

# 20<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY ARTISTS: REFLECTING ON THE CONTEMPORARY AND INSIGHT INTO THE FUTURE

DOI 10.15826/qr.2024.2.885



УДК 070.1(09) + 94(575.1)"18" + 94(470)"19" + 616-036.68 + 327.2 + 316.454.7

## **“Tashkent Has Gained Sad Glory”: The Death of Vera Komissarzhevskaya and the Limits of Russian Culture in Late Imperial Turkestan\***

**Matthew Klopfenstein**

University of South Carolina,  
Columbia, South Carolina, USA

The unexpected death of the famous actress Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya while on tour in Tashkent was both a major event for Russian speakers in Turkestan and an empire-wide media sensation. This article examines coverage of the death of Kommissarzhevskaya from smallpox in 1910 in the Russian-language periodical press in both Turkestan and leading urban centers in the Russian Empire. The actions of mourners in Tashkent and coverage of these events locally and in the capital press reveal that Kommissarzhevskaya's death was an imperial event that magnified the tensions within Russian claims to represent a civilizing force in Central Asia. For educated Russian speakers in Turkestan Kommissarzhevskaya's death was an opportunity to self-consciously assert their status as bearers of Russian culture in a press environment in which local acts of commemoration swiftly attracted an empire-wide audience. In the face of racialized and Orientalist depictions of Turkestan in the capital press, local journalists and members of educated society sought to demonstrate their belonging in, and dedication to, Russian culture in ways that blurred the boundaries between the imperial center and its peripheries, revealing Kommissarzhevskaya's death to be at the center of an ambiguous empire-wide discourse of death, disease, and the limits of Russian modernity. While educated Russian society in Tashkent sought to demonstrate their membership in a greater imperial civilization, the circumstances of Kommissarzhevskaya's death and the discourse of smallpox called into question Russian claims of civilizational superiority and laid bare key anxieties at the heart of Russia's colonial presence in Central Asia.

---

\* *Citation:* Klopfenstein, M. (2024). “Tashkent Has Gained Sad Glory”: The Death of Vera Komissarzhevskaya and the Limits of Russian Culture in Late Imperial Turkestan. In *Quaestio Rossica*. Vol. 12, № 2. P. 403–421. DOI 10.15826/qr.2024.2.885.

*Цитирование:* Klopfenstein M. “Tashkent Has Gained Sad Glory”: The Death of Vera Komissarzhevskaya and the Limits of Russian Culture in Late Imperial Turkestan // *Quaestio Rossica*. 2024. Vol. 12, № 2. P. 403–421. DOI 10.15826/qr.2024.2.885.

*Keywords:* Vera Komissarzhevskaya, death, mass media, gender, imperialism, Turkestan, late imperial Russia

Неожиданная смерть известной актрисы Веры Федоровны Комиссаржевской во время гастролей в Ташкенте стала и для русскоязычного населения Туркестана, и для всей империи крупным событием, вызвавшим сенсацию в средствах массовой информации. В статье исследуется освещение смерти Комиссаржевской от оспы в 1910 г. в русскоязычной периодической печати как в Туркестане, так и в ведущих городских центрах Российской империи. Действия скорбящих в Ташкенте и освещение этих событий на местном и столичном уровнях показывают, что смерть Комиссаржевской стала имперским событием, усилившим напряжение в контексте русских претензий на роль цивилизационной силы в Центральной Азии. Для образованных русскоязычных жителей Туркестана смерть актрисы стала возможностью подтвердить свой статус носителей русской культуры в печатной среде, которая привлекла внимание всей империи. В условиях расовых и ориентализующих представлений о Туркестане в столичной печати местные журналисты и представители образованного общества стремились продемонстрировать свою принадлежность и преданность русской культуре. Это размывало границы между имперским центром и его периферией, помещая указанное событие в центр неоднозначного имперского дискурса о смерти, болезни и пределах российской модерности. В то время как представители образованной части русского общества в Ташкенте стремились продемонстрировать свое членство в широкой имперской цивилизации, обстоятельства смерти Комиссаржевской и дискурс об оспе подвергли сомнению русские претензии на цивилизационное превосходство и выявили ключевые тревожные ожидания, лежавшие в основе колониального присутствия России в Центральной Азии.

*Ключевые слова:* Вера Комиссаржевская, смерть, СМИ, гендер, империализм, Туркестан, поздняя Российская империя

The death of the actress Vera Komissarzhevskaya (1864–1910) from smallpox on February 10, 1910 while on tour in Tashkent was one of the great media sensations of late imperial Russia. Komissarzhevskaya was a major celebrity of the late imperial period and had won fame for her distinct, emotional style of acting in the works of Chekhov, Ibsen, Gorky and others. She also gained a reputation for a fierce commitment to her own artistic vision after dramatically leaving the imperial stage to start her own theater in 1905. In the fall of 1909 she unexpectedly announced her retirement from the stage following a final tour of the empire to raise money for her new endeavor, a school for the arts.<sup>1</sup> Her sudden illness

---

<sup>1</sup> Komissarzhevskaya's life has been the subject of numerous Russian-language biographies, most recently [Сереева-Клятиц]. For an English language treatment see: [Schuler].



Похоронная процессия следует за гробом В. Ф. Комиссаржевской у Николаевского вокзала. Санкт-Петербург, 20 февраля 1910 г. Фотография К. Буллы с сайта «Wikimedia Commons». <https://commons.wikimedia.org/>  
The funeral procession follows the coffin of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya at the Nikolaevsky station. St Petersburg, February 20, 1910. Photograph by K. Bulla

and unexpected death in Tashkent on this tour was a great shock. Written about in great detail in newspapers spanning the empire and accompanied by requiems and evenings of memory in dozens of cities as well as what was likely the largest public funeral in the history of St Petersburg to that point, Komissarzhevskaya's death and funeral proved to be an event of tremendous social resonance in which the actress emerged as a symbol of emotional authenticity who spoke to the challenges of late imperial Russia's modernity [Klopfenstein]. Tributes in the press and the testimonies of mourners revealed that the actress stood at the center of pressing public debates about gender, culture, and the fate of Russian society.

