

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

A Girls' Army of Vengeance?: Perceptions of Sexual Violence against Children in post-1905 Russia

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Abstract

This article offers a microhistorical reading of a criminal case of sexual violence in 1908 St Petersburg. It traces the re-interpretation of underage girls from innocent victims to potential prostitutes and carriers of debauchery and disease. Furthermore, after this case, the perceptions shifted from pitied victim to source of threatening vengeance. This discursive shift took place in newspapers, court procedures but also in charity organisations encountering victims of sexual violence. While vengeance is usually reserved as a trope for framing the actions of adult victims of sexual violence, here it was explicitly applied to underage girls, thereby rendering victims of sexual violence a threat to Russian society.

In October 1908, a reporter for the popular tabloid *Peterburgskii listok* (Petersburg sheet) depicted his recent evening stroll along St Petersburg's main avenue, Nevskii Prospekt. It was a foggy night when he witnessed the following 'very sad scene': a 'gentleman in a fur coat and a top hat was talking to a twelve-year-old girl in ragged clothes, shivering from the cold'. She whispered that they could not go to her place and instead had to go to a nearby hotel. The exchange was brief but obvious: she was a child prostitute, the gentleman her prospective client. The reporter was shocked. After the pair disappeared into the autumn night, he continued his walk and ran into a friend, a physician. Still very much occupied with the incident, the reporter recounted what he had witnessed, but his friend was not remotely surprised. On the contrary, he matter-of-factly explained that child prostitution was a common phenomenon in St Petersburg. Moreover, the girls knew exactly what they were doing: 'These young victims, the child prostitutes, they actively seek vengeance for their downfall [*padenie*]. Let me give you an example of their revenge'. The physician then related the fate of one patient, 'a member of our *jeunesse dorée* [*zolotoi molodezhi*]'. This young lad had contracted syphilis from an eleven-year-old girl, a servant in his parents' house – his father had infected her. The physician finished by telling his naive friend: 'Well, [there] you see the revenge of this girl, who gave herself to the son of her 'geriatric seducer' [*starika-soblaznitelia*], already knowing that she actually belonged in the hospital'.¹

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Starting with a sympathetic portrayal of a twelve-year-old poor, shivering child prostitute wandering the bitter cold St Petersburg streets, the article ends with a perfidious eleven-year-old servant from the urban poor deliberately infecting an upper-class young man with syphilis. While the article portrays the first girl as a destitute underage prostitute who deserves the reader's sympathy, the second embodies a threat. Through invoking the notion of revenge, the man's infection with syphilis is rendered a deliberate act by the young, sexually active servant girl in a profound distortion of events. First, the physician presumes that the girl knew she was infected. Second, he implies that this girl from the lower classes would have been aware of the possibility of treatment in hospital. Third, he asserts that this eleven-year-old would have known syphilis could be transmitted through sexual intercourse, and invests her with a consciously calculating subjectivity – such thorough clinical knowledge of a venereal disease seems unlikely for an eleven-year-old girl who probably received only a basic education, if any at all.² Fourth, the girl is portrayed as a juvenile prostitute rather than what she actually was: a sexually exploited servant girl. The article gradually inverts – indeed perverts – the roles of perpetrator and victim. The well-off father appears as a 'geriatric seducer', though 'rapist' might be a better characterisation of a man who had sexual intercourse with an eleven-year-old servant living under his roof. Moreover, the lower-class girl who allegedly infected elite men with syphilis on purpose was likely raped several times by two men who happened to be father and son.

The article's headline was 'Diuluizm in Petersburg' (*Diuluizm v Peterburge*). Although the article itself did not mention 'Diuluizm', let alone explain what it was supposed to be, most contemporary readers could place the reference. In May and June 1908, five months before the article appeared, the St Petersburg circuit court heard the case of Karl' [*sic*] Diulu, a French citizen who had been a language teacher in St Petersburg high schools. Diulu was accused of having sexually abused one female pupil and two of his housemaids who were under fourteen – the age of consent in most areas of the Tsarist Empire at that time – as well as two housemaids above this age.³ His case became such a cause célèbre that Russian newspapers across the political spectrum subsequently used his name to refer to men alleged to have raped underage girls: there was 'A new Diulu', 'The train-riding Diulu' and 'The Diulu from Rybinsk'.⁴ Diulu became *the* 'popular' case of sexual violence against underage girls in late Imperial Russia, though his victims above the age of consent were effectively ignored. With his trial, sexual violence against children turned into every day, albeit troubling, news for the reading public.⁵

The notion of 'Diuluizm' referred to the sexual abuse of underage girls while conceiving of these victims as vengeful threats to the health of the male elite. 'Diuluizm' rendered class a crucial element: the later 'Diulus' were all 'gentlemen' from the urban elites, whereas their victims were predominantly girls from the urban poor.⁶ Four of Diulu's victims were his female servants, who depended on him as their employer. Newly arrived in the empire's cities with no accompanying family, young women and girls often worked as servants. Around 1900, servants in private households comprised a third of the gainfully employed women in the capital.⁷ These women and girls were isolated, with no infrastructure, shelter or care outside the households in which they worked and often lived. If they lost their jobs, they also lost their homes, a fact often cited to explain why many prostitutes had formerly worked as female servants. The fin de siècle progressive publicist Evgeniia de Turzhe-Turzhanskaia even titled her book about housemaids 'white slaves', implying that there was no difference between working as a servant in an urban household and being sexually exploited.⁸ The notion of 'Diuluizm' reversed this hierarchy of power, transforming the vulnerability and exploitation of girls into a powerful 'weapon of the weak'. It imagined victims of sexual violence as future child prostitutes deliberately infecting upper-class men with syphilis. Although 'Diuluizm' clearly referenced a convicted sexual offender, the reporter placed sexual violence against underage girls in the same category as juvenile prostitution, syphilis and, ultimately, lower-class female vengeance against upper-class men.

This article will trace the shift from pitiable victim of sexual violence to future perpetrator, arguing that this was implied in the notion of an *innocent* childhood. While the inversion of victim and perpetrator is a classic trope in modern histories of sexual violence against *adult* women, the phenomenon is less common in relation to underage victims.⁹ A key factor that garnered empathy for

girls – less so for adult women – was their assumed innocence, which rendered them helpless in the face of sexual violence. This assumption of and emphasis on innocence was crucial for establishing victimhood.¹⁰ Innocence as a moral category was the precondition of childhood and early adolescence in nineteenth-century thought and was linked across Europe to the image of the sexless child.¹¹ The concept of innocence, however, was a double-edged sword: girls' moral innocence was imagined to be lost forever once they had sex, no matter whether this was willingly or not. There was a notion of quasi-autonomous sexuality that, once awakened, would take possession of the 'child', rendering her a social problem, a creature that needed to be controlled. 'Fallen girls' were perceived as 'morally polluted and potentially contaminating' in St Petersburg as in London.¹² The transition from sexless child to 'sexed' girl was the transition from innocence to corruption, from passivity to activity.

The transformation of underage victims of sexual violence into avenging agents needs to be understood as a distinct contribution to a moral panic that gripped a 'Russia in disarray' after the events of 1904–1907. Contemporaries interpreted the disastrous Russo-Japanese war from 1904–1905, the Russian Revolution of 1905, the massive protests and terrorist attacks around 1905–1907 and, finally, the deadly punitive expeditions the autocracy started sending all over the empire to quell strikes and peasant unrest in late 1905 as one endless epidemic of violence.¹³ The escalation of violence in the revolution and counter-revolution of 1905–1907 was couched in terms of vengeance, innocence and retribution. As Susan Morrissey has demonstrated, innocence was a dominant trope for understanding Russian revolutionary terrorism as a (justified) act of revenge.¹⁴ The revolution of 1905 was understood as having set free an erotic hunger that had been suppressed yet simmering under the old regime.¹⁵ Contemporary observers like the widely published physician Dr Zhbakov warned of a 'sexual bacchanalia' gripping Russian society and plunging the country into an abyss of 'debauchery', 'sickness' and violence.¹⁶ What troubled contemporaries was not only that the already immoral elite were being sucked into this moral vacuum, but that it was also affecting (or, to invoke the language of that time, infecting) peasants and workers: seemingly not 'only children but the common folk had lost their innocence'.¹⁷ With Diulus supposedly appearing all over the Russian Empire after 1907, the sexual abuse of children was believed to have generated ever-growing numbers of infectious, degenerate and depraved 'fallen girls' who would eventually come to form an 'army of child prostitutes'.¹⁸ Innocence – its value as a moral category, and thus the fateful consequence of its loss – was the prerequisite for revenge becoming such a threatening prospect.¹⁹ Vengeance seemed to be everywhere – now even in underage girls!

