

Balkanistic

Форум '22

БАЛКАНИСТИЧЕН
ФОРУМ 1



**WOMEN IN SCIENCE IN TIMES OF CHANGES:
BIOGRAPHIES, BARRIERS, SELF-FULFILLMENT**

Balkanistic

Forum '22

БЪЛГАРИСТИЧЕН
ФОРУМ 1

Published by 1992

Volume XXXI • Issue 1 • January 2022

ISSN 1310-3970 (Print)

ISSN 2535-1265 (Online)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Petar Vodenicharov, South-West University, Bulgaria

EDITORIAL BOARD

Michael Mitterauer, University of Vienna, Austria
Kristina Popova, South-West University, Bulgaria
Karl Kaser, University of Graz, Austria
Maria Todorova, University of Illinois, USA
Nadia Danova, Bulgarian Academy of Science, Bulgaria
Ljubinka Targovchevich, University of Belgrade, Serbia
Elena Supur, Romanian Academy of Science, Romania
Evelina Kelbecheva, American University of Bulgaria, Bulgaria
Zeynep Zafer, Ankara University, Turkey
Marinela Mladenova, South-West University, Bulgaria
Elena Tacheva, South-West University, Bulgaria
Iliya Nedin, South-West University, Bulgaria
Stiliyan Stoyanov, South-West University, Bulgaria
Claudia-Florentina Dobre, University of Bucharest, Romania
Milena Angelova, South-West University, Bulgaria
Milen Malakov, South-West University, Bulgaria
Nurie Muratova, South-West University, Bulgaria
Nadege Ragaru, Sciences Po, France
Marek Jakoubek, University of West Bohemia, Czech Republic
Irada Baghirova, National Academy of Sciences, Azerbaijan
Olivera Dragišić, Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Serbia
Maria Papatanas(s)iou, University of Athens, Greece

EDITORS

Kristina Popova
Nurie Muratova

LANGUAGE CHECK

Ilko Drenkov

EDITORIAL ADDRESS

Bulgaria, 2700 Blagoevgrad
International University Seminar for Balkan Studies and Specialization
at the South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Ivan Mihailov str. 66, Room 433
Tel./Fax (++359 73) 88-55-16
e-mail: bforum1992@gmail.com
<http://www.bf.swu.bg/BF-eng.html>
<https://www.ceeol.com/search/journal-detail?id=1069>

Indexed in: SCOPUS (Q2), Web of Science (ESCI), ERIH PLUS, РИНЦ, MIAR

**International University Seminar for Balkan Studies and Specialization
South-West University "Neofit Rilski" Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria**



**WOMEN IN SCIENCE IN TIMES OF CHANGES:
BIOGRAPHIES, BARRIERS,
SELF-FULFILLMENT**

Editors: Kristina Popova and Nurie Muratova

This publication is a result of the project “Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, late 18th – 21st Centuries.” This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 734645.



***On the cover:** Prof. Valentina Pavlovna Nevskaya collecting field materials in the Karachay aul, 1960s (Personal Archive)*

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Claudia-Florentina Dobre

Romanian Women In Sciences: Facts, Figures, and Achievements
in the Last Two Centuries.....7

Georgeta Nazarska

An (Un)Established Academic and Scientific Network:
Branches of the International Federation of
University Women on the Balkans (1920-1950s)..... 32

Sevgi Uçan Çubukçu

Mapping the Level of Knowledge in Gender Studies:
a Mirror of Women's Radicalism in Turkey..... 59

Petar Vodenicharov

"Decent Intellectual Work and Enlightenment of the Russian Society"
Biographical Trajectories of the First Women
Professional Translators in Russia.....80

Tamila Davitadze, Nana Mazmishvili

How Georgian Women (Representatives of One Family)
Contributed to the Education and Science Exchange with Europe..... 105

Dali Doborjginidze, Nana Mazmishvili

Three Georgian Women from Noble Families-with Invaluable
Role in the Exchange of Science..... 115

Boyka Ilieva

Olga Gyuzeleva and the Bulgarian Cultural Elite from
the Beginning of the 20th Century..... 126

Kristina Popova

Between Sofia and Berlin. Impulses and Background of the High
Social School for Women at the Bulgarian
Women's Union (1929 - 1932).....137

Milena Angelova

Bulgarian Women Scientists "Removed" from the Collective
Memory in the Communist Times –
the Case of Kostadinka Tvardishka (1907-1963)..... 173

Tatiana Nevskaya, Alla Kondrasheva	
The History of the Country through the Course of Life.	
Professor Valentina Pavlovna Nevskaya.....	202

Nurie Muratova	
Turkish Women in Science in Bulgaria during Totalitarian Regime	
(Mefkure Mollova, Hayrie Memova, Zinetti Nurieva).....	220

Tetiana Liakh	
Philosophy of Overcoming as a Constant	
of Creative Thinking of Lesia Ukrainka.....	241

BOOK REVIEW

Daniela Koleva	
Women beyond the Archive.....	255

Nurie Muratova, Kristina Popova	
Online Exhibition “Women and the Transfer of	
Knowledge in the Black Sea Region”.....	258

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.1>

Claudia-Florentina Dobre

‘Nicolae Iorga’ Institute of History, Romanian Academy of Science
[cfdobre@gmail.com]

Romanian Women in Sciences: Facts, Figures, and Achievements in the Last Two Centuries

Abstract: *In the last two centuries, Romanian women had to struggle in order to carve a place for themselves not only in sciences, but also in the society. Eventually, their struggle paid off. Today, women can enjoy a prominent career in academia as well as in any other field of their choice. This article provides a concise summary of their struggles and their achievements as well as a short catalogue of the leading feminine figures. It aims at pointing out the main roads to emancipation, modernization and empowerment of women in Romania from the XIXth century onwards.*

Keywords: *Emancipation, Modernization, Romanian Women in Sciences, Gender Equality, Academic Cultures, Role Models*

Introduction

The road to emancipation, and to professional and personal fulfillment was hard and full of obstacles for Romanian women. Conquering the world of sciences was a difficult endeavor. Nevertheless, step by step, Romanian women climbed to the top. It has been a long road from the first women who graduated from university (in the second half of the 19th century) to the present day when a woman was elected rector of the prestigious University of Medicine and Pharmacy “Iuliu Hațieganu” from Cluj¹.

¹ On 28th of November 2019, Anca Dana Buzoianu, a professor at the University of Medicine and Pharmacy Iuliu Hațieganu, was elected as the rector of the said university for the period between 2020 and 2024. She is the first woman to become rector of such a prestigious university of Romania. <http://www.umfcluj.ro/informatii-ro/avizier-ro/item/6470-prima-femeie-rector-din-istoria-universitatii-de-medicina-farmacie-%E2%80%9Diuliu-hatieganu-%E2%80%9D-a-leas-cu-96,05-din-voturi> (retrieved on 14th of March, 2021).

The changes were made possible by strong individuals (women and men), but also by feminist and other women's associations. Eventually, the modernization of Romania went through the emancipation of women, as well. The education empowered women and helped them to build a career in arts, sciences, but also in politics, and business, etc. For more than a century, Romanian women carved their place in the society through education, hard work and a will to overcome all the obstacles that have been placed in their path.

The modern winding road of women emancipation met brutally an end when the communists took power after the WWII. Eager to promote their ideological agenda, they imposed a top down gender equality. However, the repressive nature of the system as well as the misogynist approach of the cadres of the nomenklatura eventually confined women to their traditional roles in education, health care, social assistance, etc². Furthermore, beginning with 1966, the regime also attempted to control women intimate life through a legislation banning abortion and criminalizing women who dared to make choices about their own life and body. The obligation to give birth to children for the fatherland, while being ready to give her children for the salvation of the latter weighed heavily on the shoulders of the Romanian woman³.

The fall of communism in December 1989 liberated women from ideology and incrimination of their intimacy. However, it did not empowered women, either. In the first two decades of the transition women had to struggle with economic issues, low wages, and the return of the traditional model of a male dominated society. Furthermore, the public space was invaded by the traditionalist discourse⁴. The desire to break away from the recent past, which emphasized, at least on an ideological level, gender equality, has led to the abandonment of the idea

² Morar Vulcu, C. (2002). „Între ‘noi’ și ‘ei’: identitatea politică a femeii în discursul comunist” (‘Between ‘us’ and ‘them’: Women’s political identity in the communist discourse’). In Cosma, G., & Tarău, V. *Condiția femeii în România secolului XX. Studii de caz* (Women’s status in twentieth-century Romania: Case studies). Presa Universitară Clujeană, pp. 199-213 (hereafter, Morar Vulcu, C. “Între ‘noi’ și ‘ei’: identitatea politică a femeii”).

³ Mitchievici, A. (2005). “Povesti, legende, utopii. Dumitru Almas la școala istoriei” (Tales, legends, utopis. Dumitru Almas at the school of History). In Cernat, P., Manolescu, I., Mitchievici, A., & Stanomir, I. *Explorări în comunismul românesc* (Explorations into the Romanian communism). vol. 2, Polirom, p. 356.

⁴ Pasti, V. (2003). *Ultima inegalitate. Relațiile de gen în România* (The last inequality. Gender relations in Romania). Polirom (hereafter, Pasti, *Ultima inegalitate*), pp. 225-229.

of gender equality⁵. It was only fairly recently and following pressure from the European Union that "equal opportunities" policies were reintroduced in the Romanian legislation⁶. Lately, women became more and more present in the social, cultural, economical, scientific, and political life⁷.

The Road to Emancipation (from XIX century until the WWII)

In Romania, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, women had limited legal capacity as it appears from the texts of the "Caragea Law" or the "Callimachi Code" drafted in 1817 in Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively. According to this legislation, women were considered minor from juridical point of view and were under the legal dominance of their fathers, husbands, and brothers or under the guidance of a family council.

Some changes in the Romanian women status occurred in the second half of the XIX century, after the creation of modern Romania (1859), due to the adoption of a new Civil Code, inspired by the Code Napoleon. The Civil Code contained a series of provisions designed to define the role of women in relation to the man seen as an authority, the head of the family, which gave him rights over his wife and children. The 1866 Constitution did not bring any changes to favor women. Furthermore, it discriminated women even more as it was stated that men

⁵ Pasti, *Ultima inegalitate*, p. 74.

⁶ Law. 202/01.04.2002. Albu, M., & Mocanu, C. (2006), „Egalitatea de șanse în România. De la teorie la practică” (Equality in Romania. From theory to practice). In Băluță, O. *Gen și putere. Partea leului în politica românească* (Gender and power. The lion share in the Romanian politics). Polirom, pp. 117-137.

⁷ According to Eurostat data, over 535,000 students were enrolled in all cycles of the university, of which 246,000 (45%) were men and 288,000, women (55%). 352,000 students graduated from undergraduate studies, of which 171,000 were men (48%) and 181,000, women (52%). 165,000 students were enrolled in the master's degree, of which 67,000 were men (40%) and 98,000 were women (60%). 17,300 students were doctoral students, of which 8,500 were women (49%) and 8,700 men (51%). According to the Ministry of Education, in 2017, 51% of the teaching staff positions (university assistants, lecturers, associate professors and university professors) were occupied by women. Florinela Iosip, "Only three women are rectors at the 54 state universities in Romania! The figure is below a quarter of the EU average of 21%", in *Libertatea*, 14 of March 2019. On-line at: <https://www.libertatea.ro/stiri/doar-trei-femei-sunt-rectori-in-cele-54-de-universitati-de-stat-din-romania-cifra-e-sub-un-sfert-fata-de-media-ue-de-21-2573250> (retrieved 14th of March, 2021). In 2018, the first woman in Romanian history was appointed as Prime Minister. Although a puppet of the leader of the Social Democrat Party, she made history when she became Prime Minister.

could remarry shortly after a divorce while women had to wait 10 months after the end of the first marriage⁸.

However, in the higher strata of the society, women could benefit of several opportunities such as education, traveling, organizing charity, etc. At the beginning of the XIX century, women from the upper class were educated at home by private teachers or in boarding schools for girls. In the second half of the century, they started to study abroad, such as Dora D'Istria (pen-name of duchess Helena Koltsova-Massalskaya, born Elena Ghica), who studied in Dresden, Vienna, Berlin, or princess Alexandrina Cantacuzino, one of the most famous Romanian feminists, the president of the National Council of Romanian Women and the Association of Romanian Women who studied in France⁹.

The first public institutions for girls education appeared after 1822 in the form of private schools opened by foreigners. During the period under the provisions of the 'Regulamentele Organice'¹⁰, the first public schools were opened, girls being also allowed to attend although their curricula was different comparing to the one for boys. The young ladies were taught drawing, general culture, foreign languages, music, sewing, etc.¹¹.

The higher education was organized late in Romania, the first universities being created only in the second half of the XIX century, in Iași (in 1860), and Bucharest (in 1864). At the very beginning, women were not accepted among students. For instance, the law of public education gave permission to girls to attend the Faculty of Medicine only in 1881¹².

⁸ Ciupală, A. (2003). *Femeia în societatea românească a secolului al XIX-lea* (Woman in the Romanian society of the XIX century). Meridiane, pp. 17-22 (hereafter, Ciupală. *Femeia*).

⁹ De Haan, F., Daskalova, K., & Loutfi, A. (2006). *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*. Central European University Press, pp. 89-93.

¹⁰ The Organic Regulations (Regulamentele organice) were the first quasi-constitutional laws of the Romanian countries, Moldavia and Wallachia. They were drafted by the Russian authorities supervising the country after the Adrianopol Treaty of 1829. They were adopted in 1831/1832 and were into force until 1856. They provided a common legislation for both countries paving the way to subsequent unification.

¹¹ Ciupală. *Femeia*, pp. 17-22.

¹² Ciupală. *Femeia*, pp. 17-22.

By 1895, the presence of women in the Art Universities met no restrictions¹³.

After 1900, the number of women who attended universities increased steadily. For example, at the University of Bucharest, between 1901-1905, there were 7.4% women of the total number of registered students, between 1906-1910 the percentage increased to 9.6, while between 1911-1915 there were 15% women among the total number of registered students¹⁴.

Although, from a juridical and political point of view, women were still powerless, the empowerment of women in Romania in the nineteenth century was constant. Three paths helped women to achieve it: the education and the health care system, the foundation of associations, committees, and women societies. Another way to fulfillment was family-related and life experiences. The opening of literary salons patronized by upper-class ladies gave women the possibility to play a role in the society. Furthermore, these associations took part in the public and political life of the time. The Philharmonic Society, the Literary Society, or the Women Arts and Craft Society have often served as a paravane for political and conspiratorial meetings. During the War for Independence (1877) the salons served the military campaign, either by preparing uniforms for the soldiers, and/or by providing shelter for the wounded¹⁵.

The First World War helped Romanian women gain prestige and proved that they had other abilities than those who confined them to the private sphere, and the charity work. The legislation followed course and provided women with new rights: such as the right to vote and to be elected in the local councils (1929), to work and dispose of their revenues, to make choices regarding their career and private life. Furthermore, the 1923 Constitution established the civil equality of both sexes. However, it was only in 1932 that the Parliament passed a law that put into practice this constitutional right. In 1938, the new Constitution granted women the right to elect and be elected to Parliament (with some

¹³ Cristea, I., & Popescu, A. (2004). „Cuvânt înainte” (Foreword), in *Doamnele artelor frumoase românești afirmate interbelic* (The Ladies of The Romanian Belle Arte who asserted themselves during the interwar period). Monitorul Oficial, p. 6.

¹⁴ Cresin, R. (1936). „Anchetă sociologică asupra vieții studentești”, in *Arhiva pentru știința și reforma socială*, anul XIV, p. 645.

¹⁵ Ciupală. *Femeia*, pp. 17-22.

restrictions related to education and income)¹⁶. In 1938, the first female senator was elected, Maria M. Pop, a longtime feminist¹⁷.

The development of the education system helped women to assert their rights and to claim a place in the society as well. The number of women attending secondary and high schools grew considerably during the interwar period. The statistics of 1930 shows that 337 381 women graduated high schools while 92 374 women graduated professional schools. In the academic year 1926/1927, the faculties of law, medicine, letters, sciences and pharmacy of the universities of Bucharest numbered 4744 women students¹⁸. In 1930, there were 26179 women at the country level who attended university¹⁹.

The development of the country and the need for a growing working force also empowered women. If in 1913 women worked mostly in agriculture, which accounted for 43.4% of the female population, after the First World War, the number of working woman in other economic sectors steadily increased. The areas in which women were employed have diversified as well. In 1930, 33% of positions in commercial enterprises and more than 20% in administration were occupied by women²⁰.

The interwar period witnessed a real emancipation of Romanian woman, especially of aristocratic and bourgeois backgrounds. Women were able to transgress their traditional roles and to start careers that allowed them to earn social and financial independence. "However, their penetration into the public space did not occur `by itself', as a gift from lawmakers or as a `natural' social transformation, but it was the result of

¹⁶ Cosma, G. (2002). „Aspecte privind mișcarea feministă din România în perioada interbelică. Anii 30” (Aspects regarding the feminist movement in Romania during the interwar period). In Cosma, G. & Tarau, V. *Condiția femeii în România secolului XX. Studii de caz* (Women status in XX century Romania. Case Studies). Presa Universitară Clujeană, pp. 94-96.

¹⁷ Mihăilescu, Șt. (2002). *Din istoria feminismului românesc. Antologie de texte (1838-1929)* (On the History of Romanian Feminism. Anthology of Texts). vol. 1, Polirom, (hereafter, Mihăilescu. *Din istoria feminismului românesc*. I), p. 62.

¹⁸ „Munca femeii și consecințele ei pentru familie și societate” (Woman’s work and its consequences for her family and society), lecture delivered in the framework of the feminine studies section of the Social Romanian Institute on 23 February 1929 published in *Buletinul Muncii*, year X, no. 1-6.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

²⁰ Mihăilescu, Șt. (2002). *Din istoria feminismului românesc. Antologie de texte* (Anthology of texts from the history of the Romanian Feminism). vol. 2, Polirom, p. 19.

the intense activities of women (and men) and of women associations...²¹”

Women had to struggle in order to receive the right to engage in professions considered to be ‘meant for men’, such as that of a lawyer. In 1909, to be recognized as a lawyer, Ella Negruzzi had to sue the Galati Bar Association.²² She won and thus became the first Romanian female lawyer. In the academia, women experienced similar difficulties. The first woman university professor, Vera Myller provoked a turmoil when she was recommended to professorship. In 1918, the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Iași proposed to Vera Myller the position of professor in mathematics. A commission created by the Ministry of Education found her unsuitable for the job on grounds of gender. Women could not vote while the university professors had the right to elect senators. After intense discussions, she was eventually appointed, on 16th of November 1918, professor of superior algebra at the University of Iași.²³

On the other hand, arts and crafts offered women a possibility to assert themselves in the public sphere. 255 women worked as artists during the interwar period. Many of them kept on working during communism as well. They open the way to almost 2000 women artists recorded after 1945 until today in Romania (one third of Romanian artists)²⁴.

Writing was also a way to achieve recognition. However, even though women have been accepted as literati, they have been asked to fit into the mainstream masculine model. It is well known the case of the

²¹ Văcărescu, T.-E. (2013). „Contexte de gen. Educația femeilor din România între 1880 și 1930” (Gender context. Women education in Romania between 1880 and 1930). in *Sfera Politicii*, vol. XXI, no. 3 (175). On-line at <http://www.cooperativag.ro/contexte-de-gen-educatia-femeilor-din-romania-intre-anii-1880-si-1930/> (retrived on 14th of March 2020).

²² Mihăilescu. *Din istoria feminismului românesc*. I, p. 177.

²³ Boia, L. (2011). *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 și 1950* (The traps of History. Romanian intellectual elite between 1930 and 1950). Humanitas (hereafter, Boia. *Capcanele istoriei*), p. 102.

²⁴ See in this respect the following books: Buga, A., Ciupală, A., Constantin, M., Hasan, Y., Mesea, I., Năsui, C., Vasile, & C., Sămărtinean, V., (2017). *Centenarul femeilor din arta românească* (The Centenary of Women in the Romanian Arts). vol. 1, PostModernism Museum Publishing House; Barcan, L., Davidescu, C., Năsui, C., Niță, D., Pintilie, I., Popica, R., Vasile, C., & Vlasiu, I. (2018). *Centenarul femeilor din arta românească* (The Centenary of Women in the Romanian Arts), vol. 2, PostModernism Museum Publishing House.

literary critic, Eugen Lovinescu, who advised Hortensia Papadat Bengescu²⁵, to write as a man²⁶. Even when women writers succeeded to be publicly acknowledged, such as Florica Mumuianu, Florica Obogeanu, Maria Banuș, Han Reymonde, Igena Floru, Lucreția Petrescu, Lucia Demetrius, theirs achievements were regarded only from their gender perspective. The well-known Romanian literary critique, George Calinescu, who introduced their names in his well acclaimed *History of the Romanian Literature*, described theirs writings as ‘feminines’²⁷.

Although the status of women has changed constantly, the mentalities of the men of the time remained anchored in a traditional model of women. The misogynists argued that the presence of the latter in the public sphere was not indicated due to the woman's inability to be like a man. They argued that women were not a good fit for politics, because they were unstable and passionate. In addition, women involved in the public sphere could lose their main feature: “women who exercise political rights will lose their femininity”²⁸.

In the academia, during the interwar period, women represented a third of students. However, they rarely enjoyed the position of a professor or associate professor. Lucian Boia argued that the Romanian universities of that time were characterized by two features: they were very masculine and very Romanian. “There was no professor, no associate professor at the University of Bucharest. ... In Cluj, there was no woman professor, and only one associate professor: the chemist Raluca Ripan (she will become a professor in 1942). The University of Iasi was in a better situation; there were two professors there: Vera Myller at Sciences, and Elena Pușcariu, at the Medicine, as well as an associate professor (Ruxandra Râșcanu, at Sciences). ... There was also a woman professor, Zoe Ghețu, chair of the English department, at the Commercial Academy in Bucharest; and at the Polytechnic School in

²⁵ Hortesia Papadat Bengescu (1876-1955) was a well known interwar writer, praised for her prose and style by the most important literary critics of her time. She was studied until recently in the high school and is still considered one of the most important Romanian novelists.

²⁶ Alexandrescu, S. (2000). *Identitate în ruptură* (Identity in Crisis). Univers, p. 310.

²⁷ Călinescu, G. (1941/2003). *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent* (The history of the Romanian literature from its origins to present). Fundația regală pentru literatură și artă, pp. 847-851.

²⁸ Stratilescu, E. (1919). „Temeiurile mișcării feministe și scopurile pe care le urmărește” (The bases of the feminist movement and its aims). In Mihăilescu. *Din istoria feminismului românesc*. I, pp. 219-221.

Bucharest, in the English department, taught another woman, an associate professor, Alice Bădescu”²⁹.

The Communist Era: Gender Equality, and Repression

When the communists took power in Romania, they dismantled all the feminist or women’s associations, which were replaced firstly by Women Democratic Union (March 1948), and then, in 1957, by Women National Council. The regime was not interested in creating and promoting a feminine elite, but in leveraging the women at the bottom of the society.

Gender equality became the regime’s new watchword³⁰. The full equality between men and women as regards the right to vote and to be elected in all state and party offices was enshrined in the 1948 Constitution, together with the principle of equal pay, including equality as regards vacations, retirement plans, and so on. Unfortunately, the undemocratic nature of the regime meant that all this legislation soon rang hollow. Legal emancipation became void of any real substance, due to the communist repressive system³¹.

The communist state policies targeted especially women workers and peasants. A campaign of literacy had started in 1948. At that moment, 29% of the population had no education and was not able to read and write. The mandatory free school was established welcoming boys and girls to the age of 14 years old³². The number of high schools and technical schools also tripled in 20 years. On the other hand, the number of students diminished by almost a half in 1948 comparing with

²⁹ Boia. *Capcanele istoriei*, pp. 101-102.

³⁰ I reproduce here a paragraph of my article, Dobre, C.-F. (2018). ”Women’s Everyday Life in Communist Romania: Case Studies”, in *Analele Universității din București, Limba și Literatura Română*, Vol. LXVII, pp. 35-40.

³¹ Miroiu, M. (1998). „Feminismul ca politică a modernizării” (Feminism as politics of modernization). In Mungiu Pippidi, A. (ed.), *Doctrine politice* (Political doctrines), Polirom, p. 253.

³² Murgescu, B. (2010). *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice* (1500-2010) (Romania and Europe. Accumulation of economic unbalances). Polirom (hereafter, Murgescu, B. *România și Europa*), pp. 386-387.

1930. There were 91 139 students in 1930 (among them 21295 women)³³ and only 48 676 students in 1948³⁴.

Women were also encouraged to join the party, but until the very end of the communist regime, they did not massively respond to the call. In 1948, during the First Congress of the Romanian Working Party, women participants accounted for 13.5%, and a year later, in 1949, the proportion of women in party structures did not exceed 8 percent³⁵. The presence of women in the communist party stayed small despite the constant calls of Nicolae Ceausescu to increase their number. In June 1973, the Plenary of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee established quotas for women nomination to party membership and election in the leading structure of the party. However, for women, holding a university degree, joining the party proved to be extremely difficult. According to the party's internal rules, the number of intellectuals in the party should have been strictly controlled. In 1989, only 36% of members of the Romanian Communist Party were women, the highest ever³⁶.

Despite the propaganda, the ideology, and Ceausescu constant call for women to join the political life, the misogynistic view of the Communist cadres hampered all the efforts to really emancipate women. They were still confined to the traditional professional choices: mainly the textile industry and the education and health sectors. Furthermore, women continued to work predominantly under male supervision³⁷. According to Călin Morar-Vulcu who analyzed the articles published between 1956 and 1959 in the party's theoretical journal, *The Class Struggle* (Lupta de clasă), women were encouraged to get involved in the education of the

³³ Sdrobiș, D. (2015). *Limitele meritocrației într-o societate agrară. Șomaj intelectual și radicalizare politică a tineretului în România interbelică* (The limits of meritocracy in an agrarian society. Intellectual unemployment and the radicalization of the youth in interwar Romania). Polirom, p. 128.

³⁴ Murgescu, B. *România și Europa*, p. 387.

³⁵ Jinga, L.-M. (2017). "Women in the Communist Party: Debunking a (Post)Communist Mythology". In Dobre, C.-F., & Ghiță, C.-E. (ed.). *Quest for a Suitable Past: Myth and Memory in Central and Eastern Europe*. CEU Press (hereafter, Jinga, "Women in the Communist Party"), p. 89.

³⁶ Jinga, "Women in the Communist Party", p. 91.

³⁷ Cârstocea, I. (2003). „Conceptul de gen, o categorie utilă pentru analiza socio-istorică a regimului communist din România” (Gender, a useful category for the socio-historical analysis of the Romanian communist regime). In Băluță, I., & Cârstocea, I. *Direcții și teme de cercetare în studiile de gen din România* (Research directions and topics in Romanian gender studies). New Europe College Workshop, Bucharest, 5 July 2002. Ecole Doctorale Régionale en Sciences Sociales, New Europe College, p. 128.

children and in the social care. The journal also highlighted women special skills in cooking, fashion, agriculture, and propaganda³⁸. The agriculture became more than ever a domain assigned to women during communism. This situation eventually led to the perpetuation of traditional stereotypes as shown by Gail Kligman's research in Maramureș in the 1980s³⁹.

While the propaganda highlighted the achievements in gender equality, many women were persecuted for political reasons. The real figures of repressed women are still unknown, estimation goes around 10 000 persons. Many of them were educated women, victims of the regime revenge politics and of the social engineering program. The case of Alice Voinescu, a professor at the Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Art is exemplar. After the communists took power, she was forced to retire. Eventually, she was arrested and imprisoned for imaginary reasons. Upon liberation, she was assigned to domicile. She was not allowed to teach, publish or even seeing her friends for several years⁴⁰.

During the whole communist period, women emancipation was subject of a double standard: on the one hand, women benefited full equality, at least theoretically, and, on the other, they had to struggle with economic problems, intimate issues and difficult life conditions. The repressive nature of the regime also hindered a real emancipation of women which would be achieved only after the fall of the regime and after Romanian adhesion to the European Union⁴¹.

Women in the Romanian Academic Culture: Important Figures

Despite a difficult and long road to empowerment and recognition, women eventually succeeded to carve a place for themselves in the academic milieu. Some of them became role models not only for other women but for men as well. Dora d'Istria, Cecilia Cuțescu-Storck, Florica Bagdasar, to cite but a few, made a name for themselves and are celebrated even today for their achievements. Others are less known but

³⁸ Morar Vulcu, C., „Între “noi” și “ei”: identitatea politică a femeii”, p. 199.

³⁹ Kligman, G. (2005). *Nunta mortului. Ritual, poetică și cultură populară în Transilvania* (The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Poetics and Popular Culture in Transylvania). Polirom, p. 44.

⁴⁰ See more at the entry Alice Voinescu.

⁴¹ Kideckel, D. A. (2010). *Romania postsocialistă. Munca, trupul și cultura clasei muncitoare* (Postsocialist Romania. The labour, the body, and the working class culture). Polirom, p. 169.

equally important in their field of studies. Here are some examples of women who shone in the Romanian academic cultures in the last two centuries.

Florica Bagdasar (born in 1901 in Bitolia-Monastiu, Macedonia, died on 19th of December 1978 in Bucharest) was the daughter of a middle class Aromanian construction engineer from Macedonia. She attended primary school in Bitolia, after which she left for Iași and Roman. In 1925, she graduated from the Medicine Faculty of Bucharest. The same year, she started to work as a doctor in the hospital, "Brancovenesti settlements". In 1927, she married Dumitru Bagdasar, with whom she went to USA to further studies.



*Dr. Florica Bagdasar în anii trîști
ai senectuții*

In USA, she worked in a neurosurgery clinic in Boston, and upon her return to Romania, she worked as a physician at hospitals in Jimbolia and Cernăuți. Beginning with 1934, she became a close collaborator of her husband, first, at the Emergency Hospital, then, after 1935, at the Central Hospital in Bucharest.

After August 23, 1944, she became a member of the Romanian Communist Party, activating between 1944 and 1948 in various mass organizations such as "The Union of Patriots", "The Union of Antifascist Women of Romania", "The Union of Democratic Women of Romania". She was a member of the Romanian delegation sent to the Paris Peace Conference (August to September 1946), being the only woman among the 73 members. Following her husband's death, in 1946, she was appointed Minister of Health, a position she held until August 1948, being the first woman minister in Romania.

At the same time, she coordinated the activity of the consulting service at the Mental Hygiene Center in Bucharest and was a lecturer at the Department of Normal and Pathological Child Psychology at the Medical-Pharmaceutical Institute. Deputy of Tulcea in the Great National Assembly (1946-1951), she organized the campaign against malaria in

the county of Tulcea. In 1953, Florica Bagdasar was fired from her position of director of the Center for Mental Hygiene and from all the other functions she held, being criticized in the party newspaper *Scânteia* (The Spark) for bourgeois attitude and for staying in touch with her American colleagues.

She was rehabilitated in October 1957, being appointed vice president of the Red Cross Romania and an associate professor at the Faculty of Medicine⁴².

Her only daughter Alexandra Bellow, a professor of mathematics at several universities in USA and Canada, was married to Saul Bellow, a Nobel Prize winner, who wrote in 1982 a novel about the Romanian communism, *The Dean's December*⁴³.

Gabriela Chaborski (born on 14th of October 14, in Bârlad, Vaslui County, died on November 25, 1936, in Bucharest) had Polish and German origins, and was the first female associate professor in Romania.



She attended high school in Ploiești and the Faculty of Physical-Chemical Sciences at the University of Bucharest. After her graduation in 1916, she studied at the University of Geneva where she defended her PhD thesis on 22nd of March, 1919, based on her discovery of new forms of yeast (unicellular fungus).

Upon returning home, she was appointed as a university assistant in the Department of General Chemistry and Electrochemistry of the University of Bucharest, in 1920. In 1924, she became a lecturer of inorganic chemistry at the same university.

Her discoveries were acknowledged by the international academic field and even named the "Chaborski culture", the first contribution of a Romanian to the international scientific terminology.

⁴² http://enciclopediaromaniei.ro/wiki/Florica_Bagdasar (retrieved on 15th of March, 2021).

⁴³ Alexandra Bellow, the daughter of Dimitrie și Florica Bagdasar: „Pe părinții mei nu i-a interesat niciodată să se mute în vilă la șosea“ (My parents were never interested to have a villa), interview in *Adevarul*, on-line at: https://adevarul.ro/cultura/istorie/interviu-alexandra-bellow-matematician-fiica-sotilor-dimitrie-florica-bagdasar-pe-parintii-nu-i-a-interesat-niciodata-mute-vila-sosea-1_544912230d133766a82d3b80/index.html (retrieved on 15th of March, 2021).

She was vice-president of the Romanian Chemical Society⁴⁴.

Cecilia Cuțescu-Storck (born on 14th of March 1879 in Căineni, Vâlcea county, died in Bucharest, on 29th of October 1969) attended Școala Centrală de fete (Central School for Girls) in Bucharest. She was passionate about art from an early age, therefore, after graduating high school, she was sent to Munich in 1897 where she studied at Damenakademie. In 1899, she moved to Paris where she attended Académie Julien. While in Paris, her works were accepted at the Autumn Salon, and in 1906 she had her first personal exhibition at the Galerie Hessèle on Rue Lafitte. In Bucharest she was co-opted into the Artistic Youth Group (Tinerimea Artistică), while her works were exhibited alongside those of Constantin Brâncuși.



During her stay in Paris, in 1903, she married a violinist Romulus Kunzer, with whom she had a son, Romeo, who also became a painter under the name of Romeo Storck. Her marriage did not last long. In 1906, she returned to Romania and settled in Bucharest. In 1909, she married the sculptor Frederic Storck (1872-1942). Together they had two daughters: Gabriela Storck, who became an architect, and Cecilia (Lita) Botez, a ceramist.

After returning home, she became increasingly interested in decorative arts and monumental mural painting. In 1916, she became a professor in the decorative arts department of the Academy of Fine Arts in Bucharest, being the first woman professor at an art university in Europe. She created numerous mural paintings in public buildings in Bucharest, of which the most important is the great fresco "The History of the Romanian Businessman", made in 1933 for the auditorium of the Academy of Economic Studies. She also painted a big fresco in the hall of the Marmorosch-Blank Bank entitled "Agriculture, Industry and Commerce" and decorated the ceiling of the Royal Palace in Cotroceni. In addition to mural compositions, Cecilia Cuțescu-Storck painted many landscapes on canvas. She was also a talented graphic artist. Many of her

⁴⁴ http://enciclopediaromaniei.ro/wiki/Gabriela_Chaboriski (retrieved on 15th of March, 2021).

works can be admired in the Frederic Storck and Cecilia Cuțescu-Storck Art Museum in Bucharest.

In 1924 and 1928 she represented Romania at the Venice Biennale. She curated the Romanian painting exhibition at the World Fair in Barcelona and was a member of the committee of the Official Salon of Bucharest. In 1937, she was elected president of the Fine Arts Union.

In 1943, she published an autobiography entitled, *The fresco of a life*, in 1966 the volume being revised and completed and re-published under the title, *A life dedicated to art*.

In 1948 the works of art of the Storck spouses were declared of public utility, and in 1951 the workshops of the two artists were opened as an art museum, the family preserving the living space.

Cecilia Cuțescu-Storck's artistic activity has always been intertwined with her feminist beliefs. In 1916, together with Olga Greceanu and Nina Arbore, the artist founded the "Association of women painters and sculptors". Due to the salons organized periodically by the association, many artists managed to exhibit their works publicly during the interwar period⁴⁵.

Dora d'Istria (born in Bucharest on 22nd of January, 1828, dead in Florence on 17th of November, 1888) was the niece of the reigning prince of Wallachia, Grigore IV Ghica. She studied in Dresden, Vienna, Venice, and Berlin. Upon returning from her studies, in 1849, she married the Russian duke Alexander Koltsov-Massalski which made her the duchess Helena Koltsova-Massalskaya. They lived for several years in Russia, but due to her health, she eventually decided to move to Florence. She traveled constantly to Europe, and to USA.




Dora d'Istria

She started to write (mostly in French) under the pen-name Dora d'Istria. Her first work was *La vie monastique dans l'Église orientale*, published in Brussels in 1855. In the subsequent years, she published, *La Suisse allemande* in 4 volumes in Geneva. In her, *Les femmes en Orient* (Zürich 1859) she militated for the emancipation of women while in *Des*

⁴⁵ George Marcu about Cecilia Cuțescu-Storck, in Marcu, G., & Ilinca, R. (2012). *Enciclopedia personalităților feminine din România* (The encyclopedia of the feminine personalities in Romania). Meronia, p. 114.

femmes, par une femme (Brussels 1869), she asked for an equal treatment of men and women. She also published several travel writings, *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée* (Zürich 1863), *Au bord des lacs helvétiques* (Geneva 1861), and a history of her own family from XVIII to XIX centuries, *Gli Albanesi in Rumenia*, (Florence 1873), as well as numerous articles on literary history, political social and religious issues, on history and art in journals such as *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Libre Recherche*, *Diritto*, *Antologia nuova*, etc. Dora d'Istria was also a painter, and a member of several scholarly societies.

Her family Albanian origin gave her a reason to become the main advocate for the Albanian cause in Western Europe. In 1866, she published an article entitled *The Albanian nationality according to folk songs*⁴⁶, which was translated into Albanian and made Dora d'Istria well known in the Albanians nationalist circles⁴⁷.

Olga Greceanu (born on 4/16 August 1890, in Nămăiești, Argeș county, died on 17th of November 1978, Bucharest) belonged to a mix noble family of Polish, German and Romanian descent. Raised by her



widow mother, she studied in Bucharest, than went to Liège to study chemistry. While attending the Chemistry Faculty she also took classes in painting at the Académie de Beaux Arts de Liège. While in Belgium, she married, in 1914, Nicolae Greceanu, an engineer belonging to a Romanian wealthy family. Due to the WWI, they returned to Bucharest in 1914. While in Bucharest, she became one of the initiators of the feminine movement in arts.

She had her first exhibition in Bucharest, in 1916, 24 of her paintings being bought by important personalities of Romania and of the world, such as Count of Sainte Aulaire, the ambassador of France to Bucharest. In 1919, Olga and her husband returned to Liège to finish her studies in chemistry. In

⁴⁶ Clayer, N. (2007). *Origines du nationalisme albanais*. Karthala, p. 209.

⁴⁷ This short biography was adapted from Elena Ghica (Dora d'Istria), on the site of the Ghica Family to be found at the on-line address:
<http://www.ghyka.com/Divers/Dora%20d'Istria/Dora%20d'Istria.htm> (retrieved on 14th of March 2021).

1921 she graduated and received her diploma as an engineer. After travelling around for a few months, Olga and her husband returned to Romania. Shortly afterwards, in 1923, her paintings were exhibited to the Official Salon, and to the Tinerimea Artistica salon. She constantly exhibited alongside other women from the Women in Arts Association. In 1924, she joined Cecilia Cuțescu-Storck, Nina Arbore, Oscar Han, Maxy, Ștefan Dumitrescu and other artists in creating the Trade Union of the Romanian Arts. In the same year, an exhibition of her paintings and of Nina Arbore was organized in New York. All her works were sold out. She had other exhibitions in 1937 at the Faculty of Architecture in Bucharest, in 1944 at Dalles exhibition hall and again in the same place in 1974.

In 1928, she traveled to Paris to organize her first personal exhibition in France at the gallery "La Palette Française". In 1930, she returned to Paris to study fresco techniques with Paul Baudouin. Meanwhile, she started to publish books on art, art theory as well as articles in the national newspapers. In 1925, she published, *Specificul național în artă* (The National Character in Art), at Editura Cartea Românească. In 1935, she published *Compoziția murală* (translated into french in 1937 under the title, *La composition murale*, and published at edition Leherter) and in 1937, *Cula de la Măldărești*, the description of a historical building belonging to her husband family.

In the late 30s, she started to create fresco, the first one being the portrait of a former Prime Minister, Dimitrie Sturdza, for the Palace of Peace in Hague (in 1936). In 1939, she created the fresco of the main saloon of the railway station in Mogoșoaia and in 1942 the entrance fresco at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History in Bucharest. In 1949, she created the mosaics at Antim Monastery in Bucharest and in 1960 the fresco of the entrance hall of the Church Council.

After the communist take over, she was marginalized. Her fresco were destroyed or covered with plaster (her fresco realized at Cula de la Măldărești, Conacul de la Bălteni, etc.) and her family properties were confiscated. She kept good relations with the Romanian Orthodox Church which helped her not only to survive, but also to avoid persecutions. Olga Greceanu was the only woman to be allowed by the Romanian orthodox patriarchs Nicodim Munteanu and Iustinian Marina, to preach in the pulpit, in any church in Romania. In 1966, she painted several churches: Mănăstirea, Plătărești, Chiselet, etc. She died with the

brush in her hand, while working on the painting of the Darvari monastery near Bucharest⁴⁸.

Her legacy survived despite the attempts of the communists to destroy it. She has been rediscovered after the fall of communism and her works introduced to the audience through exhibitions, catalogues, books as well as through her re-edited writings. She was very fond of Romania as it is proven by a quotation from her journal kept during her travel to New York for the World Fair in 1939: „*Mai e o țară unde să zboare ciocârlia mai frumos, mai liber, mai ondulat ca sub cerul românesc?*” (Is there still a country where the crocuses fly more beautifully, freer, more wavy than under the Romanian sky?)⁴⁹.

Mihaela Miroiu, born on 10th of March 1955 in Hunedoara is a theorist and feminist activist from Romania. She is a university professor at the National School of Political and Administrative Studies (SNSPA) conducting doctoral studies in Political Sciences and teaches courses in Contemporary Political Ideologies, Ethics in International Relations, Feminist Political Theories. Her research interests are focused on political theories, with an emphasis on feminist political theories, political ethics, political ideologies, and gender policies.



She has been involved, through various institutional, civic and media contributions to the development of philosophy, political science and democratization in Romania. She was dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences of SNSPA between 1997 and 2001, and has initiated the first doctoral program of Political Sciences in Romania in 2000. She also taught the first courses on feminist theories, in 1994, at the University of

⁴⁸ http://enciclopediaromaniei.ro/wiki/Olga_Greceanu (retrieved on 15th of March, 2021).

⁴⁹ Greceanu, O. (2018). *Expoziția universală de la New York, 1939, văzută de Olga Greceanu* (The World Fair in New York, 1939, seen by Olga Greceanu). IDACO, p. 192.

Bucharest, Faculty of Philosophy. She designed the first master's degree curricula in Gender Studies in Romania in 1998. In 2001, she initiated and coordinated the first collection of Gender Studies in the country, at Polirom Publishing House.

She contributed to the foundation of non-governmental organizations such as the Society of Feminist Studies AnA, and the Center for Curricular Development and Gender Studies, FILIA. She has collaborated with the National Council for Combating Discrimination, but also with politicians, parliamentary committees and has provided advice for equal opportunities policies and education policies for political parties.

Mihaela Miroiu published several books on feminism, feminist theory, political theory, gender studies, as well as hundreds of articles and editorials, etc. Her most important publications are: *Convenio. Despre natură, femei și morală* (Convenio. On nature, women, and morality), Polirom, 2002; *Drumul către autonomie. Teorii politice feministe* (The road to autonomy. Feminist political theories), Polirom, 2004; *Neprețuitele femei. Publicistică feministă* (Priceless Women. Feminine editorials), Polirom, 2006, Miroiu, Mihaela, Otilia Dragomir, eds., *Lexicon feminist* (Feminist dictionary), Polirom, 2002⁵⁰.

Ștefania Mărăcineanu (born on 18th of June, 1882 in Bucharest,



died on 15th of August 1944 in Bucharest) attended the high school courses at 'Elena Doamna' Normal School and the Bucharest Central School. She graduated from the Faculty of Physical-Chemical Sciences of the University of Bucharest, in 1910. She taught, for a short period physics at the Central School in Bucharest. She then studied in Paris, at Sorbonne, and with Marie Curie at the Radio Institute in Paris. She got her PhD from Sorbonne in 1924, with a thesis entitled, *Research on the consistency of the poles and on the penetration in metals*, receiving the qualification «Très Honorable». The

⁵⁰ Mihaela Miroiu - Wikipedia

auditorium consisted of many students, teachers or physicists among them Marie Curie herself who co-opted her into her team.

Named, in 1925, a university assistant at the Faculty of Sciences in Bucharest, she created the first Radioactivity Laboratory in the country, using the equipment purchased with her own money. While working on her doctoral thesis, Ștefania Mărcineanu identified the phenomenon of artificial radioactivity. The research was published in several specialized journals. The process was explained physically and mathematically by Irène Joliot-Curie and her husband, the discovery being crowned with the Nobel Prize award.

She also dealt with the meteorological phenomena discovering the process of artificial triggering of the rain with the help of radioactive salts and established a connection between earthquakes and precipitation. In 1931, she produced the first artificial rain in the world, in the plain of Bărăgan, continuing her research in Algeria, with the support of the French government.