In Tashkent itself Komissarzhevskaya's death placed into stark relief key anxieties in local Russian society about its place in the larger empire and the state of Russia's colonial experiment in Turkestan. A growing city of nearly 200,000 people, of which Russians numbered around 50,000 [Цыряпкина, с. 25], Tashkent served as the main outpost of the Russian Empire's expansion into Central Asia. In the wake of Komissarzhevskaya's death, Tashkent was subject to intense scrutiny in leading publications throughout the empire, and the actress was simultaneously the cause of intense public mourning and fraught reflection in the local press. To members of

Tashkent's educated Russian society Komissarzhevskaya's death and their response was an opportunity to demonstrate their place in Russian culture and civilization in the face of outside coverage that depicted Tashkent and Turkestan in racialized and Orientalist tropes of backwardness, dirt, and disease. At the same time, debates over Komissarzhevskaya's death from smallpox in both the local and capital press collapsed the distance between the imperial center and the periphery, revealing the extent to which fears in Tashkent of Russia's cultural inferiority as a modern state and imperial power were shared by commentators in the capitals.

### **Tashkent and the Anxieties of Empire**

By 1910 Tashkent stood as an ambiguous marker of imperial Russian modernity and the local intelligentsia's place within it. Tashkent's leadership and educated society stood at the forefront of the Russian Empire's colonial project in Turkestan, and "concern over their place in imperial society and a modern European world permeated intellectual discourse among educated Russians" in the city [Sahadeo, p. 77]. Local officials and educated society embraced the idea of a civilizing mission in Central Asia and self-consciously saw themselves as bearers of European progress to a region viewed as backward. This vision of progress largely equated civilization with Russian culture [Hofmeister, p. 411–412, 440], implicitly tying discussions of culture in Turkestan with larger discourses of Russian imperialism. The Russian portion of Tashkent, constructed in the wake of the city's conquest in 1868, was consciously modeled on St Petersburg and was meant to project an image of order and rationality [Sahadeo, p. 36]. At the same time, local officials and educated society remained anxious about their peripheral status on the empire's edge and remained highly attuned to any negative depictions of the region in both the Russian capital press and in the press of the European imperial powers (chiefly British and French) that they self-consciously identified with [Ibid., p. 43, 69–70]. The region's growing Russian population and expanding role in the imperial economy by the early twentieth century only amplified the anxieties of Tashkent's educated society. The completion of a railroad from Orenburg in 1906 better connected the city to the imperial center while also opening the region to large numbers of poor Slavic migrants who, in the view of local Russian elites, threatened to undermine claims to Russian cultural and civilizational superiority [Ibid., p. 146–162].

These larger anxieties about the status of Russian culture and civilization in Turkestan formed a backdrop to Vera Komissarzhevskaya's arrival in Tashkent in February of 1910. Her status as a female celebrity idolized by the intelligentsia and particularly students gave significance to her visit to the city's educated Russian residents who sought to shape the social and cultural development of the region. The presence of Russian women in Tashkent and Turkestan more broadly carried particular weight to leaders of Russian colonial society, symbolizing culture, civilization, and permanence [Sahadeo, p. 50, 65, 160; Hokanson, p. 16–17]. Her untimely death from

smallpox, a disease strongly associated with backwardness, immediately became a test case of Russian Tashkent's own level of cultural sophistication and civilization.

### Civilization and the Discourse of Disease

Local efforts to mourn Komissarzhevskaya took place against a sensationalized, and often lurid, fascination with the details in the capital press of the actress's death from smallpox, which threatened to reduce Tashkent to little more than an exotic, uncivilized backdrop full of danger and disease. Gendered fascination with the actress's physical appearance, and the effect of disease upon it, focused attention on larger questions about the health of society in ways that both singled out Tashkent and blurred the sense of difference between conditions in the imperial center and periphery.

Russian newspapers were quick to report on the physical ravages of Komissarzhevskaya's battle with smallpox when word of her death was first received from Tashkent. These accounts would in turn provide material for further reflections on the fight against ugliness and *poshlost'* in Russian life, refracted through the lens of the actress's body. The initial coverage drew detailed, voyeuristic attention to Komissarzhevskaya's physical condition, revealing the female body as a locus around which larger discussions about the social and cultural implications of disease unfolded. While early word that the actress had fallen ill in Central Asia had made its way into a few papers in European Russia, Komissarzhevskaya's illness was largely reported on in conjunction with her death.<sup>2</sup> Newspapers frequently published graphic physical descriptions in their initial coverage. St Petersburg's *Rech'* reported on a telegram that described the ravages of smallpox in her last moments, reporting that there was "such a quantity of pus that, coming from her body, it tore through [the blistered skin]." It detailed the "torturous condition" of Komissarzhevskaya, the onset of nephritis, "gangrenous skin," a rising temperature, and finally a loss of consciousness that preceded her death [Кончина В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Речь»)]. Similar graphic details, such as the statement that Komissarzhevskaya experienced "terrible suffering as a result of the pressure of pus unable to find an outlet," appeared in other Russian-language newspapers.<sup>3</sup> Newspapers throughout the empire were quick to report on Komissarzhevskaya's "final days" and "final minutes," offering similarly detailed descriptions of her body temperature, sleep patterns, and the opinions of attending doctors.<sup>4</sup> These medical descriptions, both intimate and graphic, were a significant part of the coverage of

---

<sup>2</sup> For example, the first brief notice of her illness that appeared in *Russkoye slovo* was only published on the day she died: [Болезнь В. Ф. Комиссаржевской].

<sup>3</sup> See for example: [В. Ф. Комиссаржевская («Киевская мысль»)]; К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Рижская мысль»); Последние дни В. Ф. Комиссаржевской].

<sup>4</sup> See for instance: [Последние минуты В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Туркестанский курьер»)]; Последние минуты В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Закаспийское обозрение»); Последние часы В. Ф. Комиссаржевской].

Komissarzhevskaya's death and stood alongside the many obituaries and tributes that filled columns of space in the press.

Drawing on gendered tropes that marked women as symbols of nature and nation [Ortner; Rutten, p. 12–19] commentators obsessed over the effects of disease on the actress's physical beauty. Observers in the press both aestheticized and sensationalized Komissarzhevskaya's dying body in ways that marked it as a cipher for the larger conditions of society. In these accounts, smallpox emerged as a threat to culture through its disfiguring effects on the body. In one of the first pieces in the capital press to report on Komissarzhevskaya's developing illness, an article by the theater critic for *Peterburgskaya Gazeta* made clear what it saw as the real danger: "As is well known, smallpox nearly always leaves terrible marks on the face." "Fear," the critic observed, leads to "one thought, that the inspiring face of Komissarzhevskaya might be disfigured by smallpox, the face which so excited the public" [Театрал В. Ф. Комиссаржевская заболела оспой, с. 4]. Another writer, K. Khryapin, used Komissarzhevskaya's death to reflect on the terrible effects of smallpox to call attention to the need for greater public health efforts. Even in an article largely focusing on issues of medicine and science, Komissarzhevskaya's body was present, with the author personifying the disease as a "vindictive, fairy-tale witch" and a "demon" who had "sworn an oath to destroy, mercilessly destroy physical beauty." Using language that was clearly meant to call to mind images of the actress, he declared "In a few days it transforms the most enchanting face into something hideous, repulsive, and terrifying" [Хряпин, с. 3].