This article traces how contemporaries shifted the gaze from the male perpetrator to the underage female victim who struck back – and in doing so transformed into a perpetrator. I will analyse the assumptions underlying the construction of childhood, innocence and sexuality that rendered vengeance a plausible outcome of sexual abuse. I will demonstrate how girls' sexuality and innocence was conceived of in court, media and charity institutions by closely reading the discourse surrounding one victim of Diulu, the ten-year-old Kapitolina Morozova. She was Diulu's most prominent victim due to her age and assumed innocence. Using a microhistorical approach, I will follow her, or rather the representations of her in newspapers, court records and charity reports, which cover approximately three years from autumn 1907 until 1910. These portrayals of Kapitolina's life will allow us to monitor the shift from victim to threat and finally to perpetrator.

DIULU – THE CASE

On 17 September 1907, the mother of ten-year-old Kapitolina Morozova reported Diulu to the St Petersburg police for molesting (*grubogo nasiliia*) her daughter, who was his dog walker.²⁰ As a French language and literature teacher in well-respected schools, Diulu lived a comfortable life in the fashionable half of the capital's grand Nevskii Prospekt. He had hired Kapitolina just a few days earlier. After her mother filed the report, Aleksandrov, the examining magistrate of the twelfth precinct, immediately launched an investigation on the grounds of Article 1524 of the Russian Crimi-

nal Code (*Ulozhenie o nakazaniakh*), which prosecuted the rape of underage girls (*rastlenie*, literally ‘defloration’).²¹ According to the well-informed press, Diulu repeatedly attempted to interfere with the investigation and reach an agreement before the case went to court. Among other things, he allegedly promised a large sum of money to Kapitolina’s mother while claiming that she was blackmailing him.²² On 27 September 1907, ten days after the initial report was filed, the St Petersburg police arrested him for having sexually abused Kapitolina Morozova four times.²³ Once arrested, the charges against Diulu started piling up. He was eventually accused of having sexually abused five girls and women: three, like Kapitolina, younger than the legal age of consent, and two above fourteen years of age.²⁴

The St Petersburg circuit court heard his case from 27 May to 5 June 1908. Although in all cases involving sexual violence in late Imperial Russia the principle of an open hearing was revoked and the case was heard without the public present, the newspapers – from conservative to tabloid – were eager to report from the court each day. In the aftermath of the 1905 revolution, sexual violence had become a subject of public concern, but now it was a spectacle. Curious onlookers crowded the court building on Liteinyi Prospekt. The so-called ‘criminal ladies’ (*ugolovnye damochki*), regular visitors to high-profile trials, blocked the street in order to get a glimpse of the ‘well-mannered’ and ‘cultivated’ Diulu, a ‘gentleman’ characterised by his good looks and charm rather than his alleged crimes.²⁵ The court summoned more than 100 witnesses, among them, as newspapers excitedly reported, people of ‘public interest’.²⁶ The hearing was slow, and sessions often lasted long into St Petersburg’s White Nights. On 3 June 1908 the presiding judge, fon-Parkau, had to interrupt the court session due to acute fatigue.²⁷ In total, sixteen scientific experts, including the leading St Petersburg forensic expert Dmitrii P. Kosorotov and well-known Muscovite psychiatrist Nikolai N. Bazhenov, appeared in court.²⁸ Of particular interest were the psychiatric reports on Diulu and the forensic results in Kapitolina’s case, about which the experts’ opinions were divided.

In addition to the indictments against Diulu, four women were charged with aiding and abetting sexual abuse – two of his female servants and two mothers of his victims. The jury found three of the five accused guilty. Diulu’s servant Avdot’ia Zinov’eva, who worked for him from 1904 to 1906, was sentenced to three and a half years in prison; Kapitolina’s mother was sentenced to one and a half years.²⁹ Diulu was condemned to six years of hard labour (*katorga*), a relatively mild punishment given the number of his victims.³⁰ Kapitolina played the key role in this lenient verdict, as in her case Diulu was found guilty merely of ‘attempted defloration’ (*pokushenie na rastlenie*).

In public discussion, the victim’s ages were of vital importance for assessing Diulu’s guilt. His two victims older than fourteen were virtually absent from newspapers and the verdict.³¹ Here, the assumption was that they were partially responsible for what had happened; they were perceived as old enough to have calculated the risks. Their morality was already in dispute since housemaids were often believed to be nothing more than prostitutes. This was a curious interpretation of the fact that the majority of the city’s prostitutes had previously worked as servants.³² In 1911, Robert Shikhman from the Russian Society for the Protection of Women argued that ‘the transition to prostitution is accomplished freely and easily’ for female servants.³³ Accordingly, little concern was raised when Diulu was acquitted for the alleged rape of his seventeen-year-old housemaid Tat’iana Efimova.³⁴

KAPITOLINA – THE INNOCENT VICTIM

Underage girls, however, were generally assumed to have been morally innocent, and therefore to need special protection from perpetrators like Diulu. Girls under fourteen were not supposed to have an understanding of sexuality.³⁵ The concept of childhood as a distinct life stage characterised by moral innocence embodied in physical innocence – virginity – had developed in the nineteenth century, and children consequently received a special status in sexual violence laws throughout Europe.³⁶ Like European laws, Russian law established harsher punishments for the statutory rape of a girl than for raping (*iznasilovanie*) a woman.³⁷ If the rape of an underage girl (under fourteen) was accompanied by violence (Art. 1523, *Ulozhenie o nakazaniakh*), or was committed ‘by taking advantage

of her innocence and ignorance' (*po upotrebleniiu vo zlo eia nevinnosti i nevedeniia*, Art. 1524), the perpetrator faced up to twelve years of hard labour, whereas raping an adult woman resulted in four to eight years. While the law only considered an act rape when it could be proven that violence had occurred (Art. 1525), a conviction for statutory rape did not necessarily have to establish the presence of violence (Art. 1524).

The realisation of an increased need to protect children's moral and bodily innocence is often understood as marking social progress.³⁸ Rarely, however, were the detrimental effects of such views of innocence taken into consideration. As this section will demonstrate, in cases of child sexual abuse the notion of innocence often produced contradictory and harmful consequences for girls. Rather than protecting children, the notion of innocence put them under increased scrutiny, especially when they were of intermediary age (ten to fourteen) – like Kapitolina, who was ten years old when Diulu assaulted her. The assumption of innocence that rested on a notion of sexually inactive children metamorphosed into a distorted perception of victims' roles and futures. By stressing the victim's innocence and ignorance as crucial criteria for establishing *rastlenie*, the criminal liability of the act itself shifted, the categories of perpetrator and victim blurred in the judicial and forensic process and thus in the public perception. At the centre of the prosecution was not the perpetrator's intention or the gravity of the act, but rather the moral purity, the innocence of his victim. Consequently, her innocence and ignorance had to be established in court, because it was essentially this that ascertained the perpetrator's guilt (was his victim morally innocent or not?) and quantified his punishment (how many years of punishment should be given considering the moral impurity of his victim?). The assumption of innocence therefore paradoxically increased the pressure on victims. The questioning of the victim became crucial for assessing her understanding of the situation and hence the perpetrator's punishment.

