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Piano music, fantasy, and Elizaveta Ivanova's ambivalent feminism

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I investigate the ambivalent feminism of four otherwise unknown, provincial women in late imperial Russia. Through a close examination of feminist piano music that they played, and the private writings of E.A. Ivanova—the dedicatee of this music—I show that these women expressed an intense ambivalence: while raising the ideal of sisterhood, their feminism was also ironic, in support of patriarchy, and loyal to traditional ideals about women's allegedly light-hearted and private art. Through this music and their writings, these women also grappled with the larger question of how to understand the self. These results are relevant because they allow us to move beyond scholarly analyses of feminist activists which historians have interpreted in relation to the Revolution of 1917.

On 31 January 1906, Elizaveta Alekseevna Ivanova, a 43-year old noblewomen from Saratov, received 12 pages of handwritten music, with the dedication, 'A heartfelt keepsake for a spirited and sincere soul from her loving wretch M. Dokukina'.¹ The six sheets of good-quality paper contain three 'marches' for piano: first, the 'March "Freedom" (*Svoboda*) dedicated to Elizaveta Alekseevna Ivanova' herself, second the 'March "For Life or Death" (*Na zhizn' ili smert'*) dedicated to Anna K[?]', and finally the 'March "Women Citizens": A Recitation to Musical Accompaniment (*Marsh 'Grazhdanki': Melodeklamatsiia*) dedicated to my good friend M.A. Zimina' (Figure 1). In keeping with the revolutionary titles of the three pieces, the words to be declaimed with the final composition are combative:

Рука с рукой, гражданки, смело
Мы в бой неравный поспешим!
За труд и дорогое дело
Мы головою стоим

Hand in Hand, Women Citizens,
We will boldly rush into an unequal battle!
For Labour and the Good Deed
We will fight with our lives.

Долой сомнения! Кровь жадаем
Мы братьям не дадим простор
Разгул их, дикие затеи
Мы встретим выстрелом в упор

Down with doubt! We are blood-thirsty
We won't give the brothers space.
We will meet their saturnalia, their wild
Undertakings with a point-blank shot

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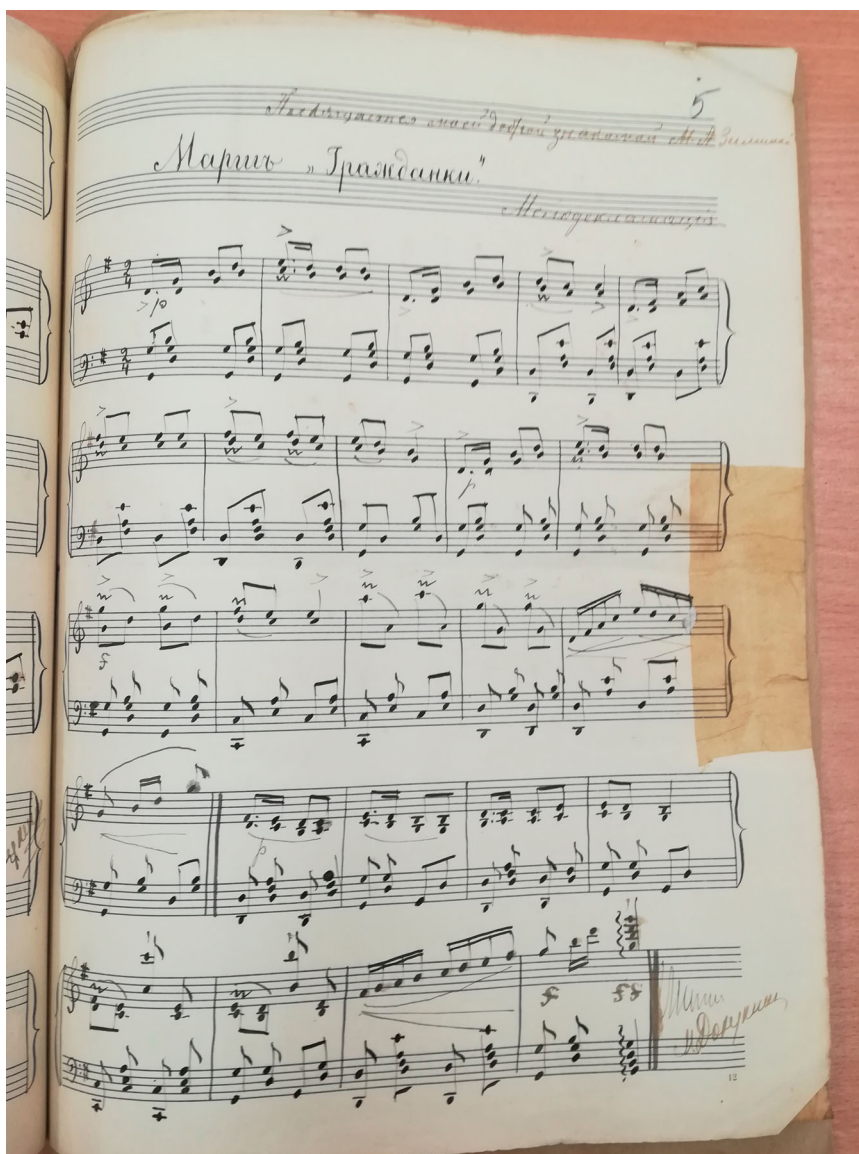


Figure 1. Marsh "Grazhdanki." GASO f. 407, op. 2, d. 673, l. 5.

Все, чем природа наделила
Почет и место отвела,
Все грубая сгубила сила
И разум с волей отняла.

Долой же гнет! пора проснуться,
Ярмо постыдное стряхнуть!
И с омерзеньем оглянуться
На тех, кто тормозит наш путь

Свободы знамя поднимите
И дружно на врага пойдем!

All that nature has awarded,
Giving honour and position,
The rude force has ruined
Taking away the mind and the will.

Down with oppression! It's time to wake up,
And to shake off the shameful yoke!
And with disgust look back
At those, who hinder our path

Raise the Banner of Freedom
And let's face the enemy together!

О, сестры! сил вы не щадите:
Свои прав мы отберем

Борьба святая ограждение
Даст женам, сестрам, матерям
и молодое поколение
с любовью откликнется нам.

Oh, sisters! do not spare forces
Our rights we will take

The struggle is holy and grants protection
to wives, sisters, mothers
and the young generation
will lovingly respond to us.

The six sheets of music and feminist lyrics shows signs of use: the paper is stained, it has torn sides, and damaged corners where the pianist has repeatedly turned the pages. The music manuscript, however, does not show any additional markings. In particular, there are no fingerings, suggesting that the pianist was a proficient musician who could play the marches without such additional aid and, most likely, without much practice. We can assume, then, that this music was repeatedly placed on top of a piano and was used to entertain a company of musically-trained women friends, who vocally expressed their support for Russia's women's liberation movement at the time it reached its height during the revolutionary year of 1906.

Women's history, music, and place

These marches shed light on a number of fields in historical scholarship, including women's history, the history of music, and regional history (*kraevedenie*). Historical scholarship about women in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Russia has to a large degree been concerned with women's political activism, and ultimately, with the relationship of activists to the revolution of 1917. We thus know a great deal about female nihilist radicals and their contribution to revolutionary struggle; but also about the Russian women's liberation movement, which prioritised women's access to education and was not working towards an all-encompassing social transformation.² This scholarship has been driven by a traditional focus on prominent individuals. As a consequence, we know little about a more private, everyday culture of feminism, of which music-making could be one expression.