Her main works were: *Actions speciales du soleil sur la radioactivité du polonium et du plomb* (Paris, 1926), *Radioactivity and the constitution of matter* (Bucharest, 1929), *Radioactivity, sun artificial rain* (Bucharest, 1934).

Like her mentor, Marie Curie, she died of cancer, caused by radioactive irradiation⁵¹.

Vera Myller (born on 1st of December 1880 in St. Petersburg, Russia, died on 12 of December 1970 in Iași) was a mathematician, and the first woman, university professor in Romania.



Born in Russia, she studied in Novgorod, where she obtained the baccalaureate in 1897. Between 1897 and 1902 she studied sciences at the 'Bestujev' Women's Higher School in Sankt Petersburg. She went to university at Göttingen, where she met her future husband, a Romanian, Alexander Myller. In 1906, she received her doctorate in mathematics from the University of Göttingen. Her thesis, *The theory of*

⁵¹ http://enciclopediaromaniei.ro/wiki/%C5%9Etefania_M%C4%83r%C4%83cineanu (retrieved on 15th of March, 2021).

integral equations used in several series developments, contained the first known example of singular integral equation.

After a short stay in Russia, between 1906 and 1907, when she was a university assistant in mathematics at the University of St. Petersburg, she decided to join her husband who received a job at the University of Iași where he worked as a professor until his retirement in 1948.

On November 16, 1918 she became the first woman university professor in Romania in a scientific discipline, teaching algebra and function theory at the University of Iasi. Most of her works were focused on mathematical analysis and number theory, differential equations or function theory. *Algebraic lessons*, elaborated in 1953, was the first work on algebra elaborated in Romania, for which she received the State Prize in 1953⁵².

Raluca Ripan (born on 27th of June 1894 in Iași, died on 5th of



December 1975 in Cluj), of modest origins, she graduated from a professional tailoring school. Afterwards, she studied chemistry at the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Iasi, which she graduated in 1919. Upon graduation, she was appointed assistant at the Department of mineral chemistry. In 1920, she transferred to the University of Cluj in order to prepare her PhD thesis. Here, she became chief of works at the Laboratory of inorganic chemistry of the Faculty. She defended her PhD thesis in 1922, thus becoming the first woman doctor in chemistry in Romania.

In 1930, she became an associate professor at the Faculty of Science of the University of Cluj and in 1942 a full professor. Due to her modest origins, after the communist take over, she was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Chemistry (1948 - 1953). She was the rector of the University of Cluj between 1952 and 1957. In 1951, she founded the Institute of Chemistry, which she led until 1970.

She published more than 250 specialized works and received from the State Office for Inventions, due to her extensive research experience,

⁵² (Florica T. Câmpan) on http://enciclopediaromaniei.ro/wiki/Vera_Myller (retrieved on 15th of March, 2021).

several author certificates for some inventions made in collaboration with colleagues from her institute.

Full member of the Romanian Academy beginning with November 2, 1948, the first Romanian woman academician, Raluca Ripan was also recognized by her pairs from the international academic world: she became doctor honoris causa of the University `Nikolaus Kopernicus` in Torun (Poland), an honorary member of the Society of Industrial Chemistry of France, as well as of the German Chemistry Society⁵³.

Alice Voinescu, born Alice Steriadi on 10th of February 1885 in Turnu-Severin, died on 4th of June, 1961). By the age of five, Alice was able to read both Romanian and German while at 6 years old she started to learn French. She attended the high school in Turnu-Severin before enrolling at the University of Bucharest, at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, which she graduated in 1908.



Shortly afterwards, she studied at Leipzig University, then to Munich. In Paris, she attended the Sorbonne, taking classes with Lucien Levy-Bruhl. She got her PhD in philosophy in 1913 with a thesis entitled, *L'Interprétation de la doctrine de Kant par l'École de Marburg : Étude sur l'idéalisme critique*.

In 1922, Alice, who married the lawyer Stelian Voinescu in 1915, joined the Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Art as a lecturer in philosophy. Shortly afterwards, in 1924, she began broadcasting educational programs on the public radio. Between 1928 and 1939, Alice Voinescu traveled annually to France to participate to conferences. At one of these conferences, in 1929, she met Roger Martin du Gard who encouraged her to keep a diary. From that moment on, Alice kept careful record of the personalities and events she encountered on a daily basis.

Between 1932 and 1942 she delivered speeches at the radio about women status and role in the Romanian society.

⁵³ http://enciclopediaromaniei.ro/wiki/Raluca_Ripan (retrieved on 15th of March, 2021).

Alice Voinescu published several books such as, *Montaigne, omul și opera* (Montaigne, life and work) in 1936; *Aspecte din teatrul contemporan* (Aspects of contemporary theatre), in 1941; and *Eschil* (Aeschylus), in 1946. She also wrote articles for *Ideea europeană* magazine and editorials about theatre, which were published in the journal, *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*.

In 1948, Alice Voinescu was forcibly retired. In 1951, she was accused of being a monarchist and was arrested. She spent nineteen months in prison. Although it changed her life for good, her prison experience is only briefly mentioned in her journal: "I don't want to think about the 19 months I have spent in prison. It is something so foreign to my thought, to my destiny eager for freedom, that I do not recognize any kinship, no affinity, no coincidence between my true self and things I went through. I vainly tried to integrate this time into the meaning of my life. I wanted to find a meaning, an explanation. I was deceiving myself when I claimed it was a great experience that can be useful. It was of no use all the ugliness and filth and comicality other than to delimit myself better, to pull myself out of it"⁵⁴.

After being released from prison, she was assigned to domicile in a small village in Iasi county. Helped by influential friends, such as Petru Groza⁵⁵ and Tudor Vianu⁵⁶, she was able to return home in 1954 and worked as a literary translator until her death on 4th of June 1961.

Her book, *Letters to My Son and Daughter*, was published in 1994, and her diary in 1997. *Scrisori din Costești* (Letters from Costești), written during her house arrest, were published in 2001.

⁵⁴ Nu vreau să mă gândesc la cele 19 luni trecute în închisoare. E ceva atât de străin de gândul meu, de soarta adevărată îndreptată spre libertate, încât nu-mi recunosc nici o rudenie, nici o afinitate, nici o coincidență între mine și cele prin care am trecut. Zadarnic am încercat să integrez acest timp în sensul vieții mele. Am vrut să-i găsesc un rost, o explicație. Mă amăgeam când pretindeam că e o mare experiență ce-mi poate folosi. Nu mi-a folosit toată urâtenia și murdăria și comicăria decât să mă delimitez mai bine, să mă smulg din ea. Quoted by Dinu, A. „Jurnal de existență: Alice Voinescu” (Journal of my existence: Alice Voinescu), on the site <https://www.lapunkt.ro/2013/12/jurnal-de-existenta-alice-voinescu/> (retrieved on 15th of March, 2021).

⁵⁵ Petru Groza was the leader of the Agrarian Party affiliated with the communists after the WWII. He was the Prime-Minister of the first pro-communist government of Romania.

⁵⁶ Tudor Vianu was a well-known literary critic and university professor.

Final Remarks

Romanian women had to struggle constantly to carve a place for themselves in a society which relegated women to the private sphere for a long period of time. Although during communist era, gender equality was an everyday mantra, however, women kept on struggling: to stay alive, to find food, to avoid repression, to have a career and to (not) bear children. Eventually, they were successful.

In the last two centuries, the `second sex` became prominent not only in arts and crafts, in sciences and other domains, but also in the academic milieu. The very few examples I have mentioned in this article are just my personal choice and, therefore, subjective. A catalogue of women in science is much needed but this was not the purpose of this article. Rather, my intention was to highlight some important figures who dare to push forward the limits of the society they lived in.

Bibliography:

Băluță, I., & Cîrstocea, I. (2003). *Direcții și teme de cercetare în studiile de gen din România* (Research directions and topics in Romanian gender studies). New Europe College Workshop, Bucharest, 5 July 2002. Ecole Doctorale Régionale en Sciences Sociales, New Europe College.

Barcan, L., Davidescu, C., Năsui, C., Niță, D., Pintilie, I., Popica, R., Vasile, C., & Vlasii, I. (2018). *Centenarul femeilor din arta românească* (The Centenary of Women in the Romanian Arts), vol. 2, PostModernism Museum Publishing House.

Boia, L. (2011). *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 și 1950* (The traps of History. Romanian intellectual elite between 1930 and 1950). Humanitas.

Buga, A., Ciupală, A., Constantin, M., Hasan, Y., Mesea, I., Năsui, C., Vasile, & C., Sămărtinean. V. (2017). *Centenarul femeilor din arta românească* (The Centenary of Women in the Romanian Arts). vol. 1, PostModernism Museum Publishing House.

Ciupală, A. (2003). *Femeia în societatea românească a secolului al XIX-lea* (Woman in the Romanian society of the XIX century). Meridiane.

Cosma, G., & Tarău, V. (2002). *Condiția femeii în România secolului XX. Studii de caz* (Women's status in twentieth-century Romania: Case studies). Presa Universitară Clujeană.

De Haan, F., Daskalova, K., & Loutfi, A. (2006). *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*. Central European University Press.

Dobre, C.-F. (2018). "Women's Everyday Life in Communist Romania: Case Studies", in *Analele Universității din București, Limba și Literatura Română*, Vol. LXVII, pp. 35-51.

Jinga, L.-M. (2017). "Women in the Communist Party: Debunking a (Post)Communist Mythology". In Dobre, C.-F., & Ghiță, C.-E. (ed.), *Quest for a*

Suitable Past: Myth and Memory in Central and Eastern Europe, CEU Press, pp. 85-100.

Marcu, G., & Ilinca, R. (2012). *Enciclopedia personalităților feminine din România*. Meronia.

Mihăilescu, Șt. (2002). *Din istoria feminismului românesc. Antologie de texte (1838-1929)* (On the History of Romanian Feminism. Anthology of Texts). vol. 1-2, Polirom.

Pasti, V. (2003). *Ultima inegalitate. Relațiile de gen în România* (The last inequality. Gender relations in Romania). Polirom.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.2>

Georgeta Nazarska
State University of Library Studies and IT, Sofia
[georgeta.nazarska@gmail.com]

An (Un)Established Academic and Scientific Network: Branches of the International Federation of University Women on the Balkans (1920-1950s)

Abstract: *This article explores the branches of the International Federation of University Women (IFUW) in the interwar period and up to the early 1950s as feminist organisations on the Balkans gathered women intellectuals with various fields of expertise and devoted its initial efforts to equal rights of education and professional career. By means of historical and social network analysis the associations of university women in Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey and their attempt to create a scientific network of women academics on the peninsula are studied. The main question is to discuss whether or not the Balkan associations of university women were organizations which supported women's movement against the segregation in the University and the museums, which promoted their scientific work in domestic institutions, which assisted them before public prejudices, which gave them opportunities to make contacts with colleagues abroad, and which provide them with scholarships. The analysis of the Balkan associations is made with a comparison with similar women's scientific networks in the Western Europe.*

Key words: *International Federation of University Women, Balkans, South East Europe, international feminism*

Prerequisites for establishing the IFUW branches on the Balkans and academic networks

The end of WW1 put a beginning of long postwar confrontation between the Balkan states: new states have been formed (Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, Turkey, and Albania); Greece and Romania received territorial acquisitions; Bulgaria was defeated and oriented towards a peaceful revision and consistent with the League of Nations and with the policy of Locarno. Winner-states consistently created regional coalitions to preserve the peace – the Little Entente (1921) and the Balkan Entente (1934) (Lampe 2014:30-134).

In the 1930s such atmosphere, marked by suspicions and hatred, was transformed into economic and political cooperation and accelerated cultural exchange. The first signs of „warming” in the political climate were observed since 1932, when the totalitarian regimes in Germany and Italy set the beginning of cooperation on the account of their neighbors and the Versailles order in general. The offensive against the neighbor countries, the change in the political regimes of both countries, and the apprehensions of England and France were among those factors, which were conducive to the onset of a slow and difficult rapprochement. The effect of these events was establishment of bilateral Balkan societies (Romanian-Bulgarian/ Bulgarian-Romanian – 1932; Yugoslavian-Bulgarian/ Bulgarian-Yugoslavian, Greek-Bulgarian/ Bulgarian-Greek – 1935) (Mitcheva 1967:3-29). In the interwar period part of the Balkan women intellectuals did not succumb to the stereotypes of hostility and actually broken contacts. However, they decided to become a „bridge” in the disintegrated cultural space, regardless of the criticism and ostracism of politically biased authors and in spite of the adverse political conditions.

The generation surviving the war was hypnotized by the idea of “eternal peace” and took up the building of institutions, which should strengthen it. The politicians and the intelligentsia from the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean, who adopted as their own the Wilson’s 14 points, played an active role there. The League of Nations was solely one of the milestones of the “eternal peace”, being engaged more with political issues. The cultural issues were entrusted to the Commission and Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, which spread out their network worldwide amongst broad strata of society. The efforts of various international movements and organizations as the Liberal, Socialist and Green International, the Pan Europe Association, the Olympic movement, the peace associations, the PEN, the Youth Christian Red Cross, the Esperanto Union etc., was establishment of mutual understanding (Georgiev 2000).

Since 1919 the international feminist movement entered an ‘inter-international feminism’ (Offen 2000:347) phase, characterized by ‘super-international coalitions’ (Rupp 1997:37) of international federations on fundamental issues (Rupp 1997:37-39; 1998:535; Offen 2000:343, 347). The pacifist idea about disarmament and conflict prevention also gained strength (Berkovitch 1999:71, 95). The influential organizations in this sphere were the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women’s International Organizations, the Mothers’ International, and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) (Berkovitch

1999:63-64; Rupp 1997:17, 26-31; Offen 2000:360). The interaction between feminism and humanism in the inter-war period led to the plea for universal human rights, rather than specifically 'women's' rights (Offen 2000:369-370, 373-375). This strengthened the position of feminists working in the Open Door International, the Equal Rights International, and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, IWSA/ IAWSEC) (Berkovitch 1999:63, 92-94; Offen 2000:345, 353). These organizations were intensively in contact with the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization (ILO). They both put 'women's issues' on the agenda, such as women's labor; citizenship of women married abroad; prostitution; traffic of children and women; and childcare (Berkovitch 1999:59-88; Offen 2000:348-356; Bartkowski 2002).

The interwar period was also a time of symbiosis between professionalism and feminism (Cott, N. F. 1987:235). The range of newly created professional organizations maintained the principles of 'social feminism'¹ and became a majority in the women's movement. They laid emphasis on such demands as access of women to male-dominated professions, the right to vocational improvement and career, equal pay for equal work, and full access for women to the public sphere (Cott 1987:217, 229, 231-232, 234-235; Berkovitch 1999:63; Offen 2000:345-346).²

The International Federation of University Women (IFUW, founded in 1919) occupied a leading position in this group of professional women's organizations. Its objectives were the prevention of war, the preservation of global peace, the promotion of understanding, and friendship of university women throughout the world, and the stimulation of international co-operation. In time, the IFUW became a mouthpiece for women with university education who wanted more qualifications and a professional career. The members were provided with travel grants and scholarships for scientific research (Batho 1969: 5-8, 10-12, 18; Oertzen 2016:9-37; Winstone). These broadly formulated objectives and activities placed the IFUW beyond the narrower frames of 'social feminism' and made it receptive to the liberal, pacifist, and traditional formations. The IFUW was a part of the 'superinternational coalitions' formed in the in-

¹ The term 'social feminism' means feminist organizations demanding full incorporation of women into public life and viewing women as agents of social improvement. See **Berkovitch 1999:63**.

² Such type organizations were: Medical Women's International Association, International Federation of Business Professional Women, and International Federation of Women in Legal Careers.

ternational women's movement (the ICW, the IWSA/ IAWSEC, the WILPF, and the Union Mondiale de la Femme pour la Concorde Internationale) (Rupp 1998:37-39, 41, 43; Berkovitch 1999:63).

The Balkan people formed their own intellectual elite in the 18-19th centuries. The creation of women's intellectual elites in the Balkan countries was also a slow and difficult process, hampered both by the tradition and by specific local conditions. Its beginning is considered to be the 1840s, when the debate on girls' education was stimulated and primary and secondary female schools were established. Women from the Balkan countries were directed to higher education during the 1860-1870s. First they studied in foreign universities, where their access was allowed: in Switzerland, France, Russia, and Germany (Trgovčević 2000; 2003; Ziogou-Karastergiou 1986). In the late 19th and early 20th century the national universities had opened their doors to local women's elites: in Romania since 1866 (Bucharest) and 1879 (Iasi); in Greece since 1890; in Serbia since 1891, and in Bulgaria since 1901. Until then their high school diplomas were not equivalent of male's ones. The only Bulgarian women attended all faculties. In other countries the 'network of power' (Foucault) resisted much more in so-called 'higher faculties' (Bourdieu). Therefore, the faculties of philosophy and languages opened their doors first, much later – faculties of Medicine (Greece 1896), of Engineering (in Serbia from 1900) and of Law (in Serbia from 1911). The female rates does not exceed one quarter: in the Sofia University they were averaged 21.9 %, in the Cluj University – 18.9% (1925), and in the Belgrade University 22.6% (1938). An exception was the Iasi University with 50.9% (Bogdanović 2006; Nazarska 2003; Rados 2010).

In the beginning of the 20th century academic institutions on the Balkans opened themselves for women's labor. In this period the branches of local science were underdeveloped, the staff of the institutions was limited, and many patriarchal prejudices about women existed. The female academic career at the Balkan universities illustrates the gender 'horizontal' and 'vertical segregation' (Bourdieu). They were appointed mainly in so called 'low faculties' (of Philosophy, Physics and Mathematics, History, and Philology), and much harder in so called 'higher faculties' (of Medicine and of Law) (Bourdieu). They occupy mainly lower positions and hardly developed their academic career.

Internal academic networks

The Balkan branches of the IFUW were created in the 1920s. Bulgarian³ (May 1924), Hellenic⁴ (May 1924) and Romanian⁵ ones (1925) were results of internal initiative of its members who decided that local problems of highly educated women can be solved through membership in the IFUW. The Bulgarian association of University Women (BAUW) was formed after consultations between several medical doctors and high school teachers who decided to repeat the activities of the IFUW in Geneva and Paris. The Yugoslav Association⁶ was a response to the proposal of Prof. Ellen Gleditch, a Chairwoman of the IFUW (Obradović 1998; Mandić, Pavlovic 2009; Stefanović 2013:330-331).



Stamps of the HAUW and of the BAUW

Overall, the founding of the four Balkan branches was not the result of internal conditions but it was a respond more too external appeal because female elite, who wanted to make an academic career, did not exist. Their establishment was in favor of the women graduates whose professional career faced obstacles in societies with delayed social modernization and negative social stereotypes.

³ Дружество на българките с висше образование. See: **Nazarska 2007a**.

⁴ Ο Σύνδεσμος Ελληνίδων Επιστημόνων (ΣΕΕ).

⁵ Asociația femeilor universitare române. See: **Asociația 1930; Stan 2010: 245-257; Botoșineanu 2011**.

⁶ Друштво univerzitetski obrazovanih žena/ Удружење универзитетски образованих жена. See: **Feldman 1986; Obradović 1998:252-263; Mandić, Pavlovic 2009:227-233**.

Despite their efforts, the Balkan branches of the IFUW attracted as its members a very small proportion of higher educated women in the countries: 10% of educated women (250 members) in Yugoslavia and about 4% (300 members) in Bulgaria (Nazarska 2007a; Feldman 1986). On the one hand, this coincided with the practice of the IFUW to differentiate itself from conservative structures (Rupp 1997:15), not aiming to become a mass female organization similar to the branches of the International Council of Women (IWC), but preferred instead to be an organization of women's intellectual elite. On the other hand, the high membership fees, which were excessive for 'educated housewives' without paid employment (as were most of the female university graduates after they got married) and for female office workers, affected financially instability, weak public performance, little influence and absence of network structure. Not surprisingly, the Hellenic Association constantly reported to the IFUW, that a major internal problem was its financial insolvency.



Members of the Hellenic Association⁷

Among the reasons for the marginality of the Balkan branches of the IFUW were social prejudices (Obradović 1998; Mandić, Pavlović 2009; Nazarska 2007a) and negative stereotypes in the Balkan states towards educated women in general and specifically towards women scientists. The very foundation of the Yugoslav Association caused a lot of criticism in society, since according to its statutes it do not gather all educated women, but those with higher education (Milinkovich 2015:37, 38; Stefanović 2013:330, 331).

⁷ Source: <http://www.see1924.gr/>

In Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, and Bulgaria academic careers of women were accompanied by scandals caused by their male colleagues, sharing the patriarchal values on traditional female roles. That is why Angeliki Panajiotatou (1875-1954) – Lecturer of Medicine at the University of Athens, met a rude reception among the almost exclusively male students (1905) (Panajiotatou 2000; Uglow, Hendry 1999:415).



Angeliki Panajiotatou (1878-1954)

Within the year, she was forced to resign. Evangelia (Lia) Farmakidou (1890-1982) – founder of the Hellenic Radiological Society and scholar with a number of international post-graduation studies, was not allowed to teach at the University of Athens and she worked in her own X-ray medical office (Baltas, Balanika 2010; Livadas, Vrakatselis, Kratsas 1995; Vrakatselis 1995:369-370).



Evangelia (Lia) Farmakidou (1890-1982)

A public scandal erupted on the appointment (1923) and the dismissal of Ksenija Atanasijević (1894-1981) – an Associate Professor of Philosophy at the Belgrade University. She was accused of plagiarism by a male colleague and removed from science to the end of her life (1928) (Tomashevich 1982; Hawkesworth 2000:184-185; Marić 2004; Vuletić 2005; Nenić 2006).



Ksenija Atanasijević (1894-1981)

The academic career of Vera Myller – a Full Professor at the Iași University, and of Eliza Constantinescu-Bagdat – a Professor of French Literature at the Commercial Academy in Cluj, also caused great public debate (Stan 2010; 2013).



Vera Myller (1880-1970)

The female assistant professors at the Sofia University were exposed to a sexist Assistant Professors' Regulation (1924-1939). They had also worked on temporary contracts and were low paid, were often a subject to administrative persecutions by their direct supervisors. Often they were stopped from participating in competitions for habilitation and were dismissed in 'the interest of the service' (Nazarska 2005). Elizabeth Kara-Michailova (1897-1968) – a physicist of international renown, applied four times (1923, 1927, 1937, and 1938) until her election as an Associate Professor of Physics at the Sofia University. She received formal rejections, but contests were decided in favor of male participation. After her election she was very depressed by her colleagues, men with crude manners (Tsoneva-Mathewson 1997:205-208; Lazarova 2004; Nazarska 2006; Rentetzi 2007: 43, 89-90).

The Balkan associations were based on a wide range of educated women, but their chairwomen and board members were rarely women scientists. The BAUW were led by high school teachers, which put a priority on the problems of their own professional group. Academic women became Board members, but they did not have key positions and a serious impact on the policy pursued by the BAUW (Nazarska 2007a). Furthermore, the chairwomen belonged to old generation born in the 1870s-1880s who were less influenced by the ideas and practice their

younger colleagues, born in the 1890s and in the early 20th century, who began their scientific career after the WW1 (Nazarska 2007a).

Prosopographical analysis (*see Appendix*) shows that in other countries the situation was similar. The Hellenic Association (HAUW) was headed by lawyers, physicians and dentists, who were private practitioners, and high school teachers. The Romanian Association (RAUW) was dominated by aristocracy elite of “educated housewives” – journalists, writers and translators by hobby, but not by occupation, they did not rely on such incomes. The Yugoslav Association (YAUW) was headed by teachers, clerks, medical doctors, and “educated housewives”. Women scientists were occasionally involved in the boards. They were not elected as chairladies.



Efi Plastika-Panselinou (1907-1997), founder of the HAUW, writer.

Nada Micic-Pakvor (1899-1969), head of the Zagreb section of the YAUW, medical doctor.

Samiza Bilcescu Alimanasteanu, (1867-1935), Chairwoman of the RAUW, lawyer.

All four associations were divided by territory or occupation, but not by scientific fields. The BAUW established four sections following the occupation of its members – of the Women Lawyers, Women Artists, Women Writers, and Female Students⁸. None of them was of women scientists (Nazarska 2007a). Female students united themselves not for scientific purposes, but for protection of their social benefits. The Section of Women Writers seceded (1934), but the other three sections worked each in its area, without coordination and visible results (Gigova 2008). For these reasons is difficult to talk about a homogenous professional

⁸ Another section – of Women Dentists, was planned in the late 1930s.

network. Although there were members of the BAUW who were living in the countryside, the BAUW could not establish provincial branches. It made it weak and had decreased the opportunities to develop a scientific network (Nazarska 2007a).

In the YAUW were formed regional (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Sarajevo) and local (Skopje, Uzice, Sabac, and Kragujevac) branches following the national division in state. Their core, however, was in the big cities and the capital and they did not form dense and homogeneous networks. During the 1930s in the YAUW was observed a process of decentralization. The strongest opposition to the Belgrade branch (representing Serbian nationalism in the country) was led by the Zagreb (Croatian) branch. National conflicts at the state level were carried over to the Association and blocked its activities (Obradović 1998; Feldman 2001; Mandić, Pavlović 2009; Zabilježene 2014).



Board of the YAUW, Belgrade, 1935.

The general objectives of the IFUW – to ensure the proper conditions for the development of the professional career of university women, were recorded in the statutes of the Balkan associations, but not became their top priority. They were adapted to local needs and covered the whole range of problems faced by women with university education (Trgovčević 2003; Nazarska 2003). In the YAUW prevailed national

ideas for establishing the Yugoslav identity and for Yugoslav integration (Berkovitch 1999; Feldman 2001; Nazarska 2007a) and raising the literacy rate. In its statutes did not attend tasks aimed at women in universities (Milinkovich 2015:37-38). In Greece, the main goal was winning a professional rights of women lawyers, general suffrage, and goals such as: develop a sense of social responsibility among university women, so that they offer their education and professionalism for the rise, mutual assistance and co-operation of all Greek women; fight off illiteracy, readjust education and learning according to the contemporary socio-economic conditions, and protect the children; defend democracy, national independence, peace, and citizens' rights⁹.

Broadly defined goals reduced the importance of international scholarships that the IFUW considered a major tool in its work. Balkan associations regularly announced calls of the IFUW, but emitted a small number of participants in the competitions. The official explanation was that women scientists were not prepared to take part. In the late 1930s few female members participated in the competitions and won several scholarships. The BAUW's experience illustrates that. In 1927-1928, it announced three times competitions for the American Federation of University Women scholarships. A total of 15 applications were submitted (an average of 3 applications per competition), with only 3 of them being scientists (2 Assistant Professors at the Sofia University, and the third – at the German Archeological Institute in Rome). The rest were women lawyers, librarians, artists, medical doctors, and teachers. In 1926, the Selection Committee did not find professionalism in the applications and the amount of scholarships was deposited under interest to a bank. In 1927, committee discussed two applications of women scientists – a chemist and physiologist, who had had many international publications and positive recommendations from their mentors. However, their applications were not approved by the Ministry of Education¹⁰.

⁹ Hellenic Association of University Women/ Syndesmos Ellinidon Epistimonon – SEE. In: <http://www.see1924.gr/>

¹⁰ National Museum of Education – Gabrovo, collection 11ni, inventory № 10770; № 10771, folio 1-5; № 10772, folio 5-9.

Fellowships Awarded

Word has been received by the Victorian Women Graduates' Association of the following awards for 1938-9 made at the recent meeting in New York of the International Fellowship Award Committee —

IFUW junior fellowship in science, to Mrs. Cecilia Lutwak-mann, M.D., a candidate of Polish nationality, presented by the British Federation of University Women and carrying out work in biochemistry at Cambridge.

IFUW special fellowship (for a candidate from a national association not formerly granted an award), to Dr. Vera Paraskova, of the Bulgarian Association, for physiological chemistry in Zurich (Switzerland).

International (A.A.U.W. Fellowship Crusade) fellowship, to Miss Kamala N. Bhagvat (master of science and member of the Indian Federation), for work in organic chemistry at Carlsburg Laboratories, Copenhagen, or at a British University.

Bourse-Française, to Miss Marguerite la Boule, B.A., a candidate of Belgian nationality, presented by the British Federation, for work in literature at the Sorbonne, Paris.

The following awards by the British Federation were also announced:—

International resident scholarship at Crosby Hall 1938-9, to Miss Helen Jean Champion, M.A., of Dalhousie and London University, who proposes to continue her historical researches. Miss Champion is a member of the British Federation.

Caroline Spurgeon scholarship, 1938-9, to Miss Doris E. Peterson, B.A., of Minnesota University (a member of the American Federation of University Women), for her work in English literature. Miss H. J. Champion was proxime accessit.

Dr. Vera Paraskova, chemist and board member of the BAUW, was awarded with scholarship of the IFUW, 1938-1939.

Targeting to broader social goals the Balkan associations determined one of their main means – public presentation and socialization of the educated women's work. In Bulgaria this remained the focus of activities of the Club of Women Writers and the Section of Women Artists. In Yugoslavia the accent was put on preparation of a national bibliography of women's works, and on new media propaganda (Obradović 1998; Mandić, Pavlović 2009; Milinković 2015:271).

Meanwhile, the members of the Balkan associations had been involved in many other cultural and feminist formations that swallow their efforts or did the image of the associations too vague to society, as: Yugoslav Women's Movement, Yugoslav Women's Union, Association for Civil and Political Empowerment of Romanian women, Romanian National Council of Women, Bulgarian Women's

"The Argus" Pattern Service

Union, WILPF's branches etc.. They had often used their networks, incl. in science, instead of the network of the IFUW.

To implement their academic migrations the female scientists predominantly relied on the financial support of their families, state institutions or international foundations. They took a low interest in the scholarships of the IFUW because they did not receive sufficient support from its Balkan branches (Nazarska 2014).

1. Inter-institutional academic networks

While they existed from the mid-1920s, up to the 1940s the Balkan associations maintained sporadic contacts. They were hampered mostly for political reasons – the countries were divided into winners and losers, of wishing to preserve the status quo and revisionist set. State policies greatly reduced the abilities to create a Balkan academic network.

In the 1920-mid.1930s contacts between the Balkan associations had been taken place mainly by the IFUW. Their representatives communicated on the Councils in Brussels (1925), Vienna (1927), Madrid (1928), Prague (1930), and on the conferences in Amsterdam (1926), and Geneva (1929). An almost same circle of persons had arrived there, but we have no documents showing intense correspondence between them. Rather, they supported more connections with associations in Western Europe.



**Visit of Prof. Ellen Gleditsch – President of the IFUW, Bulgaria, 1927.
Accompanying by Ekaterina Zlatoustova – Chairwoman of the BAUW,
and Regina Clemm, member of the Norwegian Association**

In the mid.1930s-1940s contacts had already taken place between associations, mostly bilateral. There were several varieties of communication: mutual visits, discussing issues of common interest, exhibitions, translations and scholarships.

In 1929-1930, the associations of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania exchanged visiting groups (Bulletin 1930:52) and Greek writer I. Skaraveos visited Bulgaria occasionally to observe living conditions (Balgarsko 1986:223). In 1938 the BAUW was hosting 30 Croatian members and students, arriving in Sofia (Bulletin 1938:18). Regarding with the changes in the Bulgarian legislation and the struggle for voting rights the Section of Women Lawyers at the BAUW maintained close ties with the YAUW (1934-1936). Its Chairwoman Vera Zlatareva gave several lectures on the Yugoslav criminal law¹¹. In 1937-1938 the Section of Women Artists at the BAUW curated an exhibition of 50 authors with 180 works in Belgrade and Zagreb (Genova 2001:278; Bulletin 1937:11; Pasheva-Kozarova 1938). The YAUW included in its edition "Slavic Anthology" (1933) a short story of Fanny Popova-Mutafova, a board member of the Club of Bulgarian Women Writers¹². In 1930 the Romanian government provides scholarship for scientific work of the YAUW member Leposlava Pavlovic (Bulletin 1930: 52).

Members of the Balkan associations preferred to use less networks of the IFUW as the networks of other organizations that also were affiliated. Their contacts were especially intense through a number of societies of Balkan artists. Such were the exhibitions of the "Rodno izkustvo" Society (Sofia) in Belgrade (1933)¹³, of the "Oblik" Society (Belgrade)¹⁴ and of the "Zemlja" Society (Zagreb)¹⁵ in Sofia (1934), of New Artists' Society (Sofia) in Zagreb (1935)¹⁶, Maribor¹⁷, Ljubljana (1936)¹⁸ and

¹¹ Central State Archive (Sofia), collection 1752к, inventory 1, folder 789, folio 2-3; folder 790, folio 3.

¹² Ibidem, collection 1449, inventory 1, folder 161, folio 246.

¹³ Participants: Masha Jivkova-Ozunova, member of the Women Artists Section. See **Genova 2004:163-169**.

¹⁴ Participants: Stanka Rodonic-Luchev. See **Genova 2004:177-184; Zaveti 1934; Zlatorog 1934**.

¹⁵ Participants: Branka Kristianovic. See **Genova 2004:193-202**.

¹⁶ Participants: Vera Nedkova. See **Genova 2004:193-202**.

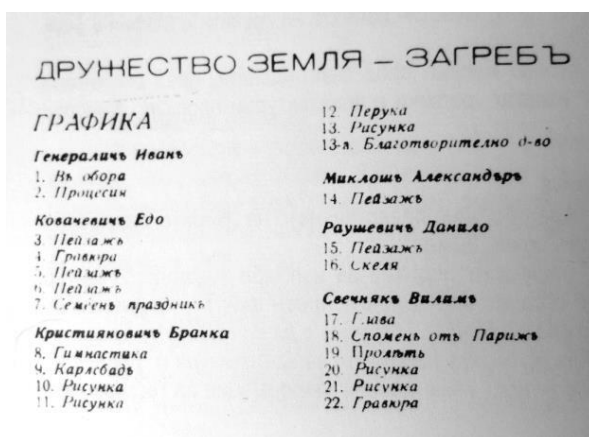
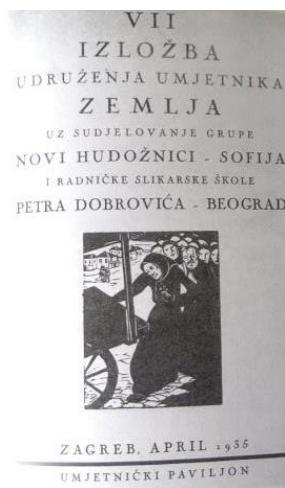
¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

Belgrade (1938)¹⁹, and of the “Techni” Society (Athens) in Sofia (1936)²⁰.



Sketch of the “Techni” Society artists by Kiril Bujuklijsky: (1) Marie Anagnostopoulos and (5) Bella Raftopoulou (Literaturen 1936).



Catalogue of the Zemlja Society (Zagreb) exhibition in Sofia, 1934.
Paintings of Branka Kristianovic.

¹⁹ Participants: Masha Ouzunova, Vera Lukova, Ruska Marinova, Bronka Gyurova, Todorka Burova, Anna Kramer, Mara Georgireva, members of the Women Artists Section. See: **Genova 2004:164**.

²⁰ Participants: Marie Anagnostopoulos, Penelope Economidi (1885-1967), and sculptor Bella Raftopoulou. See: **Genova 2004:212-224**.

Intensive were ties of Bulgarian writers with their female colleagues from Yugoslavia, Greece, and Romania through writers' organizations. Bulgarian women writers used the PEN congresses to visit Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana (1932) and to communicate with Isidora Sekulic and Desanka Maksimovic, members of the YAUW (Nazarska, G. 2007). Even Maksimovic was elected as a correspondent member of the Club of Bulgarian Women Writers (Nazarska 2004; 2007).



Writers Desanka Maksimovic, Dora Gabe, and Elissaveta Bagrjana at the PEN congress, Dubrovnik, 1932.

With the mediation of the Romanian-Bulgarian Bilateral Society a representative of the BAUW visited Bucharest (1932) and met leaders of the RAUW (Ivanova 1932; Zhen-ski 1933). In 1940 the Greek-Bulgarian Bilateral Society initiated an exhibition of Bulgarian painters in Athens, which included works of a lot of members of the Section of Women Artists at the BAUW²¹.

²¹ Participants: Princess Eudoxia of Bulgaria, Vera Lukova, Vera Nedkova, Ekaterina Savova, Zoya Paprikova, Vaska Emanuilova, Todorka Burova, Maria Yordanovich, Mara Yossifova, Masha Jivkova-Ouzunova, Tsvetana Stilianova, Olga Schahanowa-Schishkova. See **Genova 2004:212-224**.



Visit of a Bulgarian cultural delegation, Athens, 1940: 1st row, from right to left: (1) painter Masha Jivkova-Ouzunova, 2nd row: (4) writer Elissaveta Bagrjana.

The Balkan branches of the IFUW made various contacts by feminist unions in the region. In the 1930s Zorka Kasnar-Karadzic, chairwoman of the YAUW and also an activist of the Yugoslav Women's Union, had a long-term correspondence with Dimitrana Ivanova, president of the Bulgarian Women's Union (Etudes 1990:148). Alexandrina Cantacuzino (1876-1944) – leader of the Romanian women's movement, founder and first president of the Little Entente of Women (1923), MP in the League of Nations (1929-1938), vice president of the IWC, but also member of the RAUW, visited Sofia in 1934 (Selianka 1934; Cheschebec 2006:89-93). Series of lectures were given in Sofia (1938) by Elena Ramniceanu, a Romanian lawyer and member of the IWC (Zhenski 1938). One of the permanent channels of communication between members of the Balkan association was mediation of international organizations. At the International Women's Conference on Disarmament in Belgrade (1931), organized by the International Union for the Rights of Women, the representatives of the BAUW were welcomed by Paulina Lebl-Albala, president of the YAUW (Zhenski 1931). The Third Congress of Slavic Women's Association in Belgrade (1933) involved the chairwoman of the BAUW, who visit her colleagues from the YAUW.



Alexandra Cantacuzino (member of the RAUW) and Ksenija Atanasijević (member of the YAUW) participating in the Little Entente of Women Board, Athens, 1925.

These contacts, which can hardly be described as intense, rarely created personal relationships. The Balkan associations were not planned and implemented a common forum and were more concerned by the IFUW. The nature of these relationships was not scientific exchange, but social contacts.

The connections were completely interrupted during the WW2. After the occupation of Yugoslavia by German and Italian troops (1941) the YAUW was abolished. Some of its members entered into the local branches of the IWLPF and the ICW. After 1945, the Balkans fell within the sphere of interests of UK and the USSR. In the late 1940-1950s the Bulgarian, Yugoslav and Romanian associations were disbanded under political pressure.²² There are no evidences of communication between Hellenic AUW and those in the Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania in the 1950s.

Conclusions

Characteristics of established networks. My SNA (cf. Scott 2000) found, that most of the Balkan associations created national inter-

²² RAUW in 1947, BAUW in 1950, and YAUW in 1955.

personal networks that were based on long-term and direct, personal friendship, correspondence and professional relationships. They were simple networks, and so were durable and homogeneous.

The Balkan associations created also cross-national organizational networks. However the inter-institutional relations between them were formal not based on personal friendship, nor long-term correspondence and personal contacts. These networks were not knowledge networks because through them rarely were shared skills and knowledge. They could be describing as simple networks that had never become multi-centered.

Social exchange²³. Through social exchange theory is visible that Balkan IFUW branches represent the social structures, which had pursued social exchange. Social actors in them were active members – artists, lawyers and other intellectuals, who exchanged social resource less as knowledge than as social communication. The opportunities for social exchange in the period were not too favorable, due to the tense political situation, but were facilitated by the ongoing cultural cooperation in the region and the activities of transnational feminist organizations during the interwar period.

Modes of social exchange were direct knowledge exchange, when communication was going between the two associations, and generalized knowledge exchange, when connections were made through the IFUW. Productive knowledge exchange is not detectable in this period.

Direct knowledge exchange had taken place through interpersonal relationships (travel, exchange of manuscripts etc.) and group actions (participation in congresses, workshops, exhibition, travel etc.). Association's members did not obviously use the domestic associations for knowledge exchange: for presenting exhibitions and books, publishing articles etc. Important promoter of direct knowledge exchange were various societies of professional, artistic, bilateral and international type, which facilitate and mediate institutional relationships of female association's members. A major role in the direct knowledge exchange played interpersonal relations, consisting of friendship, common field activities, correspondence, meetings, exchange of materials etc. The second mode, which can be finding after SNA, is generalized knowledge exchange. It operates indirectly through intermediaries. Such agent was the IFUW.

²³ See: Wellman, Berkowitz 1988; Charle, Schriewer, Wagner 2004.

Researched exchange networks, created between the Balkan associations in 1920s-1940s, were flexible and weak structures through the time. Dynamics of exchange can be described with at least three periods: the 1930, the 1940s, and the 1950s. It was influenced by the political situation on the Balkans and of drawing of territorial and symbolic frontiers in Europe after WW2 (beginning of the Cold War and dividing into 'western' and 'eastern' blocks).

Power-dependent relations and social outcomes. The participation of the Balkan female educated elites in exchange knowledge networks of the IFUW did not provide them with academic power (obtaining of higher positions, participation in the Senate or in the Boards of scientific societies etc.), but provided them with professional development and solidarity of broad feminist circles. No social outcomes can be found in regard of associations as whole. They remain marginal structures, which depended on mediation of the IFUW and were much more "receivers" than "senders" of social capital.

Appendix

Active members of the Hellenic association

Name	Education	Profession	Position in the association
Botsis-Tsapalira, Marika, 1904-2006	Pharmacy	pharmacist	Member
Bredima, Olga	Ph.D.	High school teacher	Member
Coumoulou , Helen G.	Dentistry – Athens University, Girton College	Dentist surgeon	Member
Couscou, Cath.	Ph.D.		Member
Dukakis, R.	Literature		Member
Flambouriari, Maria, 1905-?	Law	lawyer	Chairwoman, 1924
Kanellopoulou-Patrick, Eleni	Architecture		Member
Karousatou, Agathi	Ph.D.		Member
Karydis, K.	Pharmacy		Member
Kiose, N.	Pharmacy	Apothecary	Member
Leoussi, M.	Dentistry	Dentist	Member
Minettas, M.	Ph.D.		Chairwoman

Papari-Stathi, D.	Ph.D.		Member
Perraki-Papatesta, Ismene	Medicine	Medical doctor	Member
Petrountzi, Constantina (Dina)	Law	lawyer	Member
Pharmakidi, Lia		Medical doctor; radiologist	Member
Plastika-Panselinou, Efi, 1907-1997		writer	Chairwoman, 1931
Sakelariou, K.	Physics		Member
Servetaki, Thiresi	Mathematics		Member
Spanidou, Lina	Ph.D.		Member
Tzovara, Petroula	Ph.D.		Member

Active members of the Romanian association

Name	Education	Profession	Position in the association
Ariona, Constanta Frosa			Member
Ariton, Elena			Member
Bacalbasa, Elena	Ph.D.		Member
Basilescu, Cecile			Member
Bibescu, Martha			Member
Bilcescu Alimanasteanu, Samiza	layer	housewife	Chairwoman, 1934
Boscu, Hortansa			Member
Botez, Calypso, 1880-1933			Member
Cottaky Nicolau, Athena		journalist	Member
Duca, Elena			Member
Gherlmegeanu-Paximade, Margareta	Ph.D.	writer	Member
Hodos, Alexandrina (Dida)			Member
Hodos, Constanta			Member
Irimescu, Ioana Irina			Member
Leonida Zamfirescu, Elisa, 1887-1973	Geology	Assistant, inst. of Geology	Member
Maria, queen, 1875-1938		writer, painter, sculptor	Honorary Chairwoman
Milcescu, Sandra			Member
Myller, Vera, 1880-1970	mathematics	Prof., Iasi University	Member

Negruzzi, Ella, 1876-1949	layer		Member
Niculescu, Medea O., 1889-?	Ph.D.	Medical doctor, assistant, Bucharest University	Member
Noailles, Anna, 1876-1933		Housewife; writer	Member
Pilatt, Leopoldina			Member
Raileanu, Maria			Member
Rasucesko			Member
Sadoveanu, Izabela, 1870-1941		journalist	Chair-woman, 1925
Sciosteano	Ph.D.		Member
Sion, Monica			Member
Vacarescu, Elena			Member
Vasilescu, Nydia			Member
Pilatt, Leopoldina			Member
Raileanu, Maria			Member
Rasucesko	Ph.D.		Member
Sadoveanu, Izabela			Member
Sciosteano			Member
Sion, Monica	Law	housewife	Chair-woman, 1934
Vacarescu, Elena, 1864-1947	French Literature, Paris University	Writer; translator; maid of honour at the royal court; ambassador at the League of Nations	Member
Vasilescu, Nydia, 1880-1933			Member

Active members of the Yugoslav association

Name	Education	Profession	Position in the association
Hrvaćanin, Jovanka, 1899-1987	literature	high school teacher	Chairwoman, Novi Sad branch
Dizdarević, Branka			Member, Novi Sad branch
Jovanovic, Borislava			Member, Belgrade branch
Kasnar-Karadzic, Zorka, 1891-1962	Belgrade University	translator	Chairwoman of Belgrade branch and of YFUW (1940-1941)
Kicevac			Member, Belgrade branch
Lebl-Abdala, Paulina, 1891-1967	Serbian and French literature, Belgrade University	translator, publicist	Chairwoman of YFUW (1927-1935) and of Belgrade branch (1935-1940)
Marinkovic-Lengold, Katarina, 1904-1974		lawyer	Member, Novi Sad branch
Micic-Pakvor, Nada, 1899-1969		medical doctor	Member, Novi Sad branch
Mihajlovic, Bosiljka		clerk at the Min. of Education	Member, Belgrade branch
Mišić-Jambrišak, Jelka			Member, Novi Sad branch
Pavlovic, Leposlava			Member, Belgrade branch
Pertovic, Jelica		medical doctor	Member, Belgrade branch
Petrović, Nadežda			Member, Belgrade branch
Pirnat, Zlata, 1912-2009	Sociology, literature, Ljubljana	writer, journalist	Chairwoman, Ljubljana branch

	University Paris University		
Savic-Rebac, Anica, 1892-1953	classical philology, Vienna University Belgrade University Ph.D.	high school Teacher writer, classical translator, professor	Member, Belgrade branch
Stansfield-Popovic, H.M., 1899-1989	Cambridge University	lecturer, Belgrade University private teacher; translator	Member, Belgrade branch

Bibliography:

Asociația. 1930. *Asociația femeilor universitare române* [The Association of Romanian University Women]. Cluj.

