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WOMEN HISTORIANS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

HISTORY IS TRADITIONALLY the business of men. This concerns the history of mankind as well as the academic profession of history and historiography. However, as Natalie Zemon Davis has stressed already in 1980, there were female historians in a larger sense since the Middle Ages, beginning with Anna Komnena and Christine de Pisan up to Catharine Macauley and Madame de Stael¹.

In the 19th century history became an academic discipline, represented at the universities. Women, who had no access to higher education, were excluded from the field. Since then, men defined the themes and the methods of the historical profession and they reduced them largely to the political history of the nation, the history of the great men, the history of events, diplomacy and ideas. The definition of history by men was widely arbitrary. History, regarded as an objective rational science, based on archival research, methods of source criticism and a sober unemotional style, was a male vision. Women were accepted only as writers, as translators, as teachers and as authors of textbooks. When women tried to enter the inner circle of science, they were marginalized and disqualified as superficial amateurs, who as women were not capable of objective rationality.

This is the thesis advanced by Bonnie Smith in her pioneering provocative book 'The Gender of History. Men, Women, and Historical Practice'². According

¹ N. Z. Davis, *Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers 1400–1820*, [w:] P. H. Labalme (Ed.), *Beyond their Sex. Learned Women of the European Past*, New York–London 1980, s. 153–182.

² B. Smith, *The Contribution of Women to Modern Historiography in Great Britain, France, and the United States, 1750–1940*, [w:] *The American Historical Review* Bd. 89 (1984), S. 709–732; ead.: *The Gender of History. Men, Women, and Historical Practice*, Cambridge, Mass., London 1998.

W jubileuszowych zeszytach nr 50 i 51 zamieszczamy wiele materiałów, pochodzących od autorów z różnych państw, ukazując przez to szerokie spektrum badań oraz poglądy i punkty widzenia badaczy różnych specjalności, różnych krajów, zwłaszcza naszego regionu. Tekstów tych redakcja zdecydowała nie poddawać zwyczajowemu w czasopiśmie naukowych opracowaniu, opiniowaniu i wewnętrznej naukowej dyskusji, pozostawiając odpowiedzialność za prezentowane stanowisko w rękach autorów (Red.).

to her, the popular works written by women and read by a wide audience were as important for the formation of historical narratives as the scientific books written by men. In addition, female historians, who were banned from politics, looked for new topics. While the true history, the history of states, wars, political events and ideas, was reserved to men, women were regarded as competent for second-rates topics only in the history of societies, connected with genuine female qualities of social work and charity.

The history of women historians has to be regarded in the context of the broader question of the access of women to higher education. The first women in continental Europe who received a Ph.D. in history were Ellen Friis (1883 in Sweden), 1887 Meta von Salis and Ricarda Huch (1887 and 1892 in Switzerland). Germany followed in 1897 (Anna Gebser), Austria in 1902 (Anna Ogrinz) and France in 1910 (Geneviève Aclouque). Already in 1908 and 1911 two Russian women received their Ph.D. at Sorbonne. I will return to them later.

In Great Britain, Ireland and the U.S. the universities opened their doors to women earlier than in continental Europe and a couple of women already since the 1880's taught at universities. Among them were Mary Bateson (1888 at the Girton College for women at Cambridge), Lilian Knowles who became Lecturer at the London School of Economics in 1904 and Constantia Maxwell, lecturer at Trinity College Dublin since 1909. In the U.S. the first Ph.D. was awarded in 1893 to Kate Everest Levi, but already since the 1880's several women became professors at women colleges, among them Katharine Comen (Wellesley College), Lucy Maynard Salmon (Vassar College) and Nellie Neilson (Mount Holyoke College). Salmon was a pioneer in the field of social, economic and every day history and wrote among others a history of the Domestic Service. In continental Europe, where the "Habilitation" was required, we find female professors of history only after WWI and there were only few of them until the last third of the 20th century.

In historiography women historians were largely ignored until the 1980's. Only after the publication of Bonnie Smith's book the topic was treated in several important works, the most interesting among them is a special issue of 'Storia della Storiografia' (2004)³. These studies are focused on the anglophone countries, less on Italy, France and Germany. The case of Russia, however, is not mentioned at all. So, the topic of women historians in the Russian Empire is almost complete *terra incognita*. As far as I know, the only study on the topic is an article by Na-

³ I. Porciani, M. O'Dowd (Eds), *History Women*, Storia della istoriografia Bd. 46 (2004). See also: A. Epple, A. Schaser (Eds.), *Gendering Historiography*. Beyond National Canons. Frankfurt, New York 2009; M. Spongenberg et al. (Eds.), *Companion to Women's Historical Writing*. Houndmills, Basingstoke 2005.

tal'ja Pushkareva, the renowned Russian specialist of gender history, published in 2012 in a provincial Russian journal⁴.

As in other European countries the canon of the Russian historiography of the 19th and early 20th centuries is an exclusively male one, with the names of Karamzin, Solov'ev and Kliuchevskij on the top, sometimes complemented by Miliukov and Platonov, by specialists of general history like Granovskij and Kareev or by the Ukrainians Kostomarov, Antonovych und Hrushevs'kyj. In any case it is a catalogue of men. Only the canon of Soviet historiography includes women like Militsa Nechkina, Anna Pankratova und Zinaida Udaltsova.

This article is devoted to this neglected theme. I am trying to outline a collective biography of women historians, in order to contribute to the history of historiography and to the gender history of the Russian Empire. I have considered only those women who completed at least their secondary education in the Russian Empire and who published, not necessarily in Russia, until 1917 at least one historical work. I excluded their post-revolutionary biographies and publications.

I have collected information about 50 women historians from biographical lexica and general encyclopaedias, in addition I have found a couple of autobiographies and obituaries⁵. An important source are, of course, the writings of the women historians themselves. I did not use archival materials. My informations are limited and for numerous women they comprise only the date of birth and one or two publications. So, what I am presenting here is by no means the definitive treatment of the topic.

Following Bonny Smith I included not only scientific historians (in a strict sense), but also authors of works, written for a broader audience, whereby the borderlines between scientific and so-called popular works are fluid. I have considered archaeologists, but not anthropologists and specialists of philology and the arts. I included not only ethnic Russians, but also non-Russians, who grew up in the Russian Empire, among them seven women of Polish, five of Ukrainian and two of Jewish origin.

⁴ N.L. Pushkareva, *Zhenshchiny-istoriki v Rossii 1800–1917*, [w:] Vestnik Permskogo Universiteta 2012, vyp. 1 (18), 228–246. For some materials see already I.I. Jukina, *Istorija zhenshchin v Rossii. Zhenskoe dvizhenie i feminizm v 1850–1920-e gody. Materialy k bibliografii*, Spb. 2003; ead.: *Russkii feminizm kak vyzov sovremennosti*. Spb. 2007.

⁵ The most important sources are Ju.A. Gorbunov, *Pisatel'nitsy Rossii. Materialy dlja biobibliograficheskogo slovaria* (<http://madrona.uraic.ru/elib/Authors/Gorbunov/sl-2.htm>); *Slovari i entsiklopedii na Akademike* (<http://dic.academic.ru>). I don't quote here the entries for the authors in these and other encyclopaedias as well as most of the special small studies devoted to the lives and works of the women historians. For more detailed information see A. Kappeler, *Der Schatten der Männer. Historikerinnen im Zarenreich*, [in:] *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 62 (2014), 481–531 (drop in print).

Due to the lack of language proficiency I couldn't consider Finnish historians, among them Tekla Hultin, Alma Sjöderhjelm and Liisi Karttunen, who were the first women who received a Ph.D. in history in the Russian Empire, namely at the University of Helsinki in 1897, 1900 and 1908. Sjöderhjelm was the first woman in Russia receiving the degree of magistr (Ph.D.) and teaching as a lecturer at the University. In 1913 she was proposed as full professor of general history, but the Russian authorities prevented her appointment⁶.

In the second part of this article I will present the most interesting of these 50 women grouped along 4 generations. I have defined these generations mechanically according to the birth dates in a time-span of 15 to 20 years. In the formative period of their lives these women shared the same political atmosphere and educational possibilities, but in the following years the generations intermingled. Since more than half of the women of the first three generations attained an age of over 70, a majority of the 50 women were still alive in 1917. Given the restricted space of this article I will quote only the most important of her publications⁷.