A similar tendency is visible in both musicological and regional research. The history of Russian music has almost exclusively focused on great composers, interpreters, or central institutions, to a greater extent than scholarship of other national musical traditions.³ As is usually the case with heroes, most of them have been men.⁴ When it comes to the values that informed music-making in pre-revolutionary Russia, scholars have focused on the way in which nationalism shaped Russian musical expression.⁵ While a few articles have hinted at the attraction which musical education held for women, the specific relationship between feminism and music has not been explored. Similar tendencies apply in local history, which is most often a history of local inhabitants, again most frequently men, who either relocated to the capitals where they attained high positions, or—if they stayed in the provinces—renown and thus legitimacy from prominent figures in the centre.⁶

Ivanova and her musical friends, then, fit none of the criteria that would have intrigued them to established scholarship. They were not visible advocates of women's emancipation, and although both Ivanova and Dokukina were creative in different ways, neither one of them received recognition for their artistic efforts. This lack of public

acclaim in their own time is one reason why they are not studied by local historians today.⁷ However, as I will show over the following pages, a careful reading of their compositions and their writings allows the historian not only to recover their voices, but also illustrates how educated women and supporters of feminism conceived of their private, social and artistic roles in relation to, and part of, the feminism they practiced.

Moving away from the stars of the women's movement, from notable artists, and regional celebrities raises a number of methodological challenges. As we all know, historical research is always driven by the imperatives of the present; and in scholarship published in Russia, in particular, there is a powerful tendency to celebrate historical figures who can serve as role models in the present. Yet Ivanova's and Dokukina's lives do not fit established narratives about success or progress. My challenge is to engage with their music and writing without rigidly subjecting them to later definitions about what counts as achievements — feminist or otherwise — but instead to treat the insights into their private thoughts, which the sources they created give, respectfully, yet critically. A second difficulty of researching nineteenth-century provincial women are the gaps in the historical record. In order to approach more representative but less celebrated figures, some informed speculation is called for. For this reason, I will start by describing the place and time during which these feminist marches were composed, before portraying its performers, and finally analysing *'Marsh "Grazhdanki"'* and proposing what this music might tell us about these women.

Saratov 1906

When Ivanova received the collection of feminist marches, she found herself in turbulent times and a troubled place. Saratov province was one of the areas of the Russian Empire that experienced the most violent revolutionary clashes in 1905 and 1906. A significant administrative centre on the Volga river of around 200 000 inhabitants in 1904, Saratov was located on the southern fringes of Russia's black earth region, whose rural population produced a significant proportion of the empire's grain, but also suffered from regular harvest failures and health crises. Economically, the northern black-earth districts of Saratov province were dominated by large gentry estates—Ivanova's family owned one of them—and the terms of the emancipation of the serfs had been less favourable to the peasants in these areas than in less-fertile regions of the province's south.⁸

Peasant grievances combined with a strong tradition of intelligentsia radicalism in Saratov to provide an explosive mix during the first Russian Revolution. According to Donald Raleigh, there were more peasant disturbances in Saratov region than in any other province of European Russia, with Atkarsk district—where the Ivanovs' estate was located—the most volatile.⁹ Rural unrest in the province was accompanied by massive strikes, violent attacks by right-wing mobs on workers, clashes between demonstrators and cossacks, and exploding bombs in Saratov itself. The city was also the site of a notorious three-day long pogrom in October 1905, during which property was destroyed, and Jewish inhabitants badly beaten.¹⁰

The violence on the streets was accompanied by heated political discussions about the unfolding events at the city council, at banquets, political meetings, schools, and in print, which in turn lead to the formation of new political parties, and the foundations of new press organs. In Saratov, these debates had begun with the outbreak of war with Japan in

1904, but intensified over the following year, and continued even after the authorities managed to quell both rural and urban violence from December 1905.

According to Ivan Iakovlevich Slavin, a local lawyer and member of the city duma, a veritable 'mental epidemic' erupted as 'barristers, bureaucrats, judges, merchants, ladies, girls (*devitsy*), artists, and actresses' debated questions of the day at banquets; as indignant members of the public disrupted city-council meetings with 'incoherent' demands; and local inhabitants began writing endless petitions to government institutions.¹¹ To the moderately conservative Slavin, who was to become a founding member of Saratov's Octobrist party branch, the contributions of ladies, *devitsy*, and actresses to these expressions of political opinion were a clear indication that such disputes were signs of a 'public psychosis', the content of which could not be taken seriously.¹²

Slavin's jibe at a 'public psychosis' indicates that questions about political rights, including female suffrage, were hotly debated topics in Saratov, as elsewhere in Russia.¹³ Indeed, the local city council was forced by an incensed public to approve demands for universal suffrage in October 1905, even though it had no jurisdiction over the question.¹⁴ At the same time, rumours of police violence against female *gimnazii* (grammar-school) students made their rounds.¹⁵ Even though these reports were not later substantiated, they indicate a local sensitivity towards questions of women's rights and the perception that such rights were easily abused by men in positions of power.

Saratov was not only a hotbed of revolutionary upheaval in 1905 and 1906, but also an unusually lively regional centre of women's activism. In the 1890s, numerous female philanthropic circles had been active in the city; and on 12 March 1905, the newly established Society of Mutual Aid for Working Women held a meeting of 1,000 people and passed a resolution calling for equal suffrage.¹⁶ Two months later, in May 1905, three delegates from Saratov—Anna Andreevna Kal'manovich, A.A. Poliak and A. Chermak—attended the inaugural congress of the All-Russian Union for Women's Equality (*Vserossiiskii soiuz ravnopraviiia zhenshchin*) in Moscow, which was to become the most vocal organisation championing female suffrage during the Duma period (1906–1917).¹⁷

Of the three Saratov delegates, Anna Kal'manovich, who had come to feminist activism through her Saratov-based engagement for Jewish philanthropy, was to achieve the most national and international visibility, and indeed a certain notoriety.¹⁸ In her speeches and writings, she argued that it was the political antagonism between men and women, rather than the class struggle that political parties of the left prioritised, which posed the greatest obstacle to social equality. This view enraged other delegates at the 1905 congress and earned Kal'manovich the accusation of being a man-hater who did more harm than good for the women's movement.

While Kal'manovich, whose family suffered badly from the 1905 Saratov pogrom, left the city soon afterwards, other women continued to advocate female emancipation on the Volga.¹⁹ In November 1905, Praskovia Sergeevna Spirina, a Saratov journalist founded the Saratov chapter of the Union for Women's Equality. The group organised literary-musical evenings with a feminist programme for which they engaged opera and theatre artists.²⁰ The group's activism, however, was short lived. Like other political circles, it fell prey to government crackdowns that intensified in the summer of 1906 and

the association ceased its activities. By 1908 all regional branches of the Union for Women's Equality, including its Saratov chapter, were closed by the police.²¹

The musicians: Ivanova and Dokukina

None of the local reports about the women's movement on the Volga or later scholarship about feminist activism in early twentieth-century Russia mention the musical friends Elizaveta Ivanova, M. Dokukina, Anna K, or M.A. Zimina. Yet, as is clear from the developments in Saratov outlined above, these women found themselves in a context of revolutionary upheaval and feminist radicalism into which the arts had been enlisted, and to which they responded. Their music-making thus sheds light onto the unknown feminist sympathisers, who did not join one of the women's organisations active in 1906, but nonetheless identified on some level with their aims.

Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about three of the four women whose names appear on the score gifted to Ivanova, and who probably played the music and recited the verse together. The music manuscript does not even give the full name of M. Dokukina, nor of her friends M.A. Zimina or Anna K, whose surname is undecipherable.²² Neither the Saratov regional archive, whose employees have carefully repaired the ripped sheets, nor local historians have any further information about Dokukina, Zimina or K. However, Elizaveta Ivanova, the recipient of the music, drafted numerous texts about her life, and drawing on these we can say something about the context in which the piano marches were played and *Melodeklamatsiia* recited.

