel et al. (eds.). *Ein europäisches Russland oder Russland in Europa? 300 Jahre St. Petersburg,* 125–40. Baden-Baden: Nomos; Schenk, Frithjof Benjamin (2007). Bahnhöfe: Stadttore der Moderne. In Karl Schlögel et al. (eds.). *Sankt Petersburg. Schauplätze einer Stadtgeschichte,* 141–57. Frankfurt/M.: Campus.

The emergence of a new urban leisure culture played an important role in this process. Alongside cinema, theater and nightlife, modern sport contributed to the transformation of the cityscape and the mental map of the city: a new "sporting city" emerged.[9] With the development of modern sport, St. Petersburg gained new urban spaces—football fields, skating-rinks, velo- and hippodromes—that changed social and estate boundaries by constructing new social spheres.[10]

The emerging urban leisure culture and entertainment industry in general and sports in particular, aimed to address and integrate St. Petersburg's dwellers of different social origins. It was said to produce spheres of social intermingling and elements of social reconciliation—a phenomenon which

9 On the development of modern sport in Russia, see especially the relevant chapters by McReynolds, Louise (2003). *Russia at play. Leisure activities at the end of the Tsarist era.* Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press and Riordan, James (1977). *Sport in soviet society. Development of sport and physical education in Russia and the USSR.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 9–41; cp. Emeliantseva, Ekaterina (2008). Sport und urbane Lebenswelten im spätzarischen St. Petersburg (1860–1914). In Christian Koller (ed.). *Sport als städtisches Ereignis,* 31–76. Ostfildern: Thorbecke; Dahlmann, Dittmar et al. (eds.). (2008). *Überall ist der Band rund—Die Zweite Halbzeit: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart des Fussballs in Ost- und Südosteuropa.* Essen: Klartext; Malz, Arié et al. (eds.). (2007). *Sport zwischen Ost und West. Beiträge zur Sportgeschichte Osteuropas im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.* Osnabrück: fibre; Dahlmann, Dittmar et al. (eds.). (2006). *Überall ist der Ball rund. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart des Fußballs in Ost- und Südosteuropa.* Essen: Klartext; Edelman, Robert (2002). A small way of saying "no": Moscow working men, Spartak soccer and the communist party, 1900–1945. *Ameri-can historical review,* 107, 5, 1441–74; Sunik, Aleksandr (2004). *Rossiiskii sport i olimpiiskoe dvizhenie na rubezhe XIX–XX vekov.* Moscow: Sovetskii Sport; Andreeva, T. V. and M. Ju. Guseva (eds.). (2002). *Sport nashykh dedov. Stranitsy istorii rossiiskogo sporta v fotografiiakh kontsa XIX–nachala XX veka.* St. Petersburg: Liki Rossii; Lukosiak, Yuri (1998). *Futbol. Pervye shagi. 1860–1923.* St. Petersburg: Soiuz khudozhnikov.

10 On leisure culture in late Imperial Russia, see McReynolds (2003); Lovell, Stephen (2003). *Summerfolk. A history of the dacha, 1710–2000.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press; Swift, Antony E. (2002). *Popular theater and society in Tsarist Russia.* Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press; Dukov, E. V. (ed.). (2000). *Razvlekatel'naia kul'tura Rossii XVIII–XIX vv. Ocherki istorii i teorii.* St. Petersburg: Bulanin; Youngblood, Denise (1999). *The magic mirror: moviemaking in Russia, 1908–1918.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press; Geldern, James von and Louise McReynolds (eds.). (1998). *Entertaining Tsarist Russia: tales, songs, plays, movies, jokes, ads and images from Russian urban life 1779–1917.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Frank, Stephen P. and Mark D. Steinberg (eds.). (1994). *Cultures in flux: lower-class values, practices and resistance in late Imperial Russia.* Princeton: Princeton University Press; Stites, Richard (1992). *Russian popular culture: entertainment and society since 1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Brooks, Jeffrey (1985). *When Russia learned to read: literacy and polular literature, 1861–1917.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

is specified in urban studies as "urbanism";[11] at the same time, it supposedly contained subversive implications for the old social order: The "sporting lifestyle" communicated the message of modernity, egalitarianism and fair competition.[12]

The adoption of the new urban culture by consumers of different social origins can be traced by analysing the visual representation of the sports infrastructure by the contemporary media.

Photography as a new public medium and modern lifestyle

Photography as a medium and cultural practice played a significant role for the emergence of the new public sphere in late Imperial Russia. As a new form of representation, photography was also crucial in forging images of the modern world and in refashioning identities within the process of the dramatic social change that Russia had experienced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[13] The documentary realism of the new medium made it indispensable when pictorial evidence was needed to back up human observations—by producing so called "types" for ethnographic research, through individual and family portraits that represented social status or one's own social aspirations, when people of lower classes dressed up for a studio portrait with props they hardly used in their daily life before fantasy back-

11 Wirth, Louis (1938). Urbanism as a way of life. *American journal of sociology*, 44, 1, 1–24; McReynolds, Louise (1994). Urbanism as a way of Russian life. *Journal of urban history,* 20, 2, 240–51.