Diulu's acts of sexual abuse against Kapitolina were alleged to have happened between 4 and 12 September 1907. Kapitolina's mother, a single woman from a working-class background who relied on her daughter to earn money from a very young age, did not hesitate to have her examined, taking her to a (female) obstetrician (*akusherka*), Ivanova, on 13 September. Four days later, she lodged an official complaint against Diulu with the police. The investigation included a second forensic examination by the (male) obstetrician Blok on 27 September, and on 30 September Kapitolina was examined again, this time by three men: Blok plus two forensic experts, Dr Ivan I. Smol'skii, assistant professor (*privat dotsent*) for midwifery and gynaecology at the Imperial Military-Medical Academy (*Imperatorskaia Voenno-Meditsinskaia Akademiia*), and his colleague Dmitrii P. Kosorotov, professor of forensics.³⁹

Due to rape case procedure, Kapitolina had to endure several gynaecological examinations. Alongside the age of consent, a woman or girl's virginity was decisive for distinguishing between rape or *rastlenie* – it was the precondition for establishing the latter. The hymen had to be entirely torn; if it was still intact, *rastlenie* could not have happened. Like rape (*iznasilovanie*), *rastlenie* had to be done with a penis.⁴⁰ Any other sort of penetration did not qualify, which made the forensic experts' job challenging, if not outright impossible. They had to somehow establish if the hymen was ruptured by a penis – but how could the hymen 'tell' if it was ruptured by a penis or two fingers?⁴¹ Moreover, the emission of semen had to be proven, since only 'reproductive sex acts' were punishable as *rastlenie* or rape.⁴² The experts judged that the fissures on Kapitolina's hymen were in unexpected places for a case of 'classical sexual intercourse/rape'. Professor Kosorotov contended that a sexual assault had indeed occurred and that the hymen had been ruptured by sexual intercourse 'from behind'.⁴³ Yet Dr Smol'skii was convinced that the fissure was the result not of intercourse but of the insertion of a finger or some other object into Kapitolina's vagina, and thus questioned the accusation of *rastlenie*.⁴⁴

Although forensic and medical experts wanted to believe in the explanatory power of the hymen, the entire procedure of establishing scientific truth relied upon girls describing what had happened. In other words, the 'objective' judicial and scientific procedure circled back to 'subjective' words – in Russia as in Western Europe. Children were expected to deliver precise descriptions; detail was believed to narrow the scope of potential interpretations.⁴⁵ However, in line with the trope of innocence, children's descriptions had to be framed in childlike language, otherwise their narratives were not considered trustworthy. Too much knowledge was suspicious, an indicator of being not so innocent after all. As early as 1878, the St Petersburg forensic expert Vladislav Merzhevskii warned that an

overly detailed description or the use of certain terms implied an ‘exercise learned by heart’; children should not (be able to) name sexual organs, but instead point at them with ‘telling eyes’.⁴⁶

Consequently, the unresolved dispute between Kosorotov and Smol’skii required corroboration by oral testimonies. Two written statements from Kapitolina survive. On 27 September 1907, the same day she had to undergo her first official (and second unofficial) gynaecological examination by Blok, she made what appears to be her first statement to the examining magistrate, Aleksandrov, testifying that Diulu stood behind her and inserted ‘a stiff warm stick [Kapitolina’s words] into her perineum [*sic*, Aleksandrov’s words]’.⁴⁷ The later indictment exchanged Aleksandrov’s somewhat unclear wording for another paraphrased quote from Kapitolina: that ‘[Diulu] was on his knees behind her and stuffed [pikhat’] something warm and stiff into her sexual organ’.⁴⁸ While Kosorotov supported her description, the experts did not reach an agreement about what had happened. The fact that ‘the medical examination of Kapitolina Morozova has shown that she indeed partly [*sic*] lost her virginity due to an object’ did not lead to a questioning of ‘scientific’ expertise.⁴⁹ How could she ‘partly’ lose her virginity? The media and the court nevertheless insisted that this expertise was both necessary and plausible.

When, on the first day of the trial, the now eleven-year-old Kapitolina was asked yet again to relate what had happened, the media was outraged. The tabloid *Peterburgskii listok* sympathised with Kapitolina, a ‘pale and thin girl with a shy glance’; *Peterburgskaja gazeta* mentioned her crying.⁵⁰ While these newspapers were keen on detailed descriptions from adult victims, here they branded the repeated questioning unnecessary, particularly after Kapitolina fainted in court. Suddenly employing the diminutive, the press criticised the fact that ‘Kapochka’ had to endure so many examinations. Liberal journalist Sergei Iablonovskii was appalled:

You might say that this barbarity [*zhestokost’*] is necessary for establishing justice, but is it really necessary to conduct all those vivisections in the name of justice? ... Six experts on one little girl. Maybe it is imperative, but then it also should be imperative that these required experts do not maim a child’s soul in the service of justice.⁵¹

First rape, then interrogations and repeated examinations by many men: how was Kapitolina to survive all these ‘tortures’? In one exceptionally long article in the liberal *Russkoe slovo*, Iablonovskii rebuked the judicial handling of her case, though not those of Diulu’s other victims. He framed his worries about Kapitolina’s future as driven by empathy, an emotion he found lacking in official procedure. He claimed to be moved by her fate, but this did not prevent him from writing *about* her, and he did not reflect upon how he had participated in putting ‘Kapochka’s’ life under the spotlight. His alleged empathy for Kapitolina, whose full name was repeatedly mentioned in the press, reinforced her connection with the role of the eternal victim. Thanks to the media, her fate was forever linked to Diulu and his actions.

Iablonovskii’s apparent insight that her soul was ‘maimed’ was as much a denial of her agency as it was an expression of empathy. Kapitolina lost the chance to tell her own story.

This child’s life is already deeply corrupted [*isporchenna*] by the people in the dock. Whether she is aware of all the horror, all the dirt and vileness that has been done to her does not matter – if she does not realise it now, she will realise it later. ... There is no need for any facts in order to state that her soul’s crucifixion [*raspinanie*] in court dealt such a heavy blow to her being that there will be marks for her entire life.⁵²

In Iablonovskii’s reading, Kapitolina could not possibly heal. Her fate was sealed, her future bleak, her childhood stolen, her life corrupted. It was not her past that rendered her an object of empathy (as a victim of rape, or as an underage girl who had to work to sustain her mother and herself), but her bleak imagined future. The paradox here is often at play when discussing sexual violence against children: an assumed future determines the past. Kapitolina’s future appeared so dark that her

past – and thus the act of sexual violence – paled somewhat in comparison. One important undercurrent in such notions was the idea that victims of sexual violence had only one way to ‘react’: to suffer forever.⁵³

This could also be inverted: Kapitolina’s future and soul must be destroyed because otherwise sexual abuse or rape could not have occurred.⁵⁴ The idea that she might indeed be able to heal did not cross Iablonovskii’s mind. Iablonovskii, and with him the entire empathetic press, did not consider that victims could react in different ways and that trauma was only one response to sexual assault. Kapitolina’s fate was reduced to the idea that ‘once a victim of sexual abuse, always a victim of sexual abuse’. As Andy Byford has noted regarding the late nineteenth century, ‘the child population became framed as the embodiment of a given society’s future’: children were imagined as future citizens, hence the importance of the future in discourse around the effects of sexual violence on a child’s psyche.⁵⁵

In the meantime, Kapitolina remained an object of scientific dispute, one whose feelings were not spared even after Diulu was convicted of her attempted rape. In the summer of 1909, Kosorotov and Smol’skii speculated again about how her hymen might have been torn, this time in the journal *Vestnik obshchestvennoi gigieny, sudebnoi i prakticheskoi meditsiny*. For the scientifically interested readership, Smol’skii mused about whether the findings on her sexual organs were not an indicator of masturbation.⁵⁶ For many experts, masturbating teenage girls were merely a ‘single step’ away from prostitution. This had informed the verdict against Diulu.⁵⁷

Diulu is guilty ... of having had sexual intercourse with one of his pupils ... Evgeniia Mikhailova, fifteen years of age, of having shown her pornographic photographs [*fotograficheskiiia kartochki neprilichnago sodержaniia*], of having licked her sexual organs which contributed to her inclination towards illicit conduct [*nepotrebstvu*] ... that he hit Praskov’ia Aleksandrova, born out of wedlock and not yet fourteen, on her naked back parts, touched her body with his penis which helped the girl to develop sexual vices [masturbation].⁵⁸

Although the court did not establish whether the two girls had actually engaged in prostitution, their future involvement in it was predicted. The illicit conduct (*nepotrebstvo*) in Evgeniia Mikhailova’s case could mean that she had experienced non-marital sexual intercourse with men or that she had indeed sold sex: *nepotrebstvo* was a ‘technical euphemism for prostitution’.⁵⁹ And what kind of future could possibly be expected for a girl like Praskov’ia Aleksandrova who, at the tender age of eleven, had already learned to masturbate? With Praskov’ia Aleksandrova’s masturbation established in court, her descent into prostitution seemed only a matter of time. Apart from being a marker of excessive sexual desire, and therefore particularly disturbing when done by children, masturbation was believed to instigate psychological problems, leading to premature death or even suicide.⁶⁰ The court’s speculation about the girls’ futures was crucial for assessing Diulu’s crimes. The jury imagined both as future prostitutes as they found Diulu guilty of activating their inclinations towards vice (Art. 993, *Ulozhenie o nakazaniakh*); in each case this added four months to his sentence. Diulu was thus punished for *his* past actions but also for the imagined actions of *his victims* in the future.