Elizaveta Alekseevna Ivanova was born into a prominent Saratov family on 30 July 1862; her birth, according to her own account, was precipitated by a 'blaze ravaging the theatre' that frightened her mother and linked Ivanova's life with art and performance from the outset.²³ Elizaveta's father, Aleksei Petrovich Ivanov (1811–1880), was the scion of a wealthy local family. The youngest son of 13 surviving children whose sisters married into famous aristocratic families and whose brothers were acquainted with the Tsar, Aleksei Petrovich was thwarted in his desire to join the army, and instead made a career in the imperial administration. After 28 years in Petersburg, first for his education and later as a civil servant, he returned to Saratov around 1847, where he joined the regional bureaucracy, eventually receiving the rank of state councillor (*statskii sovetnik*). Upon the return to his hometown, 36-year-old Aleksei Petrovich married 23-year-old Ekaterina Antonovna Shampuleva, a noble woman from an even 'more illustrious and important' family than his own.²⁴

In Saratov, Aleksei Petrovich owned a large two-storey house with a clock on the façade situated on the centrally-located Dvorienskaia Street, and he also inherited the family estate in the village of Sleptsovka, located about 50km from the city.²⁵ Elizaveta, his youngest daughter, spent her childhood between these two locations: during winter the family resided in their city house; for the warmer months of the year they relocated to the countryside.²⁶ Elizaveta Ivanova was a sickly child, perpetually troubled by fevers and nosebleeds that lasted her 'whole life', and she spent much of her youth in bed.²⁷

As was customary for girls of her social class, Ivanova was educated at home. Her first teachers were her father and mother, before a German governess took over when she reached the age of ten. From this woman and from '[my] private teacher Pavlovskii', Ivanova learned music, geography, world history, Russian literature, science, French,

and religion (*zakon Bozhii*).²⁸ In later life, Ivanova remembered having developed particularly keen interests in music, literature, and science. A four-pages long bullet-point 'Curriculum vitae', which she wrote around 1922, mentions the 'German governess' and 'music (begun with mother)' for 1873–77. It also lists 'music lessons' in 1887, but she recalled of particular importance the year 1891, when she took her 'first music lessons with teacher Dostoevskii'.²⁹ This was pianist F.M. Dostoevskii (1842–1906), a student of Anton Rubinstein and nephew of the more famous writer and namesake. Dostoevskii had moved to Saratov in 1879, where he taught piano at the Mariinskii Institute for Noble Girls, became a driving force in local music circles, a well-known member of the local branch of the Imperial Russian Musical Society, a prominent performer, and the proprietor of a music store.³⁰ That Ivanova was taught by one of the city's most acclaimed musicians indicates that she took her musical training very seriously, and probably was an accomplished pianist herself.

Ivanova's second passion was literature. Like music, 'philology' and 'Russian literature' feature as important activities in the otherwise laconic 1922 summary of her life.³¹ From 1896 she contributed to the lexicographic research of linguist A.A. Shakhmatov (1864–1920).³² She was also a writer herself, intermittently keeping a diary, penning an autobiography in 1891, drafting reminiscences of well-known acquaintances, and even sketching various fictional narratives.³³ I will return to her writing in more detail below.

Until the age of 35, Ivanova pursued the typical life of a provincial noble woman, which revolved around socialising with extended family and local members of her class. These provincial entertainments were enlivened by longer trips to popular vacation destinations such as Crimea, the Caucasus, France and Italy, as well as by journeys to Moscow and Petersburg to experience 'society'.³⁴ Yet despite such socialising, which came at a high cost to noble parents, Elizaveta Ivanova never found the husband that her family wished her to meet at one of the many balls, theatre outings, or musical performances she attended. Her own single status and her interest in literature drew her to her paternal aunt Anna Petrovna Ivanova, a graduate of Russia's elite institution of female education, the Smolnyi institute, and the 'most intelligent and most educated of all [my] relatives [...] She never married'.³⁵

Around the turn of the twentieth century, when Elizaveta Ivanova was in her late thirties, she suddenly abandoned her conventional life and energetically began to engage herself in various public social activities which, over the course of five years, led her to the coasts of the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Pacific. Her entry for 1898 in her later CV reads 'Summer in Petersburg, winter at the courses!'³⁶ Ivanova's reminiscences of linguist Shakhmatov reveal that she read history at the Bestuzhev courses, Russia's most prestigious institution for women's higher education, and a notorious 'breeding ground for blue stockings'.³⁷ While in Petersburg, Ivanova also became a member of a private circle for work relief (*Sanktpeterburgskii chastnyi kruzhek trudovoi pomoshchi*), a charity that offered accommodation and work for urban inhabitants who had fallen onto hard times for reasons beyond their control.³⁸ For this charity, she worked as a famine relief volunteer in Bessarabia in the Empire's south-west border region in 1900.³⁹ The year following her famine relief work, Ivanova, who must have witnessed a lot of economic hardship among the capital's poor and Bessarabia's starving population, abandoned her historical studies and transferred her efforts into a different area of charity. Between 1901 and 1902, she headed a sanatorium for

tuberculosis patients in the fashionable Italian sea-side resort Sanremo, a popular destination for Russia's affluent aristocracy.

After her work on the Mediterranean coast, Ivanova returned to the Russian Empire and joined the Samaritan Society of Mary Magdalene in the village of Burigi in Pskov province. This was a private, female, religious community which among other things ran a small hospital. Although her precise role in the community is opaque, Ivanova returned regularly to Burigi until 1911.⁴⁰ At the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904, she was in Saratov from where she travelled to the Pacific coast to serve as a nurse near Vladivostok.⁴¹ In 1906 she was back in Saratov, worked in a children's infirmary and in the city hospital, and in 1908 she took on the role of guardian in the *zemstvo*-run village school of Slepsova. From 1910 she cared for her ailing mother in Saratov. But she also spent time in the country with her brother, visited the Volga-city Samara, returned to Burigi, St. Petersburg, and travelled to Switzerland, from where she rushed back to Saratov in 1912 because of her mother's death.⁴² During the First World War, she served as a nurse on Russia's Western Front.⁴³ After the Revolution, Ivanova worked as a teacher of Russian in Saratov until retiring aged 60 in 1922.⁴⁴ Ivanova's later life remains hazy. According to local historians, she lost her property and civil rights in the wake of the Revolution.⁴⁵ The archivists who filed her papers in the Saratov State Archive noted that the date of her death was 'unknown'; other sources give it as 'soon after' 1928, 1932, or 'after 1937'.⁴⁶

While Ivanova's engagement to help others remained strong throughout her adult life, the different areas of charity that she involved herself in and her almost hectic criss-crossing of the Eurasian landmass after 1900 indicate a certain restlessness. Her inability to consistently commit to one, stable purpose was, at least in part, caused by her own ill health. Comments such as 'ill in the autumn', 'sickly in November', 'then ill' are scattered throughout her yearly chronicle.⁴⁷

We have almost no information about the composer of the feminist marches and author of the recitation, M. Dokukina. Musical dictionaries do not list a composer of that name, and Ivanova did not mention her feminist friends in her own writings. There are no other documents in Saratov that elucidate Dokukina's life, and local historians have not heard of her. However, the 1898 *Adres-kalendar'* for Saratov Province—a regional directory that listed official holidays, statistical information about the population and economy, the administrative bodies of the local government and its staff, parish units of the area's religiously diverse population, businesses, charities, and owners of property—recorded a Maria Pavlovna Dokukina in the section on medical institutions. This woman worked as the state-examined midwife for Atkarsk district, notably the district of Saratov province in which the Ivanovs had their estate.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, earlier and later directories did not list district midwives, so we cannot trace Maria Pavlovna's work in Atkarsk, but there is no reason to assume that she resided only briefly in the area.⁴⁹

Of course, we cannot know for sure whether Maria Pavlovna was the 'loving wretch' who presented Elizaveta Ivanova with the feminist marches in January 1906. But given that both women lived (at least part of the year) in Atkarsk district and worked as medical professionals, it is not unlikely that the composer of the feminist marches was indeed the midwife Dokukina. It is quite possible, for example, that Ivanova encountered

midwives while working in the children's infirmary, in the local section of the Red Cross, with which she was involved, or at the city hospital.