For this author, attention to the effects of disease and Komissarzhevskaya's beauty pointed to a larger conclusion about the reality of modern life. Describing smallpox as a disease that used to ravage the whole world but had been overcome in places more advanced than Russia, Khryapin declared that all people lived beneath the pressure of two things: "the battle for existence and the battle with disease." In her struggle for the former, Khryapin, declared, Komissarzhevskaya had succumbed to the latter. He claimed that she had even been warned that there was a smallpox "epidemic" in Tashkent, but the demands of material necessity in the battle for existence caused her to turn a blind eye to the risk. On this count, the inability to satisfy material necessities in the center had driven the actress to the supposedly disease-infested peripheries of the empire [Там же]. To Khryapin, the destruction of Komissarzhevskaya's physical beauty, then, was a compelling means of discussing the interrelated nature of larger economic and public health concerns.

To commentators in the Russian language press outside of Turkestan, it was clear that the smallpox that killed Komissarzhevskaya was an ominous threat to Russian society, and many took pains to portray the disease as a geographic and racial Other. Many observers rushed to position the disease as something foreign to Russian life, a theme clearly underscored through the widespread use of derogatory, Orientalizing descriptions of Tashkent and Central Asia in coverage of the actress's death.

The foreignness and supposed civilizational inferiority of Tashkent and the larger Turkestan region was repeatedly stressed through descriptors like “dirty,” “half-barbarous,” “half-Asiatic,” “a foreign land (*chuzhbina*),” and “at the edge of our fatherland” [Азов, с. 199; К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Речь»); К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Новое время»); Солодов, с. 2; Л. В., с. 3]. Newspapers throughout the empire reported that Komissarzhevskaya had most likely contracted the disease from an infected carpet at a market in Samarkand, unfailingly described as a “Sart bazaar.”<sup>5</sup> Indeed, smallpox was frequently described as a disease distinct to the region and personified as part of it. The journalist Vlad Azov described smallpox as the fruits of “the trickster-death (*vtirusha-smert*)” who came “in the form of a Sart, bringing carpets for sale” [Азов]. Another commentator asserted that a “poisonous Asiatic disease” had befallen the actress “among Asians, where tarantulas crawl,” describing the disease as “Asiatically cunning (*Aziatichna kovarna*)” [Мимоза, с. 7].

These racialized, deeply disparaging descriptions of Central Asia as a disease-infested backwater fit a larger pattern in which highly communicable diseases were viewed as scourges from the East, with cholera in particular frequently described as the “Asiatic guest” [Davis, p. 43]. To many commentators a Central Asian death was wholly unbecoming an actress who was repeatedly described as a native Russian cultural treasure. A writer in *Damskii mir* described Turkestan as a “half-savage country,” ruminated darkly on the “hardened, Asiatic faces of the Sarts” and “bazaars, drowning in filth,” and lamented her death in “far-off, Asiatic, provincial Tashkent” [Ergo, с. 32]. The St Petersburg feuilletonist Skitalets declared that it would be highly inappropriate for the actress to be buried in “that foreign, Asiatic city,” declaring “What senseless irony! Komissarzhevskaya and Tashkent! Komissarzhevskaya was a true daughter of the North, who belonged to it from head to foot, reflecting it with every facet of her many-stringed spirit” [Ски-талец, с. 3]. These characterizations went alongside others that portrayed Komissarzhevskaya as a bearer of Russian culture to the benighted provinces, further emphasizing Tashkent’s cultural as well as physical distance from the center of supposedly civilized Russian life [Ардов, с. 2; Бадецкий, с. 6].

The negative implications of these descriptions were not lost on the Russian residents of Tashkent. Descriptions of Central Asia as a place of dirt and disease in the capital press recapitulated key tropes of the discourse of Russian colonial society in Tashkent toward the native population. Jeff Sahadeo has shown that “dirt and disease” were “primary tropes in Russian discourse” in Tashkent and that these terms “racialized the colonial relationship” [Sahadeo, p. 85]. Furthermore, the notion that the climate and conditions of Central Asia were uniquely hostile to ethnic Russians was widely held among Russian writers and scientists in Tashkent and reinforced a sense of essentialized difference between Russian colonists and

---

<sup>5</sup> See for instance: [О болезни В. Ф. Комиссаржевской; Эфрос, с. 4; Последние дни Комиссаржевской].

the local Central Asian population [Ibid., p. 70]. Responding to the death of Komissarzhevskaya consequently provided Tashkent's Russian society an opportunity to reinscribe the lines of colonial difference, separating themselves from derogatory, racialized depictions of Central Asia by reaffirming their membership in the larger Russian educated society that was now profusely mourning the actress.

### **Tashkent Responds: Imperial Civil Society**

The response of Russian society in Tashkent to Komissarzhevskaya's death must be understood in an imperial light. Many residents in Tashkent treated the death as a major cultural event demanding an appropriate response that would demonstrate the sophistication of the local population and its place in supposedly bringing culture and civilization to Central Asia. Almost immediately, the local press situated the city's response to Komissarzhevskaya's death in a nationwide context, providing a clear framework for mourners to understand the significance of their actions [Местная хроника, 12 февр., с. 3]. Indeed, detailed accounts of public mourning in Tashkent were carried in newspapers in Moscow, St Petersburg, Kiev, Kharkov, Riga, Yalta, Saratov, and elsewhere [Памяти В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Утро России»); Тело В. Ф. Комиссаржевской отправлено в Петербург только вчера; К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Киевская мысль»); Похороны В. Ф. Комиссаржевской; К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Рижская мысль»); Памяти В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Волгарь»); В. Ф. Комиссаржевская («Ялтинский вестник»); Кончина В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Кавказ»)]. Tashkent papers in turn closely monitored this outside coverage, at times indignantly responding to perceived slights [С-кий, с. 3]. Consequently, from the very beginning it was clear that local responses to this death played out against an empire-wide backdrop. For Tashkent, commemorating the actress provided a means of demonstrating sophistication to the leading urban centers, which often took a dim view of cultural life in peripheral and provincial locales [Ардов, с. 2]. Additionally, for Russian populations in cities in the peripheries of the multi-ethnic empire, publicly mourning a famous actress celebrated as a symbol of native Russian genius provided a way to signal membership in larger Russian culture. It was in this spirit that a commentator in *Turkestanskii golos*, writing before permission had been granted to return the actress's body to St. Petersburg, declared, "Tashkent has gained sad glory: it has become Komissarzhevskaya's tomb and her remains will be held in its depths" [Енкель, с. 3].