Who was the first woman historian in Russia? In the second half of the 18th century we find the first women writers, among them the empress Catherine II⁸. With her 'Notes on Russian History' she might be regarded as the first female historian of Russia. However, as a ruler she was playing '*hors concours*'. So, I didn't include her in my sample.

Six women, born in the first third of the 19th Century, are grouped in a first generation. They grew up in the era of Nicholas I., a time of political reaction and simultaneously of cultural highlights. They wrote their works, which addressed a wide audience, under the influence of the dynastic patriotism of Nikolai Karazin and of the religious-national thinking of the Slavophiles. They were educated either by private teachers or in an Institute for noble maidens. The oldest woman of the first generation was Aleksandra Ishimova (1804–1881). Her 'History of Russia in Tales for Children' was published in six volumes in 1837, was reprinted several times and was awarded the prestigious Demidov prize⁹. Ishimova sent the first volume of her work to Aleksandr Pushkin, who on 27 January 1837 sent her a letter praising her book: it was his last letter before his deathly duel. For the Polish national narrative Klementyna Tańska-Hofmanowa (1798–1845)

⁶ M. Kaarninen, T. Kinnunen, '*Hardly any Women at all*'. *Finnish Historiography Revisited*, [w:] *History Women*, 152–170.

⁷ For more detailed information see A. Kappeler, *Der Schatten der Männer*.

⁸ See C. Kelly, *A History of Russian Women's Writing, 1820–1992*. Oxford 1994.

⁹ [A.O. Ishimova], *Istorija Rossii v rasskazakh dlja detei*. Vol. 1–6. Spb. 1837. Vol. Bd. 1–4 in: http://imwerden.de/pdf/ishimova_istoriya_rossii_dlya_detej_1_1837.pdf.

played a similar role with her biographies of well-known historical personalities, written also for children¹⁰.

The women of the second generation, born between 1835 and 1851, were socialized in the era of the Great Reforms and of the early Russian feminist movement. During the 1860's a growing number of gymnasia for girls were founded which improved their educational possibilities¹¹. In this generation we find the first women who used primary archival sources for their historical studies. This parallels the professionalization of the historical science in Russia during this era. However, women were still excluded from higher education in the Russian Empire.

Since the 1860's a growing number of young Russian women studied at universities abroad, among them Nadezhda Suslova, the first woman with a Ph.D. in medicine in Europe (1867 in Switzerland), and the mathematician Sof'ja Koval'skaia, the first woman full Professor in Europe (1889 in Stockholm). These two examples indicate that the emancipation of Russian upper class women was more advanced than in most other European countries. However, almost all female students abroad chose medicine or natural sciences. Only since the 1890's we find the first historians from Russia at foreign universities. The first may have been the Polish socialist Zofia Emilia Daszyńska-Golińska, who in 1891 received her Ph.D. from the Faculty of Law at the University of Zurich with a dissertation on the population of Zürich in the 17th century¹². Seven years later with Rosa Luxemburg another woman, born in Poland, graduated at Zürich University (in economics) with a dissertation on the industrial development of Poland¹³. Both women were not historians in a strict sense, but rather social scientists, and both were socialists.

¹⁰ K. Tańska-Hofmanowa, *Biografie znakomitych Polaków i Polek*, Wrocław 1833 (Wybór pism. Vol. 4). See P. Chmielowski, *Klementyna z Tańskich Hofmanowa. Zarys biograficzno-pedagogiczny*, Petersburg 1898. The 4 other women historians of the first generation considered here are Ekaterina Novosil'tseva, pseudonym T. Tolycheva (1820–1885), Aleksandra Bakhmeteva (1823–1901), Pelaheja Lytvynova (Litvinova) (1833–1904) and Sof'ja Makarova (1834–1887).

¹¹ For the history of the education of women in Russia see T. Maurer, *Emanzipierte Untertaninnen. Frauenstudium im Russischen Reich*, [in:] T. Maurer (ed.), *Der Weg in die Universität. Höhere Frauenstudien vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen 2010, 108–146; B. Pietrow-Ernker, *Russlands „neue Menschen“*. *Die Entwicklung der Frauenbewegung von den Anfängen bis zur Oktoberrevolution*, Frankfurt a. M., New York 1999; R. Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia. Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860–1930*, Princeton–N.J. 1978.

¹² S. Daszyńska, *Die Bevölkerung von Zürich im XVII. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Städtestatistik*, Diss. Zürich. Bern 1891. See also Z. Daszyńska-Golińska, *Uście Solne. Przyczynki historyczne-statystyczne do dziejów nadwiślańskiego miasteczka. Studium archiwalne*, Kraków 1906. See *Polski Słownik biograficzny* 8, 223–225.

¹³ See V. Stadler-Labhart, *Rosa Luxemburg an der Universität Zürich 1889–1897*, Zürich 1978.

The oldest historian of the second generation is Elena Likhacheva, née Kościńska, (1836–1904), daughter of a Polish baron and Lieutenant General, and wife of a liberal Russian high official. She was a pioneer of women's emancipation. As a married woman with children she campaigned for the women's movement, above all for the free access of Russian women to higher education. She published numerous historical studies. Likhacheva's major work is a 'History of Women's Education in Russia' in 4 volumes, published between 1890 and 1901. It remains the only detailed study on this topic and a classic reference book until today¹⁴.

Nadezhda Belozerskaia (1838–1912) belonged also to the early Russian feminists. She was married at the age of 18 with the Ukrainian national activist and publicist Vasyľ Bilozir's'kij. However, 11 years later she left her husband together with her 3 children and became the private secretary and probably the mistress of the historian Nikolaj Kostomarov. Only after having left Kostomarov she herself published several valuable articles on different topics of Russian history, among them several biographies of famous women¹⁵.

Only one woman among the 50 belonged to the highest aristocracy. The countess Praskov'ja Uvarova, born Duchess Shcherbatova (1840–1924), married Count Aleksej Uvarov, the son of the famous Minister of Education, Sergej Uvarov. She was an archaeologist like her husband and after his death became President of the Moscow Archaeological Society. In this function she organized the Archaeological Congresses, the most important gatherings of historians in Russia. In 1895 she was elected honorary member of the Russian Academy of Sciences as third woman after the Duchess Dashkova and Kovalevskaja. She was the only woman historian who attained prestigious positions, obviously due to her high rank in society¹⁶.

While almost all female historians came from families of the educated elite, Aleksandra Iefymenko (in Russian Efimenko), born Stavrovskaja (1848–1918) was the daughter of a low official in the Russian north. After the gymnasium she became a school teacher in a small township. There she met the Ukrainian political exile and ethnographer Petro Iefymenko and got married to him. Without any kind of higher education she became an excellent specialist of the ethnography and history of the Russian North. Among her numerous publications on this topic I mention a study on Russian peasant women and an important archive-based

¹⁴ E. L i k h a c h e v a, *Materialy dlja istorii zhenskogo obrazovanii v Rossii*. Vol. 1–3 (1086–1856) Spb. 1899; *Materialy dlja istorii zhenskogo obrazovanija v Rossii 1856–1880*, Spb. 1901.

¹⁵ Nadezhda Belozerskaja, *urozhdennaja Gen': Avtobiografija*, in: *Istoricheskij Vestnik* 132 (1913), 925–941; ead.: *Nikolaj Ivanovich Kostomarov: 1857–1875 gg. Vospominanija*, in: *Russkaja Starina* 49 (1886), 3, 609–636; 50 (1886), 4–5, 615–654; ead.: *Carskoe venchanie v Rossii*, [in:] *Russkaja Mysl'* 4 (1883), 4, 1–40; 5, 1–48.