There are also other reasons, apart from the spatial proximity and professional collegiality, why Maria Pavlovna could well be the composer of Ivanova's music. Since the 1860s, medical training had been the preferred educational avenue for progressive women in the Russian Empire, as it offered the possibility of an independent life, and the opportunity to serve society at large. Russian women far outstripped their European sisters in their pursuit of medical (and other scientific) education; indeed their resolute commitment in the face of closed educational avenues at home meant that their persistent petitions frequently opened Western universities for women.⁵⁰ The Saratov directory bears witness to women's success as medical professionals and illustrates the way in which they transformed the health service, even in the provinces: *Adres-kalendar'* for 1906 listed at least seven women doctors, and three female dentists in the city of Saratov alone.⁵¹ The pursuit of a medical career frequently went hand in hand with outspoken support for women's emancipation, and numerous prominent feminist activists were doctors.⁵²

An education in midwifery had a similar appeal to medical study. According to Samuel Ramer, it offered a way 'of escaping the confines of a traditional way of life', and attracted women from all social classes.⁵³ Between 1881 and 1890, around 27% of trainee midwives were of noble origin, another 27% were townspeople (*meshchane*), while daughters of peasants, clergy, and *raznochintsy* (people of varying ranks) made up the remaining numbers in almost equal shares.⁵⁴ The most prestigious educational institutions for future midwives were to be found in Petersburg, Moscow and Tiflis (today Tbilisi), but Saratov also hosted one of 22 provincial 'schools of midwifery' that was attached to the maternity ward of the city hospital.⁵⁵

We do not know whether Dokukina trained locally or in one of the capitals. In either case, her title as examined midwife indicates that she shared the *intelligentsia's* high esteem for education. The *intelligentsia* notion of what comprised education included an interest in literature and music, and women, in particular, were expected to achieve some accomplishment on the piano.⁵⁶ The widespread enthusiasm with which Saratov's inhabitants made music can be gauged by the presence of nine shops selling musical instruments in the city in 1906, seven of which were located on the central Nemetskaia Street.⁵⁷ Local newspapers ran frequent advertisements for pianos and other musical commodities. In May, retailers prominently placed announcements that promoted a 'wide choice of rental pianos for the datcha at modest prices', indicating that moderately well-off locals, who did not have the financial means to own a summer dwelling readily equipped with such an instrument, nonetheless did not want to be without it when spending the summer in the countryside.⁵⁸ Saratov also had a particularly active chapter of the Russian Musical Society, and in 1902 local citizens erected an imposing neogothic building for the city's music school. Ten years later, and six years after Dokukina presented Ivanova with her marches, in 1912, Saratov's inhabitants took great pride in their success at transforming the city's music school into the empire's first regional conservatory.⁵⁹

As trained midwives and nurses, Dokukina and Ivanova thus shared the provincial *intelligentsia's* high regard for education, of which an appreciation for literature and musical training played an important part. Like other female doctors, midwives or

nurses, they championed general progressive views that cherished service to society, and women's professional independence. Yet only a close reading of their music and their writing allows us to gauge in detail how they related to the feminist cause.

Literature and music

As far as we know, Ivanova did not aim to compose music, but—as mentioned above—she was passionate about literature. Throughout her life, she recorded her experiences, and grappled with the question of who she was and what had shaped her. From the age of twenty-five, she intermittently kept diaries, and she repeatedly sketched her memoirs. For the first time, she began noting down her reminiscences in 1891, but she also tried her hand at fiction. Indeed, after 16 sheets, her autobiography of 1891 turns into a fictional story whose heroine, Kseniia, finds herself tragically in love with a married man.⁶⁰ It is unclear whether Ivanova considered this narrative to be part of her 'Autobiographical notes', or whether she gave up on completing her reminiscences and simply used the remaining pages of her notebook to draft a story. In either case, both narratives tried to come to grips with emotional predicaments that were caused by the fraught relationship between the main female character and a dominating man.

The central theme in the first part of Ivanova's 'Autobiographical notes' of 1891 was the relationship between herself and her father. Her mother, in contrast, received little attention. Even though Aleksei Petrovich had died in 1880 (a decade before she penned this account), it is clear from the content that Ivanova was still trying to come to terms with her relationship with him. Again and again, she informed her reader about how close she was to her father: 'My love and attachment to him knows no bounds. He and only he fills my soul and reigns in my memories'; or: 'There was no difficult moment in my childhood in which I don't remember my father, leaning over me like a Guardian Angel'.⁶¹ It was he, who sat by her bedside when she nearly died of whooping cough. Somewhat contradictorily, given her constant ailments and his nursing of her, she also claims that her attachment to her father was so great, that she grew ill when he was away, but recovered immediately upon his return.⁶²

It is through contradictions such as this one, that the depiction of Aleksei Petrovich grows increasingly frightful. We learn that he was a difficult youth, who disobeyed his mother and stole from her, before, in exasperation, she sent him off to boarding school in Petersburg.⁶³ As a married man, he was 'truly the head of the house, the patriarch, everyone obeyed him instantly, everyone feared him, everyone respected him, even if they didn't understand him'.⁶⁴ The frequent claim that he was misunderstood by those around him undermines the equally repeated assurance that everyone—children, Petersburg relatives, even 'his cook, dog and cat'—loved him dearly.⁶⁵

Most troubling, however, was his relationship with children. Ivanova stated seven times that 'father loved all children', but with each repetition, her claims to his 'parental, motherly heart' grow increasingly unconvincing.⁶⁶ The admission that 'he was so strict, that many thought he disliked children' acquires a dreadful significance when it becomes clear that Aleksei Petrovich killed Elizaveta's elder sister Sonia. Aleksei Petrovich brought up this daughter—'the incarnation of meekness', who 'impressed everyone' with her inquisitive mind, 'her heavenly beauty, grace and tenderness'—in a 'cruel manner', punishing her by withholding food, until she died of malnutrition aged six.⁶⁷ Ivanova did not

condemn her father for callousness, but rather laid the blame for Sonia's death at her mother's feet. 'Mother, trembling before him, did not dare to peep or say a word. The child went hungry and suffered, but she remained silent'.⁶⁸

After the recounting of this episode, the physicality of Aleksei Petrovich's presence in his children's life acquires a nightmarish quality. When he played with them, Ivanova hid beneath a chair.⁶⁹ She wrote that she 'hated kisses' and remembered how being kissed by her mother and grandmother gave her 'a horrible feeling of humiliation' (*oskorblenie skromnosti*—also an euphemistic expression for rape at the time).⁷⁰ But in her notes, it was her father, not the female relatives, who was constantly physically close: Father 'took me by the hand', 'he even slept with us, brought us to bed and woke us, and cared for me like a patient', 'he knew how to caress', 'father was always tender'.⁷¹ Ivanova wrote that she relished his tenderness, but this claim sits awkwardly with her revulsion of being touched by anybody else.

Perhaps Sonia's death changed Aleksei Petrovich, and he tried to make amends by treating Elizaveta more gently. However, the relatives who continued to condemn his domestic behaviour, his 'forever grieving' wife, and 'pale son' indicate that life in the Ivanov family was far from happy. Ivanova herself hinted at more traumatic experiences as a young girl, but did not elaborate.⁷²

In a much later account of her life that focused on her numerous ailments, Ivanova describes the nosebleeds that troubled her constantly as a child as a substitute for tears. 'The reasons for my nosebleeds were external but also internal, but no one wanted to acknowledge that, even though they saw that I never cried, but I paid every insult with blood'.⁷³ Ivanova did not mention her father in this text, but she noted that 'from the age of 17, I was quite healthy'.⁷⁴ From that age on, she was allowed to 'run, jump, laugh, sneeze, blow my nose and cry', activities that had been strictly prohibited before.⁷⁵ She turned 17 in July of 1879, a year after her father entered his 'quiet dementia' (*tikhoe pomeshatel'stvo*) and a few months before his death in 1880.⁷⁶ Unlike her memoir of 1891, her account of her health from around 1930 suggests that the death of Aleksei Petrovich offered a certain relief to his family, including to his adoring daughter.