Echoing Iablonovski’s musings about Kapitolina’s bleak future, Boris Bentovin, a physician who had studied child prostitution, wrote in 1910 that victims of sexual violence had essentially no choice other than to become prostitutes:

Once the violence happened, the future of the poor kid is in most cases predictable. The kid is then ruined [*isporchennyi*] anyway. Although she was sold against her will in the beginning, she is under the spell of her corrupted life and consciously (as much as this is possible) becomes a member of the army of child prostitutes.⁶¹

Many contemporaries shared this deterministic belief that the progression from raped girl to future prostitute was automatic.⁶² Once 'physical virginity' (*fizicheskaia devstvennost'*) was lost, it was not long before 'moral virginity' (*nравstvennaia devstvennost'*) was lost too.⁶³ Vital to the ideal of childhood in general and the plausibility of rape claims in particular, the concept of lost innocence amplified the anticipated outcomes. The children themselves were even imagined as being lost; former victims were 'under the spell', leading a 'corrupted life'. In Bentovin's reading, juvenile prostitutes were spreading immorality. While this was not the same as consciously spreading venereal disease as payback, it conveyed a similar idea; if rape was thought to dictate a victim's future, vengeance was rendered a fitting response to a life ruined forever. The image of an 'army of child prostitutes' implied a transition to action, if not outright attack.

JUVENILE PROSTITUTES WITH AN AGENDA?

Even though the journalist writing about 'Diuluizm' had apparently managed to ignore juvenile prostitution until this point, it was a fairly common sight in central St Petersburg in 1908.⁶⁴ Legal practitioners, journalists and charity organisations had become increasingly aware of child prostitutes since the 1880s.⁶⁵ With the turn of the century, their number apparently grew rapidly, and in turn intensified anxieties. Observers worried that, within a few years, juvenile prostitution might reach the same scale as prostitution among adult women. Another reason for concern was that the girls becoming prostitutes were increasingly younger. Experts confirmed the reporter's impression: groups of ten to twelve-year-old girls roamed St Petersburg looking for customers.⁶⁶

A third reason for concern was that, due to Tsarist policing, juvenile prostitution was essentially a clandestine matter. When implementing the system of regulation in St Petersburg in 1843, the Ministry of the Interior opted to register only women above sixteen as prostitutes.⁶⁷ Medical-police committees issued the infamous 'yellow tickets', documents which recorded health inspections and findings. Following the French model, the regulation of prostitutes was believed to prevent the spread of venereal disease by introducing mandatory health inspections for women. However, the lack of regulation of female minors exacerbated already present notions of a public health risk because, as Laurie Bernstein has observed, the authorities were 'loath to condone ... and institutionalize the sexual trade in children'.⁶⁸ When, in 1903, the Ministry of the Interior decided to raise the age for registration to eighteen and thereby substantially increased the number of women not receiving inspections, these fears intensified. Laura Engelstein has noted how contemporary observers increasingly regarded the working class as a 'wellspring of infections' and declared female servants a 'health menace'. Teenage prostitutes from the lower classes 'figured as the symbolic expression of the urban sexual threat'.⁶⁹ In this sense, the article captured widespread anxieties and fears, elegantly fusing all these phenomena (female servants, the urban poor, syphilis, prostitution, sexual violence) into one: 'Diuluizm'.

While the clients were mostly elite men thought to indulge in all kinds of sexual perversions, juvenile prostitutes came from the urban working poor. Juvenile prostitution was interpreted as a result of poverty and class exploitation, whereas when it came to adult prostitution experts were divided regarding whether class or poverty played the decisive role.⁷⁰ Boris Bentovin stressed the social factors that pushed girls born into poor families towards prostitution: chronic alcoholism, cramped living conditions and poverty – in short, 'horrible conditions' – led parents to trade and sell their offspring.⁷¹ However, this portrayal of juvenile prostitution as a phenomenon of urban poverty did not necessarily lead to attitudes informed by pity and sympathy. Nor did experts highlight socioeconomic causes alone; they usually added moral and pathological reasons. While these components might seem easily separated, they often merged into each other.

Since the St Petersburg medical-police committee began collecting data in the 1890s, the correlation between sexual violence and selling sex was common knowledge.⁷² In 1909, a fifth of the adult prostitutes coming to the St Petersburg House of Mercy (*Dom Miloserdiia*) had lost their virginity through rape.⁷³ The House of Mercy, which housed up to sixty underage prostitutes, mentioned

in its yearly report that among those who came there for care in 1907, 'thirteen were sold by parents or friends and eight were raped'.⁷⁴ All the others (no number given) were assumed to have become prostitutes of their own volition. However, the violent experiences these girls had undergone remained strangely unacknowledged. Instead, most contemporaries turned child prostitution into a question of morals.⁷⁵ Bentovin, for example, stated that many girl prostitutes were morally indifferent (*nравstvenno-bezrazlichnykh*) and likely to simply accept their fate. He did not acknowledge that 'indifference' might be the result of repeated violence or trauma, preferring to speculate about moral integrity:

There are the ones – sent by their parents or their business-minded aunts – who enter the market with dread, with tears and clenched teeth; others go of their own volition, even cursed by their parents, they run off to the market with joy, boisterous playfulness and in high spirits. Those coerced into vice and being still very little end their sinful lives by committing suicide; others not acknowledging the moral horror they live in look at the ruins of their existence as if it was a merry kids' holiday, where it is possible to be mischievous, to drink, to do with boys, hooligans and respectable uncles – whatever it is you wish.⁷⁶

Although Bentovin began by mentioning parents sold their children into prostitution for economic reasons, he ended by assigning agency to the young subjects and stressing how much depended on their morals – even reinterpreting sexual violence as a problem of their morality. Resistance and clenched teeth were indicators of good morals, not signs of the violence that had either already happened or was about to happen. The 'moral indifference' he claimed to discover in some girls was something they had possessed since 'birth, not to be corrected by education'.⁷⁷ In his reading, girls with good morals were able to somehow mitigate the violence they suffered, whereas those without good morals could not have suffered anything resembling violence in the first place.

When commenting on the link between sexual violence against children and prostitution, experts often described a vicious circle. A rise in sexual violence against children would produce more young prostitutes, and the availability of underage girls would in turn contribute to an increase in demand among men who could now satisfy their 'unnatural' desires more easily. These desires were 'unnatural' in two senses: first, having sex with underage children was understood to be against nature, and second, the sexual practices themselves could be 'unnatural'. In most reports about child prostitutes, only elite men were mentioned as customers, and rumours of the elites indulging in sexual perversions had been around long before 1905. While it was common knowledge that these men 'pursued' (*ukhazhivat'*) their young female servants, it was now a concern that they were using their jobs as teachers or educators to harm young children.⁷⁸

Although it was apparently a growing number of privileged 'Diulus' who corrupted lower-class girls, the gaze shifted and stayed with the juvenile prostitutes – and not only in the aforementioned article. As Engelstein has observed, 'juvenile prostitution represented in itself the ultimate pathology of commercial sex, precisely because children were supposed to be innocent and dependent, not sexually active free agents'.⁷⁹ Losing their assumed 'natural' sexual instincts due to their peasant background, a generation of girls would supposedly acquire a taste for sexual perversion. 'Unnatural vices' – predominantly masturbation and cunnilingus, anal sex to a lesser extent – were so much more widespread among underage prostitutes compared with those of legal age that many experts declared the former to be more pathological than their adult colleagues.⁸⁰ Girls who had lost their 'moral virginity' but not yet their 'physical virginity' were seen as even more depraved than those who simply engaged in 'reproductive sex'.