12 Marschik, Matthias (2009). Moderne und Sport. Transformationen der Bewegungskultur. In Marschik et al. (eds.). *Sport studies*, 23–34. Wien: facultas.

13 Emeliantseva, Ekaterina (ed.). (2009). Religion und Fotografie/The sacred before the Camera. Special issue of *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 57, 2, 161–250; Kivelson, Valerie A. and Joan Neuberger (eds.). (2008). *Picturing Russia. Explorations in visual culture.* New Haven, London: Yale University Press; Dikovitskaya, Margaret (2007). Central Asia in early photographs. Russian colonial attitudes and visual culture. In Uyama Tomohiko (ed.). *Empire, islam and politics in central Eurasia,* 99–121. Sapporo: Surabu Kenkyu Senta; McReynolds, Louise and Cathy Popkin (1998).The objective eye and the common good. In Catriona Kelly and David Shepherd (eds.). *Constructing Russian culture in the age of revolution: 1881–1940,* 57–105. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Elliot, David (ed.). (1992). *Photography in Russia. 1840–1940.* London: Thames and Hudson; *Das Russland der Zaren. Photographien von 1839 bis zur Oktoberrevolution* (1989). Berlin: Nishen.

grounds, or when a bourgeois family styled itself in order to represent a particular repertory of values.[14]

Photographic representation can also be considered to be a practice of constructing, adopting and protecting one's own social space, as a "territorial strategy"[15] when picturing places in particular settings. Contemporary photographs can therefore be used as sources to analyze the process of the transformation of a city and construction of "sporting space".

Within this context, this article shall address the following questions: How did the "sporting lifestyle" manifest itself in the cityscape? What kind of visions and images of sport can we observe within this? What territorial strategies can be discerned in the photographic representation? How did the bridge between practice/experience and the representation of photography work? Can we observe certain traits of "urbanism" in contemporary photographs of sporting spaces and did they aim at particular "urban visions"?

This article addresses these questions by analyzing three cases: (1) sporting activities on Krestovskii island and their representation in photography; (2) sports in the "proletarian" outskirts and (3) sports entertainment on the streets and squares of St. Petersburg. To approach these questions, the article first describes sporting activities and their spatial aspects in each case and in a second step analyses representations of the sports space in photography and thereby the production of new spaces of representation.

Sports and leisure area on Krestovskii island

Several clubhouses and sports facilities were located on Krestovskii island, a recreation area to the north of the city center: Yachting, rowing, football and tennis were well represented here by the respectable clubs of the city. Unreg-

14 Emeliantseva, Ekaterina (2009). Icons, portraits, or types? Photographic images of the Skoptsy in late Imperial Russia (1880–1917). *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas,* 57, *2*, 189–204; McReynolds and Popkin (1998), 92–3; Evtuchov, Catherine (2008). A. O. Karelin and provincial bourgeois photography. In Valerie A. Kivelson and Joan Neuberger (eds.). (2008), 113–8; Steinberg, Mark D. (2008). Workers in suits: performing the self. In Valerie A. Kivelson and Joan Neuberger (eds.). (2008), 128–32. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

15 On territorial strategies, see Sack (1986). For the vast literature on constructing urban space, see amongst others Lefevre, Henri (1991). *The production of space.* Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.

istered, so-called "wild" football clubs, consisting mainly of schoolboys, played here too—just on the grassland or sometimes on the proper pitch of one of the official clubs when they were allowed to.[16] In 1909, 13 clubs were located on the island.[17]

One of the most prominent among them was the *St. Petersburg River Yacht Club* (founded in 1860), which possessed a clubhouse with a pier on the northern side of Krestovskii.[18] The regatta of the club was an important social event for particular circles of St. Petersburg society. Club membership consisted mainly of affluent entrepreneurs and businessmen and included a high percentage of foreigners.[19] Prussian businessman and merchant of the second guild Gustav Lessner, heir to the mechanical factories *Lessner*, was a member, as well as the expeditor Ivan Shvabe (Schwabe). Vice-admiral Nazimov was commander until 1902. This club brought together the high military and civil servants, as well as the nobility and business elite; perhaps such socializing weakened the boundary between the high aristocracy and nouveau riche, but it would never allow citizens from lower strata to join. The club's winter ball, which was held in the rooms of the officers' assembly hall on Liteiny, was only attended by club members and their guests with special recommendation.[20] Some old social boundaries marked by estate could be circumvented here, but new class distinctions were always kept clear.