Mourning for Komissarzhevskaya in Tashkent had a distinctly civic quality and was marked by the same emotionally demonstrative grieving that had come to represent authentic identification with the actress as a symbol of truth, beauty, and transcendence [Klopfenstein]. A procession to the local cemetery church and a funeral service were conducted before the body was shipped by train back to St. Petersburg. The procession featured delegations of local civil society, with *Turkestanskii kur'er* carefully



noting 28 different wreaths from municipal authorities, local newspapers, various schools, particularly female *gimnazii* and women's courses, local theater and drama groups, student organizations, and private individuals [Юлин, 12 февр., с. 3]. The list read as a compendium of the key figures and institutions of the city's educated society. Local voices sought to portray the response of Tashkent society as serious and worthy of an event of such magnitude. The newspaper *Na rubezhe* declared, "all of Tashkent society, every institution was deeply struck by the death of Komissarzhevskaya. The mass of wreaths testify to the woe that has befallen not only the artistic world but all of Russia, and our poor Tashkent" [Печальный кортеж, с. 2]. Back in St Petersburg *Novoe vremia* agreed, publishing a lengthy telegram on events in Tashkent since Komissarzhevskaya's illness and declaring, "the city has shown that it valued this irreplaceable loss" [Телеграммы наших корреспондентов, с. 4]. By experiencing a shared sense of loss, Tashkent stood alongside the rest of Russia.

Effusive displays of feeling likewise became touchstones to demonstrate the authenticity of local society's grief. Commentators fixated on the emotional displays of local women to demonstrate the depth of local feeling for Komissarzhevskaya. A journalist for *Turkestanskii kur'er* visited the room where Komissarzhevskaya died and found two women "crying intensely" [Юлин, 14 февр., с. 3]. Additional reports drew special attention to "weeping" during the procession of the body from the cemetery church to the train station on February 13 and to "hysterical weeping" during the final service at the church, suggesting an emotional intensity to the event that went beyond typical observations about the presence of tears that often accompanied descriptions of major funerals [Проводы тела В. Ф. Комиссаржевской; У гроба В. Ф. Комиссаржевской, с. 3]. Indeed, it was reported that from February 11 to 13 the cemetery church where the casket was being held had been constantly inundated by people flocking to the body, including large numbers of students gathering there after their lessons each day [Перевезение тела В. Ф. Комиссаржевской в Петербург, с. 3]. The crowd was so large for the final service that only a quarter of those gathered were able to fit inside the church, with the rest surrounding the building outside. "The best ecclesiastical choir in Tashkent" sang at the service and made a "strong impression" on the crowd, and "weeping periodically rang out" from those near the casket during the service. "An enormous crowd" made up of representatives of "all estates" was present [Местная и краевая хроника, с. 3].

Echoing a trend seen throughout Russia, students and young women took a leading role in these efforts. Young people made up a noticeably large proportion of those present and played an active role in events that revealed an eagerness to be connected to Komissarzhevskaya's well-known association with students. *Turkestanskii kur'er* published a letter from "a student" that extolled the actress as an ideal human who inspired tens of thousands of Russian young people, conspicuously invoking a connection with youth who idolized her as an independent spirit who fought to chart

her own path, a theme constantly emphasized in coverage of her death [Вера Федоровна Комиссаржевская, с. 3]. Despite the refusal of school authorities to allow students to participate, two young men ran out of a local *gimnaziya* when the funeral procession passed by and placed wreaths on the hearse, a gesture praised by the local press [Местная хроника, 12 февр., с. 3]. Students petitioned the authorities for the right to be excused from their lessons to take part in the final procession of the body to the train station and organized their own orchestra for the occasion [У гроба В. Ф. Комиссаржевской, с. 3]. They ultimately participated in the final procession and formed the majority of an initially small group that eventually swelled to a crowd in the thousands as it made its way through the streets. Students from one women's *gimnaziya* alone brought six wreaths to accompany the casket. These young people led the procession, and according to one observer exhibited such a level of care and respect that it appeared as if it were the funeral of their own mother or a "dear sister." The procession swelled to one of the largest seen in the city and encompassed "all nationalities... starting with the Russians and ending with the Sarts." The civilizational hierarchy implicit in the description suggested that the crowd embodied the proper ordering of imperial society, with educated young people in the vanguard. The writer took pains to show that those who were present constituted a composed, mature public. Despite its large size and spontaneous quality, there was "surprising order" and "not one incident" that required the intervention of the police. "The public itself maintained order" and the "many-thousand-strong crowd moved as one person" [Юлин, 14 февр.]<sup>6</sup>.

Komissarzhevskaya's death inspired a burst of civic activism as young people and members of educated society swiftly organized efforts to honor the actress. Initiatives ranged from fundraising for wreaths coordinated by local newspapers, to special performances to support the local performing arts, to demands for a street in the city to be renamed in the actress's honor, which one writer referred to as "Tashkent's debt" to the actress [В. П.; Фонд имени В. Ф. Комиссаржевской; Улица Комиссаржевской]. *Turkestanские ведомости* reported an influx of letters from readers calling for some sort of public commemoration, with the paper publicizing efforts to raise money for a scholarship in the actress's name at the local women's *gimnaziya* [Памятник В. Ф. Комиссаржевской, с. 3]. Indeed, "among the Tashkent intelligentsia" there was talk of establishing a special committee to commemorate Komissarzhevskaya to evaluate the many suggestions put forward [Местная хроника, 24 февр.].

From the beginning, women, and especially young female students, were identified as key participants in commemorative events, and their public displays of emotion attracted particular attention. Young female students began to collect materials for a memorial publication dedicated to

<sup>6</sup> Despite this reference to Sarts, the Russian term for the local Central Asian population, there is no evidence from other accounts that suggests that anyone besides members of the city's Russian population took significant interest in the funeral.