¹⁶ P.S. U v a r o v a, *Byloe. Davno proshedshie shchastlivye dni*, M. 2005.

study on the history of peasant landholding¹⁷. After Petro was allowed to return to Ukraine, the couple and their five children lived in Kharkiv. When her husband and two of her daughters became ill, Aleksandra had to earn money for the means of livelihood of the big family. She became now a specialist of Ukrainian social history and historiography, and published plenty of articles in the leading journals of Petersburg and Moscow. Her excellent history of the Ukrainian people, written around 1900 and published in 1906, was the first scientific history of Ukraine¹⁸. Only in 1907, at the age of 59, Aleksandra Iefymenko got a permanent position. She was invited to teach at the Higher Courses for women in St. Petersburg. As she had no academic degree, she was appointed as a professor at the courses only after being awarded a Doctor honoris causa of Russian History by the University of Kharkov in 1910. After the October Revolution she left Petersburg for Ukraine, where she was murdered together with her youngest daughter by bandits¹⁹.

Among the other women of the second generation I mention Minna Gorbunova-Kablukova (1840–1931), born to a family of Baltic Germans, who was a specialist of the female cottage industry²⁰. Anna Ikonnikova, née Rodziewicz (1847–1922), daughter of a Polish noble, remained in the shadow of her husband, the historian Vladimir Ikonnikov²¹. When the Higher courses for women were opened in Kiev, she studied there as a more than 30 year-old married woman. Later she became one of the early female teachers in a gymnasium. Finally, Sof'ja Briullova (1851–1877), daughter of the well-known historian Konstantin Kavelin, during her short life published two remarkable articles, one of them treating the life of the Russian nobility in the 18th century²².

The majority of the 15 women of the third generation, born between 1854 and 1872, completed their studies in history at the Higher Courses for women²³. The

¹⁷ A. E f i m e n k o, *Issledovaniya narodnoj zhizni*. Bd. 1. Obychnoe pravo (Brak. Krest'ianskaja zhenshchina. Semeinye razdely. Trudovoe nachalo. Sub-ektivizm v obychnom prave. Zemledelie na Severe), M. 1884.

¹⁸ A. Ja. E f i m e n k o, *Istorija ukrainskogo naroda*, Spb. 1906. Reprint Kiev 1990; ead., *Juzhnaja Rus'. Ocherki, issledovaniya i zametki*. Bd. 1–2. Spb. 1905

¹⁹ About the life and work of Jefymanko see A. K a p p e l e r, *Russland und die Ukraine. Verflochtene Biographien und Geschichten*. Wien 2012.

²⁰ M. G o r b u n o f f, *Ueber die Russische Spitzenindustrie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hausindustrie*, Wien 1886.

²¹ R. A. K i r e e v a, A. L. *Ikonnikova i ee zapiski po istoriografii*, [w:] „Istorija i istoriki. Istoriograficheskij Ezhegodnik 1973”, M. 1975, 189–213.

²² See the short obituary by I. S. T u r g e n e v, *Iz pis'ma v redakciju*, [w:] *Vestnik Evropy* 12 (1877), 6, 448f. – The last woman of the second generation considered is Marija Viktorova (1844–1863), who died even at a younger age than Briullova.

²³ For the Higher courses for women see S.-Peterburgskie *Vysshie zhenskie kursy za 25 let. 1878–1903. Ocherki i materialy*, Spb. 1903; *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vysshie zhenskie (Bestuzhevskie)*

Higher courses for women were established in 1872 in Moscow, Kazan', Kiev and (only in 1878) in St. Petersburg, the latter founded by the historian Konstantin Bestuzhev-Riumin and called after him, 'Bestuzhev courses'. However, in 1889, in a period of reactionary politics, all courses were closed with the exception of the Bestuzhev courses. The other courses were reopened only in the beginning of the 20th Century. The Higher Courses for women and especially the Bestuzhev courses became de-facto-universities with a high-quality education. A large number of their teachers were recruited from the universities, among them Sergei Platonov, Nikolaj Kareev and Ivan Grevs in St. Petersburg, Vladimir Ikonnikov and Volodymyr Antonovych in Kiev and Vasilij Kliuchevskii in Moscow. However, it was only in 1910 that these courses were recognized as equals with university diplomas.

Despite the improved conditions for higher education we find among the women of the third generation only a few distinguished historians. This might be explained by the changing political situation. The most outstanding historian was Ekaterina Shchepkina (1854–1938)²⁴. She completed her studies at the Higher Courses of Moscow and later of St. Petersburg, where she was teaching for several years. Shchepkina published at least 5 monographs, among them an 'every day's history' of the Russian nobility during the 18th Century', based on the autobiography of Andrei Bolotov, a critical edition of a 17th Century land register, the first volume of a 'History of Russia During the 18th Century', and a 'Popular History of Russia', reprinted several times²⁵. She was one of the leading feminists of her time and published in 1914 a 'History of Women in Russia from the 16th Century until the Feminist Movement of the 1860's'²⁶.

kursy 1878–1918. Sbornik statej, 2- izd. Leningrad 1973; *Vyššie ženskije (Bestuzhevskie) kursy. Bibliografičeskij ukazatel'*, M. 1966. O.B. V a c h r o m e e v a, *Duchovnoe prostranstvo universiteta. Vyššie ženskije (Bestuzhevskie) kursy 1878–1918 gg. Issledovanija i materialy*. Spb. 2003; ead.: 175 *Iz osnovnateľju Bestuzhevskich kursov Konstantinu Nikolaeviču Bestuzhevu-Rjuminu. Publikacija istočnikov po istorii pervogo ženskogo universiteta v Rossii*, Spb. 2005; K. K o b c h e n k o, „Zhinočnyj universitet svjatoi Ol'hy”. *Istorija Kyivs'kych vyshshych zhinočnych kursiv*, Kyiv 2007.

²⁴ E.N. Shchepkina, *Pervye gody vysshich ženskich kursov*, in: *Russkoe prošloe* 5 (1923), 134–145; R.G. R u t h c h i l d, *Shchepkina, Ekaterina Nikolaevna (1854–1938)*, in: N.C. N o o n a n, C.R. N e c h e m i a s (Eds.): *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, Westport, Conn. 2001, 72–74.

²⁵ E.N. Shchepkina, *Čtenija po istorii Rossii v osmnaťsatom veke*. Vol. 1. Gosudarstvennyj stroj. Spb. 1905; ead.: *Kratkij očerok russkoj istorii s drevnejšich vremen do reform XIX veka*. 4-izd. Spb. 1909; ead.: *Starinnye pomeshčiki na službe i doma. Iz semejnoj chroniki (1578–1762)*. Spb. 1890; ead.: *Tul'skij uezd v XVII veke. Ego byt i naselenie po pistsovyim i perepisnym knigam*. M. 1892.

²⁶ E. Shchepkina, *Iz istorii ženskogo lichnosti v Rossii. Lektii i stat'i*, Spb. 1914. Reprint Tver' 2005.

Among the other women of the third generation there were two non-Russians who published valuable studies which are reference works until today. Zofia Kirkor-Kiedroniowa, née Grabska (1872–1952) after having studied at the Flying university in Warsaw emigrated to Austria-Hungary and attended the University of Cracow. She wrote a pioneering work on the Polish peasantry during the first half of the 19th Century²⁷. Elena Turaeva (1868–?), daughter of the Georgian priest Tseretelli, is the author of a biography of Elena Ivanovna, the daughter of the Grand Duke Ivan III. of Moscow and wife of Aleksandr, Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland²⁸.

Several Russian women historians of this generation had well-known husbands and remained in their shadow. Elena Bulgakova (1868–1946), wife of the philosopher Sergei Bulgakov, wrote a book on the life of medieval craftsmen and several popular biographies of famous women. Other examples are Romualda Baudouin de Courtenay, née Bagnicka, (1857–1935), the wife of the Polish linguist²⁹, Kateryna Melnyk (1859–1942), mistress and later wife of the Ukrainian historian Volodymyr Antonovych, Vera Velichkina-Bonch-Bruevich (1868–1918), a physician and historian, wife of the Bolshevik Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich, and Sofja Kareeva (1863–1926), the wife of the well-known historian Nikolaj Kareev. Only few of the historians of the first three generations remained unmarried, among them Shchepkina and Tatjana Mjatleva (1868–1931), a *frejlina* (court lady) and author of patriotic books³⁰.