Balgarsko. 1986. *Balgarsko-balkanski kulturni vzaimootmoshenia, 1878-1944* [Bulgarian-Balkan Relations, 1878-1944]. Sofia.

Baltas, Ch. S. and A. P. Balanika. 2010. Evangelia Farmakidou (1890–1982): the First Female Greek Radiologist. – *Journal of Medical Biography*, №18, pp. 41-43.

Bartkowski, M. 2002. Comparative Study of Women's Activities in the Inter-War Intergovernmental Organizations: the League of Nations, the International Labour Organization and the Pan American Union. - *Rubikon*. E-journal, №5, <http://venus.ci.uw.edu.pl/~rubikon/forum/women.htm>

Batho, E.C. 1969. *A Lamp of Friendship, 1918-1968*. Eastbourne: IFUW.

Berkovitch, N. 1999. *From Motherhood to Citizenship. Women's Rights and International Organizations*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Bogdanović, M. 2006. Women in Education and Science/ Zene u obrazovanju i nauci. - *Sociologija*, vol. 68, №4, pp. 327-340.

Botoșineanu, C. 2011. Vera Myller, prima femeie profesor universitar din România. În jurul numirii sale la Universitatea din Iași [Vera Myller, the first woman university professor from Romania. Around her appointment at the University of Iasi]. - *Historia Universitatis Iassiensis*, vol. 2, pp. 59-75.

Bulletin. 1930. *Bulletin of IFUW*.

Bulletin. 1937. *Bulletin of IFUW*.

Bulletin. 1938. *Bulletin of IFUW*.

Charle, Ch., J. Schriewer, P. Wagner, eds. 2004. *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*. Frankfurt am Main.

Cheschebec, R. 2006. Alexandra Cantacuzino. In: De Haan, Fr., Kr. Daskalova, A. Loutfi, eds. *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe: 19th – 20th Centuries*. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, pp. 89-93.

Cott, N.F. 1987. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

De Haan, Fr., Kr. Daskalova, A. Loutfi, eds. 2006. *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe: 19th – 20th Centuries*. Budapest, New York: CEU Press.

Etudes. 1990. *Etudes historiques*, vol.14.

Feldman, A. 2001. Predskazanie za gladna godina: Zhenite I ideologijata na jugoslavizma (1918-1939) [Prediction for the Hungry Year: Women and the Ideology of Yugoslavism (1918-1939)]. In: Daskalova, K., R. Gavrilova, eds. *Granitsi na grazhdanstvoto. Evropejskite zheni mezhdu traditsiata I modernostta* [Borders of Citizenship. European Women between Tradition and Modernity]. Sofia: LIK, pp. 244-264;

Feldman, A. 1986. Prilog istraživanju historije ženskih organizacija: Udruženje univerzitetski obrazovanih žena [Contribution to the Research on the History of Women's Organizations: Association of University Educated Women]. - *Žena* (Zagreb), 1986, N 2-3;

Genova, I. 2004. *Modernisms and Modernity – (im)possibility for Historicizing*. Sofia: Ida, 2004, pp. 163-169.

Georgiev, V. 2000. *Balgarskata inteligentsia I natsionalnata kauza v Parvata svetovna vojna* [The Bulgarian intelligentsia and the National Cause in the First World War]. Sofia.

Gigova, I. 2008. The Feminisation of Bulgarian Literature and the Club of Bulgarian Women Writers. - *Aspasia*, vol. 2, pp. 91-119.

Gigova, I. 2001. Hudozhnichkite v Bulgaria prez parvata polovina na 20 v. Obrazovanie I uchastie v hudozhestvenia zhivot. In: Daskalova, K., R. Gavrilova, eds. *Granitsi na grazhdanstvoto. Evropejskite zheni mezhdu traditsiata I modernostta* [Borders of Citizenship. European Women between Tradition and Modernity]. Sofia: LIK.

Hawkesworth, C. 2000. *Voices in the Shadows: Women and Verbal Art in Serbia and Bosnia*. Budapest: CEU University Press.

Ivanova, D. 1932. Rumansko-balgarskoto sblizhenie I uchastieto na zhenata [Romanian-Bulgarian rapprochement and the participation of the woman]. - *Zhenski glas* [Women's Voice], №16, 25.05.1932.

Lampe, J. 2014. *Balkans into Southeastern Europe, 1914-2014: A Century of War and Transition*. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lazarova, P. 2004. Elisabetha Kara-Michailova (1897-1968). Grande Dame der bulgarischen Physik. - *Miscellanea Bulgarica* (Vienna), №16, pp. 28-38.

Literaturen. 1936. *Literaturen chas* [Literary Voice], №36, 18.05.1936.

Livadas G., Th. Vrakatselis and A. Kratsas. 1995. Some of The Founding Members of The Hellenic Radiology Society. - *Hellenic Radiology*, №26, pp. 371-377.

Mandic, Sl., J. Pavlovic. 2009. The Association of University Educated Women in Yugoslavia, 1927-1941. In: Popova, Kr. et al., eds. *Women and Minorities Archives: Ways of Archiving*, vol.1. Sofia-Vienna, pp. 227-233.

Marić, Il. 2004. Uklanjanje Ksenije Atanasijević sa Beogradskog univerziteta. - *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, №51, pp. 273-286.

Milinkovich, I. 2015. *Zhenska kniga v chasopis "Misao" (1919-1937)* [Women's Fiction in the Misao Magazine (1919-1937)]. Beograd.

Mitcheva, Z. 1967. Balgaro-yugoslavsko kulturno sbliženie prez 30-te god. (1933-1940) [Bulgarian-Yugoslav Cultural Cohesion in the 1930s]. - *Istoricheski pregled*, №3, pp. 3- 29.

Nazarska, G. 2003. *Universitetskoto obrazovanie I balgarskite zheni, 1879-1944* [University Education and the Bulgarian Women, 1879-1944]. Sofia: IMIR.

Nazarska, G. 2004. Klubat na balgarskite pisatelki I profesionaliziraneto na zhenskia knizhoven trud 1930-1946 [The Bulgarian Writers' Club and the Professionalisation of Women's Literary Work 1930-1946]. - *Izdatel*, №3, pp. 47-52.

Nazarska, G. 2005. Dostapat na zhenite do balgarskata universitetska nauka, 1918-1944 [Women's Access to Bulgarian University Science, 1918-1944]. - *Istoricheski pregled*, № 5-6, pp. 116-147.

Nazarska, G. 2006. Elissaveta Karamichailova. In: De Haan, Fr., Kr. Daskalova, A. Loutfi, eds. *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe: 19th – 20th Centuries*. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, pp. 222 – 225.

Nazarska, G. 2007. Bridges over the Frontier: the Cultural Contacts between the Bulgarian and the Yugoslavian Female Intellectual Elite in the Interwar Period. - *Bibliotekar* (Belgrade), № 3-4, pp. 375-384.

Nazarska, G. 2007a. Bulgarian Association of University Women 1924-1950. - *Aspasia*, vol. 1, pp. 153-175.

Nazarska, G. 2014. Transferring Knowledge: Bulgarian Women Scientists in Bulgarian-German Scientific Networks (1920-1950s). - *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, vol. 50, №1, pp. 13-41.

Nenić, I. 2006. Atanasijević, Ksenija. In: De Haan, Fr., Kr. Daskalova, A. Loutfi, eds. *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms. Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe: 19th – 20th Centuries*. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, pp. 41-43.

Obradović, M. 1998. Udruženje univerzitetski obrazovanih žena u Jugoslaviji, 1927-1941. Godine [Association of University Educated Women in Yugoslavia]. In: *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. i 20. veka*. vol. 2, Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, pp. 252-263.

Oertzen, Ch. v. 2016. *Science, Gender, and Internationalism: Women's Academic Networks, 1917-1955*. New York: Palgrave.

Offen, K. 2000. *European Feminisms 1700-1950: A Political History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Panajiotatou, A. 2000. In: *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science: Pioneering Lives from Ancient Times to the Mid-20th Century*, vol. 2. New York: Routledge.

Pasheva-Kozarova, R. 1938. 10-godishninata na Feuzhestvoto na zhenite-hudozhnitsi. - *Zhenski glas* [Women's Voice], №732, 11.05.1938.

Rados, L. 2010. *Primele studente ale Universității din Iași* [The First Students of the University of Iasi]. Iasi: Univ. Alexandru Ioan Cuza.

Rentetzi, M. 2007. *Trafficking Materials and Gendered Experimental Practices: Radium Research in Early Twentieth Century Vienna*. Columbia University Press.

Rupp, L. J. 1997. *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- Rupp, L. J. 1998.** Feminisms and Internationalism: A View from the Centre. - *Gender & History*, vol. 10, №3.
- Scott, J. 2000.** *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook*. London.
- Selianka. 1934.** Selianka [Woman Pesant], №10, 30.03.1934.
- Stan, A.-M. 2010.** Eliza Constantinescu-Bagdat, portretul unei feministe din lumea academică interbelică [Eliza Constantinescu-Bagdat, the Portrait of a Feminist from the Interwar World]. - *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Gheorghe Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, vol. 49, series Historica, pp. 245-257.
- Stan, A.-M. 2013.** Public Roles and Socio-Cultural Presence of Women Holding Academic Degrees and/or Positions in Romania - first half of the 20th Century. In: *Women in Educated Elites in Pre-Socialist and Early Socialist East Central European Societies*. Workshop papers, Geneva, April 12-13, 2013.
- Stefanović, S. 2013.** *Nation und Geschlecht. Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Dissertation. Wien.
- Tomashevich, V. G. 1982.** Dr. Ksenija Atanasijević (1894-1981): Philosopher, Philologist and Fighter for Human Rights. - *Serbian Studies: Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, vol. 2, №1, pp. 71-79.
- Trgovčević, L. 2000.** La science européenne et les elites balkaniques. Les étudiants des pays balkaniques dans les universités allemandes et françaises au cours du XIX^e siècle. - *Balkanologie* (Paris), vol. 4, №1, pp. 132-141.
- Trgovčević, L. 2003.** *Planirana elita. O studentima iz Srbije na evropskim univerzitetima u 19. Veku* [Planned Elite. About Students from Serbia at European Universities in the 19th century]. Beograd.
- Tsoneva-Mathewson, Sn., M. F. Rayner-Canham, G. W. Rayner-Canham. 1997.** Elizaveta Karamihailova. Bulgarian Pioneer of Radioactivity. In: Rayner-Canham, M. F. and G. W. Rayner-Canham, eds. *A Devotion to Their Science. Pioneer Women of Radioactivity*. Montreal: McGill University Press.
- Uglow, J. S., M. Hendry. 1999.** *The Northeastern Dictionary of Women's Biography*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Vestnik. 1938.** *Vestnik na zhenata* [Woman's Newspaper], №719, 9.02.1938.
- Vrakatselis, Th. 1995.** The Establishment of the Hellenic Radiological Society. - *Hellenic Radiology*, №26.
- Vuletić, L. 2005.** *Život i misao Ksenije Atanasijević*. Beograd: Lj. Vuletić.
- Wellman, B., St. D. Berkowitz. 1988.** *Social Structures: A Network Approach*. Cambridge, New York.
- Winstone, D.** Who was Virginia Gildersleeve? In: <https://graduatewomen.org/home-who-we-are/who-was-virginia-gildersleeve/>
- Zabilježene. 2014.** *Zabilježene - Žene i javni život Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. Vijeku* [Famous Women in Public life of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 20th Century]. Sarajevo: Sarajevski otvoreni centar.
- Zaveti. 1934.** *Zaveti* [Testaments], №2.
- Zhenski. 1931.** *Zhenski glas* [Women's Voice], № 17-18, 31.05.1931.
- Zhenski. 1933.** *Zhenski glas* [Women's Voice] №15-16, 30.06.1933.
- Zhenski. 1938.** *Zhenski glas* [Women's Voice], №12-13, 25.05.1938.
- Ziogou-Karastergiou, S. 1986.** *I mesi ekpaidefsi ton koritsion stin Ellada (1830-1893)* [The Secondary Education of girls in Greece]. Athens: Istoriko Archeio Ellēnikēs Neolaias, 1986, pp. 33-146.
- Zlatorog. 1934.** *Zlatorog* [Golden Horn], №1, pp. 42-45.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.3>

Sevgi Uçan Çubukçu
Istanbul University, Turkey
[sevgiucan@gmail.com]

Mapping the Level of Knowledge in Gender Studies: a Mirror of Women's Radicalism in Turkey¹

Abstract: *This paper aims to map the research conducted on women and gender studies at universities in Turkey. The studies, projects, articles, books, seminars, conferences, training programs produced in this field take place in a wide variety of fields. The main material of this study is postgraduate theses written on women and gender issues. Thus, postgraduate theses written in the discipline of women and gender studies are evaluated within the framework of historical and political contexts. The institutionalization of academic feminism in Turkey is a radical intervention in the academic knowledge production process. Despite all the difficulties and obstacles, this process is a success story for Turkey. What does the knowledge of this mapping tell us? Where are these studies going? Is the radical intervention of feminism in Turkey still considered radical today? In order to think about the answers to these questions, it was tried to map the theses written on women and gender studies by taking data. In this study, the importance of the information obtained and the historical and political importance of emphasizing this information are analyzed by mapping the 'theses', which is an important part of the knowledge produced in women and gender studies in Turkey.*

Keywords: *Theses of Women and Gender Studies, Knowledge, Mapping, Turkey*

Introduction

This paper aims to map the development of research conducted on women and gender studies at universities, which are the most essential

* Assoc.Prof.of Political Science and Women's Studies

¹ This paper was presented at the Mercator Conference-Rights and Equality in Turkey: Institutions, Interactions and Discourses; Uçan-Çubukçu, Sevgi (2018) "Mapping the level of knowledge in gender studies: a mirror of women's radicalism in Turkey" The Mercator Conference-Rights and Equality in Turkey: Institutions, Interactions and Discourses, Berlin: 24-25 May 2018.

areas of intervention into the feminist movement in Turkey.² The knowledge of research, conducted and still ongoing that is produced in Turkey in this area, include many forms such as projects, articles, books, conference presentations, and on the like. The main area that will be elaborated on within this framework is limited to the postgraduate theses written in Turkey on women and gender issues.

The main purpose of this study is, firstly, to look in summary at the institutionalisation of women and gender studies in Turkey, and then, to analyse the outcomes of graduate theses in this field in the framework of historical and political context by mapping of the material. Since its first institutionalisation, academic feminism was a radical intervention in the process of knowledge production. Despite all the challenges, this was still a success story for Turkey. Today, the political climate in Turkey could be defined as a patriarchal authoritarian regime. Thus, this question must be asked: Is academic feminism still so radical? There are many contradictions and struggles in every aspect of society. There exists the institutionalisation of academic feminism, and this has led to a rich source of knowledge. But, on the other hand, there are also conservative interpretations of women's issues and gender roles.

It is possible to reach this material or a wider range of material from other sources, or it is possible to look at other materials that are produced in women and gender studies? By looking at these maps, we are able to gain insight into the political and historical context of women's studies in Turkey. What does this knowledge tell us? Where do these studies lead? What happens in academic fields, which is the achievement of feminist thought and criticism that allows the scholarly knowledge to reveal the sexist content? Is the radical intervention of feminism still considered radical today? To consider the answer to these questions, an attempt will be made to conduct mapping by taking data from the gender

² In this study, I would like to thank Ayşenur Emer and Özgür Kaymak, my young academician friends and PhD students, who helped me scan, collect, classify and create graphics for the data used in YÖK's web page and women's studies master's program for the presentation is; Uçan-Çubukçu, Sevgi (2018) "*Mapping the level of knowledge in gender studies: a mirror of women's radicalism in Turkey*" The Mercator Conference-Rights and Equality in Turkey: Institutions, Interactions and Discourses, Berlin: 24-25 May 2018.

studies as a basis for this material.³ To review the theses, which are part of the information produced in women and gender studies in Turkey, is an important gain. By mapping the theses on women and gender studies, it will be possible to take various comparisons and categories into consideration.

In regard to the institutionalisation process of women and gender studies in a historical context; the question to be asked is what do we understand when we read this map according to its political and social context in Turkey? What is the importance of the knowledge we obtain, and what is the historical and the political importance of placing emphasis on this knowledge today?

Short Background

‘Women’s studies’, ‘gender studies’ or in a different term, ‘gender and women’s studies’, is an academic discipline established in the 1970s.⁴ As it is known, this field is becoming more and more multidisciplinary, crosscutting into other disciplines, and becoming more extensive in Turkey, as it is also in many other countries. In recent times, it is almost impossible to keep statistical records about periodicals, conferences, as well as national and international organisations on women, gender and queer studies. This increase and diversification have professionalised women, gender and queer studies, and made them an essential part of the curricula at universities.

The struggle of academic feminism in Turkey, which started in the 1990s, is one of the greatest achievements of second-wave feminism.

3 For mapping gender studies in different countries, see: Antic Gaber, Milica (2017): “Mapping Women’s and Gender Studies in the Academic Field in Slovenia”, *Focus C.E.P.S. Journal*, Vol.7, No.2, p.9-27; Ginsberg, A. E. (2008). *Evolution of American Women’s Studies: Reactions on Triumphs, Controversies and Change*. Palgrave, McMillan, US; Dahlerup, D. (2015). *The development of Women’s Studies/Gender Studies in the social sciences in the Scandinavian countries*. Retrieved from http://koensforskning.soc.ku.dk/dokumenter/women_in_public_life/

⁴ Zmroczek, C. And C. Duchon (1991): “What are those Women up to? Women’s Studies and Feminist Research in the European Community”, *Out of Margins: Women’s Studies in the Nineties* (eds.) J. Aaron, S. Wallby, The Falmer press, pp.11-29. ;Scott, Joan W. (2000): “Fictitious Unities: “Gender”, “East”, and “West””, *4th European Feminist Research Conference*, Bologna: Italy; E. Messer-Davidow (2002): *Disciplining Feminism: From Social Activism to Academic Discourse*, Duke University Press-Durham.

Feminism, which gained increasing momentum after the 1980s,⁵ was reflected in the academic environment almost a decade later.⁶

The first centre of women's studies was founded at Istanbul University. Then, other established and respected universities, such as the University of Ankara and Middle East Technical University, established centres for women and gender studies. I prefer to underline the expression of 'established university' because, nowadays, there is a surge in the number of new universities being established almost overnight. Not so long as a few days ago, a new bill was passed in parliament which opens the way to open 20 more new universities. Some of these universities were founded after breaking away from well-established universities, such as the Istanbul University, Gazi University and Anadolu University, to name a few. According to the data obtained from the website of the Council of Higher Education in Turkey, there are currently over 100 women's research centres. Moreover, this figure changes by the day. The mobility which can be observed in the numbers of universities can also be observed in the number of women's research centres.

It should be emphasised that some of these centres will be "labelled as such". In other words, they will be a "signboard" university or centre. This means that although this centre seems to have been established, there is no activity or function of substance. However, the first and oldest established women studies centres have formed an important 'model' through their institutional and academic studies and activities. These centres, besides producing scientific studies that decipher and critique the patriarchal system, have also developed postgraduate programs. Empirical information about the centres and master programs will be given below. There is no doubt that, in Turkey, the knowledge produced on women and gender studies consists of a great variety of material. Neverthe-

⁵ Çubukçu, Sevgi Uçan (2004): "Post-1980 Women's Movement in Turkey: A Challenge to Patriarchy", *The Position of Women's Movement in Turkey and in the European Union: Achievements, Problems, Prospects*, ed. Fatmagül Berktaş, KA-DER Press: İstanbul,

⁶ Berktaş, Fatmagül (1992): "Women's Studies in Turkey 1980-1990", *Women's Memory*, Ed: Proceedings of the International Symposium of Women's Libraries. Pp: 271-280, İstanbul: Metis Publications; Arat, Yeşim (1993): "Women's Studies in Turkey: From Kemalism to Feminism", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No:9,fall, pp: 119-135, İstanbul; Arat, Necla (1996): "Women's Studies in Turkey", *Women's Studies Quarterly*, Vol: 24 (1-2), pp: 400-411; Sancar, Serpil (2003): "Üniversitede Feminizm? Bağlam, Gündem ve Olanaklar", *Toplum ve Bilim*, Issue: 97, İletişim Publication-İstanbul, pp.164-182; Kandiyoti, Deniz (2010): "Gender and women's studies in Turkey: A moment for reflection?", *New Perspectives on Turkey* (43), pp: 165-176.

less, the material used in these studies, as previously underlined, is limited to graduate theses of students. The source of knowledge used for theses stems from the “Council of Higher Education’s Detailed Thesis Scanning Site” and from webpages of “Women’s Research Centres”. The given data was published in January 2018.

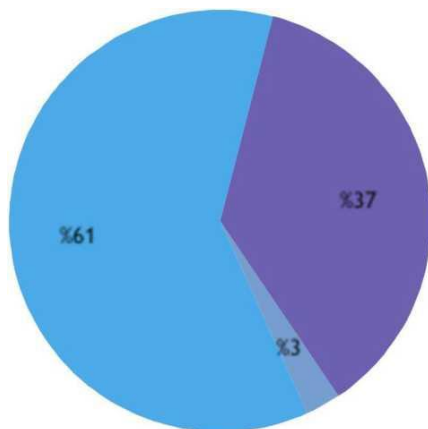
Number of Universities (Private and State Universities):

There are two types of universities in Turkey: State and private. As is shown on the Table 1, the number of universities in Turkey is 186. Of these, 113 are State universities, whereas 68 are private. Five are colleges, some being private and some state institutions. As can be seen in the table, 61% of universities are state universities and 37% are private universities, while 3% belong to the status of college, either state or private.

Table 1: Distribution of universities according to the types

TYPE OF UNIVERSITY	NUMBER
State/public universities	113
Foundation/private universities	68
College foundation/private	5
Total	186

Graphic 1: Distribution of universities according to type



Source: <http://www.yok.gov.tr> as on 2 May 2018

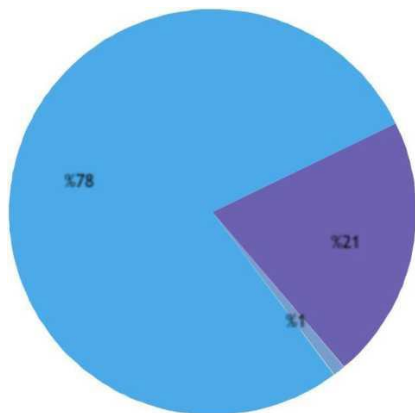
The Number of Women and Gender Studies Centres

According to the information on the website of the Council of Higher Education, there are 186 universities. And women's studies centres exist in 100 of these. As can be seen in the pie chart below, the percentage of women's research centres at universities in Turkey is 54%. Conversely, 46% of universities do not have a women's research centre.

Table 2a: Numbers of Women's Research Centers in Universities

WOMEN'S RESEARCH CENTER	NUMBER
Yes	100
No	86
Total	186

Graphic 2: Distribution of Women's Research Centres according to university type



Source: <http://www.yok.gov.tr> as on 2 May 2018 ⁷

⁷ For different data on this subject, you can see also: Database for "Women's and Gender Research Centres" prepared within the scope of the following project: "Institutionalisation and Transformation Processes of Women's and Gender Studies at Turkey's Universities" by Blickwechsel Contemporary Turkey Studies - Türkei Stiftung Mercator Program.

Table 2b: Distribution of Women's Research Centers according to the type of universities

TYPE OF UNIVERSITY	NUMBER
State/public	78
Private	22
Foundation (Okan University, 2017)	1
Total	100

It can be seen in the graphic that the distribution of women's research centres according to the type of university (state or private) is 78% are affiliated under a state university and 21% are affiliated under a private university. 1% are established in foundation institutions (the most recent one having been established at Okan University in the year 2017).

The Percentage of Women's Research Centres according to the period they were established

In Table 3c, you can see the total numbers of women's research centres by year. When observing the establishment of women's research centres in Turkey, it was aimed to conduct a study by dividing it into 3 different periods of time. It is possible to observe different periodical categorisations. I have studied these three separate periods.

The level of knowledge in gender and women's studies

When observing the periods for the mapping the level of knowledge in women and gender studies as a mirror of women's radicalism in Turkey, I considered the following three criteria: firstly, 1989 as the year of establishment of women's research centres in Turkey. Needless to say, there were very significant studies in Turkish academia previous to this date; for instance, Nermin Abadan Unat (*Women in Turkish society*), Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, Mübeccel Kıray, Şirin Tekeli, and so on. Each of these studies are still the main reference point in the feminist literature. With this in consideration, 1999 is considered the second period. During this period partial liberalisations and arrangements were realised in Turkey. In this new era, there were amendments in the Civil and Penal Code, as well as the elimination of gender discriminative norms and practices. Furthermore, it may also be categorised as a period where

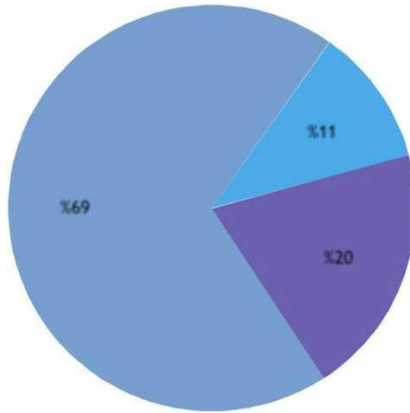
several democratic improvements were undertaken in relation to EU accession. And finally, the third period is considered as 2010.⁸

Number of research centres established according to periods

Table 3c: Number of opened research centers according to the periods

PERIOD	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF OPENED RESEARCH CENTERS
1989 - 1999	%11	11
2000 - 2009	%20	20
2010 - 2018	%69	69
Toplam	%100	100

Number of research centres established according to periods (%)



Source: <http://www.yok.gov.tr> as on 2 May 2018

As it is depicted in the graphic, 11% of the total amount of centres were established between 1989-1999. These were the years that the women's movement gained several achievements in Turkey, both in the political context as well as in various state institutions and organisations. It was

⁸ The Higher Education Council (YOK) sent a document on gender equality as the basis decision for Women's Research Centres in 2015. It was the first time that the Higher Education Council had made suggestions about the arrangement for establishment for such centres. As a result of this decision, universities took the initiative to establish women's studies programmes: *Higher Education Council- Gender Equality Attitude Document*

also a period where significant results were reached in terms of institutions. For instance, the General Directorate of Women's Status and Issues, amendments in the Civil Code, as well as the Penal Code and so on. We can interpret the 11% as follows: In Turkey, the feminist movement has the characteristics of a radical intervention in Academia. This is because gender studies are not considered of scientific value, on the contrary, as "marginal" in the academic environment.⁹ After 2000, we can observe that 20% of centres were established. This data can be interpreted as this: During this period, the first generation of feminist academicians at universities increased. Through the increase and diversification of women and gender studies, the credibility of this field increased as well. More democratic arrangements were made in the social and political conjuncture within this period. During this period, the international women and gender studies academic exchanges and support (such as funding) raised interest in this field. One of the most significant reasons is that the feminist movement has contributed to women's issues to become one of the most fundamental subjects in the country's political agenda. Furthermore, gender equality discussions were also included in the political agenda of Turkey.

And how should we read the increase of new centres between the years 2010 and 2018? In this period, 69% of the centres were established. It may be considered as a success story for the institutionalisation of academic feminism and this is, in fact, true. As mentioned before, we can also interpret it as credibility for women and gender studies or even the increase of awareness in society and the state on the issue of gender equality. In 2015, the Higher Education Council compiled an Attitude Document and sent it out to all universities. According to this, universities gender equality courses were made compulsory. At the same time, it advised forming an academic atmosphere which was sensitive to gender equality. Certainly, this effort has influenced the initiative for the establishment of women's studies centres in universities. So, the Higher Education Council Attitude Document of 2015 could be considered as another milestone in academic feminism in Turkey.

⁹ For instance, at a time when I was a student as well as an academician candidate, while conducting studies related to gender, I had to try very hard and spend much effort in order to prove that these issues were scientific. Certainly, we continued our studies thanks to the existence of the women movement and both female and male professors who knew that scientific studies could be made by critical thought only.

The political implications of naming the field as an academic discipline

As it can be seen in the table, after 2000, twenty new women's research centres were established. The proportional speed of increase is easily observed. Because of this, it is not a coincidence that the "labelled as a university" or "labelled as a centre" notions appeared during this period. After the Higher Education Council's decision, some universities started establishing centres to "check the box", so to speak. More openly, the name exists, but the centre itself doesn't! To put it in other words, the centres were established, but there is no activity of the centre; it exists only on paper. To categorise names of the programs into five main groups, as you can be seen in the table, it is useful to mention that, in some places, these terms are referred to as "women and gender studies", while in other places it is referred to as "gender and women's studies". These names of centres are seen to differ; for example:¹⁰ 1. Women's Studies Program; 2. Women's Studies Department; 3. Women's Research Department; 4. Women and Gender Studies Department; 5. Women and Family Research Department.

What does the difference in the naming of the programs show us?¹¹ According to table, the name of the centres and programs which were established first have "women" in the title; later on, it evolved to "women and gender"; and finally, a new terminology as "women and family studies" was seen.¹² While we observe that the subject of woman and womanhood are the focus of women's studies in the 1990s; in the 2000s, we see that it undergoes a transformation to include the concept of 'gender', incorporating different sexual identities and situations, such as man,

¹⁰ For example, while the centre established by Kadir Has University in 2012 was named "KHAS Centre for Gender and Women's Studies", www.khas.edu.tr/gender/100 Sabancı University established their centre in 2015 named "Gender and Women's Studies Research and Application Centre" (SU GENDER)", <https://sugender.sabanciuniv.edu/> ;

¹¹ Çubukçu, Sevgi Uçan (2014): "Akademik Feminizmde Yeni Yönelimler: Kadın Çalışmalarından Toplumsal Cinsiyet Çalışmalarına", *I. Ulusal Kadın Araştırmaları Kongresi*, İzmir.

¹² The women's studies programs were established under two different institutionalisations, namely, as a major field of study or disciplines. When established as a discipline it is included under the social sciences institutes, when it's a major field of study, it's established under faculties. In both models, women's studies were able to offer master's and doctoral programs. Can, Filiz (2016): "women's studies centres in 12 universities", <http://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/78864>, 10.05.2016

manhood, gay, lesbian, etc. In the 2010s, new terminology is added to the names of programs.¹³

What do we understand from names? We can answer this question by looking at the political and historical context at the time the programs were established: It is clear that the first stage of institutionalisation of women's studies as an academic field coincides with the period of the rising of the feminist movement.¹⁴ It would not be wrong to relate that this development is linked to the LGBTI+ movement, the fact that, queer studies have opened to debate the concept of gender. Due to the influence of normative heterosexist (heteronormative) approaches, women's studies (as an academic discipline), bear the risk of not seeing the different gender roles. Thus, research on women is not limited to topics related only to women and womanhood; it also includes different gender identities and roles, practices, relationships, and codes; related to men, manhood, homosexuality, transsexuality, and so on. With the addition of the concept of gender to 'women', an invitation is extended to expand the study of this discipline.¹⁵ The period when the term of the family was added was after 2010:¹⁶ This is a period when conservative Islamic political power in Turkey was a defining period. At the same time, this historical and political context is a period in which women's roles are more defined through traditional-patriarchal roles, such as being mothers. As can be seen in the two separate graphs in the table, it is understood that more than 80% of the theses are written in postgraduate programs opened under the name of 'women's studies' which shows us that "women's studies" is the main axis of the institutionalisation of academic feminism in Turkey. Even though 'gender', 'queer' and, most recently, 'family' categories are being used in the recent period as different terminology, 'women's studies' emerge as an inclusive name for the major field of study.

¹³ Samsun 19 Mayıs University, Women and Family Research Major Field of Study" was established in the 2011-2012 academic year.

¹⁴ The first institutions and dates where the term 'gender' is used are Middle Eastern Technical University (1994), "Women's Studies and Gender Major Field of Study" and Akdeniz University (2008).

¹⁵ Many opportunities created by the concept of gender.

¹⁶ 19 Mayıs University "Women and Family Research Major Field of Study" (2011-2012)

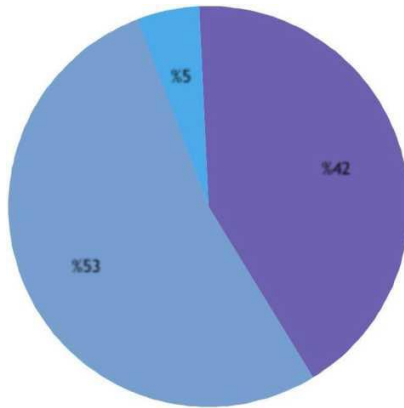
Numbers of theses written according to periods

When we review the rate of distribution for postgraduate theses written in the field in terms of the periods, the increase of thesis numbers according to years can be seen in the Table 4c., (categorised as 10-year periods). The point that draws attention in the tables, is as follows: It makes sense that the proportion of theses produced is very few in number in the first period. We need to keep in mind that, in that period, this field is still regarded as marginal, considered even worthless in terms of the production of scientific knowledge.

Table 4c: Number of thesis according to the periods

PERIOD	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF THESIS
1989 - 1999	%5	13
2000 - 2009	%42	121
2010-2018	%53	149
Total	%100	283

Graphic: Number of the thesis according to the periods (%)



Source: Council of Higher Education National Thesis Centre, <https://tez.vok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tarama.isp>

* Although, there is not a Discipline or Department of Women Studies at Sabancı University, Gender and Women Studies Centre of Excellence (SU Gender) in Sabancı University produces very qualitative theses that make a great interdisciplinary contribution to the field. 39 theses written by SU Gender are included in this table.

As mentioned before, the rate of theses written between 2000-2009 being 42% (121), is closely related to the trend of democratisation in the macro-political climate in Turkey during this period. A more important reason is that women and gender studies have gained legitimacy as an interdisciplinary field at universities in Turkey. The fact that, during this period, subjects, which hadn't been addressed in Turkey before in the scope of the production of knowledge, became research topics and that new generations gravitated towards micro-based studies, has had an influence. Moreover, when compared with consideration to the social and political context of the previous period, the increase may not be considered to be too high.

At this point, to remember the discussion about the institutionalisation of feminism is important: There has been a debate about the loss of enthusiasm and motivation towards institutionalisation due to the loss of radicalism in feminism's voice and action in politics. At this point a question gains importance: Where are the advancements heading, changing or evolving to? Are the strictures and inquiries of women and gender studies, in other words, academic feminism studies, carried out through the perspective of gender equality, being subjected to change of content?

The phenomena of 'Statutory Decree'

There is also the phenomena of "Statutory Decree" (KHK; Kanun Hükmünde Kararname) where it is observed that a significant portion of the academics who are peace-signers are women academicians; it's well known that practically all of them have a feminist approach in their disciplines at universities. There are examples where this discipline was greatly influenced by female academicians who were discharged with 'statutory decree' or forced to retire: especially from Ankara University KASAUM, Eskişehir University KSAUM, Istanbul University KASAUM, etc.¹⁷ The data we have on the effects and results of these changes is limited. Therefore, we are still at a stage where it's not possible to provide clear answers to these questions. However, there is no doubt that, in Turkey, universities are going through a period that is faced with many contradictions. The point we need to emphasise, besides these macro-power relations is: The existence of the knowledge and institutionalisation, viewed as data recording, carries a significant and decisive dynamic character in today's patriarchal power struggle. In addition to the knowledge and achievements that exist in the historical and social con-

¹⁷ <http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-42477735>

text; it is a period in which its opposition and different uses come up; there is an uncertainty about where to go in the short term. As we can see in the table, with the introduction of the Master's Program for Women's Studies as an interdisciplinary science discipline in the 1990-1991 academic year at Istanbul University, an area of expertise in this field has been established. Master's programs in this field were introduced at Ankara University in 1993, Middle East Technical University (METU) in 1994, and Ege University in 1996. This process continued in the 2000s. It appears that the first theses written by students in these programs (when we review those that are recorded on the site of the Higher Education Council, YÖK) have been accepted since 1996.¹⁸ So far, over 244 theses have been written in postgraduate programs on women and gender studies.¹⁹

The distribution of theses according to 'Subject':

On the website of the Higher Education Council (YÖK), the theses were categorised and listed under the heading 'subject'. What these graphs tell us is that the theses written in this field so far in Turkey reveal an interdisciplinary nature. As can be seen in the table, women's studies appear to be an interdisciplinary field with multi-disciplines, including almost all disciplines, such as sociology, philosophy, economy, literature, music, psychology, political science, law, engineering, archaeology, theology, journalism, and international relations.²⁰ There are a total of 43 subjects²¹. The purpose of this is to determine the change over the years of the disciplines that postgraduate students in the field.

Table: The years/periods in which these 'Subjects' firstly appeared

PERİOD	YEAR	SUBJECT
1989-1999	1996	Sociology
	1996	Religion
	1997	Turkish Language and

¹⁸ YÖK web site <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tarama.jsp>

¹⁹ There are theses written and being written in programs related to other branches of science related to women and gender issues. For example, the thesis written by myself in 1995, before any other theses were written in these programs: E. Sevgi Uçan "Turkish Feminist Movement in the 80's: A Study on Two Feminist Journals: Kaktüs and Feminist", *MA Programme*, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

²⁰ This screening was carried out based on the data under the "subject heading" column indicating the disciplines, on YÖK's detailed thesis search page.

²¹ <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezSorguSonucYeni.jsp>

		Literature
	1999	Fine Arst
	1999	Education and Training
2000-2009	2000	Political Science
	2000	Labor Economics and Industrial Relations
	2000	Economics
	2000	Insurance
	2000	Performing Arts
	2002	Law
	2002	Linguistic Philosophy
	2002	Public Health
	2002	Health Education
	2003	Science and Technology
	2004	Management
	2004	Communication Sciences
	2004	Radio-Television
	2004	Pediatrica
	2006	Journalism
	2006	Psychiatry
	2006	Anthropology
	2006	History
	2006	Nursing
	2007	Psychology
	2007	Public Administration
	2007	Archology
	2007	Ancient Times and Cultures
	2008	Western Languages and Literatures
2010-2015	2010	Philopsophy
	2010	French Languages and Literatures
	2011	English Languages and Literatures
	2012	American Languages and Literatures
	2014	Comparative Literatures
	2015	Advertising
	2015	Translation

Table 5c: Distribution of thesis according to discipline dep. / prog. and periods

DEP./PROG.	1989 - 1999	2000 - 2009	2010 - 2018	TOTAL
Women Studies Department	9	103	90	202
Women Studies Programme		5	14	19
Women's and Gender Studies Department	3		9	12
	1	-	4	5
Women's Research Department				
Women's and Family Studies Department			6	6
Total	1	108	123	244

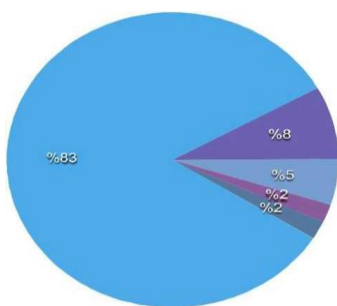
Source: Council of Higher Education (YÖK) National Thesis Centre, <https://tez.vok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tarama.isp>

* Although, there is not a Discipline or Department of Women Studies in Sabancı University, Gender and Women Studies Centre of Excellence (SU Gender) in Sabancı University produces very qualitative theses that make a great contribution to the field as interdisciplinary. 39 theses written by SU Gender are included in this table.

Table: Distribution of thesis according to discipline-programme /departments

DEP./PROG.	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF THESIS'
Programme of Women Studies	%83	202
Women's Studies Department	%8	19
Women's and Gender Studies Department	%5	12
Women's Research Department	%2	5
Women's and Family Studies Department	%2	6
Total	%100	244

Graphic: Distribution of thesis according to discipline-program/departments



Source: YOK National Thesis Centre, <https://tez.vok.gov.tr/UlABDITezMerkezi/tarama.isp>

* Since there is not a Discipline or Department of Women Studies in Sabancı University, 39 theses written by SU Gender are not included in this table.

Looking at this table, we find the opportunity to see from which discipline the academic feminist critical study in Turkey has evolved. It can be seen in the relevant table that disciplines such as sociology, political sciences, economics, law, philosophy, communication sciences, education and teaching, Turkish language and literature, which are directly related to the social field, are present from the beginning. They are followed by fields such as history, biography, social services. The theses written in these fields seem to have begun to be written in the 2000s, during the time that the critique of masculine knowledge production overlooks academic feminism. In that period, we can see the actual conceptual intervention in increasing the diversity of topics. For example, the subjects of body and sexuality could be studied in different disciplines such as psychology, health education, public health, nursing, social services, and so on.²² In addition, while there are more theses in the field of Turkish language literature during the early periods, later we see more detailed disciplinary studies in fields such as English language and literature, American culture and literature, French culture, and literature.

It could be observed the distribution of the subjects according to the years and periods they were first used in the other table. This information carries a remarkable data quality, in terms of revealing the rich potential of the discipline subject and research question. In this way, the field of the interdisciplinary structure of women studies, which has evolved and become diverse over the years, emerges. We can also see that the different disciplines included in the programs can vary according to the areas of expertise of the feminist academics in the universities they belong to. Here the discipline from which feminist criticism first arises becomes important: In the table, it can be seen that disciplines such as sociology, political science, economics, and law that are directly related to the social field are present from the start. The fact that the concept of gender provides an explanatory framework about the subordinated roles of women in patriarchal society also reveals the diversity of these disciplines. As an example, as mentioned before, the increase in the following years, of different interpretations and subfields of psychology, psychiatry, or anthropology, in which subjects such as body and sexuality are addressed, can be considered an expression of this. Indeed, we must also keep in mind that, discussions of feminist theories, the queer discussions,

²² In this context, it should be noted that the queer discussions and criticisms expressed by the theorists such as Judith Butler are also feminism.

and criticisms expressed by the theorists such as Judith Butler²³ are also considered to be feminism.

Table 9e: The years that the 'indexes' firstly appeared

TERIÜÜ	YEAR	INDEX
	1996	Women
	1996	Feminism
	1996	Sex
1989 - 1999	1998	Violence
	1998	Domestic violence
	1999	Gender identity
	1999	Gender differences
	1999	Family
	2000	Women politics
	2002	Women movements
	2002	Men
	2003	Gender roles
	2004	Women rights
	2006	Sexuality
	2006	Sexual behavior
	2008	Sexual politics
	2009	Masculinity
	2009	Feminist criticism theory
	2012	Sexual orientation
	2012	Equality of woman and man
2010 - 2018	2013	LGBTT
	2013	Homosexuality
	2015	Masculine image

Source: YOK National Thesis Center, <https://tez.vok.aov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tarama.jsp>.

²³ Judy Butler and John Scott's gender debate and Butler's Queer Theory debate.

Conclusion:

The Meaning of Mapping academic feminist knowledge in Turkey

Women and gender studies have now gained an '*interdisciplinary*' character and have been accepted as an '*autonomous discipline*'. In the central concept and naming of this period, '*gender*' will be added alongside '*woman*'. However, it is seen that the concept of '*gender*' still includes heterosexual male-female identities, roles, and relations within the normativity of the heterosexist binary gender regime. A change in the content of the concepts took place after 2010; gay, lesbian, bisexual, transvestite, transgender, etc., including different gender identities, has become plural and inclusive, seeing their differences between women. The rapidly increasing number of private/foundation universities and state universities and women's and gender studies centres have a central concept in the academic feminist literature and naming of the period was '*gender*.' The heterosexist, binary gender approach given in the context of the concept of gender will begin to leave its place to a plural and more inclusive approach that includes different gender identities defined under LGBTI+ communities/identities increased at the same rate and their number is around 100 and considers their differences from women. Undoubtedly, with this plurality included in the concept, at a point where academic feminism was blocked, other genders were included in the field of scientific knowledge production. This period can be defined as a period when women and gender studies became mainstream.