The narrative that follows her autobiographical notes remained, like her reminiscences in the first part of the booklet, unfinished. This story was a rough draft, consisting of barely connected fragments, sometimes interspersed with poems, in which Ivanova sketched various plot lines that tell of the unhappy love between Kseniia and Sviatoslav, husband of Ariadna.

Like her childhood memories with the abusive father, this narrative also broaches painful topics and its central character, Kseniia, fails to find happiness. Apart from illness, marital unhappiness, suicide, and even murder, Ivanova's characters contemplate abortion. As in the autobiography, these themes are raised in vague, disjointed, and frequently contradictory terms. Kseniia, we are told, is steadfast in her love, 'she fights against her and Sviatoslav's passion', but puzzlingly, and unlike her nemesis Ariadna, she 'will not kill the child for anything, [her] relatives understand who the father is and curse him, but her love knows no bounds'.⁷⁷

Kseniia resembles Ivanova in a number of ways, and the autobiographical traits of her heroine suggest that Ivanova sketched the story after 1902. Kseniia, like Ivanova, 'devotes all her time to learning, [...] looks after patients, teaches children'.⁷⁸ At some point, the

character exclaims: 'I always searched for the good (*ishchu blaga*) for others, but can't find it [myself]'.⁷⁹ The fact that the story was written on pages that directly follow an avowedly autobiographical text only adds to the likeness between Ivanova and Kseniia. There are other similarities. In 1902, Ivanova was heartbroken when she learned that Karl Antonovich Val'ter, a Petersburg doctor and the man she loved, had married Anna Nikolaevna Ispolatova, a fellow nurse. The news, Ivanova wrote in her diary, 'hit me like a bolt. [It was] as if the sun had gone dark. A sense of dread and emptiness overcame me. I thought I was about to go mad'.⁸⁰ Despite the tragic turn their relationship took in 1902, Ivanova kept approaching Val'ter with professional requests until 1910.⁸¹ Kseniia's painful love for a married man was thus an all too familiar experience for the story's author. The likeness between Kseniia and Ivanova is further underlined by the narrator's shifts from the third person to the first. It is possible that Ivanova used the different, experimental plot lines — in one of them Kseniia is also married — as fantasies through which she contemplated different developments which her own life might have taken.⁸²

Ultimately, however, everything in Ivanova's story about Kseniia disintegrates: any tenuous coherence gives way to tatters of text from which no plot can be made out; authorial originality turns into hackneyed clichés, such as walks in the moonlight, breasts white as snow, sincere confessions, and 'wasting away'. Even the handwriting becomes increasingly undecipherable. The last sentence, before the manuscript abruptly breaks off, expresses its essence, and its author's exasperation, aptly: 'in fact, I can just not say the most important thing'.⁸³ Ivanova wrote 31 more autobiographical texts, and nine more stories or plays during her life. Yet apart from a handful of translations from French, her writings remained unfinished.

Ivanova's extensive yet fragmented writings raises the question of why and for whom she wrote. Only very few of her accounts, such as her description of her health, seem to have been written with a reader in mind. And even though her diary of 1906 suggests that she would have liked to be financially independent of her mother, with whom she had an increasingly strained relationship, there is no indication that she aimed to earn money through publishing.⁸⁴ Instead, her writings give the impression that they were undertaken as a private exercise in introspection. Her diaries do not follow a linear chronology and ignore conventions of relating experiences to calendrical dates. These manuscripts and her other accounts about her own life are frequently written in a totally illegible script. Indeed Ivanova's idiosyncratic abbreviations of almost every word turn these texts into a personal code as soon as they start to broach painful relationships.⁸⁵

The music

Dokukina's 'Recitation', by contrast, suggests that by 1906, its composer and performers had found an answer to the conundrums of patriarchy and to the pain of unrequited love by socialising with other women and assuredly embracing ideas about women's emancipation. Yet at closer inspection, that solution turned out to have been less unequivocal than the combative, if stylistically rather bumpy, message of the *Melodeklamatsiia* suggests.

The first qualification of the verses' aggressive confidence is Dokukina's choice of instrument. Four ladies gathering around a (grand) piano were, in the context of

street riots and burning manor houses, not a revolutionary sight. Indeed, pianos were items particularly frequently looted and destroyed by rioting peasants in 1906, for whom these instruments symbolised affluence and privilege.⁸⁶ We do not know whether the Ivanovs experienced this kind of looting themselves. Yet it is highly likely that their estate in Slepsovka was affected by the widespread ransacking of barns, stables, and manor houses that took place in the district.⁸⁷ In any case, the disturbances hit Ivanova's relatives hard: in 1906, peasants completely destroyed and burned the estate of her maternal uncle, general V.A. Shompulev, to whom Ivanova was close.⁸⁸ Life in their city house on Dvorianskaia street offered the Ivanovs no refuge from the troubles. On 18 November 1905, a bomb was thrown at the vice-governor near the corner of Nikol'skaia and Dvorianskaia streets, a block away from the Ivanovs' house, but failed to detonate.⁸⁹ Expressing revolutionary sentiments in the genteel setting of a drawing room beside a piano while bombs flew outside, underlines that Ivanova's, Dokukina's and their friends' radicalism was moderate, and Dokukina's ideal of revolutionary change a good deal less violent than the words of her *Melodeklamatsiia* imply.

It was not only the setting that was at odds with the revolutionary message. The titles of the marches and the accompanying lyrics jar with the music. When played, the marches do not sound at all determined, nor do they evoke the resolute stride of 'blood-thirsty' protesters on their way into battle. Rather, the three pieces are in the tradition of agreeable domestic salon pieces which, throughout the nineteenth-century, had been associated with pleasant, but ultimately trivial, female musicianship.⁹⁰ Contemporaries would have known this immediately: in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, *melodeklamatsiia* was a popular genre that publishers advertised alongside fashionable songs, and which was frequently associated with women composers.⁹¹

'*Marsh "Grazhdanki"*' is a simply constructed piece. Two phrases of eight double-time (2/4) bars each are followed by a four-bar long trio and a concluding four-bar coda. Harmonically and melodically, the music is built around tonic, dominant, and subtonic chords, that never stray from its G-major foundation. Such a plain structure would not in itself disqualify '*Marsh "Grazhdanki"*' from sounding a rousing call to arms. Indeed, most marches follow a straightforward pattern, are written in duple time, and contain a short trio interlude. Like Dokukina's piece, they also regularly contain dotted rhythms and repeated notes.⁹² Despite the presence of these musical ingredients, '*Marsh "Grazhdanki"*' does not entice any listener to purposefully stride forwards. The piece's left-hand accompaniment with its constant jumps rather suggests a hopping motion, and its rhythm cannot be aligned to the drum beat that commonly underlies military marches: ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩. Rather than a march, the music of '*Marsh "Grazhdanki"*' is a joyful dance. If Ivanova's 'marches' suggest movement, the sisters-in-arms were gracefully skipping towards their rights.

Yet it is first and foremost the melody that undermines any sense of resoluteness. Unlike more strident marches, which are based around phrases of two or four bars, the phrases in '*Marsh "Grazhdanki"*' are lyrical and long; they develop over eight bars. In particular, the constant trills produce a sense of evasion, while the persistent ascending movement of the melodic lines suggest a flight towards unobtainable fantasies, rather than expressing a determined musical idea. This indecisiveness is present throughout the piece, but it is particularly pronounced in the rising melodic line and the final broken chord of the last two bars, which extend over almost three octaves. The

upward motion of the melody, the broken chords, frequent sixths jumps, a propensity for thirds, trills, and monotonous left hand rhythms, are all hallmarks of salon music, which according to Andreas Ballstead and Tobias Widmaier led nineteenth-century pianists and their listeners into the sphere of tender reveries.⁹³ There is no place for a thematic working-through or harmonic struggle in this genre, and neither is there in *'Marsh "Grazhdanki"'*. The other two marches show a similar adherence to the generic conventions of salon music. They also have hopping left-hand accompaniment, simple harmonic structures, almost constant trills and grace notes, and flimsy coloratura. Finally, the stressed syllables of text to be recited alongside *'Marsh grazhdanki'* do not fall on strong beats of the music, nor are there enough beats in the music to accompany all the syllables of the *Melodeklamatsiia*.