The 21 women of the fourth generation, born between 1874 and 1889, grew up in a period of dynamic changes, and several of them became political activists. Almost all of them completed their studies at the Higher Courses for women, above all at the Bestuzhevskie kursy in St. Petersburg. Since 1906 women were admitted to the universities, in the first years only as auditors, then as regular students. In 1911, women were allowed to receive academic degrees, and from 1914 women taught as lecturers at Russian universities. Most women of the fourth generation became professional historians who followed the example of the male historians, adopting scientific methods and working in the archives. As I have considered the lives and published works only until 1917, the characterization of

²⁷ Z. Kirkor-Kiedroniowa, *Włościanie i ich sprawa w dobie organizacyjnej i konstytucyjnej Królestwa Polskiego*, Kraków 1912. See *Polski Słownik biograficzny* 12, 394–396.

²⁸ E. Cereteli, *Elena Ioannovna, Velikaja Knjaginja litovskaja, russkaja, Koroleva Pol'skaja. Biograficheskij ocherk v svyazi s istoriej togo vremeni*, Spb. 1898.

²⁹ *Polski Słownik biograficzny* vol. 1, 362–363.

³⁰ The other women historians of the third generation considered are Daszyńska and Luxemburg, already mentioned, Tatjana Bogdanovič (1872–1942), Antonina Skrylenko (?), Magdalina Latkina (1861–1911) and Aleksandra Bykova (1863–??).

the women of this generation, who were in 1917 only between 28 and 43 years old, remains incomplete.

Five women historians of the fourth generation succeeded in defending their dissertations before the fall of the Tsarist Empire. The oldest of them was Ol'ga Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaja (1874–1939)³¹. In 1911 she received her Ph.D. in France, from the Sorbonne, and in 1915 again at the University of Petrograd, where she was appointed as a lecturer. Dobiash was a specialist in the medieval history of France. Her innovative dissertation, based on archival sources, is devoted to the 'Every days' history of the rural clergy and she can be regarded as a precursor of the 'Annales school'³². In the Soviet Union she made a career as a specialist of auxiliary sciences, especially palaeography, and in 1929 she was elected as a Corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Inna Ljubimenko (1878–1959)³³ received her Ph.D. from Sorbonne already in 1908 with a thesis on medieval Western Europe. Back in Russia, she published several valuable studies on the Anglo-Russian commercial relations, based on findings in Russian and British archives³⁴. She was the only woman who delivered a lecture at the International Congress of Historians in London in 1913 and she published several articles in leading English and American journals.

The first woman who received the degree of magistr (Ph.D.) and since 1914 taught as a lecturer at a Russian university was the historian Marija Ostrovs-kaja (1884–? [after 1927]), a niece of the famous writer³⁵. She was a student of Iefymenko and published several studies on the social history of rural Russia in the early-modern period. For her dissertation of almost 500 pages she exploited a large amount of archival sources³⁶.

³¹ D. Ljublinskaja, *Ol'ga Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaja (1874–1939)*, [w:] *Portrety istorikov. Vremja i sud'by*. Vol. 2. *Vseobshchaja istorija*, M. 2000, 155–166.

³² O. Dobiache-Rozhdestvensky, *La vie paroissiale en France au 13e s. d'après les actes épiscopaux*, Paris 1911. See also O.A. Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaja, *Kul't Sv. Michaila v latinskom srednevekov'e V–XIII veka*, Petrograd 1917.

³³ A.M. Dubrovskij, S.M. Naumenko, I.I. Ljubimenko, *Novye materialy o zhizni i dejatel'nosti*, [w:] *Gosudarstvo i obshchestvo v Rossii XV–nachala XX veka. Sbornik statej pamjati Nikolaja Evgen'evicha Nosova*, Spb. 2007, 489–503.

³⁴ I.I. Ljubimenko, *Istorija torgovykh snoshenij Rossii s Anglieju*. Vol. 1. XVI-j vek, Jur'ev 1912; ead.: *Proekty anglo-russkogo sojuza v XVI i XVII vekach*, M. 1916.

³⁵ I.L. Tichonov, E.S. Semanova, *Pervaja zhenshchina – prepodavatel' Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta*: <http://www.spbumag.nw.ru/2004/06/4.shtml>.

³⁶ M. Ostrovs-kaja, *Zemel'nyj byt sel'skogo naselenija russkogo Severa v XVI–XVIII vekach*, Spb. 1913.

The first Ukrainian woman historian receiving a Ph.D was Natal'ja Polons'ka-Vasylenko (1884–1973)³⁷, namely in 1915 from the University of Kiev. In the following year she began teaching as a lecturer. She wrote a diploma thesis on the 'Everyday life in Muscovite Russia', published in 1913, and a historical atlas of Russia³⁸. She emigrated to Germany during WW II.

Finally, Sof'ja Protasova (1878–1946), a specialist of Ancient history, became in 1917, after her graduation at the University of Petrograd, professor at the University of Tomsk. As far as I know, Protasova was the first woman historian appointed as a full professor of history in Russia, may be even the first woman at all.

Among other women of the fourth generation the most talented might be Inna Ignatovich (1879–1967). She married Naum Bychovskij, a Jewish member of the party of Social revolutionaries. Both were exiled to Siberia, and in Soviet times they were deported again to Central Asia, where Naum was executed in 1938. The writings of Inna Ignatovich were among the first valuable studies on the history of Russian peasants during the first half of the 19th century and their revolts. They are based on an impressive stock of archival and published sources and are complemented by numerous statistics³⁹.

Aleksandra Petrunkevich (1873–1965), the daughter of a well-known liberal politician, wrote a biography of Marguerite d'Angoulême, sister of the King of France, writer and one of the most erudite women of the 16th Century⁴⁰. A whole group of young women were specialized on the history of France in the period of the French Revolution⁴¹. Most of them were students of the Russian historian Nikolaj Kareev, the founder of the so-called '*Ecole Russe*'. An outsider was Elizaveta Molostvova (1873–1936), who after the completion of her studies at the

³⁷ V. Ul'janovs'kyj, *Natalija Polons'ka-Vasylenko: shtrichy do portreta*, [w:] ead.: *Istorija Ukraïny*, Bd. 1. Kyïv 1993, V–LIV.

³⁸ N. Polonskaja, *Domashnyj i obshchestvennyj byt Moskovskoj Rusi*, Kiev 1912; ead.: *Istoriko-kul'turnyj atlas po russkoj istorii*. Bd. 1–3. Kiev 1913–1914.

³⁹ I. Ignatovich, *Pomeshchich'i krestjane nakanune osvobozhdenija*. 2-e izd. M. 1910; ead.: *Volnenija pomeshchich'ikh krest'jan 1854–1863 gg.*, [w:] *Minuvshie gody 1908*, maj–ijun', 93–127; ijul', 45–92; avgust, 181–208; sentjabr', 152–173; oktjabr', 227–253; nojabr', 189–211.

⁴⁰ A.M. Petrunkevich, *Margarita Angulemskaja i ee vremja. Istoricheskij ocherk iz èpochi vrozozhdenija vo Frantsii*, Spb. 1899. New ed. M. 2010.

⁴¹ Among them were Elena Efimova (1877–?), Ol'ga Jur'eva (?), Natal'ja Lichareva (née Bokij), marr. Kul'man (1876–1958), Aleksandra Matveeva-Leman (?) and Sof'ja Danini, geb. Glagoleva (ca. 1884–?). See O.I. Zezeгова, *Zhenshchiny-istoriki „Ecole russe”*, [w:] *Istorija i istoriki v prostranstve natsional'noj i mirovoj kul'ture XVIII–XXI vekov. Sbornik statej*, Cheljabinsk 2011, 337–344.

Bestuzhev courses lived in the province and wrote there innovative studies about the history of Russian sects, especially of the so-called Iehovists⁴².

Among the non-Russians of this generation I mention Natalia Gąsiorowska-Grabowska (1881–1964) from Warsaw, who defended her dissertation concerning ‘The Liberty of the Press in Congress Poland’ at the University of L’viv (Lwów)⁴³. She was a Communist and made her career only in Poland after WWII⁴⁴. Finally I mention Sarra Rabinovich-Margolina (1880–1918), who graduated in Economics (in Germany) and published pioneering studies on demographic history, especially on marriage patterns among the Jews of Russia⁴⁵.

In the third part of this article I will outline shortly a collective biography of women historians in Russia and give an evaluation of their contributions to historiography.