Academic feminist knowledge production in Turkey increased and diversified in the 2010s, with the inclusion of new generation feminist academics in the field, and interventions questioning masculinity by different disciplines. Thus, besides the concepts of "woman" and "gender", which became a part of the scientific knowledge production process, "masculinity studies" also found a place in academia.

To conclude; it is hoped that this study will be a start in terms of mapping feminist knowledge production in the academic field in Turkey. Such an inventory study will have a very empowering effect in terms of feminist politics. To emphasise, academic feminist knowledge has been positioned within 'critical epistemology' by developing approaches and methods that see and question the concepts and mechanisms of gender discrimination under different labels (such as class, culture, ethnicity, potential, religion, education, age, region, etc.). This process, which can be read as a success story, was blocked in the 2010s both by the anti-

gender ideological climate of the global neo-liberal system and by the conservative Islamist-authoritarian political power's policies. Despite these negative developments, the production of feminist knowledge in Turkey is expanding, deepening and diversifying both in the academia and the civilian sphere.

Bibliography:

Arat, Yeşim (1993): "Women's Studies in Turkey: From Kemalism to Feminism", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No:9,fall, pp: 119-135.

Arat, Necla (1996): Women's Studies in Turkey", *Women's Studies Quarterly*, Vol: 24 (1-2), pp: 400-411.

Berktaş, Fatmagül (1992): "Women's Studies in Turkey 1980-1990", *Women's Memory*, Ed: Proceedinsg of the International Symposium of Women's Libraries. Pp: 271-280, İstanbul: Metis Publications.

Can, Filiz (2016): "women's studies centres in 12 universities", <http://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/78864>.

Çubukçu, Sevgi Uçan (2004): " Post-1980 Women's Movement in Turkey: A Challenge to Patriarchy", *The Position of Women's Movement in Turkey and in the European Union: Achievements, Problems, Prospects*, ed. Fatmagül Berktaş, KA-DER Press: İstanbul.

Çubukçu, Sevgi Uçan (2014): "Akademik Feminizmde Yeni Yönelimler: Kadın Çalışmalarından Toplumsal Cinsiyet Çalışmalarına", *I. Ulusal Kadın Araştırmaları Kongresi*, İzmir.

Çubukçu, Sevgi Uçan (2018): "Mapping the level of knowledge in gender studies: a mirror of women's radicalism in Turkey", *The Mercator Conference-Rights and Equality in Turkey: Institutions, Interactions and Discourses*, 24 May, 2018, Berlin.

Kandiyoti, Deniz (2010): "Gender and women's studies in Turkey: A moment for reflection?", *New Perspectives on Turkey* (43), pp: 165-176.

Sancar, Serpil (2003): "Üniversitede Feminizm? Bağlam, Gündem ve Olanaklar", *Toplum ve Bilim*, Issue: 97, İletişim Publication-İstanbul, pp.164-182.

Scott, Joan W. (2000): "Fictitious Unities: "Gender", "East", and "West" ", *4th European Feminist Research Conference*, Bologna: Italy; E. Messer-Davidow (2002): *Disciplining Feminism: From Social Activism to Academic Discourse*, Duke University Press-Durham.

<http://www.thb.hacettepe.edu.tr> .

<https://sugender.sabanciuniv.edu/>

www.khas.edu.tr/gender/100

<http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-42477735>

<https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tarama.jsp>

Uçan, Sevgi (Yöney) (1995): "Turkish Feminist Movement in the 80's: A Study on Two Feminist Journals: Kaktüs and Feminist", *MA Programme*, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul.

"Women's and Gender Research Centres at Universities in Turkey: processes of Institutionalization and Transformation in an Interdisciplinary Field between Government and Autonomy", Project Research Group: Yasemin Karakaşoğlu, Sevgi Uçan-

Çubukçu, Charlotte Binder, Deniz Dağ, Stiftung Mercator, Contemporary Turkey Studies, January 2017-December 2019.

Zmroczek, C. And C. Duchon (1991): “What are those Women up to? Women’s Studies and Feminist Research in the European Community”, *Out of Margins: Women’s Studies in the Nineties* (eds.) J. Aaron, S. Wallby, The Falmer press, pp.11-29.

Petar Vodenicharov
South-West University "Neofit Rilski"
[peter_acad@yahoo.com]

***Decent Intellectual Work and Enlightenment of the
Russian Society
Biographical Trajectories of the First Women
Professional Translators in Russia***

Abstract: *The object of the study is the biographical trajectories of a "new" social group of women -the one of the professional translators, which appeared in Russia in the early 1860s. For the "new" women, the right to intellectual labor is an important duty, not only out of economic but also out of moral reasons, as an acceptable framework for women's freedom. The article examines in parallel the life trajectories of the leaders of the women's movement, who set the beginning of their civic organization of translators, or "Artel", as they call it.¹*

Keywords: *Artel; Society of Translators; The New Women in Russia; intellectual labor; liberals; Decembrists.*

In early 1863, in the Russian Empire, a group of women initiators succeeded in creating the Women's Artel (Stasova, Poliksena. 1890) or the Society of Translators. *"In a short time Maria Trubnikova, Nadezhda Stasova, and Anna Filosofova manage to attract and organize a circle of 36 women around them, to draw up a draft organization chart and even before it was officially approved, to start working so as not to lose time. This is the beginning of 1863. Members of the circle are: Nadezhda Belozerskaya, Anna Nikolaevna Engelgardt, Anna Filosofova, Elizaveta Beketova, Maria G. Ermolova, M.S. Olkhina, Countess Vera Nikolaevna Rostovtseva, A.G. Margelova, Barvara Pechatkina (Glushanovskaya /, Poliksena Stasova, Maria A. Menzhinskaya, O.A. Shakeeva, V.V. Ivasheva², Olga Ivanovna Ivanova / Anenkova /, Mrs. Tiblen / Evgenia Karlovna /, O. N. Butakova, Elena Andreevna Shtakenshneider, Alexandra Ni-*

¹ For activities of the „Artel “see **Pashova, A., P. Vodenicharov 2019:77 -93.**

² Sister of Maria Trubnikova.

kolaevna Shulgovskaya and others". (Стасова П. 1900:26). The names of 20 women are listed, all with only surnames and initials for first and last name, which made the research difficult. The other 16 are not mentioned by name (Stasova, Poliksena. 1890:25). "I forgot to mention that I am also a member of the newly formed society "Publishing artel". To me, this seems to be the best institution established in our country. Its purpose is to publish children's books, textbooks, and foreign literature. It consists of a hundred women who contribute 17 rubles a year, publish books, where part of the income remains as capital, and the other part is divided between the participants. From them, a clerk and a cashier are elected. One of the founders of this society are Nadezhda Alexandrovna Belozerskaya and Anna Nikolaevna Engelgardt." (Штакеншнейдер, Е. 1934:117).

Much attention has been paid to this publishing artel of translators in Vladimir Stasov's book about his sister Nadezhda Stasova, who is one of the leaders of the "right to intellectual labor" movement. In the fourth chapter, "Russian Women Publishers" - Vladimir Stasov writes: *"The publishing artel is one of the many Russian artels since the early 1860s. The more serious and developed women are coming to believe that without work and pay, the intelligent Russian woman remains in the vicious circle of helplessness. This leads them to think of creating a society for intelligent women to find work. The first meeting was held with Anna Engelgardt. They decided to start translating, as most of the intelligent women of the time knew foreign languages and this was the most suitable thing for them. They also plan the drawings of the published books to be created exclusively by women – artists, they offer to open their own women's printing house and bookstore. The organization chart is drawn up by Trubnikova. The first paragraph specifies the maximum number of women participating in the publishing artel - 100. On this basis, Elena Andreevna Stakensneider writes that the artel consists of 100 women, but in fact, it unites 36 women". (Штакеншнейдер, Е. 1934:118).*

What do these women leaders have in common?

- Belonging to the rich noble class with their family estates, free time, and money;
- They live in the capital and participate in the activities of liberal circles, discussing current social and educational issues;
- All have high for its time education and speak several Western languages. Most of them have graduated from the Institutes for Noble Maidens (30 in all of Russia) - the only professional, closed, state

high schools for girls until 1857, with Western languages - French, English, German, and in some schools - Polish, Italian, Armenian and Georgian (Стасова П. 1900:20), which explains their later involvement in translation and writing.

- High level of personal connections in state structures;
- They consider it their duty to get involved in public educational work, or as they said then, in the "common cause";



The translation Artel³

- They are all looking for a new identity, including freedom, entrepreneurship, and philanthropy; participation in associations and societies.
- Adherence to the values - the goals of the movement of the "new time" is the main motive for their participation, which coincides with their motive for personal realization in the public sphere, and for economic reasons for some.

³ The photo is taken from Лехаткова, Татьяна. 2019.

- The "new women" - pioneers of the liberal movement are individuals with a strong character with maximum opportunities for realization in Russian society in the middle of the 19th century. They also have certain - "internal" personal assets- speak Western languages, collaborate in newspapers and magazines, perform translation activities.
- All "new women" are strongly influenced by Georges Sand's works published and translated in Russia.

Many examples confirming the pathos of that time can be found in the memoirs: *"In the late 50's, new trends invaded from everywhere, the community and public was entering life a new era. The spirits uplifting in all intellectual strata was unusual, including by us - women. On the one hand, we are satisfied with family life, but it is good to do something for the society and the good of the people"* (Poliksena Stasova)⁴.

"I started realizing that if you live, then you have to act, and it is a shame to indulge only in the thought of your broken happiness" (Nadezhda Stasova)⁵.

*"It was in the air. The emancipation of women was on the tongue of all advanced people... Life thought and was in the air"*⁶.

In Russian liberalism, women highly value the role of education as a way to reform society. And in this sense, the first activists from the women's movement set themselves the goal of giving women access to all types of education.

According to the researcher of Russian feminism Irina Yukona (Юкина, И. 2007)⁷ the search for women's social identity occurs within the declared ideal of the fundamental equality of people (the idea of the Enlightenment), which is opposing the real inequality of women in the public and private spheres. According to the author, the difficulties in answering the question "Who am I?" pushes women to seek new forms of collectivity. They are driven by a strong personal motivation for self-realization, for self-affirmation outside the ordinary female life. Their self-work, self-education, the search for a sphere of application of their

⁴ Женский вестник. 1904. № 3. с. 84; Женское дело. 1899. № 1. с. 135. [Women's Herald. 1904. № 3. p. 84; Women's business. 1899. № 1. p. 135].

⁵ Ibid., с. 140.

⁶ Вопросы равноправия. Отчеты и протоколы. СПб., 1906. с. 7. [Issues of equality. Reports and protocols. SPb., 1906. p. 7].

⁷ Series "Feminist Collection". The book is devoted to the history of the women's movement in Russia, as well as the history of Russian feminism, which began to develop in the country in the late XIX-XX centuries. The author examines the roots of the Russian feminist movement, its tasks, actions, ideology, and implementation.

forces are often perceived by contemporaries as deviant or protesting female behaviour (Юкина, И. 2007:152). *"What a mockery if you say you've read this or that book! They pointed fingers at us, so we didn't talk about what we read."*⁸ *"I spent whole nights reading and swallowing all the serious books, and then I saw that it was impossible to live only for myself"* (Тыркова, А. 1915:427).

According to Yukina, three women go down in the history of the women's movement under the name "triumvirate" and who are the initiators and most active participants in the "society of translators" that they have created. These are: Maria Trubnikova, Nadezhda Stasova and Anna Filosofova. Of course, other active women are also involved in the society. Their destiny is interesting and to what extent are their life paths as individually different intertwined?

Maria Vasilievna Trubnikova / Ivasheva/ (1835 – 1897)



Maria Ivasheva

Maria Trubnikova's father - Vasily Ivashev is from a very large and rich noble family, and her mother is French - Camilla Le Dante. At first, Kamila lives with her mother, who is a governess in the family of Major General Petar Nikiforovich Ivashev (1767-1838). In the Ivashevi estate,

⁸ Русское женское взаимно-благотворительное общество. Отчет за 1911 г. СПб., 1912. с. 6-7. [Russian Women's Mutual Charitable Society. Report for 1911. St. Petersburg, 1912. pp. 6-7].

Camilla sees for the first time the landlord's son Vasily - a brilliant officer. The young girl falls in love with him, but the huge difference in their social status does not allow her to even hint at her feelings. After Vasily Ivashev is sentenced to hard labor as a Decembrist, she reveals her feelings to her mother, who informs the parents of the convicted Decembrist with a proposal for her daughter to share her fate with the fate of the convict. Vasily's parents and relatives are sympathetic to the girl's noble impulse and inform their son, who agrees with a sense of amazement and gratitude⁹.



Camilla Le Dante



Vasily Ivashev

Camilla is allowed to go to her fiancé in September 1830, and in June of the following year, she leaves for Siberia. A week after the first visit, Vasily and Camilla's wedding takes place. In the marriage, Camilla gives birth to 4 children. With money sent by his father, Vasily builds a home for his family in Turin. The happy marriage, however, doesn't last long: in December 1839, Camilla catches a cold and dies of premature birth, and her husband Vasily dies a year later¹⁰.

⁹ Воспоминания Ольги Ивановны Ивановой [Memories of Olga Ivanovna Ivanova], <https://biography.wikireading.ru/238878>

¹⁰ <http://funeral-spb.narod.ru/necropols/novodev/tombs/trubnikova/trubnikova.html>

In 1841 their children /Maria, Vera, and Peter/ receive permission to return with their grandmother to the Simbirsk province, where they are brought up in the home of their aunt /their father's sister/ - Ekaterina Petrovna / Princess Khovanskaya / (1811 - 1855). By Decree of 1856, the family and the nobility are returned to the children of Vasiliy Ivashev.

Maria Ivasheva receives an excellent "male" education. Unlike traditional women's education, like languages, music, and literature, Maria Ivasheva is taught exact sciences, history, and philosophy. She has free access to Khovanskaya's rich library and since childhood has acquired the habit of systematic reading (Юкина, И. 2007:157).

Throughout her life, Maria continues to educate herself, reading literature in the major European languages. She is particularly interested in sociology and the women's issue.

In 1854 Maria Ivasheva marries the young clerk Konstantin Trubnikov, who captivates the bride with his liberalism and quotes from Herzen¹¹.

After marrying in 1855, she comes to St. Petersburg, where she makes her salon, which gathered famous public activists - liberals. Her husband, Konstantin Trubnikov, a Russian journalist and industrialist, publishes "Shareholder Magazine" and several other magazines, which also attracts reformist people to their home.

In her autobiography, her daughter Olga Konstantinova Bulanova Trubnikova presents her as follows: *"... My mother - Maria Vasilevna Trubnikova was a woman with very advanced thinking and abilities. For her time she was very well-read and educated, with a very large public vein and great interest in public work ... At home, there were constant conversations about women's rights, or lively debates about the advantages of Russian music over Italian, or busy work on the organization of various women's societies - the first manifestations of women's amateurism, women's labor cooperatives, the struggle for women's higher education ... My mother instilled in us respect for work and gave us an example of hard work ... All my friends were treating my mother with great respect and always tried to talk to her even for a minute. My moth-*

¹¹ Ольга Константинова Буланова – Трубникова Автобиография [Olga Konstantinova Bulanova – Trubnikova. Autobiography]
<https://web.archive.org/web/20060513134936/>
<http://narovol.narod.ru/Person/bulanova.htm>

er was deeply sympathetic to their goals, but she resolutely rejected terror, and this was the subject of eternal controversy”¹².

According to her daughter's recollections, the women's issue becomes central for her very early on. With people, she communicates easily. She has barely met Nadezhda Stasova and already invites her to breakfast, where Anna Filosofova and Alexandra Belozerska are also present. Thus begins her female circle and she becomes his neurological node. The circle begins with the only possible form of social activity then - philanthropy. Initially, they create the “Society of Cheap Accommodation” in 1860, and in 1863 the “Society of Translators”, one of which aims is worthy intellectual work and enlightenment of the Russian society¹³ A number of works on natural science, history, journalism, and children's literature are translated under her editorship or by her. On a personal level, she leaves her husband, who wastes her capital, and with her four daughters supports herself with translations and literary works. Due to an illness, in 1881 she discontinues her public activity, and on April 28, 1897, she dies in Tambov, in the estate of her daughter, where she lives.

Nadezhda Vasilievna Stasova (1822-1895)



¹² <https://web.archive.org/web/20060513134936/http://narovol.narod.ru/Person/bulanova.htm>

¹³ <https://web.archive.org/web/20060513134936/http://narovol.narod.ru/Person/bulanova.htm>

Nadezhda Vasilievna is the daughter of a court architect. She was born in the palace in Tsarsko village and her godmother is Empress Elizabeth Alexeievna, wife of Alexander I. Since childhood, she is surrounded by books and works of art. According to her brother Vladimir, with whom she is very close, *"his sisters considered it a great insult and a bloody injustice that their brothers were brought up and taught in a completely different way than they were, and thought that they too could learn everything, which their brothers were learning"* (Стасов, В. 1899:21).

Poliksena Stasova /1839 - 1918/, later married to her brother Vladimir /1828 - 1918/, also tells about her in her memoirs. *"I met her in the autumn of 1859 in the Clark family, relatives of the wife of her eldest brother Nikolai Vasilievich, at the so-called Cast Iron Factory, where Clark lived in their old English home. I was looking forward to this acquaintance with such trepidation. I was a young, shy girl, and one of the Clark sisters had whispered to me about Nadezhda Vasilievna that she was an extraordinary person. And when I entered the living room, from the sofa stood up a slender, short girl, who was no longer young, in a black cotton dress with a white collar and cuffs, smoothly combed. This girl came to me and without further ado said to me: "Hello," as if we had known each other for a long time, she held out to me a small, exquisitely beautiful white hand, and in the other, she held a binoculars on a gold chain. I was struck and interested in this peculiar, somewhat simple, and somewhat harsh manner. This time I did not happen to talk to Nadezhda Vasilievna, but she invited me to them and I was very happy - I was attracted to her, by an obscure even for me force... (Стасова П. 1900:16). At the time, she lived with her four brothers and her eldest brother's family in a large apartment, where there was a strict order and a serious artistic taste. On the wall hung a magnificent portrait of their father ... At that moment in her life Nadezhda Vasilievna was completely devoted to her family: she ran a large, complex household, helped her daughter-in-law in raising children, raised another niece - an orphan, and cared for the children as a mother. More than once I found her in a history or geography lesson with the older children, in a music lesson, or just playing with her little nephews ... In her free time, she painted a lot and painted amazingly fine. She continued to paint all her life. Among the most complex and important activities of her courses, she found time to paint ... According to her, every work is useful and necessary - both small and large (Стасова П. 1900:16).*

The Stas family is known for its education, intelligence, and liberal beliefs. All family members are public figures. Dimitar Stasov is a major lawyer, a defender of many political processes since 1870, for example in the case of Karakozov, one of the organizers of the Russian Music Society and founder of the St. Petersburg Conservatory. The other brother, Vladimir Stasov, is a music and art critic, art historian, archivist, and collector¹⁴. *"Nadezhda loved to play the piano on 4 hands in the evening. Her favorite work was Mozart's Requiem. I went to them on those evenings when her brother, Dmitry Vasilievich, was gathering at the Legal Society they had founded to prepare young lawyers for judicial reform. While there were various debates in the office, she and I played the Requiem ... She and I soon became friends, we read a lot together, she loved me because of the "hot stream" - as she said, and I became attached to her with all might of my soul. Despite the big difference in our ages, it was so good for me, as if I had lived with her for 100 years and as if there was no time when I didn't know her... Sometimes she invited me with her to concerts at the Russian Musical Society and always made the invitation in the most sweetly and playful way. "I am honored, etc." N. Stasova" (Стасова П. 1900:18).*

"At the end of the 1850s, new currents were everywhere and public and people's life entered a new era. An unusual upsurge began in all intelligentsia and we women gained the consciousness that the family side of life alone is not enough, that something must be done for the public and the national good..." (Стасова П. 1900:20).

Nadezhda Stasova begins her active public work in adulthood. When she meets Maria Trubnikova, she is 36 years old and the year is 1858.

"Suddenly, in the autumn of 1860, came the news that Sunday schools are being opened. The burning spark ignited in the souls of many women and so was found the first way out of the desire to work for the benefit of society and rapprochement with the people. Sunday schools began to open in every corner of St. Petersburg. One of the first was the school on the corner of Gradinska and Inzhenerna streets, where the Red Cross building is now. At first, it was a men's school, and then a women's school was opened in the same building. There were workshops at this women's Sunday school. Nadezhda Vasilievna and I took part in this school. The work was fascinating, wonderful. It was not literacy that was most important, but the communication of girls with girls - students in all

¹⁴ <http://www.biografija.ru/>

kinds of workshops. We immediately established a warm, close relationship with the students. They looked at us as their friends and shared their sorrows and joys. But the joys were few. Their lives were full of all kinds of deprivation - material and moral. (Стасова П. 1900:19)... All this poverty of the girls made Nadezhda Vasilievna plan a whole program for future activities and implement it in the "Society of Cheap Accommodation". All our best collaborators grouped around her. On Sunday evening, many guests gathered in the cozy living room of the Stakhovs. Nadezhda always poured her tea on the long table, around which there was a lively and varied conversation... Along with the activity of preparing lessons and reading at school, appeared another duty: attending meetings at the Second High School, especially for the exchange of practical observations between teachers in different Sunday schools in order to develop a common program. A representative was nominated from each school and Nadezhda Stasova was elected from our school ... In the summer of 186, she lived at their villa in Peterhof. In the autumn of 1861, fate brought me even closer to Nadezhda Vasilievna - I joined her family. On the day of my wedding, she turned to me informally, and from that day on, she remained my selflessly devoted friend ... From that fall, Nadezhda Vasilievna began her work in the "Society of Cheap Accommodation", and when our dear school was closed in 1862, she devoted herself to the new work, as fervently and selflessly as she had previously devoted herself to the Sunday school... (Стасова П. 1900:26).

In 1864 the first nursery schools for working-class children are opened, in the work of which Nadezhda Stasova takes a very active part almost until her death (Философова, А. 1900:173-185).

Here is what Nadezhda Vasilievna says about herself in this period: *"I looked around and all my love, which I had brought first to my family, I have now transferred to society. Whatever happens, everything will go for the better. For me, the charm of my own family has disappeared. I have felt love for the whole world. This has become my job and I will die with it"* (Стасов В. 1899:29).

And that's what happens. According to people close to her, she spares neither her strength nor her health for the common cause. And the cause - this is primarily the women's issue, the women's movement, one of the leaders of which is Nadezhda Vasilevna. The movement aims to help other women, to equalize with men in the right to study, work, receive education, including higher education, to find their place in life, to become useful for society, to gain independence in the family and beyond. Stasova also strives for this, but above all for self-education:

books, lectures at the university, and after the ban, its opening in the form of Bestuzhev courses, for which Stasova is one of the initiators. She is also remembered by one of the participants in the society of translators. *"Oh, Nadezhda Vasilyevna? Ill with the flu, with red eyes, icy hands, very weak. It seems to you that she can barely move her legs, almost without a voice of weakness, and yet she works all day. There is a book on her desk that she reads or translates. She and Trubnikova publish books, encounter a million difficulties, failures, troubles, meet hundreds of people. I marvel at them, I envy them, but I can't imitate them, I don't have their faith* (Штакеншнейдер, Е. 1934:141).

In continuation of Poliksena Stasova's memoirs, an article by Menzhinskaya on Stasova's death is cited: *"The two most prominent and energetic Russian women, because their work is so intertwined that it is impossible to separate. It is about Maria Trubnikova and Nadezhda Stasova. The memory of the two girlfriends about their social activities is important as an example to encourage young women, who on their turn strive to do something for society, to apply their knowledge and strength to raise the work of women's education and work"* (Стасова П. 1900:30).

In 1861 Nadezhda Vasilievna joins the "Society of Cheap Accommodation", chaired by Maria Trubnikova. Here is what the secretary of the committee at the time, Shakeev, Evgeniy Alexandrovich (1839-1899), who often accompanies her on her visits to the poor, says: *"Nadezhda Vasilievna highly possessed this tact of the soul, which is so necessary for charity, so as not to turn into a soulless and insulting throwaway. Entering the poor, she carefully and at the same time wholeheartedly knew how to inquire about the situation of the family and harmlessly clarify the causes of poverty, so that after her first words the embarrassment in the interviewees disappears, which naturally overwhelms many intelligent people, but at the same time pressed by the circumstances"* (Стасова П. 1900:32).

Elena Stakensneider, a memoirist, and landlady of a literary salon in St. Petersburg writes in her diary in October 1868: *"When I met Nadezhda Vasilievna and again found myself in the world of work and labor, I became terribly sad and ashamed of the wasted summers and the missed winter ... And Nadezhda Vasilievna? With angina, fever, teary eyes, hands like ice, so weak that she can barely move her legs, almost without a voice of weakness, she works and helps the whole day"* (Штакеншнейдер, Е. 1934:400).

Anna Pavlovna Filosofova (Dyagileva) (1837-1912)

She comes from the famous and rich noble family Dyagilev. She was born on April 5, 1837, in Parm and is the eldest of the family's nine children. As a child, she was free-spirited, cheerful, and disobedient. For this reason, she has a complicated relationship with her parents. Like all her siblings, she receives a very good home education (Юкина, И. 2007). In 1856, she marries Vladimir Dmitrievich Filosofov (1820-1894) - a prominent statesman, military prosecutor, a man with liberal views, who develops in her an interest in public activity. Her husband is actively involved in government reforms in the 1860s and supports her in all endeavors. In this sense, they are a like-minded couple and work together for liberal change in Russia.

Filosofova is one of the first beauties of St. Petersburg and belongs to the higher St. Petersburg society. In 1859 she meets Trubnikova and Stasova and this determines her further life in their new joint work. For this helps her extensive acquaintances, her connections in the court and high government circles, the high position of her husband, her charm, beauty, and youth. *"To organize an evening, a charity bazaar, a concert, a lottery, the funds from which to go to " women's affairs ", to get permission for them – all this is something that no one can do better than Anna Filosofova. She actively uses her professional connections. In her youth, she uses the asset of her beauty and youth. She once turns to the Minister of Education, Count Tolstoy, on the question of approving the*

regulations of the women's higher courses at a ball, in the whirlwind of dance. Over the years, she starts using her age as a resource. Thus, in 1905, she writes to the mayor of St. Petersburg - Dmitry Fedorovich Trepov "Today I must read to the members of our Society¹⁵ a small report, but three days ago a bailiff came to us in the Society and through our chairman Anna Shabanova¹⁶, I was told that you forbid me to read and forbid us to have a party. I do not believe Dmitry Fedorovich that you can deliberately inflict such an insult on a 70-year-old grandmother, whom your father respected very much. So I decided to write you this note and ask you to explain the whole story. Shabanova and I have acted legally always and in everything, and therefore we are struck by your distrust and disrespect for us, which we do not deserve" (Юкина, И. 2007).

She is passionate about the idea of helping women in practice to solve the "women's issue". Anna Pavlovna is businesslike in all her public positions. She is chairman of the "Society of Cheap Accommodation", a member of the Literacy Society, organized with her participation in 1861, a member of the Artel of Translators, chairwoman of the organizing committee for women's higher education, administrator of the Vladimir courses, member of the Committee of Higher Women's Courses, member of the revision commission of the courses, first chairman of the Society for the Provision of Funds for Higher Women's Courses, vice-chairman of the International Women's Council, organizer of the First All-Russian Women's Congress, etc.

In a personal aspect, her marriage is very happy, and she has 9 children, 2 of whom are from her husband's previous marriage. Her husband supports her in all endeavors, although often his official duties as Attorney General conflict with her activities (Юкина, И. 2007:160).

According to the testimony of Ariadna Tarkova (Тыркова, А. 1915), her name is known in Russia as the name Leo Tolstoy. Together with Nadezhda Stasova, they passed on to the women of the 1890s valuable ideas and experiences gained in the 1860s. In the last years of her life, there are no participants in the movement of her generation. She is the only one of the "triumvirate" to live to the 20th century and becomes

¹⁵ «Русское женское взаимно-благотворительное общество». [Russian Women's Mutual Charitable Society].

¹⁶ Anna Nikolaevna Shabanova - 1848 - 1932, doctor, from the first women's medical courses / 1877 /, writer and public figure, chairman of the Russian Women's Mutual Charitable Society. Очерк женского движение в России, 1912. [Essay on the women's movement in Russia, 1912] <https://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01003798765?page=5>

a symbol of the movement, in which actions she participates until the end of her days (Юкина, И. 2007:164).

Anna Pavlovna also participates in the international women's movement. Since 1899 she is a vice-president of the International Council of Women. In 1902, she comes up with the idea of holding the First All-Russian Congress of Women in order to unite women to further fight for their rights. She also becomes chairman of the congress.

Anna Nikolayevna Engelgardt (Makarova) (1838-1903)



А.Н. Энгельгардт

Anna Nikolaevna, like all participants in the first stage of the women's movement, comes from a noble family. Her father is a famous lexicographer. She was born in Alexandrova Kostroma Province of the Russian Empire. Her mother dies when she is 6 years old. Her father remains a widower early and sends her to study at the Moscow Catherine Institute / 1845 - 1853 /. In these years Anna Niko-

laevna writes a biographical story "Essay on the institutional life in the past" and publishes it under the pseudonym A. Velska¹⁷. Despite the harsh environment of her childhood at the institute, Anna receives a very good education and becomes especially successful in the Western languages she mastered - English, French, German and Italian. In 1859 she marries Alexander Nikolayevich Engelgardt, with whom she has three children - Mikhail (born in 1861), Vera (1863), and Nikolai (1867).

She works for her husband's Chemical Magazine and collaborates with the following publishing houses: "Birzhevym Vedomosti", "Glas", "Ruski Svyat", "Sankpetersburgski Vedomosti", "Otechestvenni Zapiski", "Nedelya", etc., publishing in them feuilletons, political analyzes and translated literary works.

In a letter to her daughter, she describes the state of mind of educated women in the 1860s: *"I saw that only family life does not satisfy me... With its complete ignorance of life and people, the lack of any experience - any independent thought. You read contradictory articles, you listen to other people's thoughts and arguments, but you don't understand*

¹⁷ «Заря»[Dawn] — 1870, № 8. — С. 107—149; № 9. — С. 3—65., <https://www.livelib.ru/author/568835-anna-engelgardt>

anything: Who is right and who is wrong? Where is the truth? Where does other people's right over me end? Where does my right begin and end in the clash of opposing interests and desires? What can you do so that you do not offend others and keep your freedom? That's how many years pass - I try to complete my education by reading serious, good books on science, history, literature, etc., to learn foreign languages... In the end, fate forced me to work for bread, and finally, I developed my worldview, faith, and beliefs... My beliefs, my religion comes down to one thing: work and knowledge." (Мазовецкая, Э. 2001:122).

She becomes one of the founders of the women's movement in Russia and is particularly interested in the topics of women's work and women's education. She takes an active part in the creation of the Women's Publishing Artel (Мазовецкая, Э. 2001:125).

She is a highly professional translator. In 1860 she begins her translation career with children's magazines. She also translates works of Emile Zola, Charles Dickens, Guy de Maupassant, Francois Rabelais, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and other classics of Western literature. In addition, Anna Nikolaevna makes a "Complete German-Russian Dictionary" / 1873 - 1876 / (Юкина, И. 2007:58). She translates more than 70 literary works as well as scientific works. She works for the "Europe Journal" for more than 25 years and is also the first editor-in-chief of the magazine "Journal for Foreign Literature" (Быков П. В. 1890—1907).

In 1870-1890 she works on the creation of the Bestuzhev courses, which provides women in Russia with access to education. In 1897 Anna is one of the founders of the first Women's Medical Institute. She is vice president and librarian at the Russian Women's Mutual Charity Society. Together with Olga Popova, she initiates the publication of the magazine "Women's newspaper" (Гришина З. 1982:35).

In 1870, Engelgardt and her husband are arrested for participating in a socialist student group at the St. Petersburg Agricultural Institute. Half a month later, Anna is released because there wasn't sufficient evidence of her involvement. Her husband spends half a year in prison, after which he is expelled from St. Petersburg until his death and sent to their estate in Batishchevo, in the Smolensk region. Anna stays with the children in St. Petersburg (Мазовецкая, Э. 2001). Here is what Elena Stackenschneider, with whom she is in the society of translators, remembers about her: *"From the first days when Anna Nikolaevna appeared in St. Petersburg, just married to Engelgardt and he started taking his young and smart wife to acquaintances, we all got used to seeing her always in black. When her husband was evicted, Dostoevsky noticed her in our*

salon, and he thought she was an extraordinarily good mother and wife. She really was a gentle mother and caring, even too much... And as for her husband, he is to blame for the cooling in their relationship. Nevertheless, she could not follow him in moving to the countryside, as she had to live in the city and raise her children, as well as earn money from translation. But she never broke off her relationship with him and always sent him treats from her modest means. She also lived very modestly“ (Штакеништейн, Е. 1934:159).

Nadezhda Alexandrovna Belozerskaya (Gen) (1838-1912)



Nadezhda Alexandrovna¹⁸ was born on March 29, 1938, in a noble family in Sofievka, Novgorod province. She receives a serious home education. She marries V. Belozersky and in 1856 comes to St. Petersburg. She makes a "salon" in his mansion and every Monday famous St. Petersburg's liberal figures gather in it - Turgenyev, Chernyshevsky, and others. She also knows and invites prominent representatives of the Ukrainian culture, as her husband is Ukrainian. At first, she collaborates in her husband's magazine "Osnova", and since 1878 she is the editor of the pedagogical magazine "Education and Training", which she publishes together with M. Tsebrikova. She is very interested in the problems of higher education and women's education in general, as well as the position of women in the intellectual labor market. She leaves her husband with three children, gives up his money, and thus joins the "translation artel". She translates historical novels for the Historical Journal, writes reviews in "Ancient and New Russia" under a pseudonym because it is not customary for a woman to support herself with professional intellectual work. She starts with translations in the Russian press. She translates fairy tales from French and Italian. In 1868 she becomes secretary of the famous historian, writer, and pedagogue Nikolai Ivanovich Kostomarov / 1817 - 1885 /. Through him, she gains

¹⁸ There is a personal fund - 58 in the Russian State Archives of Literature and Art, where there are manuscripts, bibliography, letters, and biographical documents. She is presented in the fund as a translator and writer.

research experience and begins independent research in Russian history, where she searches and discovers the women's issue. In this way, she creates portraits of "historical women" who lived in different historical epochs. Nadezhda Alexandrovna gets involved in public activities through Trubnikova's circle and becomes an active participant in the Women's Publishing Artel and one of the organizers of women's higher education in St. Petersburg.

Elizaveta Grigorievna Beketova (1834 – 1902)



Elizaveta Beketova

Andrey Beketov

Elizaveta Beketova was born in 1834 in Orenburg. In 1854 she marries Andrey Nikolaevich Beketov - "father of Russian botany", author of wonderful science books, scientist and public figure, initiator of the Higher Women's Courses in Russia, and a member of many academies.

Elizaveta Grigorievna Beketova is the daughter of the geographer, traveler, and explorer of Central Asia Grigory Silich Karelin.

Elisaveta Grigorievna Beketova has made a remarkable contribution to Russian literature, as a gifted translator fluent in several languages.

Her love for literature and understanding of its high importance are inherited by her three daughters Beketov. The eldest Catherine is also known as a translator and author of short stories and poems. The middle one - Alexandra Beketova (mother of Alexander Block), translates from French and writes poetry. The youngest, Maria, translates popular sci-

ence biographical, geographical, and historical books, and later writes a book about Alexander Block and his family.



Ekaterina Beketova



Alexandra Beketova



Maria Beketova

Elisaveta Grigorievna Beketova is engaged in translation since 1850. Her first major publications are the translations of the novels "La Daniela" by George Sand, and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Beecher Stow; "Mary Barton" by E. Gaskell, "The Voyage of the Beagle" by Charles Darwin, and many others.

She is involved as an initiator and active participant in the publishing artel.

She becomes active in translation in the 1890s. She publishes in the appendix of the "Journal of Foreign Literature", edited by Anna Engelhardt, the books "In Darkest Africa" by G. Stanley / 1892 / and "My Dark Companions: And Their Strange Stories" / 1894 /, the novel "Sydney" by M. Deland / 1895 /. For the issue of G.F. Panteleeva, she translates the works of Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, Victor Hugo, Honore de Balzac, Oliver Goldsmith, William Thackeray, Guy de Maupassant, and Gustave Flaubert¹⁹.

She dies on October 14, 1902, in St. Petersburg.

¹⁹ Бекетова, Елизавета Григорьевна // Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона : в 86 т. (82 т. и 4 доп.). — СПб., 1905. — Т. доп. I. — С. 237.; Бекетова, Елизавета Григорьевна // Краткая литературная энциклопедия / Гл. ред. А. А. Сурков. — М.: Советская энциклопедия, 1962. — Т. 1. [Beketova, Elizaveta Grigorievna // Encyclopedic Dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron: in 86 volumes (82 volumes and 4 additions). - SPb., 1905. - T. dop. I. - P. 237.; Beketova, Elizaveta Grigorievna // Brief literary encyclopedia / Ch. ed. AA Surkov. - M.: Soviet encyclopedia, 1962. - Vol. 1.].

Countess Vera Nikolaevna Rostovtseva (Emina) - (1807 – 1888)



Vera and Iakov Rostovtsevi, 1850.

Vera Nikolaevna Rostovtseva / Emina / was born on October 27, 1807, in a wealthy family of prominent intellectuals. Her father is the famous writer Nikolai Fedorovich / 1767-1814 /, and her mother, named Khmelnitsky and was the sister of the famous writer Nikolai Ivanovich Khmelnitsky / 1791-1845 /.

Vera receives high for her time education, which included an excellent command of Western languages.

She marries Iakov Ivanovich Rostovtsev / 1803 -1860 / - a famous for his time figure- a general of the infantry and an active participant and creator of the fortress reform in 1861. In 1828 he is an adjutant of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, whom he accompanies in the Turkish campaign in 1828 and the Polish - in 1831. After the accession to the throne of Emperor Nicholas he is appointed Chief of Staff of all military-educational institutions.

The marriage with Vera probably happens around the middle of the 1830s, from which period are their common photos and children. They get married in St. Petersburg in the church of St. Archangel Michael in the Mikhailovsky Palace. In 1850, for the merits of her husband, she is awarded the Order of St. Catherine / 1850 /. They have 5 children - Nikolai (1831-1897), lieutenant general, military governor in Samarkand; Mikhail (1832-1870), colonel; Alexandra (1833-1836) and Vera (1835-

1837), who died early and Alexandra (1836-1855). Iakov Rostovtsev dies in 1860 and fails to complete the project for the abolition of serfdom, but after the publication of the Manifesto for the abolition of serfdom on February 19, 1861, Rostovtsev's widow, her sons, and their heirs are awarded the title of Count, and Rostovtsev, posthumously a gold medal for his work on the liberation of the peasants.

Countess Vera Rostovtseva has a high authority in the higher St. Petersburg's society and enjoys the reputation of an active woman - a liberal. Together with Anna Filosofova, with whom they are very close, she participates in the establishment of the Society of Translators and at its first meeting is elected its chairman and even participates in a delegation to apply for registration of the association to the Minister of Internal Affairs (Штакеншнейдер, Е. 1934:123). At this first meeting - in the home of Anna Filosofova, two different circles of women are formed, and they create tension. *"It is enough to see at the meeting in Filosofova the two groups of women - those who surrounded Rostovtseva - in fashionable dresses and hats, and those who surrounded Tsenina - in black dresses, without hats with cut hair. You will immediately understand that these are two unrelated elements called to act together... Therefore, the meeting was disbanded and re-established in 1863, but only with liberal women from the aristocracy"* (Штакеншнейдер, Е. 1934:124).

Since 1860, Countess Rostovtseva is the vice-president of the Society of Cheap Accommodation, where she actively works. Since 1863 she is a member of the Publishers' Artel of Translators, and since 1964 - a trustee of Alexandro - the Marine Children's Home.

Olga Ivanovna Ivanova (Anenkova)



Olga Anenkova (Гагарин, Е.) was 6 years old when she and her family were sent to hard labor in the village of Belsko for her father's activities as a Decembrist. Until then, she lives with her mother and father in Petrovsky Prison. The family then settles in Turinsk and Tobolsk. She remembers and tells especially well about life and the situation in Petrovsky Prison, about her first music teachers and dear people. He presents his parents with firm and strong characters, obedient to fate, who never complain about their

hard life. The upbringing they give her in the close society of the Decembrists, among whom they live - educated and brought up - develops in Olga Ivanovna a strong character, great energy, and self-control, so necessary for her in her difficult life.

In her memoirs about the Petrovsky Prison, which she describes in detail, Olga Ivanovna tells how and when she has learned Western languages. *"Of course, the situation with the prisoners is more than modest. There was nothing but beds and the simplest chairs. On the other hand, we had many books and magazines not only in Russian but also in French, German and English. They were all sent in abundance by relatives. There was no shortage of books at all, and many Decembrists later built entire libraries. Prison comrades passed on their knowledge to each other and learned so many foreign languages that they did not know until prison"* (Гагарин, Е.).

Here is what she remembers about her mother (who is French): *"The first who did not want to stay in Russia and decided to share their fate with their male prisoners were nine, namely: Princess Volkonskaya, Princess Trubetskaya, Naryshkina, Fonvizina, Muravyova, Davidova, Yushnevskaya, Baroness Rosen and Yantaltseva. Then my mother comes to Chita. She is a bride when my father is arrested and convicted, and she is French and not a Russian citizen, so she could not take advantage of the established rules that allow women to follow their interned men. She overcame many obstacles to reach my father, personally begging Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich. She told all this herself in her notes, known as "Stories of Praskovya Egorovna Anenkova" and published in the magazine "Russian Antiquity" for 1888²⁰.*

In 1852 she marries Konstantin Ivanovich Ivanov, who at that time was the adjutant of the Omsk general - governor. The young couple settles in Omsk and begins to live quite modestly. In 1854 her husband is sent to St. Petersburg, where the young family grows with two children - Elena and Sergei. Konstantin's unmarried sister and his brother Ivan Anenkov also come to live with them.

Olga Ivanovna dedicates herself entirely to her family because her husband's modest salary costs her a lot of effort. *"She is extremely beautiful, but serious and strict beauty. Her calm and profound nature directs her mind to serious readings. She is waiting for the Decembrists' cherished dream of realizing the peasants and judicial reform to come true. In St. Petersburg, she became close with Trubnikova and Cherkesova,*

²⁰ http://www.azlib.ru/a/annenkowa_p_e/text_0020.shtml

*with whom she joined the Publishing Artel. In 1854, her husband was sent to work in the Caucasus, and then in Irkutsk, where she devoted herself even more to her family and the upbringing of her children. Without pampering and embracing them, she chooses serious teachers, without considering the expenses, which her husband's relatives do not like"*²¹.

She dies on March 10, 1891.

Conclusion

Unlike the nihilists and revolutionaries, the "new liberal women" have no political demands and are limited to educational, professional, and economic initiatives. Through their work, they impose a new idea and attitude towards the role of women in society and women's intellectual work and thus build the system of values of the "new women", which are the basis of their modern identity. For the first time, the "new women" raised the idea of the right to universal education, as well as the right to higher education for women, which would expand their professional prospects. The well-being of the leaders of this movement and their connections with the court allow them to realize many of their initiatives, although the official authorities viewed their public activities with suspicion and did not allow the legalization of the organization chart of the translation artel. The fate of the economic endeavors and the translation artel of the "new women" show their close dependence on the personalities of their leaders, whose biographical trajectories we have outlined. These women became a retransmitter of European feminist movements, which was facilitated by their connections with European representatives of the women's movement and their translation work, which introduced new scientific ideas as well as European pedagogical achievements into Russian reality. Last but not least, their translation work contributes to the enlightenment of the Russian people.

Bibliography:

Pashova, Anastasiya, Petar Vodenicharov. 2019. "The New Women" – the First Professional Organization of Woman in Russia, Thessaloniki, 2019, 77 -93. In: Lakovos, Michailidis, Gorgos Antoniu Institution Building and Research under Foreign Domination. Europe and the Black Sea Region/early 19 th – early centuries/.

Стасова, Поликсена. Издательское дело, сп. Женское дело, февраль, 1900, СПб. [Stasova, Poliksena. Izdatelskoe delo, fevral 1900, SPb.].

²¹ Ibid.

Буланова, Ольга Константинова. Трубникова. Автобиография. [Bulanova, Olga Konstantinova. Trunikova. Avtobiographia.].
<https://web.archive.org/web/20060513134936/http://narovol.narod.ru/Person/bulanova.htm>

Быков Пётр Васильевич. Энгельгардт, Анна Николаевна // Вопросы равноправия. Отчеты и протоколы. СПб., 1906. [Voprosyuj ravnopravija. Otchetuj I protoluj. SPb., 1906].