What forms of the production of social space and territorial strategies can be observed in the activities of this club? In the contemporary press and in the photographic archives, we mainly find photographs of the clubhouse, taken by a well-known professional and the most prominent sports photographer in St. Petersburg, the German-born Karl Karlovich Bulla (1853–1929).[21]

Bulla's photography studio was located in the best area of the city—Nevskii Prospect and it enjoyed great popularity. He was also official photographer for several Russian and foreign newspapers, journals and for different educational institutions. Bulla was the only photographer among the prominent professionals of St. Petersburg to pay attention to sport. The photo-

16 *Sport* (1903), 37, 614; *Sport* (1903), 40, 662. Lukosiak (1998), 111, 116, 143–6.

17 Ostrov sporta (1909). *Russkii sport,* 8, 11.

18 Andreeva and Guseva (2002), 82–5; *Sport i nauka* (1909), 11, 20.

19 Vodnyi sport (1902). *Sport,* 20, 293.

20 Bal S-Peterburgskago rechnoga iacht-kluba (1902). *Sport,* 49, 756–7.

21 Dluzhnevskaia, G. V. (2005). Bulla Karl Karlovich. *Tri veka Sankt-Peterburga, Ėntsyclopedia v trekh tomakh, tom II: deviatnadtsatyi vek, kniga pervaia: A–V*, 427–9. St. Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet.

graphs of the *Nevskii* clubhouse were presumably ordered by the club. The glamorous wooden clubhouse of the *St. Petersburg River Yacht Club* on the northern side of Krestovskii island represented the high social status of the club members, who were accustomed to the aristocratic lifestyle; it even succeeded in acquiring royal support: In 1910, on the occasion of the 50th jubilee of its foundation, the club received the title *Imperial*; the young heir to the throne Alexei Nikolaevich also became the patron of the club.[22] The social ambitions of the wealthy club members were the dominant aspect in the representation of their sporting space.

The *St. Petersburg Rowing Club* possessed a building, situated on the south bank of Krestovskii island (Fig. 1), equally as prestigious as that of the *River Yacht Club*.[23] Although this club was founded in 1889 by former members of the *River Yacht Club*, who wished to devote more attention to purely sporting activities and less to social pomp (such as the Swiss entrepreneur Eduard Vollenweider (1873–1935) who tried to avoid winter balls and similar events not directly related to sport[24]), their clubhouse, in keeping with the high social status of the club's members, was no less impressive. The debates on whether winter balls were suitable for a sportsman did not affect the representation of social position and social distance to the lower strata. Here, we can observe competing visions of "sporting lifestyle" but similar representations of the social marking of "sporting space" through photography.

Two more clubs—the *St. Petersburg Circle of Sports Amateurs (Sport)* and the *Krestovskii Lawn Tennis Club*—were located on the sporting island as well. The spatial presence of the *Krestovskii Lawn Tennis Club* on the island, founded by the St. Petersburg broker of Scottish origin Arthur McPherson (1860?–1918?) in 1895, was also represented through photographs taken by Karl Bulla: The club possessed the best grounds in the city, but the clubhouse had been designed for functionality rather than representing the high status of the club members—important officials, members of the aristocracy and money elite. The social seclusion within this club can better be observed in the photographs of tennis matches that picture a small and select community. More chic than the clubhouse of the *Lawn Tennis Club* was the club-

22 Andreeva and Guseva (2002), 82–5.

23 Almanakh sporta. Obzor vsekh vidov sporta v Rossii i za granicei (1903, yearly supplement of the journal *Sport*), 93; Vodnyi sport (1902). *Sport,* 51, 815; Itogi grebnogo sezona za 1911 god (1912). *K Sportu!,* 28, 6.

24 Vollenweider, Eduard (2001). "Ich trage noch so gerne aus meinen alten Erinnerungen vor …". In Peter Collmer (ed.). *Die besten Jahre unseres Lebens. Russlandschweizerinnen und Russlandschweizer in Selbstzeugnissen, 1821–1999,* 155–93. Zurich: Chronos, here 168.

house of the banking society *Nord*, which contributed, amongst others, to the upmarket social image of the sporting island.

Fig. 1: St. Petersburg Rowing Club, 1911, photograph.