These ideas about and explanations for juvenile prostitution had practical consequences in how girls were treated in the capital's charity institutions. Girls who had experienced violence did not receive any special care at the House of Mercy. Sometimes they were not even admitted, as the report on its activities stated: 'The glaring and obvious depravity among underage girls, being led astray by

already fallen girl-friends, or damsels (*khoziaikami*) or selling parents' would be too much for the other inhabitants. Many girls had to be separated.

In fact, the depravity in underage girls often goes much further than it seems in the beginning, some of them manage to keep their virginity ... they devote themselves to the more refined and more appalling unnatural vices.⁸¹

This quote from the House of Mercy's yearly report stresses 'devotion' and thus attributes agency, as well as active decision-making, to the girls. Accordingly, all were subjected to a strict work regime and heavy surveillance. In her paper for the first all-Russian Conference for the Struggle Against the Trade in Women and its Causes in 1910, Serafima Konopleva, who worked in the St Petersburg shelter for underage prostitutes, a branch of the House of Mercy, did not hide her disgust:

Vulgarity, insolence, endless lies and laziness, these are the qualities with which they arrive, not to mention their array of specialized vices. Even those who ended up in the ranks of child prostitutes, who did not become prostitutes of their own volition but as a result of rape, show a dirty imagination and aroused instincts.⁸²

Konopleva reiterated the perceived inevitability: once girls lost their 'physical virginity' and innocence, they would lose their 'moral virginity' as well and be predisposed to becoming prostitutes and thus perpetrators. This automatic process was the same for all. Was it the result of violence? Or was it the result of a chosen path? This did not matter. As prostitutes, they were perceived as agents of immoral sexuality, dangerous deviants who needed supervision and control.

AND KAPITOLINA?

About two years after the trial against Diulu, Nikolai Zakharov, Konopleva's colleague and the secretary of the Board of Trustees for the St Petersburg House of Mercy, presented a paper to the first empire-wide congress on prostitution.⁸³ His report outlined the institution's history and regime and the politics of prostitution in St Petersburg. It also detailed why women ended up – as he framed it – in prostitution. Zakharov delineated four categories of women who turned to the House of Mercy for help in 1909. Raped women and girls were not given a category of their own, but instead scattered across the four, which were: (1) unregistered prostitutes who wanted to register; (2) registered prostitutes; (3) clandestines; and (4) those in special need. Dryly listing fates and stories, Zakharov enumerated women who had extramarital sex in the same way he discussed girls raped by their fathers. In the third category, 'clandestines', he mentioned those who had become young mothers and 'therefore needed the help of the House of Mercy, depraved girls whose parents or relatives wanted them to end their corrupted lives and, finally, prostitutes who wanted to lead an honest life again'. Among the fifteen examples of 'clandestines', we find the following girls:

- A. – 14 years. Brought in by her mother, has been in schooling for two years, where she met a boy who took her virginity; after that she started to run away from home ...
- G. – 14 years. Born out of wedlock; lost her virginity to her mother's husband, after which she left home ...
- Zh. – 13 years. Lost her virginity to her father, who continued the relationship (*sviaz'*) with her, no mother ...
- M. – 11 years. No father. Her mother works in the factory and sold her (Diu-Lu).⁸⁴

'M.', whose mother 'sold her (Diu-Lu)', was Kapitolina Morozova. In none of the above examples did Zakharov discuss whether the loss of virginity might have been the result of violence. The circum-

stances were simply not important to this charity organisation, which treated minors first and foremost as sexually deprived.

Although Kapitolina's violent 'defloration' was crucial to the judicial proceedings and informed the gravity of Diulu's crime, as well as being central to the public perception of her – as a victim who had already endured too much – during the trial, none of these sentiments can be found in Zakharov's paper. In 1908, Kapitolina had earned the sympathy of journalists and readers because her future was anticipated in the bleakest terms. Now, in 1910, after all the forecasts had turned out to be true, her past violent experiences were relegated to the background, and she was shown no empathy at all. For Zakharov, she was simply one of the many clandestine prostitutes roaming the capital; whether she actually went on to sell sex we cannot know.

Unlike the adult women at the House of Mercy, underage girls were institutionalised there against their will. In a long paragraph, Zakharov explained the immense difficulties of treating underage prostitutes. He did not hide his bewilderment in encountering 'such pathologies that medicine and education simply had to give up'.⁸⁵ Trying to convey the shelter's immense task, he offered a straightforward answer for why the girls were difficult to control.

However, when it comes to underage girls it can't be denied that their defloration has a sustained effect on their psyche and their sexual lewdness... This is why our fosterlings developed many different illnesses, most of them psychological coupled with nervousness [*s nervnoi vozbuzhdennost'iu*] ... For example, the thirteen-year-old M., who two years ago was the victim of the infamous Diulu, suffered such a serious hysterical psychosis that she needed to be institutionalised in a psychiatric hospital for several months.⁸⁶

Zakharov knew about Kapitolina's past; he was well aware of her victimisation by Diulu, yet he highlighted the negative consequences of losing virginity before sexual maturity rather than emphasising the violence she experienced. For him, the premature awakening of Kapitolina's sexuality was what led to her lewdness. He blamed a lifestyle that seemed to automatically follow 'the loss of virginity before an appropriate age'. Too much smoking, drinking, sleepless nights and the 'repetition of actus coitus' would lead to a 'nervous condition, heightened sensitivity (*chuvstvitel'nost'*) and pathological irritability'. These girls were such a 'threat to society' that they needed to be isolated.⁸⁷ For Zakharov, Kapitolina's allegedly depraved lifestyle *after* 1908 was responsible for her psychosis, not what she had to endure before or during the trial. He did not elaborate on the fact that she had been left without her mother, who was sentenced for having sold her to Diulu, nor on how this loss and being placed in foster care might have impacted her. He thought Kapitolina was sick and depraved beyond hope because she had lost her virginity too early; she stood out in his report, mentioned twice due to being 'institutionalised in a psychiatric hospital'. Her psychosis rendered her uncontrollable – to herself, to professionals and to Russian society. Zakharov's perception of underage victims of sexual violence was typical in its assumption of an unavoidable and pathological outcome. His reading did not differ much from Iablonovskii's anticipation of Kapitolina's bleak future. The difference was that, for Zakharov, Kapitolina was no longer a victim but a perpetrator.

When the article about 'Diulizm' and vengeful juvenile prostitutes appeared in October 1908, we do not know where Kapitolina was. What we do know, however, is that she was placed in the custody of the Society for the Protection of Children from Cruel Treatment after the trial in summer 1908. She ran away repeatedly and lived on and off the streets until she ended up at the shelter, probably in late 1908 or early 1909. There may have been rumours about her circulating in St Petersburg; after all, she was Diulu's most well-known victim. Her notoriety may have meant her fate was discussed at the various banquets and dinners charity organisations hosted throughout the city. It might even have been her slow descent into the ranks of child prostitutes that elicited the coinage of 'Diulizm' as a phenomenon.

Certainly, in none of the sources I consulted was there any indication that Kapitolina contracted syphilis, let alone that she deliberately infected men with it. In other words, there was no hint of any vengeance whatsoever. Yet her presumed fate and agenda evidently had the potential to trigger all kinds of imaginings in contemporary minds of what she, having lost her innocence, could be capable of. Her alleged fate eclipsed the worst predictions journalists made during the court trial in May and June 1908. The plausibility of juvenile prostitutes enacting revenge rested on the juxtaposition of their innocent past and their dreadful future. In their writings and practices journalists, scientific experts and charity workers promoted this juxtaposition and turned it into a reality – for Kapitolina and for many other victims of sexual violence.