Komissarzhevskaya that they intended to send to St Petersburg. This effort was coordinated with an official of the local private women's *gimnaziya* and several Tashkent newspapers and attracted the attention of the capital press [Памяти Веры Федоровны Комиссаржевской, с. 3; В провинции, с. 5]. A requiem was held at the women's *gimnaziya* on February 14 at the students' request. Reports described an emotionally intense event with many attendees sobbing and a few even fainting. These events were noted in other parts of Turkestan. A writer in the nearby city of Ashkhabad used this incident to reproach the residents of his city for failing to turn out in sufficiently large numbers for its own local requiem [Панихиды по В. Ф. Комиссаржевской, с. 2]. The sense of obligation to publicly commemorate Komissarzhevskaya could become fraught and heated. K. K. Bogdanov-Osmel'skii, reporting that March on plans for a performance to raise funds for a scholarship in the actress's name in Samarkand, began by observing that "Every city in Russia, every backwater (*medvezhei ugol*)," felt the "obligation" to respond to Komissarzhevskaya's death. He went on to describe a vigorous debate in Samarkand, marked by angry gesticulations over how best to divide the proceeds from the performance. The author lamented that such indecorous behavior spoiled the memory of a great actress, but his comments reveal the intense feelings and weight of obligation that many in Turkestan felt in the wake of Komissarzhevskaya's death [Богданов-Осмельский].

### Disease and the Limits of Civilization

Russian residents in Tashkent were quick to differentiate themselves and their presence in Central Asia from the derogatory tropes of the region pervasive in outside coverage of the actress's death. Komissarzhevskaya's attending doctors in Tashkent were the first to announce that she must have contracted smallpox in Samarkand, owing to the absence of an outbreak in Tashkent, a fact telegraphed by members of the actress's troupe to the Russian Theater Society in Petersburg and swiftly published in the papers [РГАЛИ. Ф. 641. Оп. 1. Д. 926. Л. 2; О болезни В. Ф. Комиссаржевской, с. 5]. Smallpox was consequently projected on an even less Russified city, allowing Tashkent itself to appear as a victim of external contagion. Medical professionals in Tashkent were swift to defend their own expertise and the quality of care for Komissarzhevskaya. Many capital papers, drawing on reports sent from correspondents in Tashkent, stressed that Komissarzhevskaya had been treated by "all the best doctors in Tashkent," with her lead physician, M. I. Slonim, singled out for praise [Кончина В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Петербургский листок»); К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской («Современное слово»); Телеграммы наших корреспондентов («Новое время»)]. Local officials were sensitive to any criticism, with A. Frei, a member of the Governor General's Council in Tashkent, writing to the capital press to refute charges of medical negligence. Frei offered a detailed description of Komissarzhevskaya's illness and treatment, declaring that "everything that was humanly possible was done to save

poor V[era] F[edorovna]” and insisting that her attending physicians were worthy of nothing but respect and admiration for their efforts [РГАЛИ. Ф. 778. Оп. 1. Д. 23. Л. 3–4].

While such outward-facing efforts strove to positively portray the quality of medical care in Tashkent, local commentators debated in the Turkestan press about the appropriateness of the care for *Komissarzhevskaya* [Диноэль, с. 2]. This quickly expanded into broader reflections on public health in the region. A Tashkent public health doctor wrote to *Turkestanskii kur'er* to refute claims that doctors had been negligent in their efforts to vaccinate the local population, asserting that despite the availability of free vaccines for some time there had been little local demand and that recent reports of shortages were due to a sudden surge in demands for vaccines among the city's residents after the news of *Komissarzhevskaya's* death [Рейнгардт, с. 3]. This information was confirmed by other accounts of a major upsurge in people in the city seeking vaccinations, and it was also reported that orders for an official investigation of sanitary conditions in Tashkent had been handed down from authorities in St. Petersburg [Местная и краевая хроника, с. 3].

The news of *Komissarzhevskaya's* death prompted reflections on the prevalence of smallpox not just in Tashkent but in the Russian center, complicating attempts to portray the disease as foreign to European Russia. *Turkestanskii vedomosti* reported on a practitioner of homeopathic medicine in Moscow who gave a report at an assembly of doctors of the Moscow City Sanitary Commission in which he declared that *Komissarzhevskaya* had died as a result of her doctor's decision to vaccinate her against smallpox after the first signs of the disease. The article expressed concern that publicizing these statements “at a time when Petersburg is experiencing a smallpox epidemic undermines trust in the main method of combating this disease – vaccination.” The article noted that after discussion participants at the conference formally decided to censure the report as “lacking any scientific basis” [О причине смерти Комиссаржевской, с. 2–3]. The article simultaneously revealed that the news of *Komissarzhevskaya's* death was influencing discussions of public health within the medical profession in places like Moscow while also providing a Tashkent paper the opportunity to advocate for scientifically based medicine and point out the continuing prevalence of smallpox in St Petersburg.

Voices in the center also were quick to seize on *Komissarzhevskaya's* death to discuss smallpox as a larger Russian problem. The popular press in St Petersburg was particularly critical, echoing longstanding narratives that portrayed the imperial capital as a place of death and disease [Buckler, p. 220–223; Steinberg, p. 128–129]. An article in *Peterburgskaya gazeta* pointed to ongoing efforts to combat the disease in Russia on the part of municipal authorities and the Society for the Protection of Public Health, including vaccination drives, the production of informational literature, and public educational events to raise awareness. It quoted a doctor associated with these efforts, who pointed out that Russia had nearly a half million cases of the disease each year, resulting in close to 50,000 deaths.

The article was accompanied by two pictures of the effects of the disease on a man and small child, meant to illustrate “the form of smallpox that V. F. Komissarzhevskaya had” [В Перебъре она, с. 2].

Zakharii Frenkel', a doctor, public health advocate, and member of the First Duma from the Kadet party, used Komissarzhevskaya's death from smallpox as an indictment of Russian civilizational backwardness in an article in *Sovremennoe slovo*. He lamented the tragic death of “one of the best flowers of our culture, the adornment of the modern Russian dramatic theater” from a disease for which treatments had been available for over a century. Repeatedly writing of “cultural backwardness” and describing Russia as “less cultured” than its European neighbors, Frenkel' sought to systematically refute efforts to portray smallpox as an outside threat from the empire's supposedly uncivilized Central Asian borderlands. Komissarzhevskaya's death “in the heart of Asia” was no comfort, he argued, as smallpox was still prevalent in places like St Petersburg, with outbreaks occurring in greater frequency than in Samarkand or Tashkent. Frenkel' unfavorably contrasted the Russian center with cities in Russia's “cultured neighbors,” where diseases like smallpox were an “anachronism.” Statistics, specifically taken from “European Russia” were cited to show smallpox levels that greatly exceeded those in Germany and Sweden. Even in a city like Hamburg with its “transient population,” Frenkel' claimed, there had not been a single smallpox death in a recent year. Incidents of smallpox in Petersburg, consequently, could not be blamed on migrants from other parts of the empire but reflected fundamental shortcomings in public health infrastructure. Frenkel', like other doctors, went on to call for a more systematic approach to public health aimed at intentional improvements to public hygiene rather than a reactive approach that only responded to epidemics. What Russia needed was the “social habits... which characterize cultured society and cultured people” [Френкель, с. 2]. For doctors like Frenkel', smallpox was a blight afflicting all of Russia and a sign of the empire's lagging development rather than an incursion from the periphery, and the death of Komissarzhevskaya provided an implicit analogy between disease among the exemplars of Russian culture and the larger health of society.