Women in the Russian Empire as in other countries lived and worked in the shadow of men. They were dependent on their fathers, husbands and professors economically and by law. However, the women historians, presented here, succeeded in entering the public space, at least with their publications. They needed the support of their fathers and husbands who allowed them to study at a gymnasium and the higher courses, financed their education and didn’t oppose their public activities.

Almost all women came from families of the noble elite, with the countess Uvarova at the top, and Iefymenko and Gąsiorowska on the bottom of a broad social and economic scale. The best preconditions for a career as historian offered families of the educated nobility like the Kavelin’s (Briullova), Shchepkin’s, Petrunkevich’s, Borodin’s (Ljubimenko) and Meshov’s (Polons’ka-Vasylenko). Rare exceptions were four daughters of merchants, two of clergymen and two of foreign citizens.

All women received a secondary education, since the 1860s mostly in gymnasia for girls. The quality of teaching in provincial gymnasia is harshly criticized

⁴² E.V. Molostvova, *Iegovisty. Zhizn’ i sochinenija kap. N.S. Il’ina. Vozniknovenie sekty i ee razvitie*, Spb 1914. (Zapiski Imperatorskogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva po otdelu étnografii).

⁴³ N. Gąsiorowska, *Wolność druku w Królestwie kongresowem 1815–1830*, Warszawa 1916.

⁴⁴ T.P. Rutkowski, *Natalia Gąsiorowska-Grabowska (1881–1964)*, [w:] P. Broc et al. (Eds.): *Nation and History. Polish Historians from the Enlightenment to the Second World War*, Toronto 2006, 336–351.

⁴⁵ S. Rabinowitsch, *Die Heiraten von Juden im Europäischen Russland vom Jahre 1867 bis 1902*, [w:] *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden* 5 (1909), 10, 145–152; 11, 167–173; 12, 177–187; *Die Heiraten von Juden in Russisch-Polen*, *ibid.* 6. (1910), 4, 61–64. Among the other women historians of the 4th generation were a specialist of ancient history (Nadezhda Briullova-Shaskol’skaja [1889–1937]), one of auxiliary sciences (Lidija Olavskaja [1879–1975]) and three archaeologists: Lidija Vorontsova (1878–?), Marija Maksimova (1885–1973) and Valerija Kozlovs’ka (russ. Kozlovskaja) (1889–1956).

by Iefymenko and Shchepkina, but it gradually improved⁴⁶. In any case the gymnasia for boys had a more demanding curriculum. With the founding of the Higher courses for women in the 1870's they got access to higher education and a large majority of women of the third and fourth generation graduated at these institutions, above all at the Bestuzhev courses in St. Petersburg which during the last three decades had almost a monopoly in the education of women historians in the Russian Empire. This gave considerable advances to the young women living in the capital. The Bestuzhev courses provided the young women with an excellent education by the best Russian historians, among them Sergei Platonov and Ivan Grevs who were teaching there during 33 resp. 24 years. While many young women from Russia since the 1860's studied medicine, natural sciences and economy at universities in Western Europe, only few Russian women studied history abroad. The most prominent were Ljubimenko and Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaja who graduated in Paris from Sorbonne and became members of the international community of historians.

Among the 29 women historians of the first three generations 23 were married, and many of them had children, so Uvarova 7 and Iefymenko 5. Despite their dependence on their husbands the status of the married woman gave them a certain security and enlarged their freedom of action – if their husbands did support them. Among the fourth generation the percentage of married women and particularly of women with children was diminishing. So, the turn of most women historians to the purely scientific career converged with the spread of the general pattern of the unmarried childless woman in academics.

In accordance with the patriarchal tradition the husbands usually were older than their wives, Polonska was 18 years younger, Melnyk-Antonovych 16, Uvarova 13 and Belozerskaja 13. This difference in ages often resulted in a relationship between the male teacher and the female student. So, several women historians, who had been graduated at the higher courses, worked later as assistants of her husbands-professors in looking for typing errors, copying manuscripts, making excerpts and translations, providing footnotes and books. In some cases this subordinate position prevented the women from becoming a historian themselves. Examples are the relationship of Melnyk and Antonovych, of Ikonnikova and her husband, of Belozerskaja and Kostomarov. But there were much more such cases which I did not consider in my study, devoted only to women historians who published their own studies. I mention only Anna Smirnova, the wife of the

⁴⁶ H.M. Starykov, *Materialy do biohrafii Petra ta Oleksandry Iefymenkiv*, [w:] Sums'kyj Istoriko-Archivnyj zhurnal VI–VII (2009), 36–57, here 50–55; E.N. Shchepkina, *Pervye gody*.

eminent historian Pavel Miliukov, who graduated at the higher courses, but did not publish any independent historical study⁴⁷.

However, there were other patterns of relationship. Iefymenko who was 13 years younger than her husband, was introduced to ethnography by him, but soon passed him and wrote scholarly works which were based on the materials collected by him. In their relationship the gender roles were reversed: She had to earn the money for her sick husband and their children and she became later a professor at the Bestuzhev courses. But even Iefymenko complained several times that male historians impeded her career in different ways.

Among the women historians of the fourth generation partnership became more visible. Dobiash and Rozhdestvenskij both made brilliant careers. On the other hand Ljubimenko, also one of the best historians of her generation, did not make a scientific career, although she renounced having children (she writes explicitly in her memoirs that children and career are incompatible). On the other hand, her husband, a botanist, later was elected corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

So, the professional careers of most women historians were not impressive. In general, women did not have access to most positions, particularly in the public service. What remained, were occupations which are typical for women until today.

More than half of the women of my sample were teaching at schools of all levels. They taught at the gymnasia for girls, among them Briullova (only until her marriage), Ikonnikova during 25 years (as a married woman what was a rare exception) and Latkina in the Muslim city of Baku. At the beginning of the 20th century women historians taught at the Higher Courses of Women, among them Iefymenko and later Dobiash as professors. After 1914 Ostrovskaia, Dobiash and Polonska were appointed lecturers at the University of Petrograd resp. Kiev. As far as I know, Ostrovskaia was the first woman teaching at a Russian university and Protasova the first woman full professor at a university (Tomsk).

The other field of work, traditionally permitted to women, were writing and publishing. For several women (among them Iefymenko and Belozerskaja) writing was necessary for earning a livelihood for themselves and their children. However, some women historians of the first two generations did not publish under their own name, but only anonymously, under male pseudonyms or with their initials. Most women who wrote and published were accepted as writers, but not as scholars. Almost all women historians of my sample were presented in the encyclopaedias as a writer (*pisatel'nitsa*), and not as a historian or a scholar.

⁴⁷ R.G. Ruthchild, *Equality & Revolution. Women's Rights in the Russian Empire, 1905–1917*, Pittsburgh 2010, 36–38, 65–70

By designating women historians as writers men disqualified them from true science. This depreciation of women is confirmed by the fact that women did not participate in the big editions of historical sources, a core area of historical science of this epoch.

As in other countries several women historians were engaged in the feminist movement, Likhacheva and Belozerskaja already since the 1860's, Shchepkina later on. Three of the Polish women participated in the Polish women's movement. Shchepkina and Iefymenko were among the 10 women on the women's list for the elections to the Constituent Assembly in 1917.

Several women of the third and fourth generation participated in different oppositional currents, among them several Social Revolutionaries and Russian or Polish Social Democrats. Four Polish and the two Jewish historians emigrated mostly for political reasons and completed their studies at universities abroad. The Social Democrats Rabinowicz and Luxemburg were killed during the German Revolution of 1918/1919.

More than a third of the historical works considered here addressed a broader audience. Some of them had a considerable influence on the historical consciousness of a broader public and contributed to the historical narrative of the epoch. Most of their authors had been graduated at the higher courses for women. Women historians wrote several valuable general surveys and textbooks of Russian and Ukrainian history, beginning with Ishimova's "History of Russia in Tales for Children" up to Iefymenko's "History of the Ukrainian people" and Shchepkina's "Short overview of Russian history".