CONCLUSION

In historiography examining the so-called Middle Ages or pre-modern Europe, vengeance is a recurring trope, appearing in the form of retaliation within patriarchal structures (primarily the defence of honour).⁸⁸ Once we enter the modern period, the nexus between revenge/vengeance and sexual violence becomes surprisingly rare, the assumption being that vengeance, as an emotion of retribution and retaliation, was superfluous once the rule of law (*Rechtsstaat*) was established and crimes or misdemeanours could be persecuted by the state.⁸⁹ Only with the rise of the ‘rape-revenge movie’ in the 1970s did vengeance reappear as a feminist critique of the failings of the current rule of law, in which victims are still often blamed for what happened to them.⁹⁰ These movies are often spectacular and scandalous examples of arbitrary law enforcement and vigilante justice, focusing on the particular methods and actions of payback (for instance, raping men). Interestingly, while resting on feminist notions of failed law and injustice, these films explicitly promote narratives in which vengeance is represented as a primitive emotion. Such a concept of archaic justice was absent in late Imperial Russia. Juvenile prostitutes who acted in vengeance were not remnants from primitive times but rather harbingers of the modernity to come. As Mark Steinberg has noted, ‘urban Russians were painfully aware that it was “modernity” they were experiencing’.⁹¹

Vengeance needs intent; it ‘requires thinking, planning and perspective’.⁹² Accordingly, the idea of vengeance invested children with a calculating subjectivity, a characteristic that children by definition ought not to have. To some extent, the notion of vengeance acknowledges the violence and injustice experienced by victims, since it rests on the assumption of retaliation. Imagining these girls as avengers implies an act of recognition, an acknowledgement of the violence and injustice they had experienced.⁹³ By rendering them agents, the notion of vengeance attributed a sense of modern sexuality and subjectivity to girls who presumably acted and reacted intentionally.

As I have demonstrated in this article, the transition from victim to perpetrator lurked in the triangulation of childhood, innocence and sexuality. To be a victim of sexual violence, a child needed to have lost their agency forever, which is what Iablonovskii imagined for Kapitolina during the trial. The charity workers who cared for her after Diulu was declared guilty portrayed her as a juvenile prostitute and thus a threat to Russian society. Other experts imagined sexually exploited and abused girls forming an ‘army’. As soon as sexual violence against children entered the public domain, their actual experiences were erased, lost in the mixture of emotions that sexual violence evoked – empathy but also a fear that victims were inherently depraved and vengeful. The notion of ‘Diuluzm’ did not stop at portraying juvenile prostitutes as ‘free agents’ making wrong decisions. It effectively completed the shift from innocent victim to *conscious* perpetrator by adding the concept of revenge, and thus suggested girls were not just spreading syphilis accidentally as sexually active teenagers – as they were motivated by vengeance, infecting others was not a side effect; they supposedly *wanted* to spread venereal disease. Ironically, it was the growing recognition that sexual violence was a potentially traumatising experience that triggered vengeance in the girls themselves – at least in the imaginations of contemporaries.

In this article, I could not help but reduce Kapitolina Morozova to descriptions of the act of violence she had to endure.⁹⁴ We only know about her because she happened to be a victim of Diulu's rather than of the many 'Diulus' who followed in his footsteps and whose victims left no archival trace – at least none I was able to locate. I sincerely hope that Kapitolina's life after 1910 turned out well. But knowing what was to come, I have my doubts.

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ENDNOTES

¹ *Peterburgskii listok*, 23 October 1908.

² On the scant knowledge about syphilis, see Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 165–211; Keeley Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

³ In the Caucasus, the age of consent was thirteen, since girls in the south were allegedly sexually mature at an earlier age. See Nikolai Adrianovich Nekliudov, *Rukovodstvo k osobennoi chastii russkago ugolovnago prava. Tom 1. Prestuplenie i postupki protivu lichnosti* (Sankt Peterburg: Tipografiia P.P. Merkul'eva, 1876), p. 397. Like in fin de siècle Europe, the age of consent in the Russian Empire was a thorny issue and in constant flux. See for example Dorothea Nolde (ed.), 'Sexuelle Gewalt gegen Kinder/Sexual Violence Against Children', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften/Austrian Journal for Historical Studies* 28 (2017), p. 3. Russian courts came to varying conclusions about girls between the ages of ten and fourteen (intermediary age) and whether or not their rape was to be classified as statutory rape, illegal cohabitation or rape. A 1903 legal reform intended to raise the age of informed consent to between twelve and sixteen, but this was never put into legal practice. See Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, pp. 75–84.

⁴ *Peterburgskaia gazeta*, 2 May 1908; *Gazeta kopeika*, 9 August 1908; *Gazeta kopeika*, 4 September 1909. Five years later, an article in the boulevard newspaper *Peterburgskii listok* from 25 January 1913 bore the title 'On Diulu's heels'. The spelling of his last name varied widely. In this article, I opted for Diulu.

⁵ Blurring the boundaries between feuilleton and news, reporters were obsessed with portraying immoral urban life. Mark Steinberg, *Petersburg Fin de Siècle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 34–46. In its coverage of the sexual abuse of girls, the Russian press resembled other European media campaigns at that time, the most popular being the 'Maiden Tribute' series in the London *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885. See for example Louise A. Jackson, *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁶ *Peterburgskii listok*, 28 May 1908. On social status in rape cases from the pre-reform period, see Katherine Pickering Antonova and Sergei Antonov, 'The Maiden and the Wolf: Law, Gender, and Sexual Violence in Imperial Russia', *Slavic Review* 77 (2018), pp. 99–121.

⁷ Angela Rustemeyer, *Dienstboten in Petersburg und Moskau 1861–1917. Hintergrund, Alltag, soziale Rolle* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996), pp. 91–92.

⁸ Evgeniia de Turzhe-Turzhanskaia, *Belye nevol'niki* (Smolensk: Parovaia tipo-lit. Ia.N. Podzemskogo, 1906). On 'white slaves', see for example Siobhán Hearne, 'Prosecuting Procurement in the Russian Empire', *Journal of Social History* 54 (2020), pp. 185–209; Philippa Hetherington, "'The Highest Guardian of the Child': International Criminology and the Russian Fight Against Transnational Obscenity, 1885–1935', *Russian History* 43 (2016), pp. 275–310. Female domestic servants, whether children, adolescents or adults, were at risk of sexual violence. Laurie Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 107–19; Barbara Alpern Engel, 'St. Petersburg Prostitutes in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Personal and Social Profile', *Russian Review* 4 (1989), pp. 21–44.

⁹ On sexual violence in late Imperial Russia, see Alexandra Oberländer, *Unerhörte Subjekte: Die Wahrnehmung sexueller Gewalt in Russland 1880–1910* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2013); Alexandra Oberländer, 'Shame and Modern Subjectivities: The Rape of Elizaveta Cheremnova in 1882', in Mark D. Steinberg and Valeria Sobol (eds), *Interpreting Emotions in Russia and Eastern Europe* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), pp. 82–101; Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, pp. 56–95; Louise McReynolds, *Murder Most Russian: True Crime and Punishment in Late Imperial Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 47–91.

¹⁰ This is not to say that adult women could not also be perceived as innocent – again, class was crucial in this regard. However, the assumption that innocence marked childhood as a distinct age developed in the nineteenth century and led to children