Гагарин, Е. Воспоминания Ольги Ивановны Ивановой. [Gagarin, E. Vospominanija olgi Ivanovnuj Ivanovoj]. <https://biography.wikireading.ru/238878>

Гришина З. В. 1982. Движение за политическое равноправие женщин в годы I российской революции. Вестник МГУ. История. 1982, № 2. [Grishina, Z. V. Dvizenie za politicheskoe ravnopravie zenshchin v goduj I rossijskoj revoljutsii. Vestnik MGU. Istorija, № 2].

Женский вестник. 1904, № 3. [Zhenskij vestnik. 1904, № 3].

Женское дело. 1899, № 1. [Zhenskoe delo. 1899, № 1].

Краткая литературная энциклопедия / Гл. ред. А. А. Сурков. – Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1962. – Т. 1. [Kratkaja literaturnaja entsiklopedija / gl. Red. A. A. Surkov – Moskva: Sovetskaja entsiklopedija, 1962. – t. 1].

Лехаткова, Татьяна. 2019. Равноправки, феминистки, революционерки: каким было женское движение в Российской империи, 2019. [Equal rights, feminists, revolutionaries: what was the women's movement in the Russian Empire, 2019]; <https://knife.media/feminism-in-russian-empire/>

Мазовецкая (Mazovetskaia), Эстер (Ėster). 2001. Анна Энгельгардт. Санкт-Петербург II половины XIX века. – Saint Petersburg: Академический проект, 2001. – ISBN 5-733-101-288. [Mazovetskaia, Ester. Anna Engelgardt. Sanct Peterburg II polovinu XIX veka. Akademicheskij projekt, 2001].

Отчет за 1911 г. СПб., 1912. [Otchet za 1911 g. SPb., 1912].

Очерк женского движение в России, 1912. [Ocherk zhenskovo dvizenii v Rossii, 1912]. <https://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01003798765#?page=5>

Стасов Владимир. 1899. Надежда Васильевна Стасова: Воспоминания и очерки. СПб., 1899. [Stasov, Vladimir. Nadezhda vasilevna Stasova: Vospominanija i ocherki. SPb., 1899].

Стасова Поликсена. 1900. Памяти Надежды Васильевны Стасовой, Женское дело, 1900, январь, СПб. [Stasova, Poliksena. Pamjati Nadezhduj Vasilevnuj Stasovoj, Zhenskoe delo, 1900, janvar, SPb.,].

Стасова Поликсена. Издательское дело, сп. Женское дело, 1900, февраль, СПб. [Stasova, Poliksena. Izdatelskoe delo, sp. Zhenskoe delo, 1900, fevral, SPb.,].

Тыркова, Ариадна Владимировна. 1915. Анна Павловна Философова и ее время. СПб., 1915. [Tjurkova, Ariadna Vladimirovna. Anna Pavlovna Filosofova i eju vremja. SPb., 1915].

Философова, Анна. 1900. Роль Женщины в деле общественной благотворительности в России за последние 50 лет, сп. Женское дело, 1900, август – сентябрь, Санктпетербург. [Filosofova, Anna. Rol Zhenshinuj v dele obshestvennoj blagatvoritel'tokgi v Rossii za posledneja 50 let, sp. Zhenskoe delo, 1900, avgust – septemvri. Sanktpeterburg].

Штакеншнейдер, Елена Андреевна. 1934. Дневник и записки (1854–1886), Москва, 1934. [Stakenschneide, Elena Andreevna. Dnevnik i zapiski (1854–

1886), Moskva, 1934]. <https://www.rulit.me/books/dnevnik-i-zapiski-1854-1886-read-572683-8.html>

Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона: в 86 т. (82 т. и 4 доп.). – СПб., 1890—1907. [Bjukov, Petr Vasilevich, Engelgardt, Anna Nikolaevna // Entsiklopedicheskij slovar Brockhausa I Efrona: v 86 t. (82 t. i 4 dop.) – SPb., 1890-1907].

Юкина, Ирина Игорьевна. 2007. Руският феминизъм като предизвикателство на настоящето / И. И. Юкина; изд. от Т. А. Мелешко. - СПб.: Алетея, 2007. [Yukina, Irina Igorievna. Ruskijat feminizum като predizvikatesltvo na nastojasheto. I. I. Yukina, izd ot T. A. Maleshko. – SPb: Aletea, 2007].

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.5>

Tamila Davitadze
Shota Rustaveli State University, Georgia
[tamila.davitadze@bsu.edu.ge]

Nana Mazmishvili
Shota Rustaveli State University, Georgia
[nana.mazmishvili@bsu.edu.ge]

How Georgian Women (Representatives of one Family). Contributed to the Education and Science Exchange with Europe

Abstract: *The aim of the presented paper is to explore the distinguished Georgian women, representatives of one family, the family of Kipiani, with invaluable contribution not only to the achievements of the Georgian community but the development of science, culture, education, and art worldwide.*

The paper will display outstanding faces from the history of Georgian feminism including Nino (Tatishvili-maiden surname) Kipiani (1867-1937), Nino (Ninuca) Kipiani (1877-1920), Barbare Kipiani (1879-1965), Elene Kipiani (1855-1890) with their big role in establishment and development of close contacts with European countries in the fields of education, science, media, and art.

Barbare Kipiani was the first Georgian member of the Academy of Medicine in France who also was conducting lectures in the universities in Brussels, Paris, and Geneva. The Georgian girl from an aristocratic family became a secretary of the magazine "Revue Psychology" of the University of Brussels.

Nino (Tatishvili) Kipiani, a stateswoman and publicist translated children's stories from French into Georgian. She translated a famous historical novel "Spartacus" and a short story by I. Franko. The establishment of Georgian Theatre is also related to her.

Elene Kipiani translated literary works of Hugo and Moliere from French. She also was an actress of Georgian theater.

The methodology of the presented research foresees the analysis of the archive materials of the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts through which we intend to reveal the constraints and obstacles women from Kipiani family had to overcome in the course of carrying out numerous socially and culturally valued activities.

Keywords: *education, science, society, women movement, family of Kipiani, Georgian-European relations*

Introduction

The society is valued according to the ability and power to meet the challenges brought by the period and the circumstances. Life in the totalitarian society had been under the serious threat, including physical annihilation risk in Georgia, however powerful, educated people, those who were focused on the development of the civilized world took the whole burden of the difficulties of the social life on their shoulders. Georgian women were amongst those people.

One of the most important educational organizations of the 19th century - the Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians - was established on the 15 May 1879. The establishment of the organization was followed by selection of the members of Gamgeoba including Dimitri Kipiani, the Chair of the Society.

It must be stated that the preparation of the ground for the establishment of the above mentioned Society for Spreading Literacy, started in the beginning of the 1870s and this process involved not only men but women, in particular, those who had graduated from the gymnasiums established by Russia. These women understood the necessity of introduction of Georgian schools too.

Many out of these women were the women with relative ties with the family of Kipiani. They got actively involved in the activities like establishment of small regional public libraries, publication of books, and training of teachers. The role of these women in making the education available for men as well as women from all layers of the society, is immense. The contribution of these women has to be particularly valued while taking into account the obstacles and oppositions women had to face by that time, however they showed distinguished courage in fighting for gender equality and women voice in the development of the social-cultural life. The hardness of Georgian women in the course of the mentioned fight can be proved by the appearance of names of women in some periodical publications of those times, including newspapers and journals such as: "Iveria", "Droeba", "Kvali", "Tsiskari", "Jejili", "Nakaduli", "Mnatobi"... where Georgian women published their work, participated in discussions about education. Many out of them, including the women from Kipiani family, contributed immensely to considering Georgia as unseparated part of the European civilization, the country of ancient culture, despite the fact that their actions often were the subject to open criticism and irony. However, they continued creating valuable prose or poetry, creating paintings; they were wonderful artists, scholars and educa-

tors. Women in Georgia were distinguished with their progressive political ideas and philosophical concepts and charity making.

It must be underlined, that despite the huge efforts and invaluable contribution of these women to the Georgian culture and to the educational movements, the monument to honor the organization “Society of Spreading Literacy Amongst Georgian People” does not mention the name of even one woman.

Georgia witnessed many women who created new things, were the authors of important inventions, fought for innovations and were not afraid of changes. The presented research serves the purpose of raising awareness of the larger society about the role and contribution of women from the past.

For centuries the role and place of the realization of the potential of women were believed to be limited and determined to the function of giving birth, upbringing children, and maintaining relative relations. However, Georgian women bravely stepped in higher education and science a century ago when those privileges were considered to be accessible for men only. It is hard to imagine what efforts these women had to put to abolish the stereotypes so deeply rooted in the society and the system of education and become researchers, educators or inventors. Nonetheless, they did not give up and their voice was heard.

In order to prove the statement about the lack of awareness about the women as well as the role they played in various fields of the life on the local and international level, we decided to carry a survey with the clear objective to identify to what extent these women are known to the society at large. The structure of the survey was simple, comprising the following two questions:

Question N 1: Do you know anything about the public work of Georgian women - Barbare, Ninutsa, Elene and Nino Kipiani?

Questions N 2: Have you heard about public deeds of Dimitri Kipiani?

For more reliability and objective picture, we choose two target groups for our survey. The first target group was focused on professors, while the second target group comprised the community in general. The survey was conducted electronically, through sending the above mentioned two questions to the emails of the target group members. The participants were asked for their readiness and willingness to participate in the survey, which was responded positively.

We are not going to present the detailed analysis of the survey; in general the first question was responded with the negative statement by

98% of the target group, while 99% stated they have heard about Dimitri Kipiani and even have at least an idea about his public deeds.

This results confirm the actuality of the research and underlines the necessity of taking actions to make the names of the outstanding women known to the wide society. Thus, we believe the presented research will provide deep insight of the life and public deeds of the three Georgian women from one family.

Barbare Kipiani

Barbare Kipiani, born in 1879, is a particularly distinguished figure amongst those women; she is considered the first Georgian woman scholar. Barbare Kipiani, whose research works or other public activities were the subjects of discussion amongst the aristocratic people in Europe, was the granddaughter of Dimitri Kipiani whose life and work for public good is exemplary for every Georgian person. He is the “Father of the Nation” and a famous educator, therefore education had always been a priority in his family. Education and power of the nation exist just on the ground of existence of such great figures. Thus, it is obvious that women connected to this family had all necessary background to continue their ancestor’s deeds. The public work and activities of Barbare Kipiani went beyond the borders of Georgia and reached the level of international relations leading to valuable exchange in the field of medicine, education and culture between Georgia and Europe.

Barbare Kipiani, who had to move to Belgium due to her father’s (Nikoloz Kipiani-statesman, publicist, culturologist and critique) health issues, graduated from Brussels University, Faculty of Medicine where, later she delivered lectures on Georgian and Russian languages. As a talented and excellent student she was admitted at the International Congress of Physiology held in Brussels. The European scholars were very impressed with her speech. So, Barbare Kipiani, the youngest daughter of Niko Kipiani, became the first Georgian psycho-physiologist, who firmly continued the deeds of her grandfather and father and invested all her energy and potential in the development in the field of education on top of numerous other activities; however, in our research, we mainly put the focus on her achievements in the fields of education, culture and science (*The First Georgian Scholar Woman Barbare Kipiani*, 2017).

Amongst her activities we can name the study of methods to identify the types of human memory, psychological bases of upbringing, tropism, ambidextrism among the school kids, etc. The outcomes of these research papers were discussed in the European press; moreover, articles,

brochures and monographs were printed. From 1908 Barbare became a secretary of the magazine “Revenue Psychology” of the University of Brussels. She was actively engaged in the activities of international congress of physiologists and pedologists (*The First Georgian Scholar Woman Barbare Kipiani*, 2017).

The first Georgian woman scholar, from the aristocratic family delivered lectures at the Brussels University, University of Liege and Paris University; at Brussels University she led the lectures in special psychophysiological disciplines as well as conducted lectures on Georgian and Russian languages. In 1910, she initiated the establishment of Georgian Section of the History and Ethnography at the International Museum of Brussels. This was a big step forward in the popularization of the nature and culture of Georgian people abroad.

Later Barbare came back to Georgia and continued fruitful pedagogical and social-cultural activities. She taught French language at the Georgian Nobles Gymnasium in Tbilisi, Women’s N 5 Gymnasium, Junkers’ Military School; she worked as an assistant to Akaki Shanidze, Director of the Library of Tbilisi State University. Later Barbare had to escape to Brussels, but independently where she was, as a member of the Georgian aristocratic family she supported the increase of the interest towards Georgian culture in Europe. It was just due to her outstanding effort that many young people from Georgia received higher education at European universities. As the scientist in physiology she was awarded certificates, golden and silver medals of various countries. She also is the holder of several prizes in science, author of many fundamental research papers, member of French Scientific Academy and Artists Union of Georgia.

It must be mentioned that Barbare had to overcome certain obstacles before she achieved success and took the lead in educational and cultural exchange activities. This is proved by the statement written by Revaz Gabashvili, one of the Georgian publicists, in the newspaper “Cnobis Purceli”: “A lion share in forming Barbare as a scientist is connected with the Polish professor Iotiko who invited Georgian scholar to work in her lab as well as paid her university fee when Barbare was excluded from the university for not having her student fee paid. I believe our society should know that Barbare Kipiani was supported by the foreigners, while noblemen refused to give scholarship to her” (*Georgians in foreign countries*).

The presented statement is evidence that proves there were obstacles women, willing to get high quality education, had to face. Despite

the numerous facts of oppositions, as stated above, Barbare did not stop carrying out social or cultural activities; even more, she made her call in the address of the Georgian society encouraging women to make their input in the development. Below we will present Barbare Kipiani's Address to Georgian Society Regarding the Establishment of Georgian Department in International Museum of Brussels. The document is kept in the Institute of Manuscripts (the address exists in French and Georgian languages):

"The world congress of international associations held in Brussels on 9, 10 and 11 May 1910, took a decision to establish such a museum which will display results of mental and technical achievements of various nations in the sphere of international relations. Each country and nation, including Georgians, is allocated a separate hall. This is for the first time ever that Georgia is provided an opportunity to introduce results of its mental and technical achievements to Europe and thus prove that it also has its own life. Those special conditions in which Georgia lives now, result from the fact that the country failed to show itself in the international life. In this regard, the Georgian department, compared to other departments of the museum, will be of somewhat distinguished nature. There is no doubt that the Georgian department will be a museum within the international museum because it will facilitate Europe to acquaint itself with Georgia. But in order to have this department established, the compassion from Georgian people is required too."¹

As the presented address of the Georgian scholar shows, Barbare looked for Georgian expositions scattered around Europe on top of searching for the scientific pieces of work; she aimed at preserving national heritage. She urges the Georgian society to take part in creation of the museum expositions.

We consider that the program for collecting the materials for the Georgian Department at Brussels International Museum proposed by Barbare Kipiani is of great importance. The program is accompanied with the letter that was sent to Giorgi Kereselidze, a distinguished representative of the movement for freedom of Georgia and a famous representative of Georgian political emigration.

The program itself is a clear evidence of the crucial role of the Georgian Department at Brussels International Museum in the valuable exchange in the fields of social, cultural or educational life. The program

¹ Barbare Kipiani's Address to Georgian Society Regarding the Establishment of Georgian Department at Brussels International Museum. (Women from the past. p.77)

content includes the concrete topics the collected materials had to be related to. On top of other important topics the separate sections of the program list the following: 1. bibliography, literature, press, statistics for printing books, libraries, national library, collection of newspapers and magazines, spreading literacy; 2. philosophical and ethical cognition; history and contemporary condition of philosophical thinking; 3. religion; 4. social, legislative and political issues, including international right of Georgia and “modern approach towards the international right of Georgia”; national institutions and their role; the problem of the political regime; social organization. 5. science; 6. industry; 7. historical monuments; architecture; fine art; music; 8. literature; outstanding writers and translation of their works; 9. history: “General picture of the history of Georgia-chronology of noteworthy stories-distinguished people from the past-wars and fights” (*Urushaze*, 2008, 114-115)

On top of the listed activities, Barbare Kipiani was a guardian of family property and archive of Salome Dadiani and Achille Murat, which then was handed over to a Georgian Catholic monk, Michael Tarkhnishvili who worked in Italy (*Gender Mediator*).

The materials presented above are the clear evidence of the outstanding role of Barbare Kipiani in the social and cultural life of the Georgian emigration focused on popularization of Georgian national culture. Independently from where Barbare acted as a public figure, she always stayed the worthy successor of her ancestors with full dedication for Georgia. Personal archive of Barbake Kipiani is kept in the National Centre of Manuscripts. The archive entered on 19 June 1965 (the Revenue Book N251) (*Georgians in Foreign Countries*).

Nino Tatishvili-Kipiani (1867-1937)

Nino Tatishvili-Kipiani, daughter-in-law of Dimitri Kipiani was the second woman from Kipiani's family who was an outstanding public figure, writer and translator with the prominent role in the history of feminism in Georgia. Nino Kipiani gave a huge importance to women involvement in the public activities. She is the author of a very interesting work “The Review of the Public Activities of Georgian Women”, dated 1896. Her contribution is immense, as even in the beginning of the 20th century she managed to reveal the importance of activism saying that there are no borders to it as this is equally important in the cities as well as the villages, centers and the outskirts. It was Nino's initiative to establish the first school and the library in the village Kvishkhethi. She guided numerous, free to public, performances created by her and presented by

group of actors, in Kvishkheti, Khashuri, Surami and Borjomi. It must be stated that those public performances were of educational character (*Places, Histories-Nino Kipiani in Kvishkheti, 2014*).

Amongst those enumerated activities, opening of several free schools has to be underlined as these measures enabled children from socially disadvantaged families to get education. Moreover, she traveled to Ajara together with Ekaterine Gabashvili, Dominika Eristavi-Gandegili and Anastasia Tumanishvili interested in the life of Georgian Muslim women and started to fight for their right to education (*Places, Histories-Nino Kipiani in Kvishkheti, 2014*).

The name of Nino Kipiani is closely connected with creation of the journal "Nakaduli. In 1923 she handed over her house to the newly established Writers' House which currently houses the house-museum of Dimitri Kipiani (*Places, Histories-Nino Kipiani in Kvishkheti, 2014*).

Elene Kipiani (1855-1890)

One more prominent face from the family of Kipiani is Elene Kipiani, daughter of Dimitri Kipiani who was a great translator, an actress, a publisher with a huge contribution to the development of these fields. She translated the works of great French authors such as Hugo and Moliere in Georgian. Together with Taso Tsereteli Elene founded the Circle of Women Writers where she published her translation of literary works.

In Kutaisi, Elene founded the almanac "Georgian Library" the authors of which were Elene herself, Ekaterine Gabashvili, and Ekaterine Melikishvili. In the preface of the "Georgian Library," it is stated that the motivation to read is increasing in Georgian noble as well as other families and this kind of publication can make this even stronger. It can be stated that this particular action can be considered as wonderful initiation to make Georgian women start acting and unite. In total only 11 editions of the journal "Georgian Library" were published and it existed for one year. The specific thing about it was the fact that the works only by women were published including also the translations of French literary works by Elene Kipiani (*Education in Georgia, Ideas and Public Figure, 2020*)

Elene was one of the founders of the Tbilisi theatre crew as well as permanent staff of it; she also chaired a Committee of Poor Students of Kutaisi School of Nobility.

Numerous newspapers highlighted Elene's outstanding input in the development of social and cultural life. The newspaper Iveria, Issue 251, 25 November, 1990 states:

“There is hardly anyone who, along with the name of Dimitri Kipiani, has not heard the name of his favorite daughter, Elene. They jointly worked for the revival of our theater, for the enrichment of our poor literature, for the spreading of our books and the literacy” (*Women from the Past*, 79).

In the newspaper “Iveria”, issue 253, dated November 28, we read: “Before getting married, Elene Kipiani taught young village women for free to read and write in the village of Kvishkheti. Today, in almost every village in Saabashio, one can find women who were taught literacy by the late Elene Kipiani.” (*Women from the Past*, 79).

Newspaper “Kvali” (October 30, №45) says: “Elene Kipiani was the first who stepped onto the public arena and revived the theatre with her talented performance and generous compassion. Owing to her tireless efforts, the crew of Tbilisi theatre was established in 1873. She also set up a small circle of women who published translations in order to have Georgians get used to reading books. The first book was published under Elene’s leadership in 1874. “By the way, Elene Kipiani paid attention to Georgian chorales and tried to write them down for piano. She always pointed the road to those willing to learn and encouraged them. Collecting money for charity, conducting performances for poor pupils was her almost daily activity. Elene Kipiani chaired the committee of poor students of the Kutaisi school of nobility till her death (*Women from the Past*, 79).

Elene Kipiani with her brother Kote Kipiani was one of the first public figures who helped the revival of the Georgian theatre with their gift to perform the role of the heroes of various characters on the scene including the heroes and heroines of outstanding playwrights such as Shakespeare and Moliere (*Chikhladze*).

Nino (Ninutsa) Kipiani (1877-1920)

Granddaughter of Dimitri Kipiani, Nino (Ninutsa) Kipiani was the first lawyer in the Russian Empire who graduated from the Faculty of Law in Brussels. She was a desk officer in the embassies of Italy, Belgium as well as was involved in the liberation movement due to what she was exiled. From 1907 she lived in Brussels, with her father and then moved to Italy where she continued her activities (*Gender Mediator*).

National Centre of Manuscripts preserves the notes by Nino Kipiani where she highlights the need of calling a congress of various parties. There we read the following: “Our national advancement requires the development of a program. Such a program must be designed through

congress. The congress must be attended by representatives of all nations, all parties. Congress is a necessity in the current situation. No one knows what kind of changes will take place in the foreseeable future and we must be ready for that and if we fail to help ourselves during these changes, it will be late to do that thereafter" (*Gender Mediator*).

Conclusion

The findings presented in the given research prove the big role of Georgian women in cultural and educational exchange on the international level. The facts and notes from the various sources present the collection of the data on the life and activities of three Georgian women who belonged to one family. The data from the authentic and valid sources underline the invaluable role of the women from Dimitri Kipiani's family in national liberation movement, a revival of Georgian theatre, development in science and numerous other activities of the worldwide value. We strongly believe that the names of these women should not stay in the shadow rather than the society has the full right to be well informed on their deeds.

Bibliography:

- Chikhladze N.,** Elene Kipiani. Education in Georgia, Ideas and Public Figures. [online] Available at: <http://nateba.websail.net/biographies/109-kipiani_el?fbclid=IwAR1gZM9T1dsAjxU4xSYPGGvg1lFHtagMk4OxAzKTlosfj5yEipjQCir9Ybo> [Accessed at 9 April, 2020]
- Georgians in Foreign Countries,** National Parliamentary Library of Georgia. [online] Available at: <<http://www.nplg.gov.ge/emigrants/ka/00000148/>> [Accessed at 7 November, 2021].
- Gender Mediator, 2020.** National Archives of Georgia. [online] Available at: <[http://gendermediator.ge/Nino-\(Ninutsa\)-Kipiani---Lawyer,-public-figure/n73?lang=eng](http://gendermediator.ge/Nino-(Ninutsa)-Kipiani---Lawyer,-public-figure/n73?lang=eng)> [Accessed at 7 April, 2020].
- Ketevan, M. et al., 2014.** Women From the Past. Media Development Foundation.
- Places, Histories - Nino Kipiani in Kwishkhети, 2014.** GeorgianHerStories. [online] Available at <<https://georgianherstories.blogspot.com/2014/?fbclid=IwAR0RaIYer53vPSJu1kkPzCRtdD4qfjX5sPWZAEy6fZhTq4eQNPHjFT-V6N4>> [Accessed at 9 November, 2021].
- The First Georgian Scholar Woman Barbare Kipiani, 2017.** Georgian Journal. [online] Available at: <<https://www.georgianjournal.ge/culture/33758-the-first-georgian-scholar-woman-barbare-kipiani.html>> [Accessed at 9 November, 2021]
- Urushadz , L., 2008.** For Cultural and Educational Activities of Barbare Kipiani in the first part of the 1910. Amirani №19. Tbilisi.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.6>

Dali Doborjginidze
Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University
[dalidanieli@mail.ru]

Nana Mazmishvili
Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University
[nana.mazmishvili@bsu.edu.ge]

Three Georgian Women from Noble Families - with Invaluable Role in the Exchange of Science

Abstract: *The aim of the presented research is to give a deep insight into the life and work of three Georgian women from noble families who played a huge role in the exchange of education, science and culture worldwide after World War II.*

The subject of the research is the three Georgian women who, even though had to live under the shadow of their men family members' achievements and fame, said their word in the development of various fields such as medicine, cinematography, antique literature... and contributed to establishment of ties in the mentioned fields with Bulgaria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Greece, Belgium, Germany and Russia.

Nino Javakhishvili (1914-2012), Tinatin Kaukhchishvili (1919-2012) and Tinatin Virsaladze (1907-1985) proved that women are equal to men; women too can make changes not only within their country but across the seas and oceans as well.

The research methodology is based on comprehensive study of the resources to find out interesting facts from the life and activities of the women who had to go through not easy "path of their life" due to all political pressures or other constraints, however, played inevitable role in the development of science and culture beyond the borders of their country.

Keywords: *Equality, Stereotypes, Noble Women, Science, Culture*

"Education makes us equal"
Dimitri Kipiani

Introduction

In the 17th-18th cc. it was impossible to imagine a woman in the field of science. The woman, who would expose her talent to the society at large, used to be blamed in "having sold her soul to the devil"; many

women became victims of community ignorance and ended life with having no recognition for valuable things they did.

Even though this issue is already the past in many countries, there are still communities and cultures, where women are considered not to be smart enough or intellectually capable to deal with certain issues beyond family and child caring activities. If we look back at the pages of the history and the development of civilization of the world, we come across with numerous examples of gender discrimination what then was changed into the term of "Gender inequality".

In Russia women had no access to education until the mid of the 19th century when the world learnt the names of many women inventors, scholars or explorers (Komarova 2018,19).

"Every student knows Isaac Newton, the author of the Theory of Gravitation. The role of Charles Darwin in the science of Evolution is known in the world. Moreover, it is not necessary to be a physician to have an idea about the Theory of Relativity and its author Albert Einstein, however when talking about the universe and its composition, the course books only mention the most widely spread atom in the universe, but say nothing about the author of this important revealing whose name was Cecilia Payne (Birukova, 2014, 121).

When advocating women's equality with men and their outstanding role in the development of science and education, we can not avoid mentioning Georgian woman Barbare Kipiani, who was the first Georgian woman scholar to achieve success not only in her country, but Europe too. Even though she was a granddaughter of Dimitri Kipiani- the distinguished Georgian public figure, publicist, translator, the leader of the noblemen of "Guberniya of Tbilisi", Chair of the Society for the Spreading Literacy in Georgia- she had no freedom or support in carrying out the activities for public good. Even more, Georgian noblemen refused to give her scholarship due to what she was expelled from the university. Some sources claim that Barbare, who was refused to get support from Georgian noblemen, received a helping hand from the foreigners (Navrozashvili, 2012).

Barbare was awarded numerous prizes and medals for her invaluable role in the science what made her be the center of attention of the European press constantly. Out of her outstanding input we would mention her particular role in carrying out research in child psychology, tropism, ambidextrism, etc. (Navrozashvili, 2012).

In the present research we intend to give the insight of the life and work of three Georgian women from the noble families who, even

though, played a huge role in the exchange of education, science and culture worldwide, were never recognized by the masses of the community. Despite improper treatment from the society, these women courageously went on following the route of their ancestors and said their word in the development of various fields such as: medicine, cinematography, antique literature and expanded their invaluable activities to Bulgaria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Greece, Belgium, Germany and Russia.

Nino Javakhishvili (1914-2012), Tinatin Kaukhchishvili (1919-2012) and Tinatin Virsaladze (1907-1985) proved that women are equal to men; women can make changes not only within their country but across the seas and oceans as well.

The resources we worked with deal with the interesting facts from the life and activities of the women who had to go through a very difficult “path of their life” due to all political pressures or other constraints of the period; however, they stayed safe and devoted to their activities which built the basis for the cooperation between Georgia and Europe.

Nino Javakhishvili

“Be the First and Never Ever Give Up”-this was the motto of Nino Javakhishvili.

Who was Nino Javakhishvili? In Biographical Dictionary Nino is referred as a “Georgian anatomist and public figure, Doctor of Medicine, professor, an outstanding figure of Georgian science, academician of the Georgian Academy of Sciences” (Tsilosani).

Nino Javakhishvili was the first woman who was awarded the professor’s title in Anatomy. She made the Georgian School of Anatomy stronger and expended its achievements beyond the borders of the country (Tsilosani).

The analysis of various sources showed that Nino Javakhishvili and Tinatin Kaukhchishvili, differently from Tinatin Virsaladze, were fortunate enough not being touched by the repressions or political pressures. In the case of Nino Javakhishvili this could be explained by the fact she was Aleksandre Javakhishvili’s, member of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia, father of Georgian School of Geography, founder of the very first Georgian university, daughter (Kharadze, Nikolaishvili, 2015).

Nino Javakhishvili worked on various positions at the Institute of Experimental Morphology of A. Natishvili of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia. She dedicated her research work to investigate the morphology of cardiovascular and peripheral nervous system and other medical issues (Tsilosani).

Nino Javakhishvili, an exclusive cardiovascular surgeon with astonishing competence in the field, was the author of not only complex innovative experiments of transplantation of organs, but, together with her husband, did, unique by that time, surgeries (Tsilosani).

The contribution of Nino Javakhishvili and her husband in the development of medicine is invaluable; they participated in numerous congresses, conferences, and symposiums and shared the results of interesting research work they carried out together. The materials of our research reveal that the couple's outstanding input got the recognition of the society: Nino was selected as a member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. Moreover, the couple was invited by the Noble Committee and asked to send certain documentation for further procedures; what happened then, once again underlines high valued personal qualities of the first Georgian anatomist woman; Nino decided her achievements were not still at the level to deserve such a high ranked prize. Overwhelmed with her modesty, she just sent the letter of gratitude to the committee (Macharashvili, Arkania, 2018).

Even though rejecting the invitation of the Noble Committee by Nino Javakhishvili was believed to have been motivated by Nino's modesty, there are other theories that provide different interpretation of this event. These theories connect the fact with the strict regulations of the Soviet Union that had no excuse for those who had any connection with foreign countries. The notes from the archive show that the number of the executed and exiled Georgian people reached tens of thousands out of which 163 were women. One of the evidences of cruelty towards those who had any relations with Europe is the interview with Prof. Guram Tatishvili, Georgian doctor, who says: "Similar invitation was sent to Georgian doctor, a famous Biochemist and Pathologist-Physiologist Vasil Razmadze, but he hid the invitation and did not even respond as he knew the government would never forgive him the relations with foreigners (Macharashvili, Arkania, 2018).

There are many facts of Soviet pressure on famous and public figures. Ivan Javakhishvili was amongst those who felt the severe "hand" of the regime. He was expelled from the university as he opposed Russia. The family suffered a lot; they had to live in extreme poverty. Professors (doctors and professors were provided with food by the government) shared their food and send it to Ivane Javakhishvili (Saneblidze, 2019).

Despite these circumstances, Nino's works and the activities expanded over the borders of Georgia and made her famous outside her country. She visited more than 50 countries and even headed the delega-

tions of scholars and public figures. Even more, many countries recognize Georgia by Nino Javakhishvili's name (Tsilosani).

Nino Javakhishvili was the first in the world who, based on the experiment, proved, that it is possible to change blood vessels with veins. The outcomes of her experiments had a practical value in treatment of ischemic heart diseases. Today, the results of the experiment, with her authorship, are widely used in shunting procedures (Tsilosani).

The results of the research of Nino Javakhishvili went through the classical way of development, starting from the experimental laboratory finishing with the international congress and then introduction in real medicine. Nino Javakhishvili is an excellent experimenter. As prof. T. Gibradze states: "she sews the tiniest vessels as the high-class angiosurgeon and carries transplantation of heart as the experienced cardio surgeon" (Tsilosani).

It must be mentioned that Nino Javakhishvili's reliable and inseparable partner in such responsible experiments was Academician Memed Komakhidze, her husband. They presented their research outcomes at IV International Congress of Anatomists in Prague in 1962, II Congress of Plastic Surgeons of Vessels of Romania held in Bucharest in 1964, VII International Congress of Anatomists in Weisbaden, in 1965 (Tsilosani).

Two academicians, Nino Javakhishvili and Memed Komakhidze, were the unique example of a perfect match in private as well as professional life. Together they did complex surgeries and fought for the patient's life in the operation theatre (Komakhidze 2002, 261).

Nino Javakhishvili and Memed Komakhidze had close friends from the Surgeons' Society of Moscow including Academician Aleksandr Vishnevski and Boris Petrovski. These two distinguished figures often competed in the "professional arena" and Nino and Memed were the only people who usually managed to get them reconciled. The whole Soviet Union's scholars' community could not understand how the couple did it (Komakhidze 2002, 261).

The public deeds of Nino Javakhishvili were not limited to the development of the medical field. As the member of the Supreme Council of Georgia she was amongst those who signed the Act of Restoration of Independence of Georgia.



Three Academicians: Father (from the right) – Aleksandre Javakhishvili, Daughter – Nino Javakhishvili and Son-in-law – Memed Komakhidze¹

Nino Javakhishvili carried out intensive activities in the field of social life. 66 years ago she established the Women's Council of Georgia. The initiative about the establishment of the Council started during II World War. By that time so called initiative groups had been created in many countries all over the world. In 1945 Paris hosted the Anti Fascist Democratic International Congress of Women. Upon arriving back from the congress Nino decided to establish similar organization in Georgia with the main objective to increase the role of women in the social, economic and cultural life. The organization would also protect the women's right. Indeed, the Women's Council of Georgia, with the initiative of Nino, implemented numerous charity events and measures. It was due to reputation of Nino Javakhishvili, that the council was able to cope with many problems. What Nino wanted most of all and dreamed about was no vulnerable and unprotected women and children in her country. Nino had close contacts with Various Women's Organizations from all over the world and actively participated in international congresses including: Women's International, Democratic Federation Congress of Copenhagen (1953), II International Congress in Budapest (1948), Women's International, Democratic Federation Congress in Prague (1981). As the repre-

¹ Photo source: Tsilosani

sentative of the Women's Committee of the Soviet Union she also took part in International Congresses in the countries: Italy (1947.), Albania (1950), England (1951), The USA (1957), etc. (Tsilosani).

Nino Javakhishvili died in 2012 at the age of 97, however, she belonged to those type of people, who even aged, maintain their beauty and charm. With her aristocratic look and manners, she remained attractive (Komakhidze 2002, 332).

The above listed activities truly prove the outstanding role of Nino Javakhishvili in the exchange of culture and science on the worldwide level. Her role in the social, economic, political and scientific fields of the country deserve respect and love of the Georgian community.



Tinatin Kaukhchishvili²

Tinatin Kaukhchishvili was Simon Kaukhchishvili's, an outstanding Academician of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences, Philologist and patriarch of Byzantine Studies, daughter. Even though Tinatin's mother wanted her daughter to pursue her career in the field of medicine, she dedicated her life to classical philology, Greek-Georgian relations.

In 1946-53 Tinatin made numerous business trips to Leningrad for further qualification at the Department of Classical Philology at the State University. Guidance of famous scholars like I. Tolstoy, I. Tronski and S. Lurie helped Tinatin to achieve high level of professionalism what enabled her to implement extremely important projects in the field. One of such important projects was focused on study of Greek inscriptions in Georgia that, truly are the unique epigraphic monuments found in Georgia from the time of antiquity. Tinatin had to travel through Georgia as well as the cities of other countries committing herself to investigation of Greek inscriptions on thousands of monuments and the materials preserved in the museums (Pirckhalava, 2014).

² Source: Georgian women (part of the flight)
http://gruzialyubovmoya.blogspot.com/2017/06/blog-post_70.html

Tinatin Kaukhchishvili was awarded the title of the Candidate of the Philological Sciences at the age of 26; at the age of 34 she already became the Doctor of Philological Sciences for publication of the monograph "Greek Inscriptions in Georgia".

Tinatin Kaukhchishvili always proved herself in the field of science at the international level. She was an active participant in international conferences which made her become famous abroad. Tinatin Kaukhchishvili was selected as a member of the International Society Presidium of Winkelman. Her research papers were published in Georgian, Russian, German, Italian, French, and English languages.

On top of carrying out research in Georgian-Greek relations and the issues of Greek epigraphy, Tinatin Kaukhchishvili worked on translation of Antique sources about Georgia as well as commenting on them. She published very important course books and books for the experts in the fields (Pirckhalava, 2014).

Tinatin Kaukhchishvili was elected as the academician of the Academy of Sciences. She is the distinguished representative of the School of Classical Philology and Byzantine Studies. The spheres of interest of the scholar include three main directions: Georgian-Greek relations, Greek Epigraphy, and Antique Greek sources of the History of Georgia. She conducted lectures at the Universities of Leningrad and Leipzig. Tinatin is the author of 120 papers including 19 books published in many countries: Russia, Germany, France, Italy and Bulgaria (Kaukhchishvili).

The contribution of Tinatin Kaukhchishvili in translation of the ancient Greek author's works about Georgia is priceless.

Tina Kaukhchishvili created the greatest scientific heritage that truly needs proper monographic study, analysis, and evaluation.

Tinatin Virsaladze (1907-1985), Art historian, researcher of the medieval Georgian mural painting had to live a difficult life. Different from her counterparts, Nino Javakhishvili and Tinatin Kaukhchishvili, she had to go through hard times due to severe measures carried out towards her family members by the regime of the time. 1937 turned out to be a terrible year for the Virsaladzes' family. Tina was waiting for a baby when her father, husband and brother-in-law were all arrested. Her passion for what she worked on helped the unhappy woman overcome the hardest time and stay strong (Tatarashvili, 2014).



Tinatin Virsaladze³

In the regard of the mentioned we consider it to be interesting to present here the extract from what her son, Gogi Khoshtaria, a famous Art historian, says about her:

“I have been proud of my mother. The woman who had almost everybody around her physically destroyed; she had to face much grief, but never whined. She was a “warrior”, proud, wise and clever. She would never show her tears to me... I saw her crying only twice: when she learned her mother had lung cancer and when my aunt

died... when I finished my diploma work about Pirosmiani, she told me: It is great! now, tear it into pieces and start writing from the scratch... she demanded the absolute logic...” (Labadze, 2015).

Tina Virsaladze, like Nino Javakhishvili and Tinatin Kaukhchishvili-had an aristocratic origin. She was a worthy representative of the noble family with the greatest role in the development of culture of Georgia. The contribution of the family is truly remarkable for the Georgian society of all times. Tinatin’s father-Bagrat Virsaladze- was the Head of State Control Chamber. Elene Muskhelishvili-Tinatin’s mother- was a very educated woman with absolute fluency in French, English and Russian languages. She was involved in the activities of the Society of Spreading Literacy Among Georgians. Tinatin’s younger brother-Soliko Virsaladze (1909)- was a famous scene-designer and her sister -Lolita Virsaladze (1911)-a well-known folklorist (Tatarashvili, 2014).

After she left school in 1924, Tinatin went to the Academy of Arts, Department of Painting and, in parallel, studied at Tbilisi University, Department of History, which she graduated from in 1929. She took her post-graduate course in Leningrad. Her supervisor was a well-known

³ Source: <http://gza.kvirispalitra.ge/life/2162-qkhelovnebase-daqortsinebuliq-qarthveli-da-emigraciashi-gatarebuli-ckhovreba.html?fullComments=1&tab=1>

Byzantine scholar Dimitri Ainalov. She was one of the founders of the Chubinashvili Institute of History (Tatarashvili, 2014).

In 1937-1939 she conducted lectures in the General History of Art in the theatres after Marjanishvili and Rustaveli. In 1937-1941 worked on the position of a Senior Scientific Worker and then a Head of the Fine Arts Department in the museum "Metekhi" (Tatarashvili, 2014.).

Her works were of crucial significance for the study of the medieval Georgian mural painting, identification of its historical stages, regional schools of painting and certain peculiarities of individual monuments (National Research Centre).

Tinatin is the author of numerous works dedicated to the 19th and 20th cc. Georgian fine art (National Research Centre).

Tinatin Virsaladze's work was focused, through a comprehensive stylistic and historical analysis, on revealing the national specifics of the Georgian mural painting, its relation to the Byzantine art as well as the reflection of the history on the themes of the paintings. Tinatin initiated the necessity of existence of regional schools of Monumental Art of ancient Georgia; she is the author of important papers on the fine art of the 19th century Georgia. She took part in the first and the second international symposiums dedicated to the Georgian art (Tatarashvili, 2014).

Tinatin Virsaladze's devotion and deep expertise was of invaluable importance for the culture of Georgia. Her dedication helped revive the historical picture of the Georgian fine art phenomenon with the goal to eliminate wrong opinions dominating in the Byzantine and Eastern-Christian history of art which ignored individuality of Georgian art. The task was very complex, however Tinatin's erudition, talent, inner culture helped her solve complicated tasks (Tatarashvili, 2014).

Tinatin "was fallen in love with her job." She would call the paintings "Мои Фресочки" (my lovely paintings) and could never even imagine that it was possible to be paid for what she did (Tatarashvili, 2014).

Conclusion

Finally, we deeply believe the contribution of the women, who devoted their life to doing public deeds, should be communicated to the wide society. Our true intention is to reveal the activities of the historical and cultural importance and emphasize that these immensely important activities were carried out by three women in the times when it was still believed women can never be equal to men.

In conclusion, we would like to cite Abashidze Nargiz and Komakhidze Teimuraz. In the book "Ajarian Women" they write: "...In the

complete chain of the facts and events, we should not consider it the coincidence that first Georgian biographer, Iakob Khutsesi chooses the woman as the first tortured person for the Christ faith. This statement once again eliminates all borders between man and women and contributes to elimination of wrong stereotypes (Abashidze, Komakhidze 1998, 14).

Bibliography:

Abashidze, Nargiz and Komakhidze. 2008. Teimuraz. Ajarian Women. Publishing House Ajara. Batumi.

Birukova, Victoria. 2014. Twenty Women Inventors.

Kharadze, Koba and Nikolaishvili, Dali. 2015. Forefather of the Georgian Geographical School. Tbilisi University.

Komarova, Zhanna and Emelianovich, Irina. 2018. Zhenshini v nauke: linia zhizni. Cyberleninka.

Komakhidze, Teimuraz. 2002. Academicians' Family. Publishing House "Ajara", Batumi.

Labadze, Shorena. 2015. Georgian Married to the Art and the Life Spent in Emigration, Gza.

Macharashvili, Ninia and Arkania, Tamar. 2018. The Story of the Big Love and Unrecieved Nobel Prize. Aversi.

Navrozahvili, Tatia. 2012. Dimitri Kipiani-Life and Public Work. Online newspaper Ambioni. Social, Religious Internetjournal.

Pirtskhalava, E. 2014. Tinatin Kaukhchishvili. South Caucasia. Heinrich Boll Stiftung.

Saneblidze, Nino. 2019. How Mariam Ugrelidze Saved Kids on the Train from Exile in the Far North and Why was Arrested by the Russian Government. Tbiliselebi.

Tatarashvili, Tamta. 2014. Tinatin Virsaladze. Feminism and Gender Democracy. South Caucasia. Heinrich Boll Stiftung.

Tinatin Virsaladze. 2018. Georgian Art History and monument Protection National Research Centre of Giorgi Chubinishvili.

Boyka Ilieva
South-West University “Neofit Rilski”
[boyka@abv.bg]

Olga Gyuzeleva and the Bulgarian Cultural Elite from the Beginning of the 20th Century

Abstract: *The name of Olga Gyuzeleva is usually mentioned in connection with the history of the Sofia Opera, as she is among its founders. In addition to being among the few female members of the intellectual elite and a participant in a revolutionary cultural endeavor, fate also connected her with one of the emblematic couples in Bulgarian literature at that time – Pencho Slaveykov and Mara Belcheva. Olga was the woman who left for Brunate in the spring of 1912 to share with Mara Belcheva the hardest months after the death of the poet.*

Olga Gyuzeleva was the youngest of the four daughters in the family of Stephanie Gyuzeleva and Ivan Gyuzelev. Similarly to her sister, she graduated in Dresden with a degree in music. After her return to Bulgaria, she devoted herself to versatile cultural activities - an opera singer, an actress, a pianist, a teacher, and an interpreter. In 1910 or 1911, Gyuzeleva married Major Krastyu Angelov – one of Mara Belcheva's brothers.

Valuable information about her life and activity is found in her personal archive, which has not been explored yet. In the 1917/1918 season, she was a full-time actress in the National Theatre, performing parties in the operas of Gounod, Bizet, Verdi, etc. At the same time, she was teaching private solo singing and piano lessons in Sofia and Varna. In 1925, she was wounded during the terrorist attack on St. Nedelya Church. She died lonely at the age of 91 in a nursing home in Kazanlak.