Among the topics of the scientific studies in a narrow sense, written by women, there is a preponderance of social history and every days' history, both regarded by men as second-rate fields. Their most important contributions concern the social history of the rural world in Russia, Poland and France. The books and articles of Iefymenko, Ostrovskaja, Ignatovich, Kirkor-Kiedronowa, Dobiash and the *'Ecole russe'* are based on a wide amount of archival and other sources and are of interest for historians until today. Not only the world of peasants, but also the life of Russian nobles was treated, e.g. by Briullova and Shchepkina. The related topic of popular religiosity is the subject of Molostvo-va's studies. Not surprisingly women in the Russian Empire were among the first specialists of gender history. Besides the classical works of Likhacheva, Iefymenko and Shchepkina there is a large amount of biographies of great women, especially of female rulers, who are presented with empathy. With these biographies the women historians challenged the preponderant narrative of the history of the great men.

However, women historians in Russia only rarely invaded the domains, monopolized by male historians. I have found almost no studies in political history, in the

history of events, wars and ideas and only few editions of historical sources. One of the rare exceptions of this rule are several studies of the feminist Shchepkina, who didn't care about the unwritten rules of the profession.

In conclusion: To which degree the women historians in Russia followed the pattern of their colleagues in other countries and which peculiarities one can discern?

On the one hand we find numerous similarities between the female historians in the Russian Empire and in other countries. Women were discriminated in the patriarchal society, they had lesser opportunities in education and careers than men. They did not have access to the universities and to academic degrees until the very last years of the *Ancien Régime*. Women were not accepted as equals in the male scientific community, but mostly were disqualified as amateurs and as writers. Like women in other countries the female historians in Russia were excluded from the distinguished field of political history. They reacted in looking for niches and wrote pioneering studies in social history, gender history and every days' history. The two latter fields were recognized as scientific subjects only since the 1960's.

On the other hand we can discern certain peculiarities of women historians in Russia in comparison with female historians in other countries. Most of them were married and had children: In Russia the profession of historian was compatible with family life. Usually the women historians were supported by their fathers and husbands. The educated elite in Russia was less misogynist than in Central and Western Europe, where bourgeois values dominated. Iefymenko was the first woman in continental Europe who was appointed professor of history and the only woman, receiving a Doctor honoris causa. Uvarova was the only woman historian, elected honorary member of an Academy of Sciences.

The most important advantage of the women historians in Russia was the existence of the Higher Courses for women. Here the young women, after having completed secondary school studies, had the opportunity of a higher education in history which was, at least since the 1890's, on the average of the universities. So, the significance of the Higher courses for women and especially the Bestuzhev courses in St. Petersburg cannot be overestimated. Because of their existence women historians in Russia surpassed all other countries in continental Europe. They laid the foundation for a fast growth of female students in the universities since the beginning of the 20th Century. In 1914, women were already a majority in most Historical-Philological faculties. Earlier than in other European countries women historians were appointed as lecturers and professors. So, the relative broad representation of women among Soviet historians can be explained not only by the new egalitarian ideology, but also by the pre-revolutionary preconditions.

Women historians made significant contributions to the historiography. However, only Iefymenko, Ljubimenko and Dobiash were fully recognized as scholars by their contemporaries. Today, most of these women are widely forgotten within and outside of Russia. This concerns even Iefymenko, and more so Shchepkina, Ignatovich and other excellent historians. So in the history of Russian historiography the gender of history is still male.



PRZEGLĄD
WSCHODNI

STRESZCZENIE

Andreas KAPPELER, *Kobiety-historycy w imperium rosyjskim*

Zagadnienie kobiet-historyków w Niemczech, Stanach Zjednoczonych oraz innych krajach jest w ostatnim 25-leciu uprawiane przez wciąż zwiększającą się liczbę uczonych. Szczególnie istotna była pionierska praca Bonnie Smith, która ukazała się w numerze specjalnym czasopisma „Storia della Storiografia”. Jednak we wszystkich tych pracach kwestia kobiet-historyków w carskiej Rosji została przeoczona prawie całkowicie. Jedyny wyjątek stanowi praca Natalii Pushkarevy, wiodącej rosyjskiej historyk podejmuje zagadnienie gender.

W niniejszym artykule autor prezentuje życie i pracę 50 kobiet, które opublikowały chociaż jedną pracę historyczną pomiędzy rokiem 1837 i 1917. Uwzględnione zostały osoby nie tylko będące naukowcami (w ścisłym znaczeniu), ale także autorkami prac napisanych dla szerszego grona czytelników, dzięki czemu granice między pracą naukową, a tzw. popularnonaukową są tu płynne. Autor skompletował materiały odnalezione w leksykonach, encyklopediach, wspomnieniach pośmiertnych i autobiografiach, nie badał jednak materiałów archiwalnych. Wśród opisanych 50 kobiet było 7 Polek, 5 Ukrainek i 2 Żydówki, które wychowały się w imperium rosyjskim. Pod uwagę wzięte zostały kobiety zajmujące się archeologią, ale nie antropologią czy filologią lub sztuką. Z powodów nieznamości języka autor nie był w stanie uwzględnić osób narodowości fińskiej, do której przynależała kobieta, która na uniwersytecie w Helsinkach jako pierwsza w imperium rosyjskim uzyskała doktorat z historii.

Kobiety zostały pogrupowane na cztery generacje. Do najbardziej znaczących spośród pierwszej generacji, urodzonych między rokiem 1804 i 1834, należały Aleksandra Iszimowa oraz Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa, obydwie publikujące popularne historyczne prace przeznaczone dla dzieci. Mimo braku wyższej edukacji, poszczególne kobiety drugiej generacji (1835–1851) zdołały napisać doskonale książki, które do dziś nie straciły swojej wartości. Autor zwraca uwagę na czterotomową Historię kobiecej edukacji w Rosji autorstwa Eleny Lichaczewej (z domu Kosińskiej) oraz szereg książek Aleksandry Jefimenko dotyczących historii chłopów w północnej Rosji i w historii Ukrainy. W 1910 r. w wieku 62 lat Aleksandra Jefimenko uzyskała doktorat honoris causa uniwersytetu w Charkowie, stając się pierwszą w kontynentalnej Europie kobietą będącą profesorem historii. Jedynie jedna spośród 50 omówionych kobiet należała do arystokracji, hrabina Praskowia Uwarowa, która stanęła na czele Moskiewskiego Towarzystwa Archeologicznego oraz została członkiem honorowym Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk.

Jedyna wybitna kobieta trzeciej generacji (urodzonych między 1864 i 1872) to Ekaterina Szczepkina, która opublikowała 5 prac monograficznych, wśród nich „codzienną historię” rosyjskiej szlachty w wieku XVIII, krytyczną edycję XVII-wiecznych ksiąg wieczystych, a także historię kobiet w Rosji. Szczepkina i Lichaczewa znajdowały się wśród aktywnych feministek. Spośród kobiet trzeciej generacji autor wyszczególnił dwie autorki narodowości polskiej – Zofię Emilię Daszyńską-Golińską oraz Zofię Kirkor-Kiedroniową, które stworzyły pionierską pracę na temat polskich chłopów w pierwszej połowie XIX w.

Kobiety-historycy czwartej generacji (1874–1889) miały już możliwość zdobycia wyższej edukacji. Dlatego też wiele z nich stało się profesjonalnymi historykami, idąc za przykładem historyków mężczyzn, przejmując metody naukowe, a także pracując w archiwach. Pięciu z nich udało się obronić prace przed upadkiem carskiej Rosji. Olga Dobiasz-Rożdzeńska oraz Inna Lubimenko otrzymały tytuł doktora na Sorbonie za prace poświęcone epoce średniowiecza w Europie Zachodniej. Olga Dobiasz stała się znanym specjalistą historii średniowiecznej i później członkiem-korespondentem Radzieckiej Akademii Nauki. Lubimenko stała się specjalistką w zakresie angielsko-rosyjskich relacji handlowych w wiekach XVI i XVII. Była ona jedyną kobietą, która dostarczyła referat na Międzynarodowy Kongres Historyków w Londynie w 1913 r. Pierwszą kobietą, która otrzymała dyplom uniwersytecki i nauczwała jako wykładowca na rosyjskim uniwersytecie była Maria Ostrowska, studentka Jefimenko. Natalia Połonska-Wasyłenko była pierwszą Ukrainką uzyskującą doktorat z historii, co miało miejsce na uniwersytecie w Kijowie, podczas gdy Sofija Protasowa, specjalista od historii antycznej, stała się w 1917 r. profesorem uniwersytetu w Tomsku. Wśród pozostałych kobiet czwartej generacji autor wyróżnił Innę Ignatowicz, która dokonała cennych studiów z zakresu historii rosyjskich chłopów oraz Natalię

Gąsiorowską-Grabowską, która na Uniwersytecie Lwowskim obroniła swoją pracę pt. *Wolność druku w Królestwie kongresowym 1815–1830*.