- being viewed as particularly worthy of protection. On this development in Russia, see Elizabeth White, *A Modern History of Russian Childhood: From the Late Imperial Period to the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020); Catriona Kelly, *Children's World: Growing Up in Russia, 1890–1991* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Andy Byford, *Science of the Child in Late Imperial and Early Soviet Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
- ¹¹ Innocence was such a crucial marker that children's (non-)sexuality received special legal protection. The literature on child sexual abuse often revolves around questions about the age of consent and the judicial notion of innocence in children. See Nolde, 'Sexuelle Gewalt'; Jackson, *Child Sexual Abuse*; Tanja Hommen, 'Körperdefinition und Körpererfahrung: "Notzucht" und "unzüchtige Handlungen an Kindern" im Kaiserreich', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 26 (2000), pp. 577–601.
- ¹² Louise Jackson, 'The Child's Word in Court: Cases of Sexual Abuse in London, 1870–1914', in Margaret L. Arnot and Cornelia Osborne (eds), *Gender and Crime in Modern Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1999), pp. 222–57, here p. 223.
- ¹³ To this day, the most comprehensive analysis of the events of 1905 is Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: Russia in Disarray* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988). The wave of violence in 1904–1907 blended with modern biomedical sciences and apocalyptic scenarios of a 'moral contagion' infecting Russian society. Daniel Beer, "'Microbes of the Mind": Moral Contagion in Late Imperial Russia', *Journal of Modern History* 79 (2007), pp. 531–71. On the dynamics of violence in the Russian Revolution, see Susan K. Morrissey, 'Violence, Publicity, and Incitement in the Russian Revolution of 1905–7', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 21 (2020), pp. 489–524.
- ¹⁴ Susan K. Morrissey, 'Terrorism and Ressentiment in Revolutionary Russia', *Past and Present* 246 (2020), pp. 191–226.
- ¹⁵ The revolution of 1905 was the turning point for the 'sexual question' (*polovoi vopros*), since many contemporary experts declared sexual practices like masturbation or prostitution signs of degeneration and disease. Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, pp. 215–98.
- ¹⁶ On the epidemic of violence, see Dmitrii N. Zhabankov, 'Polovaia vakkhanalia i polovye nasillia: Pir vo vremia chumy', *Prakticheskii vrach* 17–19 (1908), pp. 308–10, pp. 321–23, pp. 340–42.
- ¹⁷ Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, p. 267.
- ¹⁸ Boris I. Bentovin, *Deti-prostitutki* (Sankt Peterburg: tip. L.D. Saper, 1910), p. 46.
- ¹⁹ Morrissey, 'Terrorism and Ressentiment', p. 200.
- ²⁰ *Birzhevye vedomosti*, 24 September 1907. Kapitolina's reported age at the time of her abuse varies. Whereas Ministry of Justice files state her age as ten, the newspapers often report she was eleven. See Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv (RGIA) f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, l. 1.
- ²¹ An extended discussion about Russian interpretations of statutory rape and rape is provided in Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, pp. 75–95.
- ²² *Birzhevye vedomosti*, 24 September 1907 and 25 September 1907.
- ²³ RGIA f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, l. 7.
- ²⁴ Whether Diulu had sexual intercourse with all of them was never established. RGIA f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, ll. pp. 12–13.
- ²⁵ *Peterburgskii listok*, 1 June 1908 and 28 May 1908.
- ²⁶ *Rech'*, 28 May 1908.
- ²⁷ *Russkoe slovo*, 4 June 1908.
- ²⁸ With the court reform of 1864, Russian law implemented mandatory and formalised forensic examination of women and girls in rape cases. On the increasing role of scientific experts in judicial procedure, see Elisa M. Becker, *Medicine, Law and the State in Imperial Russia* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011).
- ²⁹ RGIA f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, l. 32.
- ³⁰ Other verdicts of the time were more severe. In Novgorod in 1905, thirty-three-year-old Sergei Prokof'ev Khvostov was sentenced to five years in prison and the dispossession of all rights for the attempted rape of a seven-year-old girl. RGIA, f. 1405, op. 108, d. 3478. The *meshchanin* Vladimir Ivanov Ovsianikov was sentenced to six years *katorga* for raping a girl under fourteen. RGIA, f. 1405, op. 108, d. 10175. In 1905, the peasant Agafon Ivanov Gogulin from Vladimir province raped a fourteen-year-old peasant girl and was sentenced to four years. RGIA f. 1405, op. 108, d. 8870.
- ³¹ Legal definitions of statutory rape and the age of consent were shifting at this time. In 1870, the senate ruled that 'a girl under 14 is always innocent'. The 1903 attempt at reforming the Criminal Code considered the protection of minors as a key element. See Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, pp. 75–84.
- ³² On housemaids in Petersburg, see Raissa L. Depp, 'O dannikh ankety, proizvedennoi sredi prostitutok Sankt Peterburga', in *Trudy pervago vserossiiskago s'ezda po bor'be s torgom zhenshchinami i ego prichinami* (Sankt Peterburg: Tipo-lit. S.-Peterburgskoi odinochnoi tiur'my, 1910/1911), pp. 135–48, here p. 136ff.
- ³³ R. A. Shikhman, 'O tainom prostitutsii v Sankt-Peterburge i ego prichinakh', in *Trudy pervago vserossiiskago s'ezda po bor'be s torgom zhenshchinami i ego prichinami*, pp. 92–118, here p. 102.
- ³⁴ Tat'iana Efimova worked for Diulu in 1905 and was allegedly raped on her very first night in service. A witness corroborated her testimony. RGIA f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, l. 11, 31.
- ³⁵ According to Art. 1524 of the Criminal Code of 1845, a man could be convicted of statutory rape if he sexually abused a girl under fourteen years of age. After a Senate ruling in 1870, Russian law stipulated an intermediary age of consent between the ages of ten and fourteen. This meant a man could only be convicted of statutory rape if he had taken advantage of a girl's 'innocence and ignorance', which required the girl in question to prove her innocence and ignorance. If a girl under fourteen was no longer a virgin, her attacker could not be prosecuted under the article of statutory rape. The newly drafted code of 1903 raised the intermediary age to between twelve and sixteen, yet the statutes were never enacted.

- ³⁶ See Jackson, *Child Sexual Abuse*; Tanja Hommen, *Sittlichkeitsverbrechen: Sexuelle Gewalt im Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1999).
- ³⁷ Russia made the age of consent fourteen in 1845, while German-speaking countries started implementing ages of consent at the beginning of the nineteenth century; see Hommen, 'Körperdefinition'.
- ³⁸ See the discussion in Byford, *Science of the Child*.
- ³⁹ The same day, the three men examined seventeen-year-old housemaid Tat'iana Efimova and thirteen-year-old Mariia Bogdanova. RGIA f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, l. 11/12.
- ⁴⁰ Nekliudov, *Rukovodstvo*, p. 395. The leading expert on the female hymen in Russia was Vladislav Merzheevskii (*1843), see his *Sudebno-meditsinskoe izsledovanie devstvennoi plevy. Materialy k voprosu o 'rastlenii'* (Sankt Peterburg: pech. V.I. Golovina, 1871).
- ⁴¹ The production of gynaecological knowledge and forensic practices were strikingly similar across Europe, see for example Willemijn Ruberg, 'Trauma, Body, and Mind: Forensic Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Dutch Rape Cases', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22 (2013), pp. 85–104.
- ⁴² Dr Zak, 'O protivozakonnom udovletvorenii polovago pobuzhdeniia i o sudebno-meditsinskoi zadache pri prestuplenniakh etoi kategorii', *Arkhiv sudebnoi meditsiny i obshchestvennoi gigieny* (1870), pp. 8–13, here pp. 9–10.
- ⁴³ Dmitrii Kosorotov, 'Rastlenie ili uvech'e? Otvet Doktoru Smol'skomu', *Vestnik obshchestvennoi gigieny, sudebnoi i prakticheskoi meditsiny* (1911), pp. 1–8.
- ⁴⁴ Ivan Ivanovich Smol'skii, 'Rastlenie ili uvech'e? (Sudebno-meditsinskoe izsledovanie)', *Vestnik obshchestvennoi gigieny, sudebnoi i prakticheskoi meditsiny* (1909), pp. 1240–59. Smol'skii was in contact with Diulu's mother. In a letter to her from 23 January 1909, he asserted that the fissures and infractions on Kapitolina's hymen stemmed from the obstetrician Ivanova, who had examined her immediately after the alleged rape in mid-September 1907. RGIA f. 1405, op. 129, d. 702, l. 7.
- ⁴⁵ On making children talk about sexual violence, see for example Hommen, *Sittlichkeitsverbrechen*, pp. 159–62.
- ⁴⁶ Vladislav Merzheevskii, *Sudebnaia ginekologiya. Rukovodstvo dlia vrachei i iuristov* (Sankt Peterburg: B.G. Ianpol'skii, 1878), p. 110.
- ⁴⁷ '...vvodil ei v promezhnost' krepkiui, tepluiu palku'. RGIA, f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, l. 1ob.
- ⁴⁸ RGIA f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, l. 7ob. Children giving evidence about sexual violence often used the word 'to stuff' (*pikhat'*).
- ⁴⁹ *Rus'*, 30 May 1908.
- ⁵⁰ *Peterburgskii listok*, 28 May 1908; *Peterburgskaia gazeta*, 29 May 1908.
- ⁵¹ *Russkoe slovo*, 30 May 1908.
- ⁵² *Russkoe slovo*, 30 May 1908.
- ⁵³ This perception was common and by no means a Russian particularity. See for instance Hommen, 'Körperdefinition'.
- ⁵⁴ On the homogenisation of victims of sexual violence, see Sara Sharratt, *Gender, Shame, and Sexual Violence: The Voices of Witnesses and Court Members at War Crimes Tribunals* (London: Routledge, 2011).
- ⁵⁵ Byford, *Science of the Child*, p. 8. Elizabeth White discusses children as the 'preserve of the state'; see *A Modern History*, p. 1.
- ⁵⁶ Smol'skii, 'Rastlenie', p. 1258.
- ⁵⁷ Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, p. 286.
- ⁵⁸ RGIA, f. 1405, op. 111, d. 384, l. 13.
- ⁵⁹ On *nepotrebstvo*, see Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, p. 40/41.
- ⁶⁰ P. V. Bezobrazov, *O sovremennom razvrate* (Moskva: pech. A.I. Snegirovoi, 1900), p. 77.
- ⁶¹ Bentovin, *Deti-prostitutki*, p. 46.
- ⁶² V. I. Gal'perin, 'Prostitutsiia detei', in M. F. Gernet (ed.), *Deti-prestupniki* (Moskva: Znamenskii, 1912), pp. 367–80, pp. 369–70; I. M. Faingar, 'Detskaia prostitutsiia', *Vestnik Psikhologii* (1913), pp. 29–47, p. 37. On raped girls becoming prostitutes in the German Empire, see Hommen, *Sittlichkeitsverbrechen*, pp. 53–60.
- ⁶³ Kosorotov, *Rastlenie ili uvech'e?*, p. 3; Otchët popechitel'nogo komiteta SPb-ago doma miloserdiia za 1907g (Sankt Peterburg, 1908), p. 12.
- ⁶⁴ Siobhán Hearne quotes the newspaper *Russkie vedemosti*, which counted 124 underage prostitutes in St Petersburg in 1909. Hearne, 'Prosecuting Procurement', p. 193.
- ⁶⁵ D. A. Dril', 'Iavlennia rannei razvrashchennosti i prestupnosti u detei i podrostkov, ikh blizhaishchiiia prichiny i obshchestvennoe znachenie', *Iuridicheskii Vestnik* (1892), pp. 499–522; A. Baranov, *V zashchitu pogibshikh zhenshchin* (Kazan, 1897), pp. 10–11.
- ⁶⁶ B. I. Bentovin, 'O prostitutsii detei', in *Trudy pervago vserossiiskago s'ezda po bor'be s torgom zhenshchinami i ego prichinami*, pp. 441–57, here p. 441.
- ⁶⁷ Once registered, the women lost their internal passports, which added yet another layer of social stigmatisation and economic discrimination. On adult prostitution, see Siobhán Hearne, 'To Denounce or Defend? Public Participation in the Policing of Prostitution in Late Imperial Russia', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 19 (2018), pp. 717–44; Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*; Natalia B. Leбина, M.V. Shkarovskii, *Prostitutsiia v Peterburge, 40-e gg. XIX v. – 40-e gg. XX v* (Moskva: Progress-Akad., 1994); Alpern Engel, 'St. Petersburg Prostitutes'.
- ⁶⁸ Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, p. 45.
- ⁶⁹ Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, pp. 274–75.