Keywords: *Olga Gyuzeleva; Sofia Opera; theatre; Pencho Slaveykov; Mara Belcheva; archive; memories*

Very little is known today about Olga Gyuzeleva. Her name is usually mentioned among the opera establishers in Bulgaria. Educated in Europe, she was part of the small circle of the female intellectual elite in the early twentieth century and was frequently surrounded by musicians, actors, and literary figures. Fate also brought her in the life of one of the emblematic couples in Bulgarian literature - Mara Belcheva and Pencho Slaveykov and through their acquaintance she became closer to the

members of the literary circle *Misul*¹. In the spring of 1912, as a close relative of Pencho Slaveykov, she arrived in Brunate for the poet's funeral and remained there to provide spiritual support to Mara Belcheva during the three most difficult months that followed her loss.

Olga Gyuzeleva-Angelova (1881–1972) was the youngest of four daughters (Mara, Bogdana, and Donka) in the family of Stefani Stanchova Gyuzeleva (née Kmetova) and Acad. Ivan Gyuzelev - the first internationally recognized Bulgarian physicist, mathematician, and philosopher. From an early age, two of the daughters, Olga and Bogdana, showed interest in music and their first piano and violin teacher was their father.² Both Olga and her sister received their musical education in Dresden. Olga graduated opera singing and piano from the Conservatory in the class of Prof. Ernst Grenzebach (Mladenova, 2019, 61). After returning to Bulgaria, she engaged in a multifaceted cultural activity as an opera singer (soprano and mezzo-soprano), pianist ("accompanist"), teacher, actress, and translator. She adopted the artistic pseudonym "Orlova". In 1910 or 1911, she married Major Krastyu Angelov - one of Mara Belcheva's brothers.³ Similar to her sisters Bogdana and Donka, Olga actively participated in the cultural life of Community Center *Slavyanska Beseda* (*Slavic Conversation*). During the theatrical season of 1917/1918, she was a full-time actress at the National Theater, where she also translated plays from German and Russian. At the same time, she taught music adopting "the old Italian method" and gave private lessons in solo singing in Varna and in piano in Sofia.⁴

Valuable information about Gyuzeleva's life and work can be found in her yet unexplored personal archive, which is kept in the Central State Archives (CSA). It contains facts about her artistic activity (manuscript, unsigned), memoirs of the founding of the Sofia National Opera (manuscript, signed), and memories of the funeral of Pencho Slaveykov in Brunate (typescript, signed).

¹ *Misul* (meaning *thought*) is one of the first literary circles in Bulgaria. It is associated with some of the great figures in Bulgarian literature like Pencho Slaveykov and Peyo Yavorov.

² State Archives (SA) - Gabrovo, f. 1325, d.1, a.u. 1053, p. 1.

³ Krastyu Angelov was also a translator – he translated plays from German for the needs of the theatre (Vandov, Karakostova, 2004, 96, 102, 108, 151).

⁴ Central State Archives (SCA), f. 1010K, op.1, a. u. 3 – Information from an unknown author about the artistic activity of the opera actress Olga Gyuzeleva – Orlova. Sofia, n.d. (manuscript).

Olga Gyuzeleva's artistic biography seems carefully and comprehensively systematized in eighteen items. The document is not signed and probably that is why the archivists decided to label it as belonging to an "unknown author". However, a closer look at the two manuscripts reveals that their handwriting is identical and the only difference is that in the anonymous document the letters are smaller. Some more specific letters are also written in the same way - two variants of "т" and the small handwritten "а" as a capital letter. Another reason to make the assumption that Gyuzeleva is actually the author of the record is its precision, as well as the presence of details of a very personal nature. In both documents, she refers to herself as the "founder of opera", realizing the significance of her deed.

Most of her multifaceted artistic work can be found in the paragraphs "Music" and "Drama". Her music activity included seven roles in the opera, participation in three concert tours around the country, among which the first opera tour, and her work as a music teacher. Her theatrical activity comprised of over ten roles on the stage of *Slavyanska Beseda*, the National Theater, the *Studio* Theater, and Krastyu Sarafov's Free Theater. Apart from being a performer, Gyuzeleva worked as a director of an amateur troupe in the town of Provadia, where she was sent by Georgi Kostov, the chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Actors.

The first cultural events of Olga Gyuzeleva were related to the activity of the oldest and most authoritative spiritual center in Sofia – National Community Center *Slavyanska Beseda*. Together with her sisters Bogdana and Donka, she was one of the twenty-eight choristers of the community center's mixed civic choir, which was established in 1880.⁵ Other female performers in this pioneering endeavor were Katya Stoyanova, Amalia Gavrailova, and B. Prashekova (Bakalov, 2005, 236, 246). A real sensation for the time was the participation of the three daughters of Acad. Gyuzelev in the artistic life of the capital. Olga Gyuzeleva was also a member of the Entertainment Committee established in 1882 with the task of organizing evening parties in the community center hall (Bakalov, 2005, 252). From 1882 to 1906, she was part of the drama troupe *Sulza y Smyah* (*Tear and Laughter*), which performed on its stage. In 1901, a Philharmonic Branch of *Slavyanska Beseda* was founded, in which Gyuzeleva performed as a soloist together with Hristina Morfova, Prof. Ana Todorova Tabakova, among others.

⁵ Among the male singers in the choir was Lieutenant Angelov, who was supposedly Olga's husband Krastyu Angelov.

Undoubtedly, Olga Gyuzeleva's greatest cultural merit was her part in the founding of Opera Friendship in 1908. The initiative started in her father's home on *Rakovski* Street (opposite the building of NATFA), which became one of the centers of the artistic elite in the capital: "The house of the Gyuzelevs, unpretentious in appearance, but spacious and cozy inside, gathered all the forces longing for art, idealism, aesthetics, and music at that time - a nest and a cultural center."⁶ Olga's family was not only part of the Sofia intelligentsia, but also demonstrated a modern way of thinking - the reason for their unconditional support for the emancipated choice of the daughters to dedicate themselves to a stage career. Her sister Bogdana was an opera singer and the first Bulgarian female composer. She was married to Ivan (Jean) Vulpe, an opera singer of Besarabian descent, who was educated in Russia. Her other sister, Donka, shared the profession of her famous husband, the actor Krastyu Sarafov. The future founders of Opera Friendship were frequent guests at the home of the Gyuzelevs: "Here is Mihaylov-Stoyan, living in the hope of founding the Bulgarian opera and together with them all the artists and musicians of that time - maestro Atanasov and the whole cultural elite. They work with might and main to establish and develop the Bulgarian opera. All the struggles are started here."⁷

Despite the great enthusiasm of the supporters, the progress of the opera in our country was not going smoothly. The hostile public figures who strongly opposed the encouragement and subsidization of opera by the state were not few. The conservative manners posed another serious obstacle even among the intelligentsia prejudiced against the public appearance of women. Thus for example, Vasil D. Stoyanov the founder of the Bulgarian Literary Society and father of one of the choristers in *Slavyanska Beseda* – Katya Stoyanova, categorically refused to allow his daughter to appear on the opera stage: "I have made many sacrifices in the name of my Fatherland, but I cannot sacrifice my daughter" (Bakalov, 2005, 234). According to the playwright Konstantin Mutafov, for our people music was "a distant need we can go without and which in fact does not foster culture in any way", and opera was "a thing of pleasure and idleness" (Mutafov, 1918, 234-235). He was convinced that the excessive patronage of opera by the state would be to the detriment of dramatic art (Ilieva, 2011, 90).

⁶ CSA, F. 1010K, a.u. 2.

⁷ CSA, F. 1010K, a.u. 2.

The founders of Opera Friendship – Ivan and Bogdana Vulpe, Dragomir Kazakov, Konstantin Mihaylov-Stoyan, Dimitar Pop Ivanov, and Olga Gyuzeleva were about to face the director of the National Theater by that time - Pencho Slaveykov. Firmly convinced that "opera cannot be the work of simpletons", he did not allow them to rehearse on his stage and use the costumes, despite the favorable attitude of the Minister of Education – Nikola Mushanov. Even after the reluctant permission, he remained hostile and prejudiced: "Half-bent, frowning, with fiery arrows in his eyes - it seemed to us that he was just about to lift his strong heavy cane and dash outside after us, he looked so scary!" According to Gyuzeleva, it was the case with the rehearsals that was the reason for the conflict with the minister and the subsequent resignation of Slaveykov.⁸ The fact that Opera Friendship occupied the theater building years later was met by a new wave of dissatisfaction and warnings about the detrimental impact of opera on drama (Mutafov, 1917, 499).

Another problem for the novice "operaists" was the refusal of Katya Stoyanova to participate in the debut, which put the artists in a difficult situation: "At that time, female singers were something of a rarity in Bulgaria, not in abundance, like nowadays."⁹ At the request of Dr. Kazakov, mezzo-soprano parts were taken by Olga Gyuzeleva, who had undergone a short musical training with her son-in-law Ivan Vulpe. Thus, by necessity, with the debut of Opera Friendship on October 18th 1908, Gyuzeleva began her singing career.

In the Opera, Gyuzeleva played the roles of Marthe in "Faust" by Charles Gounod, Nanny in "Eugene Onegin" by Tchaikovsky, Verunya in "In the Well" by Blodek, Mercedes in "Carmen" by Bizet, the mother in "Kamen and Tzena" by Kautsky and Iv. Ivanov, the nurse in "Tahir Begovitsa" by D. Georgiev, Amneris in "Aida" by Verdi, etc.¹⁰ An integral part of Gyuzeleva's artistic biography were the concert tours around the country, in which she performed both as a singer and pianist. In 1907, she traveled as an accompanist with opera singers Konstantin Mihaylov-Stoyan, Jean Vulpe, and Bogdana Gyuzeleva-Vulpe. As a soloist she took part in a tour around the country together with the baritone Ivan Petrov. In 1911, she joined the first opera tour in Bulgaria, in which the entire staff of the Opera took part.

⁸ CSA, F. 1010K, a.u. 3, p. 5.

⁹ CSA, F. 1010 K, a.u. 3, p. 3-4.

¹⁰ CSA, F. 1010K, a.u. 1.

On the theatrical stage, Gyuzeleva co-starred with the Bulgarian artistic elite from the beginning of the century - Adriana Budevskia, Sava Ognyanov, Vasil Kirkov, Krastyu Sarafov, Atanas Kirchev, Zlatina Nedeva, etc. One of the earliest productions, where she performed together with A. Budevskia and Kr. Sarafov, was Leo Tolstoy's "The Power of Darkness", which was part of the poster of the National Theater for season 1904/05 (Vandov, Karakostova, 2004, 17).



Olga Gyuzeleva (sitting) and Adriana Budevskia. Sofia, 1912.¹¹

Pencho Slaveykov's memories shed some light on the facts around the poet's funeral. They also reveal a wealth of autobiographical information, as well as impressions of various contemporary intellectuals. The

¹¹ CSA, Fond 1010K, a.u. 4.

document is from 1957 and contains 25 typewritten pages. The text was probably intended for printing, although I have not been aware of such a publication so far.¹²

Focused on Slaveykov's personality, the beginning of the text offers a detailed description of his small family house:

"All the older citizens of Sofia were familiar with the old small house on the present-day Slaveykov Square named after this noble family. It was not in the foreground, but like all the other old Bulgarian houses, it had the same garden with geraniums, tulips, gillyflowers, and carnations in front. Its location was opposite the Alliance." Many years ago, this square did not have the same name. This spacious bare place used to get filled with water on rainy days – it resembled a moor, and we, the children going to school, had to be driven by phaetons from street to street. Such was the situation in the olden days of this now famous Slaveykov Square. And there, as I mentioned, the modest old Slaveykov's House was nestled and sheltered. Certainly, after some time, the appearance of the square changed drastically and acquired a new image" (p. 1-2).

Olga's first impressions date back to her school years, when hidden behind the heavy curtain in the living room, she was watching Slaveykov passing by her house. Every day at noon at 12 o'clock sharp the poet walked along the sidewalk of *Rakovski* Street accompanied by the popular favorite Aleko Konstantinov:

"They were striding slowly down the opposite sidewalk – with a walking manner provoked by Pencho Slaveykov's disability. Moving with difficulty along the street - with measured steps due to the severe illness of his legs, with his body half-bent, quite stiff; always with a serious and thoughtful expression on his face; his eyes inevitably staring ahead as it was not easy for him to turn his head around; leaning heavily on his strong cane. I have kept the memory of him striding like that up until now. What confidence his whole manner of walking emanated! And right next to him Aleko, agile and always smiling, his cheerful companion was telling him something funny and interesting. That was how the two giants of the pen were passing by – then still not as recognized as today."¹³

¹² Not until 2018 were those memories published by Maria Mladenova in Nr. 6 of the journal *Bibliotekata*.

¹³ CSA, f. 1010K, d. 1, p. 2.

The central position of the house of the Gyuzelevs gave Olga the opportunity to absorb impressions from the everyday life of famous Bulgarian cultural figures: "Everyone was in a hurry to go home because it was already 12 noon."¹⁴

No less vivid are her memories of Ivan Vazov, invariably accompanied by his puppy:

"And finally I saw Ivan Vazov - our neighbor. Upright - tall, holding a cane, not for support since he did not need it, but as an accessory because many people then considered it necessary for every man to carry a cane in his hand – just to complete his outfit. Ivan Vazov also had one. His unavoidable Cerberus, a rather small, unassuming puppy, was always running in front of him. It was his companion during walks. His dreamy gaze – always directed to Vitosha spoke of his poetic excitement at the sight of our majestic beautiful mountain."¹⁵

After becoming part of Major Angelov's family, Olga got close to Slaveykov, who introduced her to the world of literature and the works of Byron and Wilde. She was impressed by his rich library located in the parlor on the second floor of Mara's home.

In the autumn of 1911, Mara and Pencho settled in Rome to wait for the Nobel Prize. Gyuzeleva claimed that both of them harbored great hope to receive this "long-awaited wealth" in order to legitimize their relationship: "Many people judged them about living together without being married failing to realize the real reason behind that - on marrying Pencho Mara would immediately lose her widow's pension." (p. 8). The vain expectation of the monetary reward and the financial difficulties that the couple experienced in Italy led to Belcheva's decision to sell the house inherited by her late husband. She wrote a letter to her brother Krastyu Angelov, who carried out the transaction and sent the sum of money to Rome (p. 9).

When the telegram about the poet's death arrived at the Angelovs' home, the family decided that Olga would go to Brunate to attend the funeral. The major's official position did not allow him to travel immediately and the support of a woman was deemed more necessary - "because I would be more useful to his sister in her profound grief as a woman than he would be as a man. We women can be more comforting in such sad moments" (p. 10). On the next day, Olga left for Italy in the company

¹⁴ CSA, f. 1010K, d. 1, p. 2-3.

¹⁵ CSA, f. 1010K, d. 1, p. 3.

of Racho Slaveykov, about whom she shared not very flattering impressions.

Olga Gyuzeleva is among the four Bulgarians who attended the poet's funeral, together with Racho Slaveykov, Mara Belcheva, and Boyan Penev. The memories of the other three witnesses to the sad event were published long ago and are available to readers. Gyuzeleva's memoirs written 45 years later contain valuable information about Mara Belcheva's condition, the funeral, and those who were present.

A few days later, B. Penev brought his wife Dora Gabe from Munich and they both stayed with Mara Belcheva. The poetess found comfort in her daily work on Slaveykov's literary pieces, with the support of B. Penev, while Olga and Dora used to go down to Como Lake for shopping and a walk along its shores. It is quite puzzling that in her memoirs about Brunate, Dora Gabe did not mention Gyuzeleva's presence at all, although the four of them lived together in the town for twenty-five days lending Belcheva their support and friendship (Gabe, 1995, 265-268).

Olga always accompanied Mara Belcheva on her daily visits to the cemetery and even kept the key to the heavy gate, kindly provided to them by the guard. After the Penevs departure, the two ladies were visited by the diplomat Dimitar Yotsov and Bulgarian students abroad, who passed by to pay homage to the poet's grave.¹⁶ In letters to her younger brother, Major Angel Angelov, Belcheva sent greetings to her family from Olga, who was her loyal support: "Olga is so kind, but I torment her very much" (Belcheva, 1995, 226).

After a three-month stay with Mara Belcheva, Olga Gyuzeleva left for Sofia with her husband. The poetess returned to her homeland not earlier than the autumn and settled at the Angelovs' family home, where she was visited by friends from *Misul* Circle.

The available information about Gyuzeleva's life after her separation from her husband is scarce. In 1925, she was wounded during the attack in St. Nedelya Church and in the list of the victims and injured next to her name the occupation *private teacher* was marked. In the 1960s, she rented a place to live in Lozenets and was retired at the end of 1967 at the Home for Veterans in Sofia quarter Iztok. She was awarded the title of People's Artist for her contribution to the establishing of the Opera and received a decent pension: "The dear God did not leave me in my old age and accommodated me very comfortably in the State Home

¹⁶ In the text, it is written B. Yotsov by mistake as it was actually Dimitar Yotsov – the Bulgarian consul general in Milan, with whose wife Belcheva corresponded.

for Veterans, where I am highly revered and without any worries."¹⁷ It remains unknown why she stayed there for only a few months, after which she was put in a retirement home in Kazanlak, where she died alone at the age of 91.¹⁸

Bibliography:

Държавен архив Габрово, Фонд 1325 (Илия Габровски), оп.1, а.е.1053, л.1–11. [Darzhaven arhiv Gabrovo, Fond 1325 (Iliya Gabrovski), op.1, a.e. 1053, l.1–11].

Централен държавен архив, Фонд 1010К (Олга Гюзелева-Орлова), оп.1, а.е. 1-4. [Tsentralen darzhaven arhiv, Fond 1010K (Olga Gyuzeleva-Orlova), op.1, a.e.1-4].

Бакалов, Г., 2005. *Народно читалище Славянска беседа (1880-2005): 125 г. непресъхващ извор*. София: Агенция Стратегма ООД, 276 с. [Bakalov, G. Narodno chitalishte Slavyanska beseda (1880-2005): 125 g. nepresahvasht izvor. Sofia: Agentsia Strategma OOD, 276 s.]

Белчева, М., 1995. *Писма*. – В: Белчева, М. Един живот. Поезия, преводи, дневник, спомени, писма. София: УИ Св. Климент Охридски. (Belcheva, M. Pisma. – V: Edin zhivot. Poezia, prevodi, dnevnik, spomeni, pisma. Sofia: UI Sv. Kliment Ohridski).

Вандов, Н., Каракостова, А. и др., 2004. *Народен театър „Иван Вазов“*. Летопис 1904–2004. София: Валентин Траянов, 912 с. (Vandov, N., Karakostova, A. i dr. Narodnen teatar "Ivan Vazov". Letopis 1904-2004. Sofia: Valentin Trayanov, 912).

Габе, Д., 1995. *Мара Белчева в Брунате*. – В: Белчева, М. Един живот. Поезия, преводи, дневник, спомени, писма. София: УИ Св. Климент Охридски, с. 265-268. (Gabe, D. Mara Belcheva v Brunate. – V: Belcheva, M. Edin zhivot. Poezia, prevodi, dnevnik, spomeni, pisma. Sofia: UI Sv. Kliment Ohridski, s. 265-268).

Илиева, Б., 2011. Константин Мутафов: забравеното наследство на един неудобен интелектуалец. *Езиков свят*, 1, 85-93. (Ilieva, B. Konstantin Mutafov: zabravenoto nasledstvo na edin neudoben intelektualets. Ezikov svyat, 1, 85-93.)

Костадинова, М., 2019. Богдана Гюзелева – Вулпе майстори кукли в края на дните си, за да се прехранва. *Епицентър*, 9 авг. Достъпно на <http://epicenter.bg/article/Mirela-Kostadinova--Bogdana-Gyuzeleva---Vulpe-maystori-kukli-v-kraya-na-dnite-si--za-da-se-prehranva/190048/11/105> (Kostadinova, M. Bogdana Gyuzeleva-Vulpe maystori kukli v kraya na dnite si, za da se prehranva. Epitsenttar, 9 avg.

Младенова, М., 2019. Будителите в семейството на академик Иван Гюзелев. *Списание на БАН*, 3, 57-61. (Mladenova, M. Buditelite v semeystvoto na akademik Ivan Gyuzelev. Spisanie na BAN, 3, 57-61.)

¹⁷ SA - Gabrovo, f. 1325, d.1, a.u. 1053, p. 10.

¹⁸ The fate of her sister Bogdana Vulpe, who was the first Bulgarian oper composer, was similar. She also died forgotten and in poverty and in the end of her life she made dolls to earn her living. (Kostadinova, 2019)

Мутафов, К., 1917. За българската опера. *Общ подем*, 9. (Mutafov, K. Za balgarskata opera. Obsht podem, kn. 9.)

Мутафов, К., 1918. Музиката културност ли е? *Общ подем*, 5. (Mutafov, K. Muzikata kulturnost li e? Obsht podem, 5.)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.8>

Kristina Popova
Bulgarian Academy of Science
[chadoblg@yahoo.com]

Between Sofia and Berlin. Impulses and Background of the High Social School for Women at the Bulgarian Women's Union (1929 - 1932)

Abstract: *The article presents the preparation of the High Social School for Women which was opened in 1932 by the Bulgarian Women's Union (BWU). It was the first Social Work School in the Balkans. The school was a result of long-time efforts to establish an education of women for social work, to open their cultural, political, and social horizon as well as to raise their consciousness about family, children, and women's questions. The steps of this preparation are presented: The journal 'The Woman' 1929 – 1931 which discussed the need for social education and its models abroad, the decisions of the Congress of the BWU in 1930 about the preparation of social courses for women, the International Summer School of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom in Sofia in 1930. The educational trip in 1930 of the BWU's activists led by its president Dimitrana Ivanova to the women's social institutions in the Weimar Republic and especially the visit of the Alice Salomon Social Woman's Academy in Berlin was also of great importance for the curricula preparation of the School in Sofia. One of its future lecturers Rayna Petkova was trained in the Academia in Berlin. The establishment of the High Social School for Women in Sofia was one of the most important achievements of the Bulgarian Women's Union. It was also one of the most important contributions of the BWU to the early welfare state in Bulgaria which structure was shaped in the 1930-es.*

Keywords: *Gender studies; Maternalism; Welfare State; Bulgarian Women's Union (BWU); High Social School for Women; Dimitrana Ivanova; Else Frobenius; Alice Salomo; Rayna Petkova.*

Introduction

Although the term *welfare state* /Sozialstaat/ originated after the end of World War II, historians date its roots several decades back. It is about the time when its prototype emerged when the systemic public charity and civic societies developed, social legislation, public debate and scientific approaches toward social problems began, a set of social institutions was built, methods of professional social work were elaborated

and the network of the social assistance became part of society. For a long time, historians considered the welfare state as a patriarchal structure. The first historiographical attempts to present the contribution of women to the creation of the welfare state began in the 1980s in the USA. This approach to the history of the welfare state brought to the fore three aspects - women and women's movements as initiators and organizers of institutions and debates; women as participants and professionals in the structures of the welfare state; and third, as its customers.

This new perception of the history of women and the history of the modern welfare state brought to the fore the richness of women's participation forms. It enormously enriched the history of feminism and women's movements, as well as the history of social work in recent decades in several European countries, North and South America (Orloff 2011). Moreover, research had shown that this story is part of the field of intense international cooperation and exchange in the time between the two world wars.

At the end of the twentieth century, the term "maternalism" started to be used as an analytical tool for the historical analyses of this women's activities, its ideologies, languages, organizations, individuals, and networks. It emerged in the late 1980s in the United States as a research concept to trace the relationship between women's movements and the emergence of the welfare state in modern countries and to focus on the importance of women in this process.

In the period when the state social policy made its first steps, a lot of women, individually or in an organized manner, manifested as agents of social reforms. They raised their voices, defining the needs of mothers and children and outlining the institutions and programs to address them. In many countries, women's organizations and societies were started a significant part of the forms of social assistance, as well initiated the first forms of education in social work. Among them arose the first ideas for vocational training and the first schools of social work were realized, the first curricula were created, methods were developed, teaching materials and teachers were prepared. In 1925, in Berlin, Alice Salomon established the *Academy for Social Work* as continuing education for women with academic training, with an emphasis on methodology and research.

If second-wave feminists saw maternalist ideologies and philanthropy as a tool for maintaining patriarchal order, later on, they could be defined in terms of agency, activism, reformism, and women's empowerment as expanding the scope of women's activities as citizens. Thus a

new perspective emerged in the history of women and the history of the welfare state.

The scientific account of about 20 years after the first wave of research showed the fruitfulness of the maternalist notion for the research (Klein et al. 2012). The concept of the patriarchal welfare state and the persistent focus on social control were rejected as leaving too little room for research on women's agency. The fields of women's networks in the past and women's place in the construction of the social systems were highlighted, and at the same time, a place for the research of maternalist arguments in the struggle for women's rights was given. Maternalism avoided state-centrism and expanded the notion of women's political action.

The following article aims to present the immediate preparations for the establishment of the first educational institution for social work in the Balkans in 1932 - the *High Social School for Women /HSSW/*, opened in Sofia by the Bulgarian Women's Union. Its creation is an example of a fruitful international exchange in the field of women's political equality struggle and for raising of their social and political knowledge.

At that time, the *Bulgarian Women's Union /BWU/* had more than thirty years of history, and the women's organization in Bulgaria existed for nearly three-quarters of a century. In addition to its main goal related to women's political rights, the BWU occupied an important place in social work by organizing a lot of local household schools for young women in the country as well as kindergartens, elderly care, orphanages, and other forms of support (Назърска 2019). For a lot of women members of the local societies, those organized activities were the source for their gender identification and realization of ethical norms (Orloff 2011).

The establishment of the HSSW became possible in the conditions of accumulated women's experience and competencies in the field of social work and charity and participation in international discussions and networks. The school's curriculum included and combined feminist and maternalist tendencies that had coexisted in the previous decades of the Bulgarian women's movement.

The opening of the school was also a result of the contacts between the Bulgarian and German women's movements. The project started immediately after a group of BWU members traveled to Germany in the autumn of 1930, but the establishment of the school as a necessity for raising women's public consciousness and training for social work had a long history. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, for the first

time in Bulgaria, there began a discussion of preparing women for social work. It had its predecessors in the preparation for various forms of charity or public care in the courses of 'Samaryanka' Society /Samaritan women/ from 1910 onwards, in the training for 'teacher counselors' of the *Union for Child Protection*, which began in 1927, and mainly in preparation for public health nurses /after 1928/. However, the school's project had the ambition to raise women's social competencies and their place in society to a new level, as well as to train staff for the numerous social institutions in the 1930s. Thus, the establishment of the HSSW stood out as an important moment in the prototype structure of the welfare state in Bulgaria, which emerged in the interwar period, as the alumni of the school together with the public health nurses and the graduates of other courses for social staff provided the necessary human resources for the municipal social work, as well as for the social institutions. These included orphanages, homes for abandoned children, and elders, as well as maternity courses, poor children's summer camps and other resorts for poor children, canteens, night shelters, children health counseling stations, auxiliary classes and schools for children with disabilities, social work with underage prostitutes, correctional institutions and many others.

After the First World War, the relative share of women in many university majors in Bulgaria increased, although admission restrictions remained (Назърска 2003). The opening of majors in economics and international relations at the newly opened *Free University* in Sofia contributed to the political and social horizons of female students, but the realization of women lawyers in the judiciary and the legal profession still faced insurmountable legal obstacles. *The Bulgarian Women's Union*, together with the Lawyers' department from the Society of the *University Women's Society* /Bulgarian Women with Higher Education/ established in 1924, began a struggle for the right of women to be lawyers which was linked to the aim for more effective legal protection of the rights of women as mothers and wives.

During the First World War in Bulgaria started practices of public health nursing introduced by American nurses, invited by Bulgarian Queen Eleonora to reorganize and modernize the nurses' education. Boyana Hristova, an alumna of the American nurses' training course, was sent after the war to the *First international course for public health* at the Bedford College for Women in London, organized by the *League of the Red Cross Societies*. 19 students from 18 different countries took part in the course (Popova 2011-2012). After her return to Sofia in 1924, the first health counseling station was opened and systematic documented work with

mothers and children from Sofia's slums, as well as regular home visits, began. At the end of the 1920s in Sofia on the initiative of Hazel Goff, director of the nursing school in Sofia, the first courses for public health nurses started at Alexander Hospital. Some of the graduates became the first professional social workers in the public care service of Sofia Municipality (Popova 2011). The *American Near East Relief Foundation*, the Social Democrats of the *Women's Social Democratic Union*, the 'Samaritan' Society, the *Union for Child Protection*, and other agents of (women's) biopolitical efforts to reduce child mortality and modern child care organized their social surveys of working with poor rural families (Попова 2021).

At that time, women's political equality was achieved in many European countries, which enabled women in parliaments and municipal councils to raise important social and legal issues related to women's labor, maternity, childhood, unemployment, and social security. The field of social issues was expanding, connecting a wide range of women's organizations. For the BWU's leadership, the activity of their women in social institutions and debates was a central argument for gaining political rights for suffrage and greater participation in local government. For Dimitrana Ivanova, president of the BWU, the need for the inclusion of women in municipal government stemmed from their experience and merits and experience in charity and public care. That is why in the interwar period the merging of social work and women's equality was one of the dominants in the women's movement. Preparing for social work was a necessity to enrich the social experience and expand the political and social horizons of young girls and awareness of the political value of women. This was the idea for the opening of the first social courses of BWU, which began in 1930. This idea of BWU to open a modern high school in Sofia, based on the achievements of social and human sciences, was clarified in 1929 – 1930 through its own experience of educational initiatives, publications on practice in European countries, and under the influence of what was achieved abroad, mainly in Germany.

"The Woman" Journal 1929 – 1931 and the women's social education discussion

The concept of a women's social school in Bulgaria was clarified in the late 1920s in the process of purposeful research and publications about achievements in other countries in this field. To this contributed the short-lived *The Woman* journal, devoted to more theoretical questions of the women's movement, than the union's issue *Women's Voice*. Fol-

lowing the intellectual interests of Dimitrana Ivanova as a leader of the union and jurist, it was focused on women's parliamentary activities as well legislative women's rights. In a series of publications in 1929, the journal described also the beginning of social schools in several European countries as a creative work of the women's social initiative.¹ The connection between feminism and social work was emphasized. The schools for social work were "a kind of centers of feminism" - N. Sokolova said about their ambitions – they were run by women and all the administrative staff was made up of women (Соколова 1929). The main subjects studied were pointed out, and it was emphasized that most of them were taught by women. "The development of feminism, the empowerment of women in Germany has made women to seriously deal with all societal issues and seek their solutions scientifically" – wrote the author (Соколова 1929: 114). After graduation, the alumni continued to be in constant contact with each other, professionally developing in social services, social homes, colonies, labor offices. Special attention was paid to the *Alice Salomon Social Academy* in Berlin and the research activities of female students who were interested to study social and psychological problems like prostitution and sexual disorders and wanted to be prepared for socio-pedagogical work (Соколова 1929). Another author – Dr. Minka Belovezhdova-Wuerzinger monitored the social legislation and pointed out its underdevelopment in Bulgaria (Беловеждова–Вюрцингер 1930). She justified the need for women's social education by referring to the German example in her article "Women's Social Education" (Беловеждова–Вюрцингер 1931). Dr. Milka Deyanova emphasized the need to establish a women's labor inspectorate in Bulgaria, which would work to improve the situation of working women, to cooperate in choosing a profession, to promote education, hygiene, and morals, to open counseling stations for the girls (Деянова 1931). Stella Ruscheva pointed out the family as well the social tasks of women (Русчева 1929). Dimitrana Ivanova reported about the *International Women's Congress in Berlin /1929/*. She presented the main figures in the international women's movement as well as the concept of feminism and its historical development (Иванова 1930-1931). A circle of like-minded people around Dimitrana Ivanova, who believed in the need for women's social education, was established on the pages of the journal.

The BWU took decisive practical steps to raise the social knowledge of its members and hence to prepare them for professional

¹ „Социалните школи за жени в Женева“. *Жената*, кн. 2, февруари 1929.

social work from the end of 1929. *The Twenty-Fourth Congress of the BWU* in Kyustendil in 1930 placed social care problems at the center of the union's work. The Congress resolution "Social care, social legislation and social education" was adopted, emphasizing the contribution of women in social work and the role of women "to harmonize the family and society through care in public life and by providing social education to their children" (Иванова 1930b). All women's societies must step up their activities in social education, set up special courses and schools, and set up a 'practical social welfare organization on the model of Germany and Austria'.² Congress reinforced the importance of maternalist arguments in the struggle for women's rights. At the beginning of July 1930, the management scheduled an educational course in Sofia for representatives of the local women's societies. It included questions regarding women's economic status, law, psychology, and other discussions; The course was attended by about 50 participants (Иванова 1930a:3). The next year on the 30th anniversary of the BWU, a new educational course for women started in July 1931 in Sofia in the days of the 25th Congress as "a cycle of discussions on social policy, social care, and social upbringing and education".³ Some of the leading figures of the union such as Dr. Vera Plocheva, Rada Petrova, Dimitrana Ivanova, Dr. Minka Belovezhdova - Wuerzinger were lecturers. Other lecturers were: professor of Pedagogy - Dimitar Katsarov, the demographer Prof. Georgi T. Danailov, social security expert Dimitar Nikolov and others.

The International Summer School for Peace and Freedom in Sofia in August 1930

In August and September 1930, Sofia hosted an important event of the international women's movement: the summer school of the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, held under the title "Towards a New Path".⁴ To participate in it, the most prominent activists of the international women's movement arrived in the capital of Bulgaria – MPs, politicians, writers, scientists. For the Bulgarian participants, this great event was a rare opportunity to meet and communicate for a longer

² „Резолюции на 24. Конгрес на БЖС“, Кюстендил, 13-16 юли 1930 г. /Resolutions of the 24th Congress of BWU, Kyustendil, July 13-16, 1930/. *Женски глас* /Women's Voice/, 1-2, 4.

³ *Женски глас*, 19-20, 1931, 1.

⁴ Central State Archives (CSA), collection (coll.) 487k, inventory (inv.) 2, archival unit (a.u.) 185.

period with representatives of countries where women already had parliamentary experience and stronger participation in political life.⁵

The *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* was established in the Hague in 1915 at the initiative of American feminist, social reformer, and pacifist Jane Adams (1860-1935). Jane Adams was one of the founders of social work in the United States by organizing the Hull House Settlement Center in Chicago, which launched several social initiatives for the benefit of poor immigrant families in the city and served as a model for such centers in the country.

The *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* was one of the three most powerful international women's organizations. These were *The International Council of Women*, established in 1888, *The International Alliance of Women* /1904/, and the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* /WILPF/ – in 1915. There were both significant differences and many cases of synergy between them. Although the three organizations were dominated by women from the elites and the middle class, especially from Western European countries, they had a sincere desire to cooperate and create an "international sisterhood".

The goals of the League were related to a fight against war and the establishment of 'perpetual peace'. The WILPF held its congresses, meetings, and summer schools, which aimed at creating a permanent international women's network, as well as systematic educational and propaganda work among women against the war and for peace. The League was working to increase women's participation in political life and was affiliated with feminist organizations. However, it was not a closed women's network but sought to unite women from a wide political spectrum. In 1919 its first congress was held in Zurich, and in 1922 was the first summer school in Salzburg. In 1927 the Bulgarian Jivka Dragneva participated in the summer school in Switzerland (Назърска 2006). Summer schools had the goal of broadening women's political horizons on peace and war issues. In 1919, the *Bulgarian Women's League for Peace and Freedom* was established as part of the WILPF – initially as the "Society for Perpetual Peace". Branches had been established in Sofia, Plovdiv, Ruse, and other cities. They were attended by many repre-

⁵ After completion of work, the reports presented to the participants in the international school were published in a collection of WILPF with a title in French: *L'école d'été de la Section bulgare de la Ligue internationale des femmes pour la paix et la liberté*. Sofia, 1930.

sentatives of local women's societies, activists of the women's movement in Bulgaria. The leader of the Bulgarian League in the first years was Ekaterina Karavelova (vice-president was Lydia Shishmanova), and after her, the post was taken over by Vasilka Kerteva.

American historian Leila Rupp, who studied transnational women's organizations from the time of the First Feminist Wave, pointed their importance in constructing women's collective international identity (Rupp 1997). Relying on documents of international women's organizations, as well as their publications, she analyzed the main views and ideas in them regarding the social role of women. She pointed out that the WILPF journal *Pax et Libertas* (Peace and Freedom) highlighted differences in the values of men and women, contrasting men's values related to violence and warfare and their related vices to the typical values of women, related to caring for others: patience, compassion, purity, sacrifice, and love (Rupp 1997: 84).

The most authoritative European pacifists and feminists, as well as specialists in social work, gathered to hold the summer school in Sofia in August 1930. They presented the problems and achievements of women in their countries and the world. Mary Sheepshanks⁶ and Dorothy Woodman⁷ from England, Camille Drevet from France⁸, Františka Plamínková⁹ from Czechoslovakia, and many other public figures were appointed as lecturers. Fanny Arnskov, a representative of the Danish section of the league, gave a lecture on social legislation.¹⁰ Many of the

⁶ Mary Sheepshanks (1872-1960) was one of the most prominent representatives of the English women's movement, close to Bertrand Russell, Virginia Woolf, and other English writers, philosophers, and public figures. For more details about her see the book by Sybil Oldfield (Oldfield 1984).

⁷ Dorothy Woodman (1902-1970), a socialist and activist in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, worked as a journalist in Berlin since 1931, covering the burning of the Reichstag. Due to her actions in coordinating international support for Communist Party leader Georgi Dimitrov, she was suspected of being connected with the secret services in the USSR.

⁸ Camille Drevet (1880-1969) is an author of two books about Bulgaria, as well as a book about Mahatma Gandhi E.g. See (Drevet 1938).

⁹ Františka Plamínková (1875-1942) was a prominent Czech feminist and patriot, vice-president of the International Council of Women since 1925, a member of the Senate in Czechoslovakia, advocated for women's rights, maternity protection, and other legal measures. She was arrested by the Gestapo and killed in 1942. Although included in the program, Plamínková failed to participate in the work of the school. Lola Hanuskova informed the organizers in Sofia that she would be replaced by Hrdličková. CSA, coll. 487k, inv. 2, a.u. 185, l.5.

¹⁰ CSA, coll. 487k, inv. 2, a.u. 185, l.17.

participants – Camille Drevet, Mary Sheepshanks, and others – were known to the Bulgarian female public from their visits and publications.



Participants in the Summer School of WILPF in Sofia, 1930¹¹

On the Bulgarian side, representatives of the most important women's organizations gave lectures: Dimitrana Ivanova¹² – President of the BWU, Regina Silberstein¹³ – representative of the Zionist women's movement, Ekaterina Zlatoustova¹⁴ – head of the *Society of Bulgarian Women with Higher Education*, as well as Dr. Raina Ganeva, Elena Hatzhinikolova, and others. Maternalism as a source of women's activism played an important role in WILPF. As an important resource of the women's fight for peace was emphasized the mother's role: women were presented as bearers of life, as mothers – of the nation and mankind in

¹¹ Source: Central Military Archive, F. 798, op.1, a.e. 1-6, p. 43.

¹² Dimitrana Ivanova (1881-1960), pedagogue and lawyer, long-time president of the Bulgarian Women's Union.

¹³ Regina Herbst-Silberstein (1880-1966), activist of the Zionist movement in Bulgaria, journalist, chairwoman of the women's Zionist organization in Bulgaria, Bulgarian section of WIZO, established in 1924.

¹⁴ Ekaterina Zlatoustova (1881-1952), together with Jivka Dragneva, founder of the Society of Bulgarian Women with Higher Education and its long-term chairman.

general. In this sense, gender connected them beyond the foundation of peace. Leila Rupp defined the connection between the motherly role of women and the opposition to war as a maternalist pacifist ideology. According to her "Maternalist pacifism" was based on an essentialist idea with old roots. She pointed out that according to this idea, the biological capacity for reproduction was the basis for women to become peacekeepers in general: "The essentialists assumption that because of their biological capacity for reproduction, women are inherently pacifists..." (Rupp 1997: 85). Marilyn Fischer clarified that League founder Jane Adams used maternalist rhetoric to reach a wider public audience (Fischer 2006).

The expansion of social work was perceived amid women's "maternalist pacifism" as a "work for peace." It was seen as a place of social effort, which women could oppose to war-related activities – the production of weapons, the involvement of young generations in the military field by promoting military opposition, and images of the enemy. All this was included in the design of the Summer School in Sofia in the summer of 1930 and its title "Towards a new path".

The "Educational Journey" through the "Female Dominion" of the Weimar Republic in September 1930

The "educational excursion" of the BWU to Germany was prepared in the summer of 1930 and took place in September 1930, and aimed at immediate acquainting with women's social initiatives in the Weimar Republic. In her memoirs, Dimitrana Ivanova explicitly emphasized the crucial importance of this tour, following the map of women's social work in Germany, for the establishment of the High Social School for Women in Sofia. This excursion (Studienfahrt) was also transmitted in the memoirs of the German journalist Else Frobenius, one of the initiators of the trip.

The BWU representatives' trip to Germany also had its prehistory in the "sister contacts" of international relations. In its preparation and conduct, in the preliminary correspondence and the ideation of the route, the chosen sites to visit, in its media coverage, was developed the discourse on social work and its unique topography was reflected, in a time shortly before Hitler came to power, which then totally changed the ideas and practice of social work in Germany.

The descriptions of the trip highlighted the attitudes of Bulgarian and German women towards their experiences: on the part of the guests and the hosts. These meetings in the autumn of 1930 unleashed significant creative energies in both countries, and in the Bulgarian women's

movement contributed to the implementation of remarkable new educational initiatives. The most significant result was the establishment of the Women's Social School in Sofia on the model of the Alice Salomon Social Academy for women in Berlin. A direct result was also the course in fashion design in Sofia with lecturers from Lette Verein – Berlin.

The immediate impetus for the trip came after Dimitrana Ivanova participated in the International Congress of Women's Rights in Berlin in 1929 when she met the journalist and active participant in the German women's movement Else Frobenius.¹⁵ At a dinner at the *Lyceum Club*¹⁶, arranged for the delegates from the press committee of the club, Dimitrana Ivanova found herself at the same table with Else Frobenius. Since then, their long-lasting friendship began and lasted until 1944. Else Frobenius invited the Bulgarian woman to a second meeting at her home and showed interest in the opportunity to visit Bulgaria. During the same summer, Else Frobenius arrived as a tourist on a tour in Bulgaria, welcomed by the local women's associations. She traveled around the country and got acquainted with its sights, and especially with the activities of the women's societies and the institutions established by them – schools, kindergartens, shelters, etc.¹⁷ This journey of hers left vivid traces: in her memoirs written after the Second World War, Else Frobenius described it in detail (Frobenius 2005). Soon after her return to Berlin, she contacted

¹⁵ Else Frobenius (1875-1952) was a German journalist and political lobbyist. From 1914-1922 she served as the general secretary of the "Women's Union of the German Colonial Society Operates" and was the co-founder of the "Baltic Women's Union" in 1916. Else became a member of the German People's Party in 1919 and remained so until 1930. That same year she wrote pieces on women's suffrage and appeared in a fifteen-minute radio program to address female participation in politics. Three years later she joined the Nazi Party and wrote a book of propaganda addressing women's role in the Nazi state. After World War II she moved to Schleswig-Holstein where she died on August 3, 1952. See: *ScholarsArchive*. Web. 18.01.2022. https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/sophsupp_gallery/87/.

¹⁶ The *Lyceum Club* – Berlin was founded in 1905 and had a great contribution to the socially engaged unification of women in Germany. In 1912, with the participation of the famous German feminist Gertrud Baeumer, the Club organized the exhibition "The Woman at Home and Work". The club also initiated several social institutions in support of Berlin's citizens in need. Among the prominent figures and participants in it were Bertha von Suttner - Nobel Peace Prize winner, Helene Lange - one of the leaders of the women's movement in Germany, artist Käthe Kollwitz, Alice Salomon, Marie-Elisabeth Lüders, and others.

¹⁷ This visit is described in the memoirs of Else Frobenius. The information about this prehistory of the visit of the Bulgarian women to Germany is from Else Frobenius' memoirs and Dimitrana Ivanova's travelogue and the facts largely overlap.

the German scientist Prof. Kassner – head of the *Society for Friendship between Germany and Bulgaria* – and together with him took the initiative to organize an excursion for BWU representatives to present the achievements of German women, their political participation and activity, their place in social work, especially in its forms intended for children and motherhood, the vocational education for social work and other opportunities for the professional realization of women. The trip of the Bulgarian women to Germany was a kind of answer to the journey of Else Frobenius. To realize the idea of this "educational journey", Else Frobenius used her contacts with German women's societies through the *Lyceum Club* in Berlin. This made the travel possible, as it was at the invitation of German women's societies and was also funded by them.

In her book on creating a kind of "female dominion" in American social reforms, Robyn Muncy traced the conditions in which new generations of middle-class women in the United States united their social initiatives, raised the importance of social care discussions, created new institutions, and provoked significant social reforms in the United States. She used the metaphor of the "dominion" to show the importance of women's

autonomy in this area, tracing the rise and development of the "female territory" and the crisis of the 'dominion' in the late 1930s (Muncy 1991). The term 'female dominion' could also be applied to women's achievements in the Weimar Republic, as they also had demonstrated a certain 'autonomy' in women's social work. The representatives of the BWU came to the territory of this "dominion" in September 1940 and with their visit and organizational work done together with them, they contributed to the consolidation of the topos.