### **Conclusion: An Imperial Death**

The response of Russian society in Tashkent to Komissarzhevskaya's death provides a different vantage point for understanding the complex dimensions of the public displays of grief for the actress. The overwhelming tone of the press coverage of Komissarzhevskaya's death from the Russian-language press throughout the empire was that public mourning for the actress was a progressive phenomenon, signifying the awakening of Russia's intelligentsia after the disappointing years of reaction that had followed the revolutionary events of 1905. By identifying publicly with Komissarzhevskaya, mourners signaled their desire to transcend limitations and live in a state of freedom and authenticity [Klopfenstein]. Efforts to commemorate Komissarzhevskaya in Tashkent show that this larger mourning was connected with local Russian

society's embrace of the narratives of Russian imperialism. Local society's concern with properly mourning the actress was a means of strengthening a sense of shared cultural and social connection with the imperial center that by implication was meant to further separate Russians in Tashkent from the Central Asian population. By properly mourning the actress, local Russians could demonstrate the kind of cultural sophistication and civic development that would mark them as the civilizing influence they strove to be.

The combination of Russian Tashkent's distinct imperial anxieties and Komissarzhevskaya's symbolic status as an actress who embodied the tensions of Russia's modernity only made these issues more fraught. *Turkestanskii golos* published an account of Komissarzhevskaya's funeral in St Petersburg that described the actress's power in a way that betrayed the imperial qualities that many invested Russian culture with: "I understand that for a great talent, there is no 'some Tashkent' and the capitals, 'Asian corners' and centers of enlightenment, that a mighty luminary... illuminates the space in endless views, that lofty exemplars of art level the distance between space, area (*chasti*), and time" [Эдельман]. The article, which took pains to state that Komissarzhevskaya belonged to "all of Russia" and that public mourning for her death revealed "signs of social consciousness," positioned Russian culture as embodied by the actress as a force capable of collapsing distances and bringing together far-off places. Appearing in the pages of a Tashkent paper, such words suggested a belief in the power of art to bring together the disparate spaces of the Russian Empire into a unified (and implicitly Russified) whole. Behind the vision of a mature society coming into its own lurked an imperialist logic that implicitly sought to unify the empire's territories, fulfilling the dreams of the civilizing mission that animated Russian Tashkent.

Against this backdrop, the reflections on disease and the limits of Russia's modernity inspired by the death of Komissarzhevskaya pointed to a darker irony for Russian colonial society in Tashkent. While local intelligentsia long feared cultural isolation and clung to a self-image as bearers of civilization that helped maintain a sense of connection with the imperial center, commentary across the empire on Komissarzhevskaya's death positioned Tashkent as representative of Russian life but in a decidedly negative key. Nikolai Shebuev in a 1914 *Obozrenie teatrov* article reflecting on the actress's death four years earlier, described smallpox as a disease which "Europe long ago learned to battle" but which was "far-flung in Russia." "Russian, a daughter of her era, she died from Russian, Asiatic-Russian absurdity (*russskoi, aziatsko-russskoi neleposti*). Our life is the same Tashkent smallpox that befell Komissarzhevskaya" [Шебueв, с. 10]. While Russian Tashkent sought to portray itself as a disciplined public worthy of the task of honoring the passing of a cultural icon, the circumstances of Komissarzhevskaya's death consistently inspired reflections on failures of public health that many observers treated as indicative of larger shortcomings of late imperial Russian society in ways that undermined attempts to construct essentialist and racialized distinctions between Russian culture and the peoples of

Central Asia. Actions in Tashkent and their coverage in the press revealed that Komissarzhevskaya's death was an imperial event, not only in its reach as a major media sensation, but for the ways in which it crystalized and magnified the tensions and anxieties that characterized the Russian colonial experience in Central Asia and the contradictions that lay at the center of discourses of imperialism and civilization.

### Библиографические ссылки

- Азов В.* Кончина В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Речь. 1910. 11 февр.  
*Ардов Т.* Смерть // Рус. слово. 1910. 13 февр.  
*Бадецкий Е. М.* Комиссаржевская в Харькове // Южный край. 1910. 18 февр.  
*Богданов-Осмельский К. К.* Скромные почитатели памяти Комиссаржевской // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 14 марта.  
 Болезнь В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Рус. слово. 1910. 10 февр.  
*В. П.* Что должен сделать Ташкент // На рубеже. 1910. 14 февр.  
 В Петербурге оспа // Петербургская газ. 1910. 17 февр.  
 В провинции // Рус. слово. 1910. 19 февр.  
 В. Ф. Комиссаржевская // Киевская мысль. 1910. 11 февр.  
 В. Ф. Комиссаржевская // Ялтинский вестн. 1910. 17 февр.  
 Вера Федоровна Комиссаржевская // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 12 февр.  
*Диноэль.* Цветы жизни // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 16 февр.  
*Енкель Ф.* Вера Федоровна Комиссаржевская // Туркестанский голос. 1910. 11 февр.  
 К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Киевская мысль. 1910. 13 февр.  
 К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Новое время. 1910. 12 февр.  
 К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Рижская мысль. 1910. 12 февр.; 13 февр.  
 К кончине В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Современное слово. 1910. 13 февр.  
 Кончина В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Кавказ. 1910. 18 февр.  
 Кончина В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Петербургский листок. 1910. 11 февр.  
 Кончина В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Речь. 1910. 11 февр.  
*Л. В.* Памяти В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Одесский листок. 1910. 13 февр.  
 Местная и краевая хроника // Закаспийское обозрение. 1910. 17 февр.  
 Местная хроника // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 12 февр.  
 Местная хроника // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 24 февр.  
*Милоза.* Мой кинемо // Театр. 1910. № 596. С. 7.  
 О болезни В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Утро России. 1910. 5 февр.  
 О причине смерти Комиссаржевской // Туркестанские ведом. 1910. 3 марта.  
 Памяти В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Волгарь. 1910. 15 февр.  
 Памяти В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Утро России. 1910. 13 февр.  
 Памяти Веры Федоровны Комиссаржевской // Закаспийское обозрение. 1910. 17 февр.  
 Памятник В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Туркестанские ведом. 1910. 24 февр.  
 Панихиды по В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Закаспийское обозрение. 1910. 19 февр.  
 Перевезение тела В. Ф. Комиссаржевской в Петербург // Туркестанские ведом. 1910. 13 февр.  
 Печальный corteж // На рубеже. 1910. 12 февр.  
 Последние дни В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Саратовский вестн. 1910. 13 февр.  
 Последние минуты В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Закаспийское обозрение. 1910. 16 февр.  
 Последние минуты В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 12 февр.  
 Последние дни Комиссаржевской // Южный край. 1910. 14 февр.  
 Последние часы В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Кавказ. 1910. 17 февр.  
 Похороны В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Южный край. 1910. 19 февр.  
 Проводы тела В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Туркестанские ведом. 1910. 14 февр.  
 РГАЛИ. Ф. 641. Оп. 1. Д. 926; Ф. 778. Оп. 1. Д. 23.  
*Рейнгардт.* Письмо в редакцию // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 17 февр.