- ⁷⁰ See for example Veniamin M. Tarnovskii, *Prostitutsiia i abolitsionizm* (Sankt Petersburg: K. Rikker, 1888) and Arkadii I. Elistratov, 'Bednost' i prostitutsiia', *Soiuz zhenshchin* (1907), pp. 4–7.
- ⁷¹ Bentovin was a physician in St Petersburg's Kalinkin hospital, where many prostitutes were treated for venereal diseases. On his particular role in discussing juvenile prostitution, see Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, p. 289. Bentovin, *Deti-prostitutki*; Bentovin, O prostitutsii detei; Boris Bentovin, *Torguiushchiia telom. Ocherki sovremennoi prostitutsii* (Sankt Peterburg: L. Krumbiugel', 1909).
- ⁷² See Aleksandr I. Fedorov, *Ocherk vrachebno-politseiskago nadzora za prostitutsiei v Sankt-Peterburge* (Sankt Peterburg: Tip. S.-Peterburgskogo gradonachal'stva, 1897).
- ⁷³ Zakharov, 'Istoriia', p. 283. Many of these women had previously worked as female servants in privileged Petersburg households. On the House of Mercy, see Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*.
- ⁷⁴ Otchet popechitel'nago komiteta SPb-ago doma miloserdiia, p. 12.
- ⁷⁵ A paediatrician thought thirteen- to fourteen-year-old girls were lying when they claimed they had been infected with syphilis following a rape. Z. Ia. El'tsina, 'Priobremnyi sifilis detei, ego etiologiia i bor'ba s nim', in *Trudy vesrossiiskago s'ezda detskikh vrachei v Sankt Peterburge s 27–29 dekabria 1912 goda* (Sankt Peterburg: Tip.-lit. N.L. Nyrkina, 1913), p. 231.
- ⁷⁶ Bentovin, *Deti-prostitutki*, pp. 14–15.
- ⁷⁷ Bentovin, *Deti-prostitutki*, p. 14.
- ⁷⁸ S. I. Konopleva, 'O deiatel'nosti i zadachakh Otdeleniia dlia nesovershennoletnykh S.-Peterburgskago Doma Miloserdiia', in *Trudy pervago vserossiiskago s'ezda po bor'be s torgom zhenshchinami i ego prichinami*, pp. 303–10, here p. 307. See for example the case of a producer of children's theatre (Benua) who allegedly molested his pupils from the urban poor (Peterburgskaia gazeta, 13 May 1908) or the case of Putvinskii, who worked for a charity organisation and conducted dubious health inspections on poor children (*Peterburgskii listok*, 7 November 1908).
- ⁷⁹ Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*, p. 291.
- ⁸⁰ Bentovin, *Deti-prostitutki*, p. 6.
- ⁸¹ Otchet za 1907g, p. 9.
- ⁸² Konopleva, 'O deiatel'nosti', p. 303.
- ⁸³ The papers are published in *Trudy pervago vserossiiskago s'ezda po bor'be s torgom zhenshchinami i ego prichinami*, pp. 303–10, here p. 307.
- ⁸⁴ Zakharov, 'Istoriia', p. 288.
- ⁸⁵ Zakharov, 'Istoriia', p. 290.
- ⁸⁶ Zakharov, 'Istoriia', p. 291.
- ⁸⁷ Zakharov, 'Istoriia', p. 291.
- ⁸⁸ Peter Arnade and Walter Prevenier, *Honor, Vengeance and Social Trouble: Pardon Letters in the Burgundian Low Countries* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Susanna A. Throop and Paul R. Hyams (eds), *Vengeance in the Middle Ages: Emotion, Religion, and Feud* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- ⁸⁹ This lack of critical inquiry about vengeance and rape in histories of modern times is curious, since it is such a manifest belief that women either use rape or false accusations of rape as a method of revenge (#MeToo). On the role of emotions in modern jurisprudence, see Robert C. Solomon, 'Justice v. Vengeance: On Law and the Satisfaction of Emotion', in Susan A. Bandes (ed.), *The Passions of Law* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), pp. 123–48; Barbara Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), pp. 821–45, here pp. 834–36.
- ⁹⁰ Julia Reifemberger, *Girls with Guns: Rape & Revenge Movies: Radikalfeministische Ermächtigungsfantasien* (Berlin: Bertz + Fischer, 2013).
- ⁹¹ Steinberg, *Petersburg*, p. 3.
- ⁹² Solomon, 'Justice v. Vengeance', p. 130.
- ⁹³ On the role of recognition in vengeance, or *ressentiment*, as the anthropologist Didier Fassin prefers to call it, see his incisive article 'On Resentment and *Ressentiment*: The Politics and Ethics of Moral Emotions', *Current Anthropology* 54 (2013), pp. 249–67.
- ⁹⁴ See Adrian Bingham, Lucy Delap, Louie Jackson and Louise Settle, 'Historical Child Sexual Abuse in England and Wales: The Role of Historians', *History of Education* 45 (2016), pp. 411–29.

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