Else Frobenius, 1930¹⁸



¹⁸ Source: BHA, F. 584, a.e. 488, p. 1.

In her series of articles in the union's newspaper *Women's Voice*, describing this excursion in 1930, Dimitrana Ivanova defined it as a "scientific journey", a "scientific trip", a "study journey" and a "study trip" (ИВАНОВА 1930-1931). In the same way, it was also described in the German periodicals. The "Educational journey" to study foreign experiences and achievements was an old European tradition. At that time, this form of experiential learning was very common and practiced both at the state and institutional level – as business trips of ministerial officials, inspectors, and other officials in European countries to study the experience, as well as civic societies' initiatives and as individual endeavors. The policy of the Ministry of Education during the time of Prof. Ivan Shishmanov was especially active in this practice. In 1903, the Ministry started a special edition "Notes of business trips of the Ministry of Education."¹⁹ Social work, as a relatively new and rapidly developing field, was of interest in many countries and created new routes for studying social policy, social institutions building, and work methodologies. Of particular interest were the achievements in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. The Balkan countries were also seeking to adapt their models and show their progress in this area.

In the 1920s, Bulgaria organized several significant "educational trips" to Vienna to study the social policy of the Vienna municipality, run by the Social Democrats. One of these trips to "Red Vienna" was an initiative of the Social Democratic Party in Bulgaria, another – of the Ministry of Education (Popova 2008). Another similar trip to Italy studied the fight against tuberculosis. Trips to Germany to study the fight against juvenile delinquency and other social problems were organized, as well as for the study of social endeavors (АВРАМОВА 1937). Records of such trips, also published as travelogues and separate chapters and books, are valuable evidence of the inclusion into the wider professional world, attitudes towards travel and foreign countries, experiences of seeing Europe, cultural contacts, exchanges and conflicts, and of expanding professional and personal horizons.

Women's "educational journeys" were no exception to this practice. Dimitrana Ivanova herself, during her teaching career, spent yearly vacations in Germany until the Balkan Wars 1912 – 1913 to expand her pedagogical qualification and improve her German language. Travel was a way for women to see the practical implementation of new ideas and institutions – settlements, social homes, methods of work, forms of voca-

¹⁹ Several volumes of them from 1903, 1904, 1905 have been preserved.

tional training. Thus, during the First World War, Dr. Irina Shishmanova was sent to Germany to study the practices of municipal social work. Such was also Alice Salomon's stay in America in the early twenties to study the methods of social work developed there. This trip of hers gave impetus to important innovations in social work methods.

To acquaint the BWU more closely with women's social work, it was agreed to send the lawyer Raina Petkova to the Social Academy in Berlin, headed by Alice Salomon (Popova 2005). Else Frobenius contacted Alice Salomon to negotiate the terms of this study at the Academy. In the following years Else Frobenius organized other trips for her fellow journalists from Austria and Germany around Bulgaria (Frobenius 2005).

The international "sisterhood"

The "educational journey" of the BWU in 1930 was not a state, party, or professional initiative, but a civic women's initiative, which was based on the international contacts of the BWU representatives. This initiative was a key moment in the process of professionalization of women's social work in Bulgaria. The moment of the visit was significant not only in the history of international contacts of the women's movement but also in German history.

In 1930, Elga Kern's book "Leading Women in Europe" was published in Germany, which included Käthe Kollwitz, Alice Salomon, Alexandra Kollontai, and many other prominent creative and political figures (the book also includes Bulgarian actress and producer Roza Popova). The aim of the author Elga Kern was to create a representative international picture of women's public participation (Kern 1999).

After the First World War, feminism was marked by a stronger desire for women to present themselves with their contribution to society – the leading idea was that they are different but equal to men. The concept of international sisterhood was an important tool to achieve more international influence (Kern 1999: 7). The „Sisterhood“ was actively used in the international women's movement. About the meeting of Bulgarian women in Germany Dimitrana Ivanova wrote "...it was sincerely deep, strong sisterly feelings and great joy of getting to know each other and getting closer." Considering the trip to Germany, this "sisterhood" deserves more attention. The usage of this metaphor was common for the women's movement at the time. The idea of "sisterhood" was an essential metaphor for uniting women and encouraging travel and international contacts. In the 1920s and 1930s, this idea motivated the tours of the international women's movement's leaders to get to know and organize

women in different countries. Thus, in 1926, Lady Aberdeen came to visit the BWU in Sofia, and in May 1928, the President of the *International Women's Union*, Mrs. Margery Corbett Ashby undertook a trip to the Balkans and also visited Sofia (Иванова 1930-1931).

In the norms of international "sister" contacts at that time, hospitality played a major role with the tasks around arranging the stay, welcoming, escorting, organizing meetings, etc. In the second half of the twenties, Bulgarian women gained experience in this regard, welcoming their guests from international women's organizations. The concept of "international sisterhood" remained largely a Western construct and accepted Western feminist values as universal, but it also motivated many participants in the women's movement in other countries. It deserves attention both for its contradictory tendencies and for the content that the "sisters" had put into it. In her book, "Identity and Sisterhood between the World Wars", Marie Sandell examined these experiences of sisterhood in the international women's movement. (Sandell 2015). Marie Sandell emphasized that in those years the national borders were crossed relatively often - with travel visits, letters, photos, lectures. These were the first generations of independent women whose mutual support was of great importance. At the same time, Marie Sandell pointed out the class framework of this communication: it was limited for the elite, it required free time, education, and knowledge of foreign languages. Often the idea of international "sisterhood" was a form of "Feminist Orientalism" - a desire to help the "sisters" who lived in the 'backward Orient' (Sandell 2015: 10). This protective discourse was particularly strong in Britain, where other kinship names were often used in correspondence and publications - "daughters", "mothers", "younger sisters", which led some authors to speak of "maternal imperialism" or "imperial feminism" (Sandell 2015: 12). However, in international women's organizations, there was a strong desire for recognition and the creation of a more equal friendship.

All these contradictory moments, studied by Marie Sandell, Leila Rupp, Mineke Bosch, and other authors, were presented also in the interconnections and communication of the Bulgarian and German public figures, most intense during the trip in 1930.

The composition of the BWU travel group was a typical example of "prepared recipients". These were educated women, most of them with foreign experience, who had graduated from universities abroad and knew foreign languages. The Bulgarian delegation of the "educational trip" to Germany, led by BWU's Chairwoman Dimitrana Ivanova, included eight women - scientists (Dr. Vera Plocheva, Stella Ruscheva),

the head of the children's health counseling stations in Sofia (Boyana Hristova, graduate of Public Health at Bedford School in London), German language teacher Toni Sandhage-Markova²⁰, the chairwoman of the Bulgarian section of the *International Women's League for Peace and Freedom* Vasilka Kerteva, the representative of the Plovdiv organization Nedyalka Varbenova and the dentist Dr. Tsvetana Rasheva²¹. The wife of Prime Minister Andrey Lyapchev, and vice-president of the *Union for Child Protection* in Bulgaria – Konstanca Lyapcheva, was also invited but did not take part in the trip. Later, Stella Ruscheva and Boyana Hristova also published their impressions from the trip (Русчева 1931; Христова 1930).

Undoubtedly the most recognizable "sister" figure in the Bulgarian group for the Germans was Dimitrana Ivanova. Her leadership qualities – purposefulness, organizational talent, vision, greatly impressed the foreign women and were frequently commented on in their letters, articles, and memoirs. At that time, about fifty years old, she also had extensive international experience. To this was added her pedagogical experience, her schooling in the field of social care since the war, her juridical education. Because of her role in initiating and organizing the journey, Else Frobenius' personality, also deserves special attention. A well-known journalist, she was an important figure in the German women's movement, especially in its right-wing and nationalist circles. The fact that it was Else Frobenius who took to heart the "sisterhood" with Bulgarian women has both its explanation and important further significance. An interesting point is how she handled the "mother" metaphors in the women's movement, and reversed their usage, calling Bulgarian women by the collective name "mothers" – the more common name of many women's societies in Bulgaria (Frobenius 2005). Else Frobenius saw Bulgarians as like-minded in the national connotation of women's political engagement – something that Balkan women's movements had been criticized for by their Western "sisters".

²⁰ Tony (Antonia) Sandhage-Markova, German language teacher, and translator, wife of Prof. Vladimir Markov (1883-1962), German graduate, founder of microbiology in Bulgaria.

²¹ Dr. Tsvetana Rasheva was in BWU's leadership and a close friend of Dimitrana Ivanova.



The Bulgarian Group (Vasilka Kerteva, unknown, Nedyalka Varbenova, Tsvetana Rasheva, Dimitrana Ivanova, Toni Sandhage – Markova, Stella Ruscheva, Boyana Hristova) in front of Lyzeum Club, Berlin²²

Camille Drevet criticized Eastern Europeans for their lack of international spirit. She believed that in the specific context of Eastern Europe, women saw an opportunity to defend their national rather than gender interests through international organizations, while internationally inclined women wanted to wipe out nationalism from the face of the earth (Drevet, 1938). However, Leila Rupp pointed out that we must keep in mind that the representatives of Eastern Europe acted in the difficult conditions of their societies. In them, they were forced to be loyal to the state, nation, and institutions. And that their efforts and success in creating an international spirit in their organizations and engaging in international communication must be assessed exactly in the context of this background (Rupp 1997: 117).

²² Source: BHA, C 794/974

On the map of the 'female dominion': organization and results from the trip to Dresden, Berlin, and Bremen

Else Frobenius arranged the residence and meetings of the Bulgarian women with the various women's societies and social institutions so that a rich and tight program was developed. The tours and meetings of the Bulgarian group in the social homes and schools in Berlin, Dresden, and Bremen were agreed with the institutions' leaders, and dates and exact hours were specified. On August 15, the agenda was finally finished²³, as the details were clarified in the correspondence with Dimitrana Ivanova, with the participation of Tony Sandhage and Antioanette Kassner.

In clarifying the busy schedule of the visit, Else Frobenius allowed herself only once to remind how important it was for Bulgarian women to be punctual for the success of the work.²⁴ This single reminder corresponded to her idea of the extensibility of time in Bulgaria, which she developed in her memories from the travels. However, the regime of the Bulgarian women's two-week visit did not allow any stretching – from the very beginning, it was full of events and marked by symbolic moments of women's involvement in technical progress, organizational, and planning skills. Dimitrana Ivanova also emphasized that: "... The group left for Germany with a certain work plan" (Иванова 1930-1931).

Many women's associations were involved in logistics from the German side. The *Women's Automobile Club* (Deutsche Damen Automobil Club) established several years earlier (1926), was involved in the transport organization. The idea was to demonstrate the achievements and qualities of women in a casual way, including in the technical field (considered traditionally male), while at the same time facilitating the comfortable stay of the guests. From then on, the emphasis would not be placed only on traditional "feminine qualities" – compassion, mercy, sensitivity, but on institutionality, rationalization, planning, technical accuracy, statistics.

Bulgarians came to the German border by train. The representatives of the *Automobile club* organized the welcoming of the Bulgarian women from the border with their cars, and then transported them and took them

²³ Letter from Else Frobenius to Dimitrana Ivanova, 18. August 1930 – Bulgarian Historical Archive /BHA/, coll. 584, a.u. 488, l.2.

²⁴ Letter from Else Frobenius to Dimitrana Ivanova, 28 August 1930 – BHA, coll. 584, a.u. 488, l.3.

around Dresden. They were followed by the drivers from Berlin. Dimitrana Ivanova emphasized their endurance and business qualities:

"Ms. Birnholtz impresses with her energy, courage, and independence. Traveling from Berlin for nearly three hours to Elsterveld, she then resumes the trip back to Berlin with the group after only a quarter of an hour; there was another car available to the latter". (Иванова 1930-1931)

The welcoming, full of "energy, courage, and independence", introduced the rhythm of the tour. The topography of the visit was designed so that Bulgarian women in many cases slept and ate in institutions arranged by the women's societies. Special attention was paid to the measures to rationalization of domestic work, the family budget, the improvement of the everyday work and life of the rural woman and the working mother. Of particular interest and emphasis was the organization of the city women's police, which was one of the earliest in Europe.

German women made efforts to present the achievements of their societies and participation in political life. The women's network, mobilized to welcome Bulgarian women grew and became cohesive, before shrinking and disintegrating after the political changes following Hitler's rise to power. It is unlikely that in the coming years these women from various social and political circles /social democrats, representatives of the political center, nationalist circles, Jewish women's associations, and many others/ would be united to do something with such joint efforts, like in the days of the Bulgarian visit.

Women's political actions in Germany were not at the center of the visit, but Bulgarian women were keenly interested in the political situation. The meetings were attended by women deputies in the Reichstag, municipality councilors, and other government officials. Exactly on the days when the Bulgarian women were on their way to Germany, elections for the Reichstag were held in the Weimar Republic. Thus, the guests found themselves directly involved in the discussions associated with them. Dimitrana Ivanova was deeply concerned about the political situation in Germany, which she linked to the situation of women, and with excitement shared about the election results:

"The excitement after the election campaign was great. The final results were not yet known, but reports of the great success of the National Socialist Party (the far-right Revolutionary Party) led by Hitler shocked the vigilant and sober German. They attributed the success of this fascist party to the extremely difficult situation in the country.



The Bulgarian Group²⁵

According to the calculations of the participants in the elections, German women took a live part and at some places, women had voted more than men. They mostly supported the moderate parties.

German women gained suffrage with the German Revolution of 1918. They have equal rights with men for all constituencies. And the German woman, who before the war was said to know only three things that begin with the letter K in German: *Kinder*, *Küche*, *Kirche* (children, kitchen and church), loves her children, kitchen and church no less today when she participates in political life, and works for them more consciously and much more securely. Because both the upbringing of her children and the economic production, which determines what she will be able to have in her kitchen, as well as her spiritual development, are issues of politics.

German women exercise their voting rights through various political parties. After arguing for a long time about how to participate in political life, whether through the existing political parties in the country or

²⁵ Source: BHA, C 962/974.

a separate women's party, they adopted the former to participate through the political parties, and refused to form a separate women's party.

Of course, they faced great difficulties in the parties, their rightful place was still given reluctantly and they were often displaced by men, but this made them work even harder and thus enforce their respect.

39 deputies were elected to the Reichstag. Most women were elected through the Social Democratic Party (16), and none through Hitler's far-right, fascist party. This party was against women“. (Иванова 1930-1931)

Further on, Dimitrana Ivanova presented the measures taken to prevent women from voting for a dictatorship. The statements against the National Socialists were the only critical assessments in Dimitrana Ivanova's description of the trip compared to the expressed admiration and respect for what she saw in Germany. It was not the first time that Dimitrana Ivanova had criticized the rise of Nazism, although other opinions were heard in the Bulgarian Women's Union. During the visit, the Bulgarian women met with representatives of various politically active women in Germany – the prominent public figure, MP, and delegate to the League of Nations Dr. Marie-Elisabeth Lueders²⁶, Eva Büttner²⁷, socialist, longtime MP in the Landtag in Dresden, Nanda Kranz²⁸, Elsa Matz, MP from the People's Party²⁹, the principal of Lette Verein in Berlin, Dr. Lilly Hauff³⁰, and with right-wing women like Frederica Vi-

²⁶ Marie-Elisabeth Lueders (1878-1966), activist of the women's movement, representative of the Democratic Party in the Reichstag until 1930, defender of women's and children's rights during the Weimar Republic. She is the first woman Ph.D. in Political Science in Germany. During National Socialism, she was banned from practicing her profession and was later arrested. After the Second World War, she continued her parliamentary activity until 1961.

²⁷Eva Büttner, (1886-1969), musician, journalist, a supporter of the Social Democratic Party, a longtime representative in the Landtag. As a socialist and Jew after the arrival of the Nazis, Eva Büttner was persecuted and in the last years of the war hiding from the Gestapo in a barn near Dresden. After 1945, Eva Büttner continued her journalistic work in the field of culture.

²⁸ Nanda Kranz from Dreseden, active member of the women movement.

²⁹ Elsa Matz (1881-1959), pedagogue and public figure, since 1929 - a director of the Oberlitz in Berlin, member of the People's Party and first chairwoman of the *Women's Union of the People's Party*, from 1924 to March 1933 she was a member of the Reichstag.

³⁰ Dr. Lilly Hauff, born in Riga and a graduate of the University of Tübingen, was the school principal of *Lete Ferrain* from 1911 to 1934.

king³¹, head of the women's police in Berlin, who later joined the Nazis. In her presentation, Dimitrana Ivanova emphasized the achievements of Jewish women's organizations, whose activities and endeavors in the social field she presented in detail.

Dimitrana Ivanova's travelogue, published in the *Women's Voice* journal as a series of eight parts for about half a year, was more like a scientific report. Only in the last part of it, Dimitrana Ivanova allows herself to focus a little more on the entertainment of the Bulgarian group during the visits to the German cities. There were almost no details of art and architecture of the cities, of the accompanying natural beauties and other topos, typical for travelogues. In addition to the descriptions of the educational, social, and health institutions visited, it contained a lot of statistics and information related to women. The text reminded that along with her leadership in the BWU, Dimitrana Ivanova was a lawyer who, after graduating from Sofia University, was planning a dissertation – comparative research of legislation and maternity protection in different countries. Although she did not complete it, she later published her research. To a large extent, the travelogue aimed to prepare readers for the appearance and goals of social activities and hence to outline the mission of the future social school in Bulgaria.

The route of the Bulgarian group's trip to Dresden, Berlin, and Bremen followed health, social and educational sites everywhere. The group's accommodation and meals followed the same logic as in Berlin – in Dresden, for example, the group was accommodated in a youth center and a social work school. Here the Bulgarian women had lunch in a restaurant arranged by a women's organization that fights against alcohol, where only women worked. The main purpose of the visit to Dresden was the recently opened *Hygiene Museum*. There, Dimitrana Ivanova paid the greatest attention to the "Mother and Child" exposition, pointing

³¹ Friederika Wieking (1891-1958), a participant in the women's movement in Germany and head of the women's police. Wieking graduated from a *School of social work* and in 1919 began working in the "morally endangered girls" department of the police in Szczecin, and in 1921 took over the leadership of the service for women's assistance at the police presidium in Berlin. Since 1926, she had advocated the establishment of a women's police force throughout Germany, which she organized in Prussia as a police adviser. After 1933, these concerns became more and there were more repression and internment of girls and women accused of prostitution, so with her activities, Friederika Wieking became an supporter of the Nazi government (Merkel 2021).

out that this pavilion was arranged with the participation of the *Federation of German Women's Associations*.



Stella Ruscheva, Dimitrana Ivanova, Toni Sandhage-Markova³²

In Berlin, where they arrived on September 20, the Bulgarian women were accommodated in the *Lyceum Club* and there their program became even busier. In all visited institutions, the Bulgarian guests by prior arrangement talked to the directors and received detailed information:

³² Source: BHA, C 793/974.

“When visiting each school, first the pre-notified principal or manager of the school (the group was accompanied by other experts) told in her office a brief history of the institution, its current situation, its goals, and objectives: what rights exactly the school graduation gave. Then we looked around the school, receiving a copy of the printed programs, regulations, and other orders for each school. At some places, they gave us the according to literature”. (ИВАНОВА 1930-1931)

The Bulgarian group stayed in Berlin for eight days. They managed to visit the most important social care institutions for children: *Jugendheim* (Youth Home), *Pestalozzi-Fröbel-Haus*, *Mutter und Säuglingsheim*³³ (Home for mothers and infants) of the Jewish Society *Berlin Lodges, V.O.B.B. 'Oscar-Helene-Heim*³⁴ (Oscar and Helen's home for children with disabilities), children's clinics, health counseling stations for children and mothers, and many others. Comforting the women – housewives and working women efforts were also described. They aimed to not only make the domestic work of the modern woman easier but also for it to be rationalized and thus shortened. Among the many organizations in this field, aiming to facilitate and inform the housewife, the company *Heibaudi* stood out with its uniqueness:

“The headquarters of the Union of Housewives' Societies had set up a special service called *Heibaudi*³⁵ the name is comprised of the first letters of the service' name *Service for Advice on Household Purchases* (Hauswirtschaftliche Einkaufsberatung Auskunftsdienst).

This service was able for two years to create a large warehouse-museum of all kinds of utensils, machines, and other detergents needed for the household. There were exhibited also different types of edible products - starting with flour and bread and ending with different types of canned vegetables, fish, meat, etc., with deliberate analysis of their ingredients and nutritional value, with detailed calculations of how much

³³ The home of the Jewish Charitable Society for "helpless children" (especially infants) was established in 1915. Today on its building is placed a plaque in memory of 150 Jewish children transported and murdered by the Gestapo in 1942, which depicts a motif by Käthe Kollwitz

³⁴ *Oskar-Helene-Heim* was founded in 1905 by industrialist Oskar Pinch and his wife Helene Pinch as a private institution for children in need of orthopedic care and exists until this day. Web. 19.01.2022. <http://www.stiftung-ohh.de/>.

³⁵ *Heibaudi* was founded on the initiative of the publicist and public figure of Jewish origin Hildegard Margis (1887-1944), who was close to the People's Party, an activist of the movement for the rationalization of women's work in the household, author of cooking and household books. She was arrested by the Gestapo and died in 1944 in a women's prison.

was needed for each person to have nutritious food. Their price was also given.

There, free advice was provided to housewives on everything that interests them in the field of household, even if a woman shared how much money she has weekly or monthly and how family members there were to be fed, a calculation was made for her of how much and what food she needed to buy to give at least minimum food to the family. Meanwhile, usage of all types of household appliances and machines was indicated and explained. Nothing was for sale, only instructions were given on what was most suitable for the conditions in which the housewife lived and where she could get it.

Beyond that, there were regular discussions for the housewives on all issues concerning the household; courses were arranged, experiments with various household appliances made, etc“. (ИВАНОВА 1930-1931)

In her description of the achievements in women's education, Dimitrana Ivanova emphasized the equalization of programs for girls and boys, conditions for sports and strengthening the health of girls, the important place of women's social education, not only for the profession of social workers and women police officers but also for mothers and educators:

"Social care schools are particularly widespread in Germany today. They are most often attended after the lower course of the lyceums (with our sixth-grade education). There is also the *High Social Academy* of Dr. Alice Salomon, who recently celebrated 30 years of work in the field of social education.

These schools train educators and leaders at various institutions of social care and charity: nurseries, kindergartens, shelters, and others. They also train staff for the women's police. Beyond that, they give the necessary preparation to every young girl for her purpose as a mother and educator. These schools are in great demand: they are largely attended by girls." (ИВАНОВА 1930-1931)

Already in Berlin, the Bulgarian group and the German hosts were looking to draw wider public attention to this visit. Newspapers and magazines also covered the event. In honor of the Bulgarian women, several evenings with concert performances, meetings with German politicians and public figures, as well as lectures by Dimitrana Ivanova, Toni Sandhage-Markova, and Vasilka Kerteva were arranged. "Former and occasional allies in the war – to become future and reliable friends in peacebuilding" – called Dimitrana Ivanova in her lecture. At a confer-

ence of minorities, the BWU representatives also met with Dr. Karl Lösch³⁶, where he took the responsibility to protect Bulgarian minorities. The difficult task of demonstrating loyalty to the state, nation, and institutions, to the various political forces, and at the same time to achieve the goals of expanding the female political presence, gave the character of this visit. After returning to Bulgaria, Dimitrana Ivanova held lectures in Sofia and other cities about her impressions. The local women's societies were convinced that the leadership of the union took seriously the decisions of the Kyustendil Congress on the priorities of social work and women's social education.

The Red Cross magazine also promoted the impressions of the achievements in social and health work in Germany. In her article about the trip, titled "Social care in Germany", Boyana Hristova emphasized the organization of preparation for social work above all. "In short", she concluded, "social and health work has surrounded all areas of life in Germany" (Христова 1930: 204).

The Academy for social and educational women`s work³⁷ – Berlin, 65 Barbarossa Street

The German academy for social and educational women`s work, which Bulgarian women visited in Berlin, was established in 1925 on the initiative of Dr. Alice Salomon, one of the founders of social work in Germany from the time before the First World War. Its idea and program were the basis of the social school for women in Sofia, established in 1932, adapted to Bulgarian conditions and resources.

In 1908, on the initiative of Alice Salomon, a women's social school was established, which in turn developed the traditions of the established in 1893 girls' and women's groups for social work. In them, she realized for the first time the concept of social work as a separate profession. Alice Salomon had great merits in developing and clarifying the nature of the social work profession. After her trip to the United States,

³⁶ Karl Christian von Lösch (1880-1951), professor of Ethnology, and since 1922 a chairman of the *German Union for the Protection of Germans Abroad and at Border Areas*, he deals mainly with minority issues and is one of the founders of the *Goethe-Institut*. After the Nazis came to power, he joined the National Socialist Party and performed important functions in the national policy of the government, but later, due to connections with the organizers of the assassination attempt on Hitler, he came under the Gestapo's monitoring.

³⁷ Later *Alice Salomon College of Further Education for Social Work and Social Sciences of Berlin*.

where she became more acquainted with the social work procedures developed there, she improved her previously developed methods. She presented analysis, social diagnosis, and social therapy as professional procedures of social work and established the profession as an activity independent of religious and ideological political justifications.



Rayna Petkova

The *Academy for social and educational women's work* came as a complement to the academic education of women who wanted to work in the social sphere. It was an institution for postgraduate education of people with pedagogical or other related professions. According to Alice Salomon, its mission was to serve women's culture and

encourage women's intellectual activities. Its immediate task was to create a link between theory and practice in social work. Among the collaborators and lecturers were the most prominent psychologists and philosophers such as Prof. Eduard Spranger, Prof. Karl Gustav Jung, Prof. Ernst Cassirer, as well as the leading figure of the women's movement in Germany, Dr. Gertrud Bäumer.

The last years of the Weimar Republic, when the Bulgarian group visited the academy, were extremely productive to the Academy activities. Alice Salomon sought to encourage female students to research in the social field. Education ended with a thesis – the result of one's research. The school curriculum was in line with these ambitions, where female students – most of whom had an academic background – followed a program of required and a wide range of electives courses, as well as had visits to institutions and practical work. The course aimed to broaden the horizons of future professionals through various sciences relevant to the preparation for social work: Sociology, Social hygiene, Social history, Social policy, Labor issues, Pedagogy. A year, or two later in the program of the High Social School for Women in Bulgaria, similar courses would also be included.

The work with young women was in groups and individually. They all filled out surveys about their interests and work plans. The Bulgarian Raina Petkova, sent by BWU, also found herself in those conditions. Born in Sevlievo in 1895, after graduating high school, she taught for two years and then enrolled to study law at Sofia University. Probably as

a student she met and became close to Dimitrana Ivanova, Ruzha Dragneva³⁸, and other lawyers. In 1927, the young graduates in law established their department at the Society of Bulgarian Women with Higher Education, where Raina Petkova was elected to the board of trustees as a cashier. This society also played an important role in the social work initiatives in the 1930s.

At Alice Salomon's school in Berlin, Raina Petkova chose to participate in a working group on public care for young people in Germany, which organization was a model for many countries at the time. Her training plan included: Concepts of social care (Dr. Alice Salomon), Organization of practical health care, Methodological questions concerning the professional socio-pedagogical worker, Psychology and Pedagogy in social work, The practice of closed social institutions, Problems of the professional social worker, Educational work with the press in regards to public care, Population and its movement, Contemporary legal issues, Psychopathology, Public care rights within the overall state and administrative law. The problems of the profession itself were also discussed in free evening activities called "social evenings". In such a discussion of Alice Salomon on October 24, 1930, on the topic "Does the structure of social work require personal efforts?", Raina Petkova also took part.

After returning to Bulgaria in the summer of 1931, Raina Petkova continued to maintain contacts with the Academy and informed her teachers about the work in Bulgaria. The correspondence was interrupted by the turmoil which the institution experienced after Hitler came to power. Alice Salomon, as well as many other professors, were forced to leave. In practice, the previous activity was discontinued, and education on social work went under a major transformation in frames of the National Socialist concepts of caring primarily for the well-being of the "healthy" "people's community" (Popova 2005).

The beginning of social work education: the establishment of the school in 1932.

At the beginning of January 1932, the first 'social course' was announced in the *Women's Voice* newspaper, and work began at 1. Febru-

³⁸ Ruzha Dragneva was a sister of the writer, Jivka Dragneva, who defended her doctorate at the University of Zurich, a prominent translator and activist of the women's movement and the Society of Bulgarian Women with Higher Education (Назърска 2006).

ary.³⁹ The curricula included Sociology, Social Psychology, Social Work and Social Work methods and other subjects.⁴⁰ In June 1932 the *Women's Voice* informed about the start of the *High Social School for Girls* /later High Social School for Women, HSSW/.⁴¹ The importance of the German experience in social education for women was underlined.⁴² The High school existed in the next 12 years and was closed together with the *Bulgarian Women's Union* in the autumn of 1944 so that the new admission of female students from the summer of 1944 didn't begin the school year.



Students and Professors at HSSW⁴³

The Ministry authorized the education activities of the HSSW in October 1932. The two-year education was propagated as an achievement of the *Bulgarian Women's Union*. The *People's Rights* newspaper emphasized that such school “did not exist anywhere on the Balkan Peninsula”.⁴⁴

³⁹ *Женски глас*, бр. 8 и 9, 10 януари 1932, с. 7.

⁴⁰ *Женски глас*, бр. 10 и 11, 5 февруари 1932, с. 5.

⁴¹ *Женски глас*, бр.17 и 18, 25 юни 1932, с.1.

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³ Source: ВНА, С IV 622.

⁴⁴ *Народни права* /People's Rights/, 1 Октомври 1934, с.2.

Meanwhile, the field of social care in Bulgaria was growing. After the *Public Health Law* of 1929, the number of children's health counseling stations grew rapidly and in a few years, they became over 500. In 1936 the so-called *student polyclinic* was opened, later established as the *Medico-Pedagogical Institute*. A society for children with disabilities was established, which opened an independent school and boarding school, and the *Union for Child Protection* opened hundreds of canteens for poor children in schools. After the May 19 Coup, an *Ordinance-Law on Public Assistance* was issued, which, along with political changes, established the framework for social care in the coming years. The municipal social care service was also expanded and opportunities for the professionalization of social work were opened.

During the period 1936 – 1938, the women's place in the field of suffrage also changed. Although limited by the requirement to be married, women were given the right to vote. This increased the BWU's pressure to provide women the right to be elected, initially at least in the municipal councils. Although this was not achieved in this period, the BWU strengthened the importance of social issues in its election campaigns.

Along with that, in the 1930s, the neo-traditionalist attitudes towards the woman's place in society intensified, advocated by the newly formed *Women's Union* "Love for the Homeland", which enjoyed political support in the second half of the decade. Nevertheless, the Bulgarian Women's Union managed to impose the recognition of the education given by the HSSW.

It is noteworthy that when justifying the mission of the HSSW, presented to the Ministry, and approved by it, the BWU compromise later in the 1930s on the neo-traditionalist trend. The priority of motherhood, and the family was clearly emphasized, the topic of women's duties and responsibilities in society was widely developed. According to the updated curriculum issued in 1938, the purpose of the school was:

„1. To prepare the young girl (woman) for a social worker – agent of social care. Graduates of the school will be able to apply their knowledge in various institutions and homes for social care and community assistance, as well as in the social care service of the municipalities. Under the law on public assistance, each municipality is obliged to take care of the one in need in its area. And this can be done with well-trained, educated staff, which only the High Social School can provide.

2. To prepare the young girl (woman) to be a conscious citizen and a good public figure. The woman, due to her inner talents, established

herself as a public worker in the field of charity and social care. But that alone is not enough. Contemporary time demands much more from the public worker, a gratuitous servant of the public good. She must be able to delve deeper into social phenomena, to understand their causes, to know the dependence of the individual on the social whole. She will have the opportunity to acquire all this through High Social School.

3. To prepare the young girl (woman) for the proper understanding and fulfillment of her duties as a mother, housewife, and wife. Life quickly dispelled the prejudice that the mother, housewife, and wife did not need to study. On the contrary, she must prepare for these duties just as she prepares for any other vocation.

Moreover, a woman's work as a mother and housewife is not only her isolated personal duty, but part of the great work of national, social, spiritual, and economic culture, and her responsibilities are multidimensional and great. For that purpose and the fulfillment of her natural destiny, the woman must prepare through a solid relevant education. And this is exactly the kind of education that the High Social School will give her.

In general, through the High Social School the woman will be prepared for the fulfillment of a vocation closest to her nature, as a woman, and for the fulfillment of her public duty, as a citizen, and for the fulfillment of her motherhood, which is her most important calling".⁴⁵

The content of the curriculum for the two-year course of the HSSW did not correspond to the conservative spirit of the goals formulated in its introduction. The maternalist content in the subjects like 'Modern household' and 'Modern motherhood' was balanced with knowledge of Sociology, Law, Psychology, Social psychology, Economics, History, and Literature. The school was unique in that it offered a separate course in Feminism, providing information on the history and achievements of the women's movement. Even today, almost a hundred years later, this continues to sound like a challenge in our country.

Knowledge of 'Accounting' and 'Nutrition' was also provided, which should help students in the search for realization with this diploma.

⁴⁵ Висша социална школа за жени 1938. *Програма*, София: БЖС /High Social School of the Bulgarian Women's Union, Curriculum, Published by the Board of the Bulgarian Women's Union/.

Conclusions

The establishment and activities of the BWU's *High Social School for Women* were one of its greatest achievements and in general great achievements of the women's social education. One long-discussed educational idea and civic initiative came into power without the state's participation and involvement, managed to gain recognition, and attracted more and more girl candidates to be accepted into the course. Hundreds of young women managed to graduate the school. A unique, extremely modern educational institution was created, in which prominent scientists taught, and a combination of disciplines was established, which at that time could not be studied anywhere in Bulgaria, nor in many countries in the South-Eastern European region. The creation, program, and teaching demonstrated the connection of the school with the liberal feminist spirit of the BWU. There were not many places in Europe in the late 1930s where female students could take a feminism course. In the years of the rise of neo-traditionalist and neo-patriarchal views for the women's role in the family and society, the HSSW offered an alternative view, albeit at the cost of many compromises.

Although the majority of the students failed to professionally realize themselves in the field of social work, the school achieved its goal to expand the political and civic horizons of women, to give them the latest social knowledge, to enlighten them about the driving forces of society, to encourage them as agents of social reforms. This teaching prevailed over the nationalist attitudes widespread in the second half of the 1930s and provided girls with a broad picture of the contemporary world and its history, its culture, the importance of political movements, and economic processes. At the same time, education deepened the knowledge and interest in the human, in his psychological characteristics, including the acquaintance of female students with the human body and its expressive role, with legislation, social security, and social work regulations. The program provided practical knowledge in nutrition, hygiene, raising children. Due to its relation with other social and educational centers where the students did their practical work, the school had the potential to be a unifying center of social discussions and research. It maintained international contacts and provided opportunities for specializations abroad. Within its framework, the graduates of the School developed systematic social observations, got directly acquainted with the specific pictures of poverty and social issues, learned to formulate them and discuss ways to solve them.

The establishment of the High Social School became possible due to the intensive communication with the international women's movement and the study of the experience of foreign schools in social work, especially that of Alice Salomon in Berlin. Hitler's coming to power, the emigration of Alice Salomon, and the loss of her school's traditions in the conditions of Nazi Germany had their negative impact also in Bulgaria and the young School for Social work. However, it can be concluded that after the political change in Germany and Alice Salomon's expulsion, the Berlin Academy's spirit survived in the BWU school in Sofia for another decade and continued the purposes of social work education.

Bibliography:

Drevet, Camille 1938. *La Bulgarie : Au Coeur des Balkans*, Paris: Marcel Riviere & Co.

Fischer, Marilyn. 2006. "Addams's Internationalist Pacifism and the Rhetoric of Maternalism" *NWSA Journal*, Vol. 18, 3, pp. 1-19.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40071178>.

Frobenius, Else 2005. *Erinnerungen einer Journalistin: zwischen Kaiserreich und Zweitem Weltkrieg*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag.

Kern, Elga 1999. *Führende Frauen Europas*. Standardwerk von 1928/1930. München: Reinhardt Ernst Verlag.

Klein, Marian van der, Rebecca Jo Plant, Nichole Sanders, Lori R. Weintrob 2012. *Maternalism Reconsidered: Motherhood, Welfare and Social Policy in the Twentieth Century*. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Marie, Sandell 2015. *The Rise of Women's Transnational Activism: Identity and Sisterhood Between the World Wars*. London New York: I. B. Tauris.

Merkel, Ulrike 2021. "Von der Säuglingsfürsorgerin zur KZ-Leiterin". *Thüringen Allgemeine*. Web.09.01.2021. <https://www.thueringer-allgemeine.de/kinder/kultur/von-der-saeuglingsfuersorgerin-zur-kz-leiterin-id231295898.html>.

Muncy, Robyn 1991. *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Oldfield, Sybil 1984. *Spinsters of this Parish: Life and Times of F. M. Mayor and Mary Sheepshanks*. London: Virago Press Virago.

Orloff, Ann Shola 2011. "Policy, politics, gender: Bringing gender to the analysis of welfare states". *Sociologica*, 1. <https://doi.org/10.2383/34627>

Popova, Kristina 2008. "Auf dem Weg nach 'Jerusalem der Fuersorge'. Die sozialen Leistungen der Wiener Gemeinde in den 20-er in zwei bulgarischen Reisebeschreibungen". In: Bachmeier, Peter, Andreas Schwarcz, Antoaneta Tcholakova (Hgs.), *Oesterreich und Bulgarien 1878-2007. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Miscellanea Bulgarica, Bd. 19, Wien: Ostag, S. 128 - 142

Popova, Kristina 2011. "Between Public Health and Social Work: Visiting Nurses in the Struggle Against Poverty and Infant Mortality in Bulgaria 1923-1934". *Social Work & Society*, Vol. 9, 2, 2011 Web. 18.01.2022. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:101:1-201110263941>.

Popova, Kristina 2011-2012. "The Joy of Service". Biopolitics and Biographies Between New York, Sofia and Gorna Dzhumaja in the First Half of the 20th Century", Advanced Academia Fellowship". *CAS Working Paper Series*. Web. 19.01.2022. <http://www.ceeol.com/aspx/issuedetails.aspx?issueid=0880a0c8-89d9-47da-b7a0-41e6e1f5821e>.

Popova, Kristina. 2005. "Traces of Rayna Petkova. In search for a balance between social control, profession and charity". In: Schilde, Kurt, Dagmar Schulte (eds.), *Need and Care – Glimpses into the Beginnings of Eastern Europe's Professional Welfare*, Opladen and Bloomfield Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 37-53.

Rupp, Leila J. 1997. *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement*, Princeton University Press.

Sandell, Marie 2015. *The Rise of Women's Transnational Activism: Identity and Sisterhood Between the World Wars*. London New York: I. B. Tauris.

Аврамова, Христина 1937. „В околностите на Загреб“. В: Една екскурзия в Югославия: Пътни бележки и впечатления от земеделското стопанство в Югославия, София: Дружество на агрономите в България [Avramova, Hristina 1937. „V okolnostite na Zagreb“. V: Edna ekskurziya v Yugoslaviya: Patni belezhki i vpechatleniya ot zemedelskoto stopanstvo v Yugoslaviya, Sofiya: Druzhestvo na agronomite v Bulgariya].

Беловеждова–Вюрцингер, Минка 1930. „Законоположенията в нашите социални грижи“. *Жената* [Belovezhdova–Vyurtsinger, Minka 1930. „Zakonopolozheniyata v nashite sotsialni grizhi“. *Zhenata*], 2-3, 42-46.

Беловеждова–Вюрцингер, Минка 1931. „Социално образование на жената“. *Жената* [Belovezhdova–Vyurtsinger, Minka 1931. „Sotsialno obrazovanie na zhenata“. *Zhenata*], 4, 74.

Деянова, Милка 1931. „Женският инспекторат на труда“. *Жената* [Deyanova, Milka 1931. „Zhenskiyat inspektorat na truda“. *Zhenata*], кн. 7, 8, 143.

Иванова, Димитрана 1930-1931. „Група членки на Българския женски съюз на гости в Германия“. *Женски глас* [Ivanova, Dimitrana 1930-1931. „Grupa chlenki na Balgarskiya zhenski sayuz na gosti v Germaniya“. *Zhenski glas*], 2, 3, 4/1930; 9-10, 11, 13, 14-15/1931.

Иванова, Димитрана 1930b. „24-ият ни конгрес“. *Женски глас* [Ivanova, Dimitrana 1930b. „24-iyat ni kongres“. *Zhenski glas*], 1-2, с.1.

Иванова, Димитрана 1930a „Нашият образователен курс“. *Женски глас* [Ivanova, Dimitrana 1930a „Nashiyat obrazovaten kurs“. *Zhenski glas*], 1-2, 3.

Назарска, Жоржета 2003. *Университетското образование и българските жени 1879-1944*, София: Международен център по проблемите на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия [Nazarska, Zhorzheta 2003. *Universitetskoto obrazovanie i balgarskite zheni 1879-1944*, Sofiya: Mezhdunaroden tsentar po problemite na maltsinstvata i kulturnite vzaimodeystviya].

Назарска, Жоржета 2019. „Девическите занаятчийски практически училища – един успешен социален и държавен експеримент в България (90-те год. XIX – 40-те год. на XX в)“. *Балканистичен форум* [Nazarska, Zhorzheta 2019. „Devicheskite zanayatchiyski prakticheski uchilishta – edin uspeshen sotsialen i darzhaven eksperiment v Bulgariya (90-te god. XIX – 40-te god. na XX v)“. *Balkanistichen forum*], 1, 218-238.

Назарска, Жоржета. 2006. „Непознатата Живка Драгнева“. *Издател* [Nazarska, Zhorzheta. 2006. „Nepoznatata Zhivka Dragneva“. *Izdatel*], 1-2, 58-63.

Попова, Кристина 2021. „Анкетите на жените-социалдемократки за условията на живот в крайните градски квартали през 1930-те години“ –В: Ставру, Стоян, Теодора Карамелска (съст.), *Измерения на грижата: между личното преживяване, социалните регулации и здравния активизъм*. София: Медийна демокрация [Popova, Kristina 2021. „Anketite na zhenite-sotsialdemokratki za usloviyata na zhivot v krajnite gradski kvartali prez 1930-te godini“ –V: Stavru, Stoyan, Teodora Karamelska (sast.), *Izmereniya na grizhata: mezhdur lichnoto prezhivuyavane, sotsialnite regulatsii i zdravniya aktivizam*. Sofiya: Mediyna demokratiya].https://www.challengingthelaw.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Izmereniya_na-grizhata.pdf.

Русчева, Стелла 1929. „Семейните и обществените задачи на жената“. *Жената* [Ruscheva, Stella 1929. „Semeynite i obshtestvenite zadachi na zhenata“. *Zhenata*], 6-7, 133-135.

Соколова, Н. 1929. „Социални школи за жени в Германия“. *Жената* [Sokolova, N. 1929. „Sotsialni shkoli za zheni v Germaniya“. *Zhenata*], 5, 113-116.

Христова, Бояна 1930. „Социални грижи в Германия /Една обиколка/“. *Списание на БЧК* [Hristova, Boyana 1930. „Sotsialni grizhi v Germaniya /Edna obikolka/“. *Spisanie na BCHK*], 5-6, 191-204.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.9>

Milena Angelova
South-West University "Neofit Rilski"
[mangelova74@yahoo.com]

Bulgarian Women Scientists "Removed" from the Collective Memory in the Communist Times – the Case of Kostadinka (Dina) Tvardishka (1907-1963)

Abstract: *The article presents a specific biographical case for an unrealized female academic career because of the changed political regime in Bulgaria after 1944. The documentary traces of Kostadinka (Dina) Tvardishka are preserved and "hidden" in the archive of her husband (the artist Dimitar Rizov) in Bulgarian Central State Archives. In 1941, through the German Scientific Institute in Sofia, K. Tvardishka studied in Germany with scholarships granted by the foundation Alexander von Humboldt. Until the summer of 1944, under the leadership of the famous Prof. Constantin von Dietze, at the University of Freiburg, she developed a dissertation on "Social problems of the Bulgarian village" (Die sozialen Probleme des bulgarischen Dorfes). Her research was almost completed when a pro-Soviet regime of government was established in Bulgaria. Fearing political repression, like dozens of other students and postgraduate students in the Bulgarian-German scientific networks from the WWII period, K. Tvardishka never returned to scientific work, and her study was never published.*

Keywords: *female Bulgarian scientists; agrarian sociology; WWII; the German Scientific Institute; Constantin von Dietze; Sovietization.*

Introduction

The suggested text, based on unpublished archival documents, traces and contextualizes the biography of a woman whose academic career turned out to be unfeasible. Kostadinka (Dina) Tvardishka¹ remains unknown in the public sphere, and her fundamental research on the "social problems of the Bulgarian countryside" – prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Freiburg /1941-1944/, remained unpublished and never entered an academic exchange. The text of her

¹Kostadinka Tvardishka. From the preserved documents it is clear that Kostadinka Tvardishka preferred the nickname "Dina". This is how she signed her only publication in 1961. Based on that in the text below I stick to this version of her name.

dissertation /over 900 pages in Bulgarian and about 300 pages in German/, as well as other documentary traces of her biography, are preserved, but "hidden" in the archives of her husband Dimitar Rizov-Vozir and are preserved at the Central State Archives in Sofia. In her study "Women Beyond the Archive" Nurie Muratova presents similar "women's archival destinies" and analyzes cases of "hidden" or "invisible" documentary heritage of women as part of the untold stories of totalitarian times (Myratova 2021: 17, 119, 122). She traces archival stories of women who have remained outside the great narratives of events and for whom there are no traces of their scientific and professional activity (Myratova 2021: 7-8). Such is the case reviewed here.