Presumably less impressive was the clubhouse of the *Sport* association—no photographs of the clubhouse are available, although *Sport* was one of the capital's most popular and well-known multi-sport clubs. It was founded in 1888 by some schoolboys and lower strata intelligentsia, but remained an unregistered club for several years; it only managed to gain legal status in 1896, after the entry of some new members, affluent and well-connected businessmen.[25] The majority of the membership consisted of physicians, engineers and teachers who could afford the yearly membership fee of 15 rubles. The first St. Petersburg Russian (or, to be more accurate, "non-English") football team was founded in this club and became one of the city's most successful. The spatial representation of the club, which lacked pretentious aristocratic traits, corresponds to the club's stronger "democratic" spirit compared to the other clubs. We only possess photos of the club's football field, football matches, teams and athletic competitions, but there is a lack of im-

25 Moskvin, P. P. (1901). *Sport,* 8, 10–12; Lukosiak (1998), 12–14; *Ustav S.-Peterburgskago kruzhka liubitelei sporta* (1896). St. Petersburg; Otchet o letnei deiatel'nosti S.-Peterburgskago Kruzhka Liubitelei Sporta 1901 g. (1901). *Sport,* 42, 13–6.

pressive and chic infrastructure. Nevertheless, in 1907, the yearly fee was doubled to protect the social sphere of full members.[26]

If we consider the photographic representations of the Krestovskii island as a "sporting Island," we can observe a clearly marked social territory of sports for the upper and upper middle classes, as well as for the lower middle classes. The territorial strategies of these clubs that we can see through visual representations of the club facilities aimed to ensure the segregation from the lower social groups and to reproduce social aspirations.

But what we do not see on these photographs are the spontaneous football fields of the so-called "wild" (unregistered) football clubs, of school and children's football squads, which often played on the grounds of Krestovskii, for instance the club *Aleksandria*, whose members were no older than 15.[27] They constituted an important part of the "sporting Island," but do not appear on ordered photographs as "presentable" for the sporting activities of the cityscape. Their territorial strategies do not include visual representation for they could acquire space on the island only temporarily.

Still, the photographic images of the "sporting island" created a more homogeneous social sphere for the island than the actual sporting practice.

Sporting sites in the "proletarian" outskirts of St. Petersburg

It is only a slight generalization to speak of the "proletarian" outskirts of St. Petersburg on the industrial periphery of the city to the north, south and east of the city center; there was a high concentration of working class people living there and working in the nearby factories and plants.[28] Still, a certain percentage of the administration, managers and representatives of the intelligentsia lived in these areas too. However, the lack of infrastructure similar to that in the center (street lights, etc.) strengthened—among other factors—the image of the "proletarian" outskirts in the citizens' mental map. Nevertheless, the best pitch in the city was for a long time located in such an industrial area, beside the Okhta-Bridge, near the British textile manufactures:

26 *Sportivnaia zhizn'* (1907), 15, 6.

27 *Sport* (1903), 37, 614.

28 Kogan, A. Ia. et al. (2001). *Vyborgskaia storona.* St. Petersburg: Poligon, 80–9, 424–5; McKean (1990), 36–42; Economakis (1998), 20–6, 124–34; Goehrke (2003), 306, 317–26.

It belonged to the English *Nevskii Cricket, Football and Tennis Club* in Malaia Bolotnaia (in Rozhdestvenskaia chast'), founded in 1893 by English technicians of the Nevskaia cotton mill (Fig. 2). Other football fields were located on the Vyborgskaia side, on the grounds of the Scottish Sampsonievskaia cotton mill in Gelsinforsskaia.[29] The photos of these sports sites represent the clubs as a part of the industrial landscape with smokestacks and factory buildings in the background. These English and Scottish clubs did not possess prestigious clubhouses with elaborate decorations, but did have very good facilities such as changing rooms and benches. Although the British football fields were located on the "proletarian" periphery of the city, they did not affect in any way the life of the factory workers before the second decade of the twentieth century: The few Russians who played in those English or Scottish teams were not of proletarian origin; as a rule, they went to grammar school and played in the "wild teams" until they managed to get a chance to join a prominent club.[30] There is no evidence of workers attending the British teams' matches even as spectators. Only in 1911 did the workers of the Putilovskii metal plant manage to gain the support of the administration to found their own football club (and they were not accepted into the St. Petersburg Football league until 1914).[31]

In so far as the scant sources allow one to make a conclusion, it seems that the emergence of modern sport on the periphery of the city did not initially contribute to "urbanism" in terms of inter-social contact. On the contrary, it sometimes even strengthened social segregation in those "proletarian" outskirts; however, photographic representations were not as important in constructing this segregation and the relatively high social status of these sporting spheres as on the Krestovskii.

29 Emeliantseva, Ekaterina (2008). "Ein Fußballmatch ist kein Symphoniekonzert!" Die Fußballspiele und ihr Publikum im spätzarischen Rußland (1901–1913). In Dahlmann et al. (eds.). (2008), 13–43, here 18.

30 Ibid., 18–19.

31 Sportivnyi ugolok na okraine Peterburga (1914). *Futbolist,* 2, 3; Lukosiak (1998), 34, 150–1.