W artykule uczyniona została próba zarysowania biografii zbiorowej wymienionych kobiet. W imperium rosyjskim, podobnie jak w innych krajach, kobiety żyły i pracowały w cieniu mężczyzn. Były zależne od swoich ojców, mężów i profesorów – ekonomicznie i prawnie. Jednak zaprezentowane tu kobiety zdołały znaleźć się w przestrzeni publicznej chociażby poprzez swoje publikacje. Potrzebowały one wsparcia swoich ojców i mężów, którzy pozwalali im na naukę na poziomie gimnazjalnym oraz wyższym, finansowali ich edukację i nie sprzeciwiali się ich publicznej aktywności. Prawie wszystkie kobiety pochodziły z rodzin szlacheckich. Do rzadkich przypadków należały cztery córki kupców, dwie duchownych i dwie córki cudzoziemców.

Wszystkie kobiety otrzymały edukację na poziomie średnim, przede wszystkim w żeńskich gimnazjach. Od czasu zaistnienia wyższych kursów dla kobiet w roku 1870 uczęszczały na nie, a większość przedstawicielek trzeciej i czwartej generacji ukończyły te instytucje – głównie prywatne kursy dla kobiet prof. Konstantyna Bestużewa-Rumina w Petersburgu. Kursy Bestużewa dostarczały słuchaczkom zajęcia na najwyższym poziomie, prowadzone przez najlepszych rosyjskich historyków, wśród nich Sergieja Platonowa i Iwana Grewsa (który prowadził tam zajęcia przez ponad 20 lat). Ponad połowa zbadanych w niniejszej pracy kobiet uczyła w szkołach różnych szczebli. Innym rodzajem pracy, tradycyjnie przynależącym do kobiet, było pisanie i publikowanie. Pojedyncze kobiety trzeciej i czwartej generacji uczestniczyły też w różnych ruchach opozycyjnych.

Więcej niż trzecia część prac historycznych tu wskazanych adresowanych jest do szerszego grona czytelników. Niektóre z nich odniosły znaczący wpływ na świadomość historyczną szerszej publiczności, posiadając istotny wkład w historycznej narracji danej epoki. Wśród poruszanych przez kobiety tematów studiów historycznych w wąskim znaczeniu zauważalne jest preferowanie zagadnień z zakresu historii społecznej, historii dnia codziennego – obydwa uważane przez mężczyzn za pole drugorzędne. Ich największy wkład dotyczy historii społecznej wsi rosyjskiej, polskiej i francuskiej. Jednak kobiety-historycy w Rosji tylko bardzo rzadko zajmowały się historią polityczną, historią wielkich wydarzeń, wojen i idei – zdominowanej przez historyków-mężczyzn.

Kobiety-historycy w Rosji posiadają pewne wspólne elementy z ich odpowiednikami w innych krajach, do jakich należą: dyskryminacja w ramach patriarchalnego społeczeństwa, zależność od ich ojców i mężów, późno pojawiająca się możliwość wstąpienia na uniwersytety oraz objęcia wielu profesji, wykluczenie z zajmowania się historią polityczną i intelektualną oraz wydawania źródeł. Tak jak w innych krajach, reakcją była specjalizacja kobiet w postaci pisania prac przeznaczonych dla dzieci oraz szerszego grona czytelników, a także szukanie niszy w mniej prestiżowych gałęziach historii społecznej, historii dnia codziennego i badań nad płcią.

Z drugiej strony, możemy rozeznaczyć pewne osobliwości dotyczące kobiet-historyków w Rosji w porównaniu z kobietami-historykami w innych krajach. Wykształcona elita w Rosji była mniej mizoginiczna niż w innych krajach kontynentalnej Europy. Większość kobiet-historyków była zamężna i posiadała dzieci: w Rosji praca kobiet będących uczonymi była możliwa do pogodzenia z życiem rodzinnym. Kobiety-historycy miały możliwość nauczania w szkołach wszystkich szczebli (od 1914 r. nawet na uniwersytetach) oraz publikowania osiągnięć w prestiżowych czasopiśmie. Największą przewagą była działalność wyższych kursów dla kobiet, które dostarczały im profesjonalnych zajęć na poziomie uniwersyteckim. Znaczna część (już z powodu swojego istnienia) kobiet-historyków w imperium rosyjskim przewyższała swoich kolegów w innych krajach Europy. W większości osiągnęły sukces, częściowo wychodząc z cienia dawanego przez mężczyzn, ale pozostając wciąż na marginesie tworzonej przez mężczyzn historiografii.

SANTRAUKA

Andreas KAPPELER, *Moterys istorikės Rusijos imperijoje*

Kol moterų istorikų veikla Vokietijoje, Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose ir kitose šalyse buvo plačiai tyrinėjama pastaruosius 25 metus, moterų istorikų veikla Carinėje Rusijoje buvo beveik visiškai ignoruota. Šiame straipsnyje apžvelgiama gyvenimas ir veikla 50 moterų, tarp kurių 7 yra

lenkų kilmės, kurios išspausdino nors vieną darbą istorine tematika nuo 1937 iki 1917 m. Viena vertus, stengiamasi nubrėžti kolektyvinę šių moterų biografiją (socialinė ir etninė kilmė, santykiai su tėvais ir sutuoktiniais, išsilavinimas, profesijos, socialinis ir politinis aktyvumas. Kita vertus, čia pristatoma jų gyvenimo darbai ir pasiekimai. Taigi, straipsnis skiriamas istoriografijos apžvalgai ir Rusijos imperijos lyčių istorijai.

Rusijos istorikės turi keletą tokių pačių brouožų, kaip ir jų kolegės kitose šalyse: patriarchalinės visuomenės diskriminacija, priklausymas nuo tėvų ir vyrų, vėlyvas įsiliejimas į universitetus, nustūminas nuo tokių svarbių sferų kaip politinė ir intelektualinė istorija, šaltinių publikavimas. Kaip ir kitose šalyse jos susitelkė į tokias nišines sritis kaip rašymas vaikams, visuomenės istorija, kasdienybės istorija, lyčių studijos. Šiose srityse kai kurios moterys parašė pirmąsias studijas, kurios ir šiandien yra aktualios.

Kita vertus, galima nurodyti tam tikrus Rusijos istorikų išskirtinumus lyginant su moterimis istorikėmis kitose šalyse. Išsilavinęs elitas Rusijoje buvo labiau tolerantiškas moterų atžvilgiu nei kitose Europos šalyse. Dauguma istorikų moterų buvo vedę ir turėjo vaikų, jų mokslinė veikla buvo suderinama su šeimyniniu gyvenimu. Moterys istorikės galėjo mokytis įvairių lygių mokyklose (nuo 1914 net universitetuose) ir publikuoti jų studijas prestižiniuose žurnaluose. Svarbiausias privalumas buvo Aukštųjų Kursų moterims egzistavimas nuo 1870ųjų, kuris joms suteikė universitetinio lygio išsilavinimą. Beveik visos istorikės moterys iš paskutiniųjų dviejų kartų baigė šiuos kursus, dauguma iš jų Beštuževo kursus St.Peterburge. Dėka šių kursų Rusijos imperijos istorikės pranoko savo koleges kontinentinėje Europoje. Jos dalinai pavyko ištrūkti iš vyrų šešėlio, bet jos liko vyriškos istoriografijos šešėlyje.