- С-кий К.* Могильщики // На рубеже. 1910. 24 февр.  
*Сергеева-Клятис А. Ю.* Комиссаржевская. М. : Молодая гвардия, 2018. 345 с.  
*Скиталец.* Чайка // Газета копейка. 1910. 11 февр.  
*Солодов В. Е.* Памяти Веры Федоровны Комиссаржевской // Оренбургский край. 1910. 16 февр.  
 Театрал В. Ф. Комиссаржевская заболела оспой // Петербургская газ. 1910. 30 янв.  
 Телеграммы наших корреспондентов // Новое время. 1910. 13 февр.  
 Тело В. Ф. Комиссаржевской отправлено в Петербург только вчера // Петербургская газ. 1910. 14 февр.  
 У гроба В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 13 февр.  
 Улица Комиссаржевской // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 14 февр.  
 Фонд имени В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Туркестанский голос. 1910. 26 февр.  
*Френкель З.* Оспа в Петербурге // Современное слово. 1910. 16 февр.  
*Хряпин К.* В поисках счастья // Саратовский вестн. 1910. 12 февр.  
*Цыряпкина Ю.* Особенности русского переселенческого общества Сырдарьинской области в конце XIX – начале XX в. // Диаспоры. 2012. № 1. С. 6–29.  
*Шебуев Н.* Впечатления // Обозрение театров. 1914. № 2350. С. 10.  
*Эдельман И.* Прах В. Ф. Комиссаржевской в Петербурге // Туркестанский голос. 1910. 27 февр.  
*Эфрос Н.* Памяти В. Ф. Комиссаржевской // Рус. ведом. 1910. 11 февр.  
*Юлин Г.* Похороны Веры Федоровны Комиссаржевской // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 12 февр.  
*Юлин Г.* Последние прости // Туркестанский курьер. 1910. 14 февр.  
*Ergo.* Вера Федоровна Комиссаржевская // Дамский мир. 1910. № 3. С. 32.  
*Buckler J.* Mapping St Petersburg : Imperial Text and Cityshape. Princeton : Princeton Univ. Press, 2005. XIV, 364 p.  
*Davis J.* Russia in the Time of Cholera : Disease under Romanovs and Soviets. L. : I. B. Tauris, 2018. 314 p.  
*Hofmeister U.* Civilization and Russification in Tsarist Central Asia, 1860–1917 // J. of World History. 2016. № 3. P. 411–442. DOI 10.1353/jwh.2016.0115.  
*Hokanson K.* A Woman's Empire : Russian Women and Imperial Expansion in Asia. Toronto : Toronto Univ. Press, 2023. 344 p.  
*Klopfenstein M.* The Death of the Seagull : Vera Kommissarzhevskaja and the Search for Transcendence in Late Imperial Russia // The Russian Rev. 2021. № 2. P. 270–293. DOI 10.1111/russ.12309.  
*Ortner S.* Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture? // Feminist Studies. 1972. № 2. P. 5–31.  
*Ruten E.* Unattainable Bride Russia : Gendering Nation, State, and Intelligentsia in Russian Intellectual Culture. Evanston : Northwestern Univ. Press, 2010. 328 p.  
*Sahadeo J.* Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent : 1865–1923. Bloomington : Indiana Univ. Press, 2007. 316 p.  
*Schuler C.* Women in Russian Theatre: The Actress in the Silver Age. L. : Routledge, 1996. 260 p.  
*Steinberg M.* Petersburg Fin de Siècle. N. Haven : Yale Univ. Press, 2011. 399 p.

## References

- Ardov, T. (1910). Smert' [Death]. In *Russkoe slovo*. Febr. 13.  
 Azov, V. (1910). Konchina V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [The Death of V. F. Kommissarzhevskaya]. In *Rech'*. Febr. 11.  
 Badetskii, E. M. (1910). Komissarzhevskaya v Khar'kove [Komissarzhevskaya in Kharkov]. In *Yuzhnyi kraj*. Febr. 18.  
 Bogdanov-Osmel'skii, K. K. (1910). Skromnye pochitateli pamyati Komissarzhevskoi [The Modest Venerators of Komissarzhevskaya's Memory]. In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. March 14.