Dokukina and Ivanova, who were skilful pianists, will have played the marches with eloquent passion, and together with Zimina and Anna K. they likely declaimed the feminist verses with gusto. As trained musicians and lovers of literature, the four women will not have failed to notice the mismatch between the sound and the accompanying words. Indeed, this discord might have been the source of much amusement and laughter. *'Marsh "Grazhdanki"'*, will thus have conferred some light-hearted irony onto the feminist struggle, and bestowed the time which the composer and dedicatees spent in each others' company with a sense of playful female camaraderie. Yet within this unthreatening merrymaking by and around the piano, the declamation also conjured up the fantasy of an alternative reality: one in which women came together, and in which this sisterhood rose up and forcefully turned the tables on male oppressors, while simultaneously holding onto traditional ideals of gentle femininity.

Conclusion

The feminist marches that Dokukina presented to Ivanova and Ivanova's own writings expressed an intense ambivalence. Both works addressed serious questions of the day, such as revolutionary struggle and women's oppression; they even broached the disturbing themes of parental cruelty, patriarchal impunity, and abortion. Yet in their music and in their writings, Dokukina and Ivanova nonetheless remained loyal to traditional ideals about feminine art, which was expected to be light-hearted and private. Grace notes, trills, and meandering coloratura in the music; unattainable love and commonplace metaphors in the writing were elements that situated their creative work within a body of literature that contemporary critics belittled as lacking in artistic force and meaningful insight. Ivanova and Dokukina did not aspire to become authors or composers known to a larger public, let alone public feminist voices. Ivanova never explicitly questioned the right of the head of household to rule over his family, and despite the *Melodeklamatsiia's* ideal of sisterhood, her reminiscences about important people in her life are exclusively about men: as we have seen she wrote extensively about her father in 1891; around 1918 she portrayed the Petersburg lawyer and philanthropist O.O. Buksgevdén (Buxhoeveden); in the 1920s she described her brother D.A. Ivanov and linguist A.A. Shakhmatov; and in 1931 she reminisced about one of her doctors, the famous ear-nose-and-throat specialist N.P. Simanovskii.⁹⁴ By contrast, she never drafted a text about any of the noteworthy women whom she must have encountered during her medical work in Russia, Italy, or at the front. The only woman she mentioned repeatedly in her writing was

her mother, but Ivanova had nothing positive to say about her. In short, she did not question the predominant social position of successful men.

Ivanova's and Dokukina's feminism, then, lacked the consistency and visibility that outspoken contemporary women activists in Saratov and elsewhere in the Russian Empire demanded of their allies. Indeed, 'Marsh "Grazhdanki"' suggests that Ivanova's and her friends' feminism was at times ironical. Yet despite Ivanova's and Dokukina's unthreatening form of rebellion and continued support for patriarchal values, these women were not indifferent observers of the women's struggles but deeply caught up in them. Ivanova's childhood was overshadowed by patriarchal abuse. Moreover, as midwives and nurses who cared for women and children and, in Ivanova's case, at times worked in areas of military conflict, they would have had direct professional knowledge of the physical effect of male violence.⁹⁵ At some point, Ivanova and Dokukina decided to lead independent lives. We do not know how easily Dokukina was able to pursue her career as a midwife. Certainly, Ivanova's professional path did not proceed without obstacles; although after 1880 she was free from the interferences of a husband or father—who in Russian law needed to approve any change of residence of daughters and wives—emotional and professional independence were not easily obtainable for Ivanova. Her ongoing contemplations of her ambivalent love to her father, or her tragic infatuation with Val'ter indicates that she struggled to find psychological stability.⁹⁶ Professionally and financially, she felt equally insecure: 'If only I earned my own salary, if only for the most empty, silly employment', she lamented in her diary in 1906.⁹⁷ Her hectic journeying between Petersburg, Saratov, Pskov province, Italy and the Pacific coast further attest to the difficulties of the life she chose to lead.

Ivanova's roughly forty unfinished literary projects, written between 1887 and 1930, indicate that her attempts to tell her story also led her to grapple with the difficult question of how to understand the self. She intensely wanted, but struggled to arrange her life into a comprehensive and coherent account. The frequent ellipses, abbreviated words, ghastly handwriting, experiences alluded to but never explicated, narrative incoherence and escapes into fantasy reveal that this reflection was highly personal and painful. Like her famous contemporary and fellow diary-writer L.N. Tolstoy, to whom she sent a congratulatory birthday telegram in 1902, Ivanova fathomed that one's life refused to be described exhaustively and coherently.⁹⁸

Yet unlike Tolstoy, who found himself in a long tradition of cultured estate-owners and aristocratic writers, Ivanova could not easily draw inspiration for her own personal account from the life stories of kindred spirits. There simply was no established, coherent, and socially legitimate narrative for the single, politically engaged, working, and relatively independent women. As Olga Hasty noted, Russian fin-de-siècle discussions about women writers ended with the 'familiar warning [...] that a woman who seeks public recognition is doomed to failure in both her public and her private life'.⁹⁹ These predictions were particularly dire for single women: they were not only thought to be 'sexually frustrated', but commonly diagnosed with neurological illnesses.¹⁰⁰ As her diaries show, Ivanova was acutely aware of these assumptions, and contemplated whether her many physical ailments might have been caused by her single status.¹⁰¹ In this inhospitable cultural environment, Ivanova could only represent her self through contradictory fragments.

Ivanova's writing and her music-making serve as a cautionary note to historians of Russia's women's movement that medical careers and seemingly straightforward feminist expressions cannot reliably be read as unequivocal articulations of clearly defined feminist convictions. As we know from previous research, feminism in early twentieth-century Russia was not a single or homogenous set of ideas or practice anyway. Ivanova's writing and music making, moreover, reveals that supporters of Russia's women's liberation movements felt much more ambivalent about their own societal roles as women than our knowledge about well-known and articulate feminist activists has thus far suggested. For historians more generally, Ivanova's *Melodeklamatsiia* is also an illustration that the meaning of musical recitations do not reside in the text alone. This example, I hope, will encourage more musicologists to use their analytical tools not only to reveal insightful observations about the art's Greats, but also to analyse the meanings of the many past experiences in which music-making played a part. Contemporaries, after all, heard music more frequently outside of conservatoires or famous concert halls than within them, and their music-making was closely entangled with how they thought about themselves.

Despite the private, elusive and often undecipherable nature of her written notes, Ivanova — after all a member of Saratov's Learned Archival Commission — clearly contemplated the possibility, and perhaps hoped, that her writings would one day find a reader: She carefully sewed single sheets of paper into pads, and held fast to her notebooks across the tumultuous periods of early-twentieth-century Russian history. Saving her extensive writings will have required considerable effort. After the Revolution of 1917, if she was lucky, Ivanova will have been forced by the Soviet authorities to move with her most treasured possessions into one room of her imposing city house, while working-class families were settled into the others. That Ivanova sacrificed precious living space for her extensive collection of papers underlines the importance that her manuscripts held for her. She also convinced — explicitly or implicitly, we do not know — local bibliophiles that her writing was worth depositing in state archives.¹⁰² Perhaps she hoped for a more opportune time to come when her painful story could be told. In 1911, at the age of 49, Ivanova took English lessons, and her recollections about her brother Dmitrii, drafted in 1922, are interspersed with English grammar exercises.¹⁰³ I like to think she would have approved of her story being told in an English scholarly journal.