РЭЗЮМЭ

Андрэас КАППЭЛЕР, *Жанчыны-гісторыкі ў Расейскай імперыі*

Наколькі гісторыя жанчынаў-гісторыкаў у Нямецчыне, ЗША ды іншых краінах была вивучана ў шматлікіх навуковых працах на працягу апошніх 25 гадоў, настолькі тэматыка жанчынаў-гісторыкаў у царскай Расеі амаль поўнасьцю забытая. Гэты артыкул дае першае агульнае ўяўленьне аб тэме жыцця і працы 50 жанчынаў, сем з якіх былі польскага паходжаньня, якія апублікавалі ня менш аднаго гістарычнага дасьледаваньня ў пэрыяд паміж 1837 і 1917 гадамі. З аднаго боку ў артыкуле прымаецца спроба адлюстраваньня супольную біяграфію гэтых жанчынаў (сацыяльнае і этнічнае паходжаньне, іх адносіны да бацькоў і мужоў, адукацыю, прафэсію, грамадзкую і палітычную дзейнасьць), зь іншага боку даецца нарыс іх творчасьці. Адсюль артыкул уносіць уклад у гісторыю гістарыяграфіі і гендэрнай гісторыі Расейскай імперыі.

Жанчыны-гісторыкі ў Расейскай Імперыі мелі некаторыя агульныя рысы зь іх калегамі зь іншых краінаў, такія як дыскрымінацыя патрыярхальнай супольнасьцю, залежнасьць ад бацькоў і мужоў, запозьнены доступ да ўнівэрсытэтаў і шматлікіх прафэсіяў, выключэньне з асноўных кірункаў палітыкі і інтэлектуальнай гісторыі, а таксама ад рэдагаваньня крыніцаў. Як і ў іншых краінах, яны рэагавалі шляхам спецыялізацыі на працах, напісаных для дзяцей і шырокай публікі, шукалі нішы ў меней прэстыжных сфэрах сацыяльнай гісторыі, паўсядзённай гісторыі ды ўзаемаадноснаў палюў. Тут некаторыя жанчыны стварылі піянерскія дасьледаваньні, якія выклікаюць цікавасьць нават сёньня.

Зь іншага боку, можна разгледзець некаторыя асаблівасьці жанчынаў-гісторыкаў у Расеі ў параўнаньні зь іх калегамі ў іншых краінах. Адукаваньня эліты ў Расеі былі менш варожа настроены да жанчынаў, чым у іншых краінах кантынэнтальнай Эўропы. Большасьць жанчынаў-гісторыкаў былі замужнімі і мелі дзяцей: у Расеі навуковая праца жанчыны сумяшчалася зь сямейным жыцьцём. Жанчыны-гісторыкі мелі магчымасьць прайсьці адукацыю ўсім узроўняў (з 1914 года таксама і ва ўнівэрсытэтах) і магчымасьць публікавацца ў прэстыжных часопісах. Найбольш важным было існаваньне Вышэйшых курсаў для жанчын (з 70-х гадоў XIX ст.), якія давалі магчымасьць прафэсійнай падрыхтоўкі на сярэднім ўнівэрсытэцкім узроўні. Амаль усе жанчыны-гісторыкі двух апошніх пакаленьняў закончылі такія курсы, большасьць – курсы Бястужава ў Пецяярбурзе. Дзякуючы гэтым курсам, колькасць жанчынаў-гісторыкаў

у Расейскай імперыі перавышала адпаведную колькасць у кантынэнтальнай Эўропе. Яны часткова выйшлі з-пад ценю мужчынаў, але засталіся ў ценю мужчынскай гістарыяграфіі.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Андреас КАППЕЛЕР, *Жінкі-історыкі в Російській імперіі*

У той час як історыя жінок історыкаў в Німеччыні, Сполученых Штатах та іншых краінах за останні 25 років была досліджана вченимі число котрых невпинно зростало, то жінкі-історыкі в царскай Расіі майже не бралісь до увагі.

Ця стаття дае перше уяўлення по темі відображэння життів і праць 50 жінок, серед них сім польскаго походжэння, котры апублікавалі щонайменше одне історичне досліджэння між 1837 і 1917 рокамі. З одного боку, це спроба прадставіць зібрання біяграфій цих жінок (сацыяльнаго та етнічнаго походжэння, відносини з бацькамі і чоловікамі, освіти, професіі, сацыяльнай та палітычнай діяльнасці), з іншаго боку, прадставіць іхню творчысть. Тому стаття вносіць свій вклад в історію історыяграфіі та гендерну історію Расійскай імперіі.

Жінкі-історыкі в Расіі поділяють кілька характэрыстык зі сваімі колегамі з іншых краінах, а саме мова про дыскрымінацыю в патрыархальнаму суспільстві, залежнасць від сваіх бацькаў і чоловікаў, пізній доступ до універсітэтов та багатых професій, выключэння з асновных напрамкаў палітычнай та інтэлектуальнай історыі та відання джерел. Як і в іншых краінах вони спецыялізуюцца в роботах, напісаных для дзіцей і шырокай грамадскасці, і в пошуках нішы в менш прэстыжных абласцях сацыяльнай історыі, повсякденнай історыі та гендерных досліджэннях. Осць деякі жінкі пісалі піонерскі досліджэння, котры становляць інтэрес до сьгоднішняго дня.

З іншаго боку, ми можемо выявіць деякі асоблівості жінок історыкаў в Расіі в парівнанні з жінкамі історыкамі іншых краін. Освічэнай эліты в Расіі была менш жінконеаваіснаю, ніж в іншых краінах кантынэнтальнай Эўропы. Большысць історыкаў жінок булі заміжнімі і малі дзіцей: в Расіі наукова праца жінок была сумісна з сямейным життям. Історыкі жінкі малі можливість того, що выкладаті в школах всіх рівнів (з 1914 року наваті в універсітэтах) і публікаваць сваі досліджэння в прэстыжных журналах.

Найголавнішою перевагаю було існавання Вышых жіночых курсів (з 1870-х років), які пропонувалі ім професійну падготовку на рівні універсітэтов. Майже всі жінкі історыкі двох останніх пакалінь закінчылі курсы, большысць з них Бестужевскі курсы в Санкт-Пецярбурзі. Завдякі іх наявності жінкі історыкі в Расійскай імперіі перавершылі сваіх колег в іншых краінах кантынэнтальнай Эўропы. Ім часткова вдалося выіць в тіні чоловікаў, але вони залішаюцца в тіні чоловічай історыяграфіі.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Андреас КАППЕЛЕР, *Женщины-исторыки в Российской Империи*

В то время, как история женщин-историков в Германии, в Соединенных Штатах и в других странах изучалась все большим количеством ученых на протяжении последних 25 лет, женщины-исторыки в царской России практически полностью игнорировались. Настоящая статья является первым общим обзором темы, представляя жизнь и работы 50 женщин, среди которых семь польского происхождения, которые опубликовали, по крайней мере, одно историческое исследование в период с 1837 по 1917 год. С одной стороны, статья представляет в общих чертах собирательную биографию этих женщин (социальное и этническое происхождение, отношения с родителями и мужьями, образование, профессия, общественная и политическая деятельность), а с другой стороны, представляет в общих чертах их творческое наследие. Таким образом, статья делает вклад в историю историографии и в гендерную историю Российской Империи.

Женщины-исторыки в России имели несколько сходств со своими коллегами из других стран, например дискриминация в патриархальном обществе, зависимость от отцов и му-

жей, поздний доступ к университетам и к многим профессиям, недопущение к основным сферам политической и интеллектуальной истории и к редактированию источников. Так же, как в других странах, их реакцией была специализация на работах, написанных для детей и более широкой публики, и поиск своей ниши в менее престижных отраслях общественной истории, повседневной истории и гендерных исследований. Здесь некоторые женщины провели новаторские исследования, которые интересны и сегодня.

С другой стороны, мы можем отметить некоторые различия между женщинами-историками в России и женщинами-историками в других странах. Образованная элита в России была не столь женоненавистнической, чем в других странах континентальной Европы. Многие женщины-историки были замужем и имели детей: в России научный труд женщин был совместим с семейной жизнью. Женщины-историки имели возможность преподавать в школах всех уровней (с 1914 года даже в университетах) и публиковать свои исследования в престижных журналах. Основным преимуществом было существование Высших Курсов для женщин (с 1870-х годов), которые обеспечивали им профессиональную подготовку на уровне университетов. Почти все женщины-историки двух последних поколений окончили Курсы, большинство курсы им. Бестужева в Санкт-Петербурге. Своим существованием женщины-историки в Российской Империи превзошли своих коллег из других стран континентальной Европы. Им удалось частично выйти из тени мужчин, но они остались в тени мужской историографии.