- Bolezni' V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Illness]. (1910). In *Russkoe slovo*. Febr. 10.
- Buckler, J. (2005). *Mapping St Petersburg: Imperial Text and Cityshape*. Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press. XIV, 364 p.
- Davis, J. (2018). *Russia in the Time of Cholera: Disease under Romanovs and Soviets*. L., I. B. Tauris. 314 p.
- Dinoel'. (1910). Tsvety zhizni [The Flowers of Life]. In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 16.
- Edel'man, I. (1910). Prakh V. F. Komissarzhevskoi v Peterburge [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Remains in Petersburg]. In *Turkestanskii golos*. Febr. 27.
- Efros, N. (1910). Pamyati V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [In Memory of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. In *Russkie vedomosti*. Febr. 11.
- Enkel', F. (1910). Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya [Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya]. In *Turkestanskii golos*. Febr. 11.
- Ergo. (1910). Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya [Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya]. In *Damskii mir*. No. 3, p. 32.
- Fond imeni V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [Fund Named for V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii golos*. Febr. 26.
- Frenkel', Z. (1910). Ospa v Peterburge [Smallpox in Petersburg]. In *Sovremennoe slovo*. Febr. 16.
- Hofmeister, U. (2016). Civilization and Russification in Tsarist Central Asia, 1860–1917. In *J. of World History*. No. 3, p. 411–442. DOI 10.1353/jwh.2016.0115.
- Hokanson, K. (2023). *A Woman's Empire: Russian Women and Imperial Expansion in Asia*. Toronto, Toronto Univ. Press. 344 p.
- K konchine V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [To the Death of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Kievskaya mysl'*. Febr. 13.
- K konchine V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [To the Death of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Novoe vremya*. Febr. 12.
- K konchine V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [To the Death of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Rizhskaya mysl'*. Febr. 12; Febr. 13.
- K konchine V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [To the Death of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Sovremennoe slovo*. Febr. 13.
- Khryapin, K. (1910). V poiskakh schast'ya [In Search of Happiness]. In *Saratovskii vestnik*. Febr. 12.
- Klopfenstein, M. (2021). The Death of the Seagull: Vera Komissarzhevskaya and the Search for Transcendence in Late Imperial Russia. In *The Russian Rev.* No. 2, pp. 270–293. DOI 10.1111/russ.12309.
- Konchina V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [The Death of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Kavkaz*. Febr. 18.
- Konchina V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [The Death of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Peterburgskii listok*. Febr. 11.
- Konchina V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [The Death of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Rech'*. Febr. 11.
- L. V. (1910). Pamyati V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [In Memory of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. In *Odesskii listok*. Febr. 13.
- Mestnaya i kraevaya khronika [Local and Regional News]. (1910). In *Zakapskoe obozrenie*. Febr. 17.
- Mestnaya khronika [Local News]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 12.
- Mestnaya khronika [Local News]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 24.
- Mimoza. (1910). Moi kinemo [My Cinema]. In *Teatr*. No. 596, p. 7.
- O bolezni V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [About the Illness of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Utro Rossii*. Febr. 5.
- O prichine smerti Komissarzhevskoi [About the Cause of Komissarzhevskaya's Death]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii golos*. March 3.
- Ortner, S. (1972). Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture? In *Feminist Studies*. No. 2, pp. 5–31.

- Pamyati V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [In Memory of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Volgar'*. Febr. 15.
- Pamyati V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [In Memory of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Utro Rossii*. Febr. 13.
- Pamyati Very Fedorovny Kommissarzhevskoi [In Memory of Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Zakaspiiskoe obozrenie*. Febr. 17.
- Pamyatnik V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [Statue of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii vedomosti*. Febr. 24.
- Panikhidy po V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [Requiems for V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Zakaspiiskoe obozrenie*. Febr. 19.
- Pechal'nyi kortezh [A Sad Procession]. (1910). In *Na rubezhe*. Febr. 12.
- Perevezenie tela V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi v Peterburg [Transportation of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Body to Petersburg]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii vedomosti*. Febr. 13.
- Pokhorony V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Funeral]. (1910). In *Yuzhnyi krai*. Febr. 19.
- Poslednie chasy V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Last Hours]. (1910). In *Kavkaz*. Febr. 17.
- Poslednie dni Kommissarzhevskoi [Komissarzhevskaya's Last Days]. (1910). In *Yuzhnyi krai*. Febr. 14.
- Poslednie dni V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [Komissarzhevskaya's Last Days]. (1910). In *Saratovskii vestnik*. Febr. 13.
- Poslednie minuty V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Last Minutes]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 12.
- Poslednie minuty V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Last Minutes]. (1910). In *Zakaspiiskoe obozrenie*. Febr. 16.
- Provody tela V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi [Farewell to the Body of V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii vedomosti*. Febr. 14.
- Reingardt. (1910). Pis'mo v redaktsiyu [Letter to the Editor]. In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 17.
- RGALI [Russian State Archive of Literature and Art]. Stock 641. List 1. Dos. 926; Stock 778. List 1. Dos. 23.
- Rutten, E. (2010). *Unattainable Bride Russia: Gendering Nation, State, and Intelligentsia in Russian Intellectual Culture*. Evanston, Northwestern Univ. Press. 328 p.
- Sahadeo, J. (2007). *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent: 1865–1923*. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press. 316 p.
- Schuler, C. (1996). *Women in Russian Theatre: The Actress in the Silver Age*. L., Routledge. 260 p.
- Sergeeva-Klyatis, A. Yu. (2018). Komissarzhevskaya. Moscow, Molodaya gvardiya. 345 p.
- Shebuev, N. (1914). Vpechatleniya [Impressions]. In *Obozrenie teatrov*. No. 2350, p. 10.
- S-kii, K. (1910). Mogil'shchiki [Undertakers]. In *Na rubezhe*. Febr. 24.
- Skitalets. (1910). Chaika [Gull]. In *Gazeta kopeika*. Febr. 11.
- Solodov, V. E. (1910). Pamyati Very Fedorovny Kommissarzhevskoi [In Memory of Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya]. In *Orenburgskii krai*. Febr. 16.
- Steinberg, M. (2011). *Petersburg Fin de Siècle*. N. Haven, Yale Univ. Press. 399 p.
- Teatral V. F. Komissarzhevskaya zaboleta ospoi [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya Is Sick with Smallpox]. (1910). In *Peterburgskaya gazeta*. Jan. 30.
- Telegrammy nashikh korrespondentov [Telegrams from Our Correspondents]. (1910). In *Novoe vremya*. Febr. 13.
- Telo V. F. Kommissarzhevskoi otpravleno v Peterburg tol'ko vchera [Just Yesterday V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Body was Sent to Petersburg]. (1910). In *Peterburgskaya gazeta*. Febr. 14.
- Tsyryapkina, Yu. (2012). Osobennosti russkogo pereselencheskogo obshchestva Syrdar'inskoi oblasti v kontse XIX – nachale XX vv. [The Specifics of Russian Settler Communities in Syr-Darya Region (Late 19<sup>th</sup> – Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries)]. In *Diaspory*. No. 1, pp. 6–29.

U groba V. F. Komissarzhevskoi [At V. F. Komissarzhevskaya's Casket]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 13.

Ulitsa Komissarzhevskoi [Komissarzhevskaya Street]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 14.

V Peterburge oспа [Smallpox in Petersburg]. (1910). In *Peterburgskaya gazeta*. Febr. 17.

V provintsii [In the Provinces]. (1910). In *Russkoe slovo*. Febr. 19.

V. F. Komissarzhevskaya [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Kievskaya mysl'*. Febr. 11.

V. F. Komissarzhevskaya [V. F. Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Yaltinskii vestnik*. Febr. 17.

V. P. (1910). Chto dolzhen sdelat' Tashkent [What Must Tashkent Do]. In *Na rubezhe*. Febr. 14.

Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya [Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya]. (1910). In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 12.

Yulin, G. (1910). Pokhorony Very Fedorovny Komissarzhevskoi [Funeral for Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaya]. In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 12.

Yulin, G. (1910). Poslednie prosti [Final Farewell]. In *Turkestanskii kur'er*. Febr. 14.

*The article was submitted on 12.01.2023*