Notes

1. 'Noty 2kh [sic] marshei posviashchennykh Ivanovoi EA', Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Saratovskoi oblasti (hereafter GASO) f. 407, op. 2, d. 673, l.1.
2. Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism and Bolshevism, 1860–1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Barbara Alpern Engel, *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in nineteenth-century Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Linda Harriet Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia, 1900–1917* (London: Heinemann, 1984); Ann Hibner Koblitz, 'Science, Women, and the Russian Intelligentsia: The Generation of the 1860s', *Isis* 79, no. 2 (1988): 208–226; I. I. Iukina, *Russkii feminizm kak vyzov sovremennosti* (St. Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2007); Irina Iukina, *Istoriia zhenshchin Rossii: zhenskoe dvizhenie i feminizm* (Sankt Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2003); Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild, *Equality & Revolution: Women's Rights*

in the Russian Empire, 1905–1917 (Oxford: OUP, 2010). Much of this scholarship is informed by the attitude of later Bolshevik revolutionaries to earlier female radicalism. This explains the strong, but often artificial, distinction between ‘bourgeois’ feminists and socialist feminist. See for example Marina Petaikina, and Alisa Lialina, ‘Povolzhskie gubernii: kharakteristika fiministskogo dvizheniia v period revoliutsii 1905–1907 gg.’, *Vlast* 4 (2011): 120–123.

3. There is virtually no research about Russian amateur music making, a well established field in other musical traditions. See for example Andreas Ballstaedt and Tobias Widmaier. *Salonmusik: Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis*. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989); Rebecca Grotjahn, ‘Playing at Refinement: A Musicological Approach to Music, Gender and Class Around 1900’, *German History* 30, no. 3 (2012): 395–411; Marie Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Composers, Consumers, Communities* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).
4. The exception to this trend are Sasha Rasmussen and Lynn Sargeant, who showed that women made up the majority of conservatoire students. Unlike other musicologists, Sargeant has also ventured into the geographical and cultural periphery. Lynn A. Sargeant, ‘A New Class of People: The Conservatoire and Musical Professionalization in Russia, 1861–1917’, *Music & Letters* 1 (2004); Lynn A. Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life* (Oxford: OUP, 2011); Sasha Rasmussen, ‘Musicians, Students, Listeners: Women and the Conservatoire in pre-war Paris and St Petersburg’, *Cultural and Social History* 18, no. 2 (2021): 221–242.
5. See for example Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: from Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Rutger Helmers, *Not Russian enough? Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Nineteenth-Century Russian Opera* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014). There have been analyses of revolutionary song, but most of this scholarship is concerned with the Soviet period. See for example Amy Nelson, *Music for the Revolution: Musicians and Power in Early Soviet Russia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).
6. See, for example, the founding text of twentieth-century regional research N.K. Piksanov, *Oblastnye kul’turnye gnezda* (Moscow, Leningrad: Gos izd-vo, 1928).
7. There is one three-pages long article that discusses Ivanova alongside her uncle. However, this article gets basic facts about her life wrong, thus underlining her unimportance to regional scholarship. A.V. Kumakov, ‘Lichnye arkhivy V.A. Shompuleva i E.A. Ivanovoi v GASO’, in *Kraevedenie i arkhivnoe delo v provintsii: istoricheskii opyt i perspektivy razvitiia* (Saratov: Lokator, 2006): 162–164.
8. Donald J. Raleigh, *Revolution on the Volga: 1917 in Saratov* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), 29, 38–9.
9. *Ibid.*, 58.
10. I. Ia. Slavin, *Minuvshee - perezhitoe: Vospominaniia* (Saratov: KnigoGrad, 2013), 301–34; Raleigh, *Revolution*, 53–61.
11. Slavin, *Minuvshee*, 275, 301.
12. *Ibid.*, 276.
13. On demands for female suffrage in Russia see Stites, *Women’s Liberation Movement*, 198–232; Goldberg Ruthchild, *Equality*.
14. It is unclear, however, whether this approval explicitly included women’s suffrage.
15. Slavin, *Minuvshee*, 301.
16. Petaikina, and Lialina, ‘Polovzhskie gubernii’, 121; Edmondson, *Feminism*, 37.
17. Petaikina, and Lialina, ‘Polovzhskie gubernii’, 121. On suffragettes during the Duma period see Irina Yukina, ‘Russian Suffragists and International Suffragist Organisations: Solidarity, Discipleship, Victory’, *Feminist Encounters: A Journal of Critical Studies in Culture and Politics* 4, no. 2 (2020).

18. On Kal'manovich see Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement*, 217; Iukina, *Russkii feminizm*, 322–24; Goldberg Ruthchild, *Equality*, 53–4, 67–8.
19. On the destruction of Kal'manovich's home and the threats to her family see Ibid., 67–8.
20. Petaikina, and Lialina, 'Polovzhskie gubernii', 122.
21. On government suppression, see Raleigh, *Revolution*, 61. On the decline of the Union for Women's Equality, see Petaikina, and Lialina, 'Polovzhskie gubernii', 122.
22. Although, Kal'manovich's radical analysis of an unbridgeable rift between men and women chimes with the militant message of Dokukina's *Melodeklamatsiia*, the well-known feminist is not the dedicatee Anna K[...]. The latter's undecipherable name is much shorter. 'Noty', GASO f. 407, op. 2, d. 673, l.6.
23. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski Ivanovoi E.A.', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, l.1.
24. Ibid., l. 11.
25. 'Svedeniia ob imenii Ivanova P.A.', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 674; 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, l. 4–8ob.
26. Ibid., l. 2.
27. Ibid., l. 2, 12.
28. E.A. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 1, l.1. For descriptions about the education of noble girls in the provinces see S. B. Kovalevskaia, *Vospominaniia detstva. Povesti*. (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), 26–8; Katherine Pickering Antonova, *An Ordinary Marriage: The World of a Gentry Family in Provincial Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 178–9.
29. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (hereafter RGB) f. 413, op. 1, d. 1, ll. 1–1ob.
30. A.I. Fridrikhson, ed. *Ves' Saratov na 1901 god: adres-kalendar', torgovo-promyshlennaia i spravochnaia kniga* (1900), 291, 337, 340; Mikhail Vasil'evich Volotskoi, *Khronika roda Dostoevskogo* (Moscow: 1933), 110. See also http://www.sounb.ru/calendar/calendar.php?ELEMENT_ID=7931 (accessed September 16, 2020).
31. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 1, ll. 1–1ob.
32. A.A. Shakhmatov, 'Pis'ma k Ivanovoi Elizavete Alekseevne. Soprovozhdaiutsia kommentiruiushchim ikh tekstem Ivanovoi.', RGB f. 413, d. 52.
33. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661
34. E.A. Ivanova, 'Poezdka na koronatsiiu. Vospominaniia 1896 g.', RNB F. 413, op. 1, d. 11.
35. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 1, ll. 1–2.
36. Ibid., l. 1ob.
37. Shakhmatov, 'Pis'ma', RGB f. 413, d. 52, ll.4–4ob; Adele Lindenmeyr, *Citizen Countess: Sofia Panina and the Fate of Revolutionary Russia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019), 76.
38. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, spravka; Adele Lindenmeyr, *Poverty is not a vice: Charity, Society, and the State in Imperial Russia* (Princeton: 1996), 174–89.
39. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, spravka.
40. On Burigi see for example *Obshchina sester miloserdiia sv. Marii Magdaliny v sele Buregi* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia A.A. Kraevskogo, 1863); O. Pistol'kors, 'Pamiati kniazny Marii Mikhailovny Dondukovo-Korsakovo', *Trudovaia pomoshch'* 1 (1910): 1–18.
41. *Spravka. Lichnyi sostav. Spisok uchrezhdenii krasnogo kresta na dal'nem vostoce* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Glavnogo Upravleniia Udelov, 1905), 52.
42. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 1, l. 2ob.
43. Ibid., l. 2; 'Rabota v detskoj bol'nitse - vospominaniia', RGB f. 413, d.16; 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, spravka.
44. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 1, l. 2ob.
45. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, spravka; 'Tatishchevskii kraj: Ivanovy'. <http://tatiskray.ru/index.html?4/033.htm> (accessed June 19, 2020.)
46. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, spravka; 'Tatishchevskii kraj: Ivanovy'; I. F. Masanov, *Slovar' psevdonimov russkikh pisatelei, uchennykh i obshchestvennykh deiatelei* (Moscow: 1960), 204; 'Ivanova E A', RGB f. 413.

47. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 1
48. F. S. Shimanskii, ed. *Adres-kalendar' Saratovskoi gubernii na 1898 god* (Saratov: Parovaia skoropechat' gubernsogo pravleniia, 1898), 235. I am grateful to Irina Khmel'nitskaia for finding Dokukina in this directory.
49. Fridrikhson, *Adres-kalendar' 1901; Spravochnaia kniga i adres-kalendar' g Saratova na 1906 g* (Saratov: 1906); *Ves' gorod Saratov: Adres-kalendar' ukazatel na 1911 god* (Saratov: 1911).
50. Ann Hibner Koblitz, *A Convergence of Lives: Sofia Kovalevskaia: Scientist, Writer, Revolutionary* (Boston: Birkhäuser, 1983).
51. There might have been more, as those with German, Jewish or Ukrainian surnames who only listed the initials of their given names did not reveal their sex in the directory. *Adres-kalendar' (1906)*, 157–66.
52. Engel, *Mothers and Daughters*, particularly chapter 8; Koblitz, 'Science, Women'; Jeanette E. Tuve, *The First Russian Women Physicians* (1984).
53. Samuel C. Ramer, 'Childbirth and Culture: Miwifery in the nineteenth-century Russian Countryside', in *Family in Imperial Russia: New Lines of Historical Research*, ed. Davil L. Ransel (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 228.
54. *Ibid.*, 226, 228.
55. *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (St. Petersburg: Brokgauz Efron, 1891), s.v. 'Akusherskie shkoly'.
56. On the importance of the piano see James Parakilas, *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Anne Swartz, *Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century* (Lanham: Lehigh University Press, 2014).
57. *Adres-kalendar' (1906)*, 143–4.
58. See for example 'Dlia datch'. *Saratovskii listok*, 30 May 1910, 1.
59. Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord*, 191–205.
60. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661
61. *Ibid.*, l.3, 12.
62. *Ibid.*, l.15.
63. *Ibid.*, l.6.
64. *Ibid.*, l.3.
65. *Ibid.*, ll. 2, 7ob,8,15ob.
66. *Ibid.*, ll. 2ob,7,8,12,15–15ob.
67. *Ibid.*, ll.12ob. To withhold food seems to have been a widespread form of domestic disciplining. Kovalevskaia, *Vospominaniia*, 19.
68. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, ll.12ob–13.
69. *Ibid.*, l.14.
70. *Ibid.*, l.2, 2ob.
71. *Ibid.*, ll.2, 2ob, 13.
72. Ivanova mentions that she 'had to experience a sadness, more pronounced than what childhood usually brings', but does not explain what this refers to. It cannot have been Sonia's death, because Elizaveta was born after this event. *Ibid.*, ll.3, 13ob.
73. E.A. Ivanova, 'Perechen' boleznei', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 3, l. 1ob.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 1, l. 1.
77. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, l. 29ob.
78. *Ibid.*, l.22ob.
79. *Ibid.*, l.24ob.
80. E.A. Ivanova, 'Devnik, 1902 god. mart-mai', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 6, 29. On Val'ter, see Arkadii F. Veksler, *Takaia udivitel'naia Ligovka* (Moscow: LitRes Postavshchik, 2011). Val'ter contributed to a textbook for medical support staff and might have been one of Ivanova's lecturers. Naum Vladimirovich Shvarts, ed. *Pervaia pomoshch' v neschastnykh sluchaiakh do pribytiia vracha. (Predislovie K.A. Val'ter)* (Petrograd: Izdanie Obshchiny sv. Evgenii, 1915).

81. E.A. Ivanova, 'Pis'mo k Val'teru K.A. Burigo Psovskoi gubernii v Peterburg', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 48.
82. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, l.22ob. In 1906, a widower proposed to Ivanova, but she turned him down. E.A. Ivanova, 'Dnevnik 1906g', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 9, 112–7.
83. 'Avtobiograficheskie zapiski', GASO f. 407, op. 2, ed. khr. 661, l.31.
84. Ivanova, 'Dnevnik 1906g', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 9, l. 4.
85. I am grateful to Irina Khmel'nitskaia for this suggestion.
86. Slavin, *Minuvshee*, 308.
87. "'Sleptsovka": Kul'turno-istoricheskoe nasledie sela'. <http://nasledie-sela.ru/places/SAR/1706/9462/> (accessed October 1, 2019).
88. Slavin, *Minuvshee*, 308; V. A. Shompulev, *Zapiski starogo pomeshchika* (Moscow: NLO, 2012), 7.
89. Slavin, *Minuvshee*, 315.
90. Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*.
91. Antonida Vladimirovna Ol'shevskaia, *Russkaia melodeklamatsiia (Serebrianyi vek): Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata iskusstvovedeniia* (Moscow: 2016); 'Muzykal'nyi magazin I.I. Makushina v Tomske: Polucheny novye romancy dlia peniia'. *Sibirskaia zhizn'*, 1903, 3; 'Nekrologi: Ketrits, M.D.', *Istoricheskii vestnik: istoriko-literaturnyi zhurnal* 33, no. October (1911), 395.
92. Erich Schwandt, and Andrew Lamb, 'March', in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
93. Ballstaedt, and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, 255–340.
94. RGB, F. 413, dela 19–21, 18, 26, 27.
95. I am grateful to Irina Paert for pointing this out.
96. As late as 1922, Ivanova described how she considered poisoning herself when she heard the news of his marriage, and how she constantly had visions of Val'ter. E.A. Ivanova, 'Konspekt dlia moikh memuarov (za 1862–1905g)', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 22, ll.31ob, 33.
97. Ivanova, 'Dnevnik 1906g', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 9, l. 4.
98. Irina Paperno, 'Tolstoy's Diaries: The Inaccessible Self', in *Self & Story in Russian History*, ed. Laura Engelstein, and Stephanie Sandler (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000): 242–265.
99. Olga Peters Hasty, *How Women Must Write: Inventing the Russian Women Poet* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2020), 9.
100. Judith M. Bennett, and Amy M. Froide, 'A Singular Past', in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 20.
101. Ivanova, 'Dnevnik 1906g', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 9, l.117ob.
102. The Russian State Library in Moscow obtained Ivanova's papers in 1938 from M.D. Sokolov, brother of S.D. Sokolov. The latter was, like Ivanova, a member of Saratov's Learned Archival Commission. When he found himself in financial difficulties in the 1930s, M.D. Sokolov sold his brother's extensive collection of books and manuscripts to various libraries and archives. Ivanova's papers seem to have been part of that private collection. A second charge of Ivanova's papers was given to the Russian State Library in 1959 by the Saratov writer L.I. Rabinovich, a collaborator of S.D. Sokolov. Private correspondence with A.E. Rodionova, senior archivist, Russian State Library, Moscow. On the Sokolovs, see G. Mishin, *Zhitie saratovskoe* (Saratov: 2006), 3–32. Accessible on <http://library.sgu.ru/elcol/0988.htm> (accessed September 2, 2020).
103. Ivanova, 'Curriculum vitae', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 1, l. 2; E.A. Ivanova, 'Vospominaniia o moem brate Dmitrii Alekseeviche Ivanove', RGB f. 413, op. 1, d. 21.

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