Dina Tvardishka's name remains completely unknown in the historiography of the Bulgarian village's social problems from the late 1930s and 1940s. Dealing with the history of state policies in Bulgaria's rural areas for more than 20 years (Ангелова 2008), the fact that I found her scientific work, which had been almost completed on the eve of the political coup on September 9, 1944, amazed me. The political regime's change and the "Sovietization" (Апълбаум 2012: 23-27; Naimark, Gibianskii 1997; Apor, Rees 2008) in all spheres of public life was a "breaking point" not only in the biography of Dina Tvardishka but also in dozens of other women graduates, who had completed their education or specialized in universities in Germany before the end of World War II. Many of them found themselves professionally marginalized and politically repressed due to the changed ideological framework. (Назърска 2005; Popova 2011; Nazarska 2014).

The unknown Dina - random archival traces

The Bulgarian State Archives preserves the funds of prominent state and political figures and their families, people of art, science, and culture. Personal and family funds are in fact the form in which in the state archives come documents other than traditional institutional documentation such as correspondence, letters, photographs, notes, diaries, and more. Documents of women who would not otherwise have a chance to end up in the state archives often come in the form of family funds. These are cases when, due to the acquisition of a fund as a family one, the wife's documents fall along with those of the famous husband (Myratova 2021: 90,111-112).

A great part of the documents of and about Dina Tvardishka are "hidden" in the personal archives of her husband Dimitar Rizov - Vozir

(1900-1981)² – artist, restorer, and photographer.³ Out of 3184 archival units in total, less than 30 concern the biography of Dina Tvardishka. Among them are some personal documents such as a baptismal certificate, a civil marriage certificate, a retirement letter, a reader's card for the National Library, an obituary for her death; several popular articles and manuscripts of translations from German fiction; a few photos of her. The main part of the testimony about Dina's life in the archives of her husband are the materials (in Bulgarian and German) for the almost completed study, which she titled *Social problems of the Bulgarian village/ Die sozialen Probleme des bulgarischen Dorfes*.⁴ Information about Dina Tvardishka can be found in several other documents – in the fund of the Bulgarian National Bank are stored

several documents from 1941 in connection with the scholarship and the beginning of her specialization at the University of Freiburg.⁵



Photograph of Dina Tvardishka, attached to her documents at the University of Freiburg, 1941.⁶

From the fragmentary documentary traces, the general outlines of Dina Tvardishka's biography can be derived. She was born on October 10, 1905, in the city of Varna.⁷ She

² Dimitar Rizov (1900-1981). Born in 1900 in the town of Veles /nowadays Macedonia/. He studied history at Sofia University, and later specialized in museum work, history of art, and art restoration at the Higher Institute of Arts in 3 Institute (1937), after 1938 – artist-restorer in the Central Church Historical and Archaeological Museum. Correspondent and art editor of *Ilinden* newspaper, *Independent Macedonia* newspaper, *Hristianka* magazine, and others. He died in 1981 in Sofia.

³ Central State Archives (CSA), collection (coll.) 1650K – “Rizov” Fund, Dimitar Yordanov (1900–1981) “,

⁴ CSA, coll. 1650K, inventory (inv.) 1, archival unit (a.u.) 2462-2469.

⁵ CSA, coll. 285K, inv. 5, a.u. 1758.

⁶ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 20421, folio (f.) 3.

⁷ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2399, f. 1.

graduated from The Higher Commercial School in 1924 and the Department of Commerce and Economics of the Free University of Political and Economic Sciences in Sofia in 1931. There is no information about her activities and work for the next 10 years. It became clear that she lived in Sofia with her mother and sister.

In September 1941, through the *German Scientific Institute* /*Deutsches Wissenschaftliches Institut*/ in Sofia, Dina Tvardishka received a scholarship from *The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation* /*Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung*/ for a 2-year specialization in "Law and Social Sciences" in Germany. On November 13, 1941, she was admitted to the University of Freiburg.⁸ In 1943 her scholarship was extended for the 1943/44 academic year.⁹

Among the scarce archival traces of Dina Tvardishka's research is a letter sent by her and preserved in the archives of Vera Zlatareva¹⁰ from the end of March 1942.¹¹ In the letter sent from Freiburg, she asked the well-known journalist and women's rights activist for help in obtaining the literature needed for her research. From the letter, it becomes clear that Dina Tvardishka visited Vera Zlatareva in October 1941 – shortly before she left Sofia and went to Germany. She gave a little more

⁸ CSA, coll. 285K, inv. 5, a.u. 1758, f. 5-7.

⁹ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2468, f. 40.

¹⁰ Vera Zlatareva (1905–1977) was the first woman practicing lawyer in Bulgaria from the 1930s. In 1929, she graduated from the Law Department of Sofia University where, in 1931, she would also be granted a Doctorate. In the years 1931–1936, Vera Zlatareva worked in the service of the state; from 1931–1932, she assisted the legal adviser to the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property. From 1932 to 1934, she chaired a special section within the Police Department set up to combat prostitution. During this time, she carried out and published research on prostitution in Bulgaria. From June 1937, she worked at her husband's legal office /Mihail Genovski (1903–1996): lawyer, journalist, politician, and, from 1944, professor at Sofia University/ and began campaigning for the right of women with law degrees to practice as defense lawyers. As a result of her activities, Vera Zlatareva was expelled from the Bulgarian Association of University Women and the Union of Bulgarian Women Writers. Women lawyers would only be allowed to practice in Bulgaria after the introduction of communist legislation in October 1944, granting women equal rights with men. Vera Zlatareva was the first woman lawyer to exercise this right. Vera Zlatareva was a prolific researcher of various social issues. She published extensively on prostitution in Bulgaria, as well as on the status of illegitimate children and juridical factors affecting Bulgarian women's status, including labor, property and family relations, alcoholism, and gambling. (Daskalova 2006: 620-622)

¹¹ CSA, coll. 1752K, inv. 1, a.u. 1403.

information about the circumstances after their meeting that brought her to the University of Freiburg:

"I told you that I was leaving to do a doctorate on a socio-political topic. ... The first semester I settled here in Freiburg, a nice pretty little town at the foot of the Black Forest, with the intention of moving to Berlin for the second semester, which I tried to do, but it was impossible. I was there for a few weeks and I was convinced that there are greater scientific conditions for work, but life is otherwise difficult to organize in the big city, so I came back here. The topic of my work is "Agrarische Sozialpolitik in Bulgarien", on which I work with Prof. von Dietze – a famous economist. Since the opportunity to find suitable literature, here

is very small, I allow myself to turn to you, as best informed about the village's questions and especially social issues and ask for your help. Here with me, I have your work "Öffentliche Fürsorge"¹², from where I found books that interest me, but you may be kind enough to point me to other literature [...] the book of Hr. Mocheva "Food in Agriculture", [...] your husband's work "Public and culture"¹³ ...¹⁴



Professors from the University of Freiburg Adolf Lampe, Constantin von Dietze /in the middle/ and Walter Eucken, 1940.¹⁵

¹² Златарева 1940.

¹³ Геновски 1939.

¹⁴ CSA, coll. 1752K, inv. 1, a.u. 1403, f. 1-2.

¹⁵ Freiburger Kreis – Baden 1918 bis 1945. Das Geschichtportal des Projekts Lernort Kislau. Web. 09.01.2022. <https://www.baden18-45.de/filter/freiburger-kreis/>.

Apart from briefly presenting the topic of Dina's research, this document is the only trace of her supervisor – Prof. Constantin von Dietze /1891–1973/. He was an agronomist, economist, lawyer, and theologian. He received a doctorate in political science in 1919 for his work on Stolypinian land reform. Throughout the 1920s Dietze worked as a professor at the universities of Göttingen, Rostock, and Jena. In 1933 he moved to the University of Berlin. After moving to the University of Freiburg, Dietze became increasingly active in the *Confessing Church's* opposition to the Nazi regime. In 1938 Dietze worked with Adolf Lampe, Walter Eucken, and Franz Böhm to find the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Erwin von Beckerath*, which would later become the *Freiburger Kreis* /later known as the *Freiburger Bonhoeffer-Kreis*/. Through this group, Dietze would come into direct contact with Carl Friedrich Goerdeler and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. After the failure of the “20 July 1944 Plot”, Dietze was arrested for his relationship with Goerdeler and Bonhoeffer and was charged with high treason. He was imprisoned in Ravensbrück concentration camp and the Plötzensee Prison. His impending conviction and death sentence were impeded only by the collapse of the Third Reich, making him one of the few political prisoners who avoided execution. After returning to Freiburg on 17 June 1945, Dietze resumed teaching at the university and served as its Rector from 1946 until 1949. During this time, he founded a research establishment for agricultural politics and sociology, of which he was the president until his death. Through *ordoliberals* such as Walter Eucken, Franz Böhm, Constantin von Dietze, and Adolf Lampe, the *Freiburger Bonhoeffer-Kreis* made a significant contribution to the post-war realisation of the German social market economy (Blesgen 2004).

Probably due to the expiration of the scholarship, but also because of the arrest of Prof. von Dietze in July 1944, Dina Tvardishka's stay in Freiburg became impossible. She returned to Sofia and worked on the final version of her study, waiting for the political situation to calm down. The preserved clippings from Bulgarian newspapers from the beginning of September 1944 with information about the policy of Ivan Bagryanov's government, which she had carefully cut out, testify that at that time she was actually in Sofia. Here she found the coup of September 9, 1944, and the end of the war. In the changing political and ideological environment, the publication of her research became impossible, and this part of her biography related to her study in Germany became politically inconvenient.



Letter from the University of Freiburg confirming Dina Tvardishka's enrollment, November 13, 1941.¹⁶

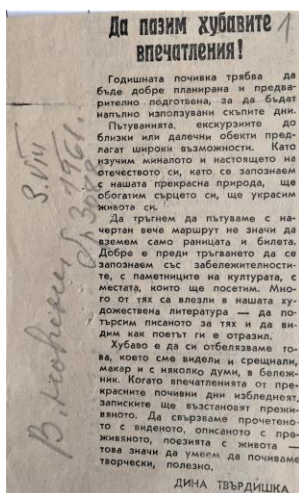


"On a nice sunny day, looking to the beautiful future." Dina Tvardishka and Dimitar Rizov-Vozir, August 25 1955.¹⁷

¹⁶ CSA, coll. 285K, inv. 5, a.u. 1758, f. 7.

In March 1956, Dina Tvardishka married Dimitar Rizov.¹⁸ At that time she worked at a bank branch in Sofia – this is clear from the decision on her retirement from the end of 1957. The retirement documents state that she had more than 28 years of service.¹⁹

Meanwhile, as in the years after her retirement, Dina translated fiction from German – a part of the manuscript of her translation from 1957 of Helena von Nostitz's book on Auguste Rodin "Born in Conversations and Letters" has been preserved (Nostitz 1927).²⁰ In the following years she prepared and sent popular science articles to various periodicals – "Bulgarian Folk Bookstores"²¹, about the history of the town Nesebar²², about the discovered Dead Sea Scrolls /manuscripts from the Qumran Cave/ 1961²³, about Miklukho-Maklai's life²⁴ and others. Probably the only one published from these articles is titled "Let's keep the good impressions!" – Dina Tvardishka cut and kept the publication from the newspaper "Vecherni novini" from August 3, 1961²⁵.



Dina Tvardishka died on April 1, 1963, in Sofia.²⁶

"Let's keep the good impressions!" – short article in the newspaper "Vecherni novini"/Evening news/ from 1961 turned out to be the only publication of Dina Tvardishka found so far.²⁷

Although she never returned to the nearly completed study from 1944 of the village's social problems, Dina retained all the manuscripts, notes, and materials, as well as

¹⁷ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2044, f. 1.

¹⁸ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 29, f. 1.

¹⁹ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2398, f. 1; a.u. 2406, f. 1.

²⁰ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2570 – 67 pages.

²¹ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2337, f. 1.

²² CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2338, f. 1.

²³ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2339, f. 1.

²⁴ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2340, f. 1.

²⁵ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2352, f. 1.

²⁶ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2357, f. 1; a.u. 2564, l.

²⁷ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2398, f. 1.

over 1,000 typewritten pages of text. After her death, Dimitar Rizov kept his wife's documents and they eventually ended up in the Central State Archives as part of his fund.

The case of Dina Tvardishka in the context of the German academic exchange in Bulgaria since the early 1940s

Holger Impekoven, who perceived the German scholarship programs between 1925 and 1945 as an "instrument of foreign cultural policy", pointed out that by 1941/42 alone, at the height of WWII, about 1,750 foreign students were receiving German scholarships (Impekoven 2013; 34 Barbian 1992: 417). Most of them were scholarship holders of *The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation*.²⁸ Among them, the number of students and specialists from Southeast Europe was over 40% of all foreigners studying in Germany (Impekoven 2013: 264; Dafinger 2016: 55).²⁹ Hundreds of Bulgarian students and Ph.D. candidates in various fields studied at German universities with scholarships from the *German Academic Exchange Service* /*Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst*, DAAD/, the *German Foundation of Central European Economic Association* /*Deutsche Stiftung des Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstages*, MWT/ and *Alexander von Humboldt Foundation* (Nazarska 2014: 18; Бояджиева 1984; Кюлюмова-Бояджиева 1991).³⁰ In addition to the listed

²⁸ In 1933/34 *The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation* granted about 80 scholarships, in 1938/39 about 250 /in both years about 30 percent of students were from southern and southeastern Europe/, and about 1,000 scholarships were awarded to foreign students in Germany between 1941 and 1944/45 (Laitenberger 1976: 283-285; Impekoven, 2013: 439).

²⁹ As for the summer semester of 1943, most foreign students were from Bulgaria – 3,800, and in the next academic year they were 2,596 (Siebert, 1971: 249; Кюлюмова-Бояджиева 1991; Бояджиева 1984).

³⁰ In the mid-1920s the Foreign Office and the Prussian cultural ministry had established DAAD and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation to help university students study abroad and to bring foreign students to Germany. In 1932/33 the DAAD and the Humboldt foundation funded roughly 10 students, altogether, from Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Bulgaria to study in Germany. By 1937 MWT supported 135 students, and the Institute for Southeastern Europe in Leipzig attracted approximately another 45 per year (Laitenberger 1976: 33-35). Founded in 1925 in Vienna the MWT was originally devoted to providing a platform for debates concerning a better commercial integration of the "Danube region". Pursuing this strategic goal, the MWT developed policies and programs during the 1930s and 1940s to enable the Southeast European national economies to play their respective roles as part of the anticipated "Großwirtschaftsraum". MWT began by selecting students from the four disciplines it deemed most important for Germany's economic relationship with Southeastern

foundations, *The Kaiser Wilhelm Society* should also be mentioned – an institution important in the shaping the National Socialist scientific policy (Renneberg, Walker 1993; Harwood 1997; Szöllösi-Janze 200; Heim, Sachse, Walker 2009). It was this society that funded the establishment of the *Bulgarian-German Institute for Agricultural Research* /Deutsch-Bulgarische Institut für landwirtschaftliche Forschung/ in Sofia in 1941.³¹

The opening of the *German Scientific Institute* in Sofia was part of Germany's active policy of establishing bilateral research centers in Europe – policies that accelerated in the 1940s amid the war outbreak. Since 1940, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs had set up a network of institutes abroad with the mission of supporting German achievements in the humanities in certain European countries. German Scientific Institutes /*Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Institute*, DWI/ were established in 16 European cities - Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Stockholm, Lisbon, Madrid, Venice, Budapest, Sofia, Bucharest, Bratislava, Belgrade, Athens, Zagreb, and Tirana (Zarifi 2008, 214-215, 2018; Hausmann 2002, 9, 15).³² It is through DWI that scholarships for student exchange from the DAAD and *The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation* were granted. (Barbian 1992: 421).

In the autumn of 1940, after signing the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation between Germany and Bulgaria³³, a *German Scientific Institute* was also established in Sofia. The institutes in the capitals of the Balkan countries were formally affiliated with German universities: the

Europe: economics, engineering, medicine, and agricultural sciences. Apart from that, the MWT established foundations that provided academic scholarships, such as the *Deutschland-Stiftung des Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstages* /Germany Foundation of the MWT/ or the *Südost-Stiftung* /Southeast Foundation/, which funded specific courses about Southeast Europe at the Academy for World Trade in Vienna from 1940 onwards (Wien 2007: 242-248, 283–284; Wien 2010).

³¹ CSA, coll. 504K, inv. 1, a.u. 1-18.

³²The structure of each DWI branch abroad includes at least three main departments: a research department, which is financially supported by the *Emergency Service for German Science* /Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft/, founded in the early years of the Weimar Republic. This department organizes the exchange of teachers, lecture trips, exhibitions, concerts, and book fairs; the academic department maintained by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), which has existed since 1925 and is responsible for the exchange of students, teachers, etc.; the third department is the Department of Linguistics, which receives funding from the Goethe Institute. (Zarifi 2008:215; Hausmann 2001)

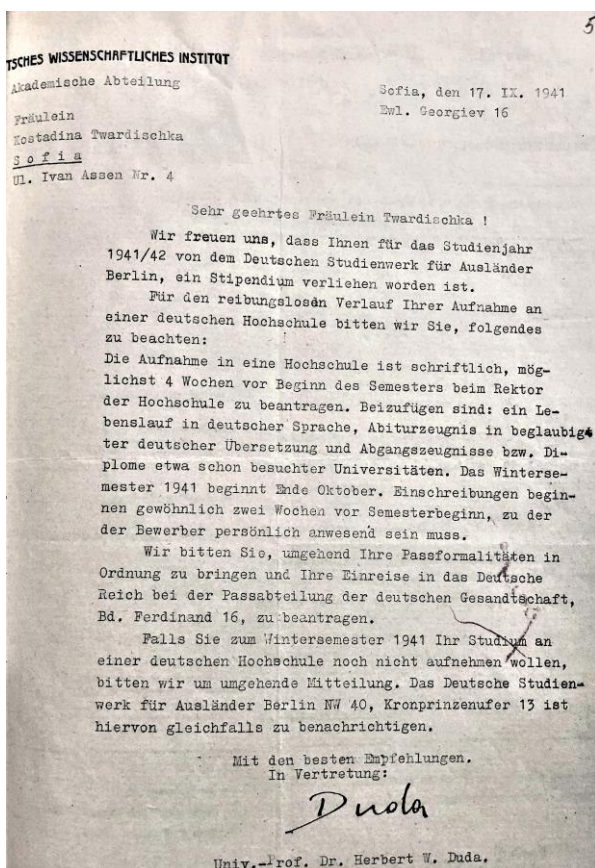
³³ *State Gazette*, issue. 269, 28 November 1940 г.

German Scientific Institute in Sofia was built as a branch of the University of Vienna, the one in Bucharest – as a branch of the University of Berlin, the Institute in Athens – as one of the University of Munich, etc. The first director of the German Scientific Institute in Sofia was Professor Hans Koch³⁴ – a historian and theologian from the University of Vienna. A little later he was replaced by Prof. Herbert Duda³⁵ (Hausmann 2001: 26-27; Кюлюмова-Бояджиева 1991: 66). The activity of the "academic section" of the institute in Sofia was related to the exchange of students, teachers, specialists with higher and secondary education, and the selection of scholarships to DAAD and *Alexander von Humboldt Foundation* (Бояджиева 1984: 44).

³⁴ Hans Koch (1894-1959) was a German theologian, Eastern European historian, and officer in the intelligence service of the Wehrmacht High Command. He was born in 1894, grew up in Lviv before moving to Vienna to study theology in 1913. With the rise of Nazism in Germany, Koch received professorships first in Königsberg, then in Breslau. In 1929 he became a private lecturer in Ecclesiastical and Eastern European history, and in 1934 a full professor of Ecclesiastical history at the University of Königsberg. From 1937 to 1940 Hans Koch was a professor for Eastern European history at the University of Breslau. In 1940 he became a professor for Eastern European history at the University of Vienna. He was also a visiting professor in Sofia and head of the German Scientific Institute in Sofia. From 1941 he was a liaison officer of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories in Army Group South. In the final days of the war, Koch disappeared into the Alps and took up a job as a religion instructor in a remote village. He gradually returned to academic life. In 1952, he became director of the East European Institute in Munich, where he worked until 1959. (Stökl 1959; Wagner 1980: 263; Kappeler 2009).

³⁵ Herbert Wilhelm Duda (1900-1975) was an Austrian Turkologist, Iranist and Islamic scholar. From 1919 to 1925 he studied Oriental studies first in Prague (1849-1929), then in Vienna and Leipzig. In Leipzig, he received his doctoral degree. He subsequently spent a year in Paris at the Ecole nationale des langues orientales vivantes. From 1927 to 1932, he lived in Istanbul as a private scholar. He habilitated in Leipzig in 1932 and taught there as an unpaid lecturer until he was appointed extraordinary professor of Turkology and Islamic philology at the University of Breslau in 1936. Duda had signed the "Vow of Allegiance of the Professors of the German Universities and High-Schools to Adolf Hitler and the National Socialistic State" in 1933. From 1941 to 1943 Duda was visiting professor in Sofia. He was head of the German Scientific Institute (DWI) in Sofia. In 1943 he was appointed to the chair of Turkology and Islamic studies in Vienna, which he held until his retirement in 1970. His major area of research was Ottoman diplomatics, history, literature, and theater. Among his works are studies about Christians in the Ottoman Balkans, Yunus Emre and Ahmed Haşim, and on the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. In the 1950s Duda's field of research shifted from Ottoman to Iranian studies. He was co-founder and editor-in-chief of "Österreichische Hochschulzeitung", editor of "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes". (Herzog 2010: 35; Ellinger 2006: 36-39, 475; Bihl 2009)

There is no information on how Dina Tvardishka was informed about the scholarship opportunities distributed through the *German Scientific Institute* in Sofia. It is possible that she got informed by acquaintances or read the announcements about the opportunities for study and specialization in Germany with scholarships from German foundations, which the journal of the German Institute in Sofia published – *Der Bulgarienwart* /Bulgarian observer/.³⁶



Letter from the German Scientific Institute in Sofia for the scholarship awarded to Dina Tvardishka, September 17, 1941.³⁷

Georgette Nazarska pointed out that between 1922 and 1944, 17 women traveled to Germany for Ph.D. and postgraduate qualifications (Nazarska 2014: 18). However, the name of Dina Tvardishka does not appear among them. Although there are no documents about her in the archives of the German institutions in Bulgaria, the letter from her student record in the archives of the BNB,

³⁶ *Der Bulgarienwart* /Bulgarian observer/, 1933–1944 г. Between 1933 and 1940 it was issued as an "illustrated monthly magazine for international tourism, economy, and culture". From 1940 the magazine became an official body of DWI and the Bulgarian-German Society for the Expansion of Cultural Relations between Bulgaria and National Socialist Germany. Editors: Nikola Marashliev, Wilhelm A. Baumfeld, Sava Manolova, Zhivka Dragneva, Georgi Sgurev, Sergei Kalaydzhiyev, Teodor Trayanov, Doris Müller, Ferdinand Hermann, and others.

³⁷ CSA, coll. 285K, inv. 5, a.u. 1758, f. 5.

certifying her status as a scholarship holder, was signed by Prof. Herbert W. Duda. The document confirms that she was awarded a scholarship "for the academic year 1941/42 at some of the universities in Berlin."³⁸ I have no answer to the question of why Dina Tvardishka chose to specialize at the University of Freiburg. Many of the Bulgarian fellows working in the field of economic and agricultural research since the 1930s oriented primarily towards German academic centers with a lasting interest in research in Southeast Europe, such as the *Mitteleuropa-Institut* in Dresden, the *Institut für Mittel- und Südosteuropäische Wirtschaftsforschung* in Leipzig and others.³⁹

K. Twardishka
Sofia-boulw. " Iw. Asen II "4
den 28.I.1943.

An das Deutschen Studienwerke für
Ausländer-
Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung
Berlin N.W. 40, Kronprinzenufer 13
über das Deutsche Wissenschaftliche
Institut- Sofia

Ihr Schreiben vom
0/A II/18/12

Von Ihrer Mitteilung, dass nach den Satzungen der
Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, das Rechnungsjahr bis zum
31.3.1943 ~~läuft~~, habe ich Kenntnis genommen und erlaube mir
nochmals um Bewilligung der Verlängerung meines Stipendi-
ums für das Studienjahr 1943/44 bis zum 1.4.1944 zu bitten,
da ich annehme dass ich bis zum Herbst d.J. genesen werde.

Indem ich Ihnen meinen besten Dank ausspreche blei-
be ich

Ihre sehr ergebene

**Letter from Dina Tvardishka for extension of her scholarship
for the academic year 1943/44.⁴⁰**

³⁸ CSA, coll. 285K, inv. 5, a.u. 1758, f. 5.

³⁹ For example, in 1941 Hristo Ivanov defended his dissertation in Berlin on issues related to the agrarian policies of the Bulgarian state from the mid-1930s (Ivanov 1941). Almost simultaneously with Dina Tvardishka, P. Tanovski developed a similar dissertation at the University of Graz (Tanovski 1944).

⁴⁰ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2468, f. 40.

"Social problems of the Bulgarian village"/ "Die sozialen Probleme des bulgarischen Dorfes" – the unpublished study of Dina Tvardishka (1941-1944)

*"In the following paper, the issue of the restructuring the Bulgarian agriculture will be considered through several perspectives, trying to establish the framework within which this can happen... outlining the objectives and capabilities of the state economic policy in agriculture...."*⁴¹

The scarce archival traces of Dina Tvardishka's biography lack information on what she did after graduating from the economics department of the Free University⁴² in Sofia in 1931 until her departure to Germany in the autumn of 1941. It is not clear what directed her interest in the issues related to rural policies in Bulgaria. Maybe she worked in one of the many institutions involved in the modernization programs of the village. So far I have not found her name in the documents of the employees in the *Service for the Improvement of the Rural Living Conditions* inside the *Ministry of Agriculture and State Property*, nor among the teams of those working in the field of agrarian sociology – the *Institute for Agricultural and Economic Researches /1935-1946/*, nor in the Bulgarian-German organizations working in Bulgaria in the field of agricultural policies such as the *Bulgarian-German Institute for Agricultural Research in Sofia*, etc.⁴³

Dina Tvardishka's study "Social Problems of the Bulgarian Village" shows a detailed knowledge of the achievements of agrarian sociology in Bulgaria since the 1930s, and the emphasis in her text is closely related to the *Model Village* program⁴⁴ and the so-called „Bagri-

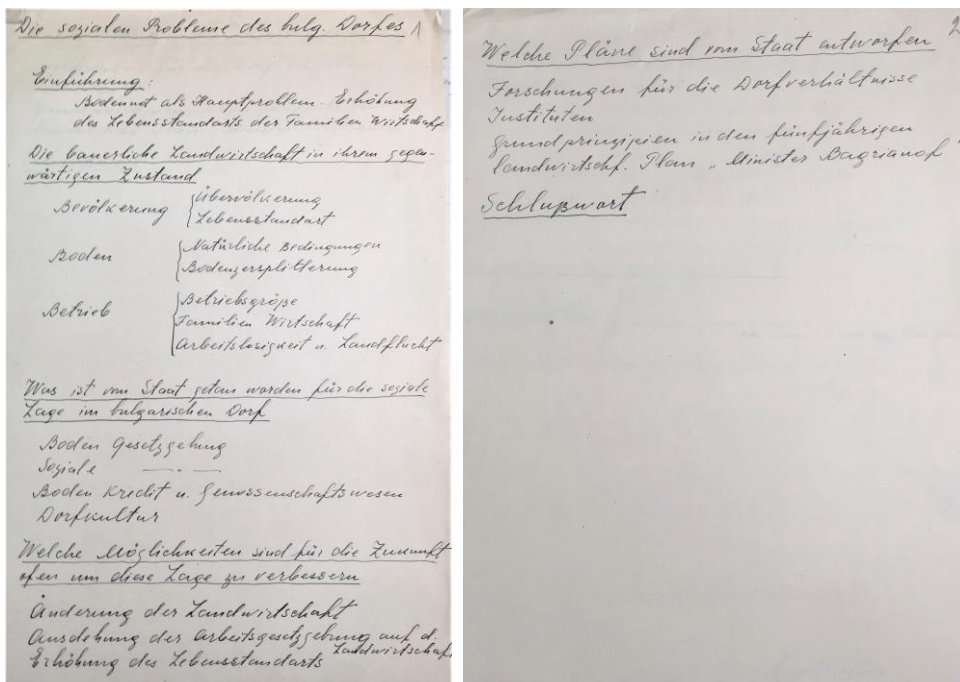
⁴¹ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2467, f. 1.

⁴² Since 1940 – *The Higher State School of Financial and Administrative Sciences*

⁴³ I suppose that in a certain period Dina Tvardishka also worked as a correspondent for one of the business publications of the German News Agency */Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro/* – many of the draft pages of her study are written on the back of the sheets with the logo of *Hellkommerz – Wirtschafts-Weltdienst*.

⁴⁴ At the beginning of 1937, as part of the movement for the "economic and cultural rise of the village", the *Model village* project was formally launched in 11 municipalities. Within less than five years, the program had already covered more than 110 rural municipalities on the entire Bulgarian territory. The key objective of the the *Model village* program in Bulgaria emphasized the need of the village inhabitants /especially the young people/ to adopt modern hygienic habits, the rules of eating "healthily" and to recognize farm work as a professional activity. The set of measures that would ensure a

anov“plan – the notes on the literature and the authors she cited speak of in-depth knowledge of the issue. Dina Tvardishka's research interest also reflects the changed ideological accents of the *Model Village* program after 1940 r.



Draft of the content of the unfinished study of Dina Tvardishka “Die sozialen Probleme des bulgarischen Dorfes”, 1944.⁴⁵

At the beginning of 1937, as part of the movement for the “economic and cultural rise of the village”, the *Model village* program was formally launched. Within less than five years, the program had already covered more than 110 rural municipalities on the entire Bulgarian territory. The key objective of the *Model village* program in Bulgaria empha-

“better atmosphere” not only in one’s home but also in the whole village, included improving the infrastructure, providing for sewers, and bettering the water supply, exploring the possibilities for at least partial electrification, building public health centers, as well as health consultative stations, bakeries, kindergartens, playgrounds, and summer resorts for children. These activities were supported by central government institutions and the active participation of rural municipalities, and local “public” organizations. (Ангелова 2008; Angelova 2014)

⁴⁵ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2462, f. 1-2.

sized the need of the village inhabitants /especially the young people/ to adopt modern hygienic habits, the rules of “healthy” eating and to recognize farm work as a professional activity. The set of measures that would ensure a “better atmosphere” not only in one’s home, but also in the whole village, included improving the infrastructure, providing for sewers, and bettering the water supply, exploring the possibilities for at least partial electrification, building public health centers, as well as health consultative stations, bakeries, kindergartens, playgrounds, and summer resorts for children. These activities were supported by central government institutions and the active participation of rural municipalities, and local “public” organizations. The initial *Model Village* project was elaborated together with experts from the Ministry of Agriculture and the Institute for Agricultural and Economic Research and representatives of the *American Near East Foundation* in Bulgaria. The *Near East Foundation* and the *Rockefeller Foundation* in Bulgaria provided scholarships to dozens of experts in the fields of public health, agronomy, sanitary engineering, and statistics for specializations at American universities (Ангелова 2008; Angelova 2014).



Publications collected by Dina Tvardishka: “Model villages with model households”⁴⁶, „Eighth cultural week for the village”⁴⁷ and „The cinema in service of the farmer”⁴⁸, 1941-1944 г.

⁴⁶ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2463, f. 342.

⁴⁷ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2464, f. 211.

⁴⁸ Ibid. f. 212.



„Model Village“ Journal, 1942, issue 9.

In the early 1940s the influences of the German program *Musterdorf* and the working methods of the *National Board for Agricultural Technology* /Reichskuratorium für Technik in der Landwirtschaft, RKTL/ at Berlin were felt in the Bulgarian *Model Village* program and the methods of agricultural sociology (Petev 1943; Markov 1942; Uzunov 1941). The most visible results in the strategy of MWT to restructure and modernize the national agrarian sectors of the ‘Danube region’ countries were achieved in Bulgaria. Here, the

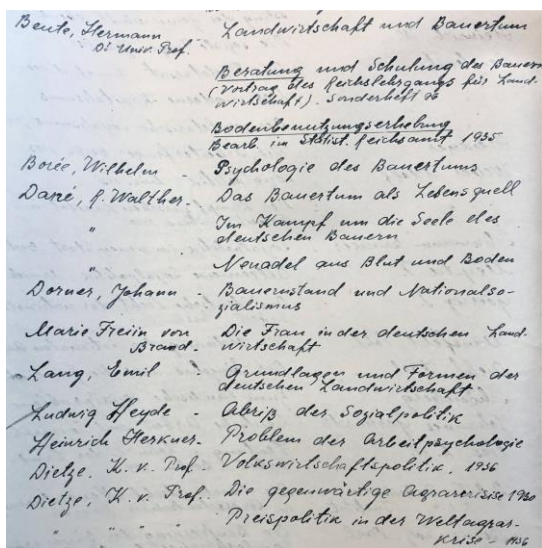
MWT established a *Bulgarian School for Agricultural Machinery* /Българско училище за земеделски машини, BUSEMA/ as well as two model villages. The MWT model villages were integrated into the *Model village* program organized by the Bulgarian government but they had been designed after the German concepts of the RKTL (Wien 2007: 252-253). The respective national context as well as the goals of both projects, i.e., the Bulgarian *Model village* and the German *Musterdorf* programs, were different from each other: In Germany, they were based on the ‘Führer’ principle and ‘blood and soil’ and had a strong focus on technology to raise the productivity, while in Bulgaria they were ‘entirely’ carried by a ‘pathos of hygiene’. The main goal of ‘Obrastsovo selo’ was to improve the living conditions of the rural population. Therefore, the program was mostly focused on women and ways to improve family life (Ангелова 2008: 76).

In her analysis, Dina Tvardishka sought the dimensions of policies to improve the “farmer” life, and especially the lives of women in the village:

„The Bulgarian state, aimed at improving the living conditions in the village, and formed certain measures, mainly to improve the livelihood of the agricultural population. This care was expressed in a system of agricultural activities. [...] In the second place came the care for improving the living conditions in the rural home, the care for the

health of the rural population, for the rural child, for the cultural raising of the agricultural mass, etc. [...] But only recently they (scientists) have done one great discovery, namely that there are farmers on the farm and another discovery even later - that there is a housewife and a family there. It was also found that the center of agricultural production is not located in the field, nor in the stables and hangars for agricultural machinery, but in the family of the farmer and that if greater interest is shown and more care is taken for the agricultural household, for improvement of its living conditions, for the development of its intellectual and moral strength, the whole Agriculture will benefit from this".⁴⁹

In the theoretical part of her research, Dina Tvardishka commented in detail on the publications of popular German authors (Heinrich 1934; Sombart 1906, 1934; Weber 1931; Schuhmann, Brucker 1943 and others) and especially those of her research supervisor Constantin von Dietze (Dietze 1937, 1939, 1942; Dietze, Sering 1939; Brand, Kisker, Roeske u. a. 1939).



Part of the bibliography list of German authors from Dina Tvardishka's study⁵⁰

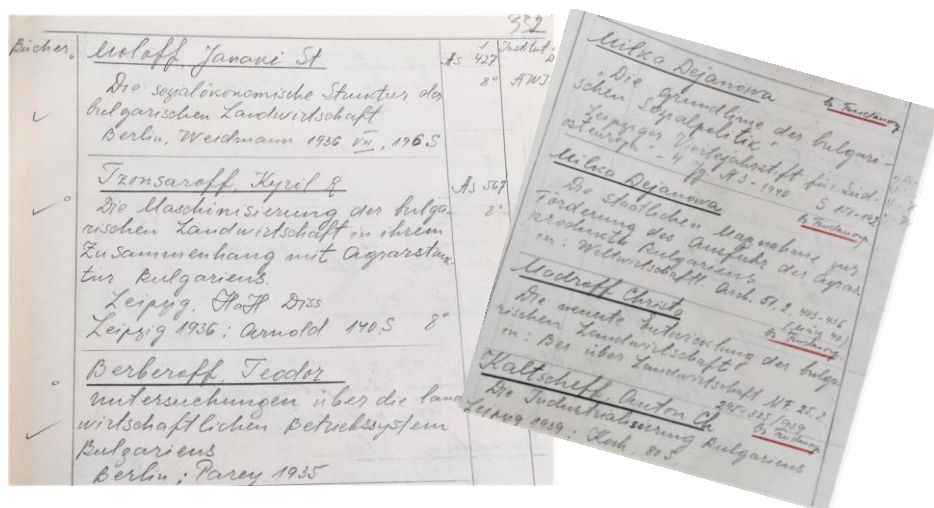
In the late 1930s and early 1940s, several specialists from the *Institute for Agricultural and Economic Research* in Sofia held long-term specializations: Dr. Nikola Kondov – in Bonn, Dr. Georgi Kalapchiev – in Berlin, Dr. Mihail Vitanov – in Vienna (Калъпчиев 1946: 9). In the special series

“Agriculture reports” /Berichte über Landwirtschaft/ in the *Journal of Agricultural Policy and Agriculture* /Zeitschrift für Agrarpolitik und Landwirtschaft/ in 1943, there was a special issue devoted to Bulgaria. This issue contained special studies of the major Bulgarian experts relat-

⁴⁹ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2462, f. 18, 31.

⁵⁰ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2463, f. 237.

ed to the *Model village* program and the agrarian sociology: Totyu Branekov – *The Bulgarian agronomist*, Dimitar Birnikov – *The improvement of daily life in the village*, Hristina Mocheva *The village household in Bulgaria* among others (Kalinov 1943). Dina Tvardishka was familiar with those authors and cited all of them in her research, as well as the publications of other Bulgarians in German issues – experts in agricultural, social, and economic problems such as Prof. Yanaky Mollov⁵¹ (Molloff 1936), Dr. Milka Deyanova /1904 -after 1969/⁵² and others.



Some of the Bulgarian authors quoted by Dina Tvardishka.⁵³

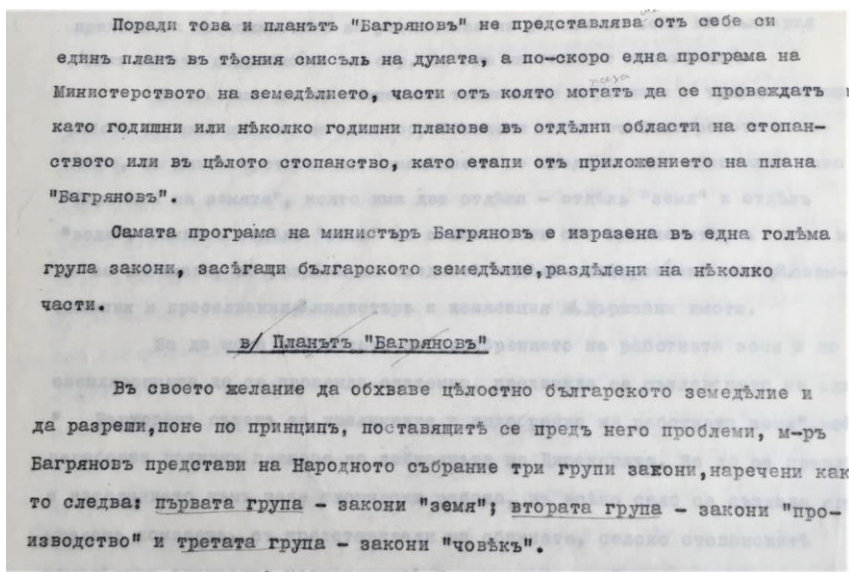
⁵¹ Yanaky Mollov /1882-1947/ was one of the creators of official agrarian policy in Bulgaria. He studied agronomy at the Timiryazev Agrarian School in Moscow /1905/. He was Professor in Agricultural Economics at Sofia University /1923-1944/. Yanaki Mollov was Dean of the Faculty of Agronomy several times /1921-1939/ and Rector of the University /1939-1940/. He was also Minister of Agriculture and State Property /1923-1926/ and Minister of Education /1934-1935/.

⁵² Milka Deyanova was born in Sofia in 1904. She graduated from the First Sofia Girls' High School in 1922 and then State Sciences in Leipzig in 1931 with a Ph.D. on the topic - *Die Warenausfuhr Bulgariens und ihre Organisation seit dem Jahre 1900*. She was a teacher of German language and Economic sciences at the Commercial High School – Sofia /1929-1943/. Until 1944 she published articles in Bulgarian and German on issues of economic and social policy in Bulgaria and Germany. In the 1950s she was the author of several textbooks in economics for secondary schools /business colleges/. It is difficult to find biographical traces of Milka Deyanova, especially for the period after 1944, and here I take the opportunity to once again thank Georgetta Nazarska for the provided information.

⁵³ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2463, f. 232-333.

In that part of the study, where she presented the demographic parameters and the problem of "agricultural overpopulation", Dina Tvardishka sometimes referred to some extreme, but popular in certain political and economic circles, nationalist interpretations of solving this problem through the so-called "internal colonization":

"The maximum opportunities for a solution to this issue can be expected on political grounds, by evicting foreign agricultural populations found on Bulgarian territory. If the 1925 agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey on the eviction of the Turkish agricultural population from Bulgaria [...] is applied, this will lead to the release of 100,000 plots of 5 hectares on average. Almost the same number of plots of 3-4 hectares could be vacated in the event of a possible eviction of Greek settlers in Thrace.... A release of tension".⁵⁴



The presentation and analysis of the "Bagryanov" plan are the main highlights of Dina Tvardishka's research.⁵⁵

One of the most interesting parts of Dina Tvardishka's research is the analysis of the *Five-Year Plan for the Development of Bulgarian Agriculture*, introduced in 1941 – the culmination of increased state interest in agricultural economic and social problems of this period. The

⁵⁴ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2467, f. 66.

⁵⁵ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2466, f. 17.

introduction of the Plan was initiated by the then Minister of Agriculture and State Property D. Kushev but it was developed between 1938 and 1941 when the Minister of Agriculture was Ivan Bagryanov.⁵⁶ This is why it is popular as *the „Bagryanov“ Plan* (Молюв 1943). In a separate chapter of her dissertation, Dina Tvardishka considered the "Bagryanov program" (as she thought it was more correct to be addressed) as *"a program completion of the ideas for the overall settlement, improvement and promotion of agriculture by the state"*.⁵⁷ She traced in detail the main "postulates" and highlights of the plan: strengthening government commitment and increasing funds for agricultural support; an increase in targeted lending to agriculture; the issue of "agricultural zoning" and the introduction of new crops, and increasing profitability in agriculture, etc.⁵⁸ Her analysis also used National Socialist terminology and showed the growing influence of German initiatives coming from the RKTL after 1942.⁵⁹ This is especially evident by formulating the groups of laws in the program – "land" /10 laws and the bill/, "production" /17 laws for individual industries⁶⁰/ and "man" /3 laws and bills for the "farmer" for the improvement of the Bulgarian village, for agricultural pensions, for agricultural education/.⁶¹ Dina Tvardishka paid special attention to the third part of Bagryanov's program and the intentions to "raise the general and special culture of the rural population", to improve food, clothing, housing, hygiene and arrangement of the village home and yard, the improvement and "beautification" of the villages and the funding of these initiatives. (Таhev 2006: 262-263).

⁵⁶ Ivan Bagryanov (1891–1945) was born in Razgrad. He graduated from the Military School in Sofia and participated as an artillery officer in the Balkan War and the First World War. In the 1920s he studied Law at Sofia University and Agronomy in Leipzig. Apart from politics, until the end of his life, he was also engaged in practical agriculture. He was Minister of Agriculture and State Property from 1938 to 1941. The main goal in the policy of the Ministry of Agriculture in this period was to continue the modernization of Bulgarian agriculture. Bagryanov developed the Five-Year Plan for the Development of Bulgarian Agriculture /1941/. From June 1, 1944, to September 2, 1944, Ivan Bagryanov was the Prime Minister of Bulgaria. After the Coup of September 9, 1944, he was among those sentenced to death by the so-called People's Court and was executed on February 1, 1945 (Гръев 2009: 45; Таhev 2006).

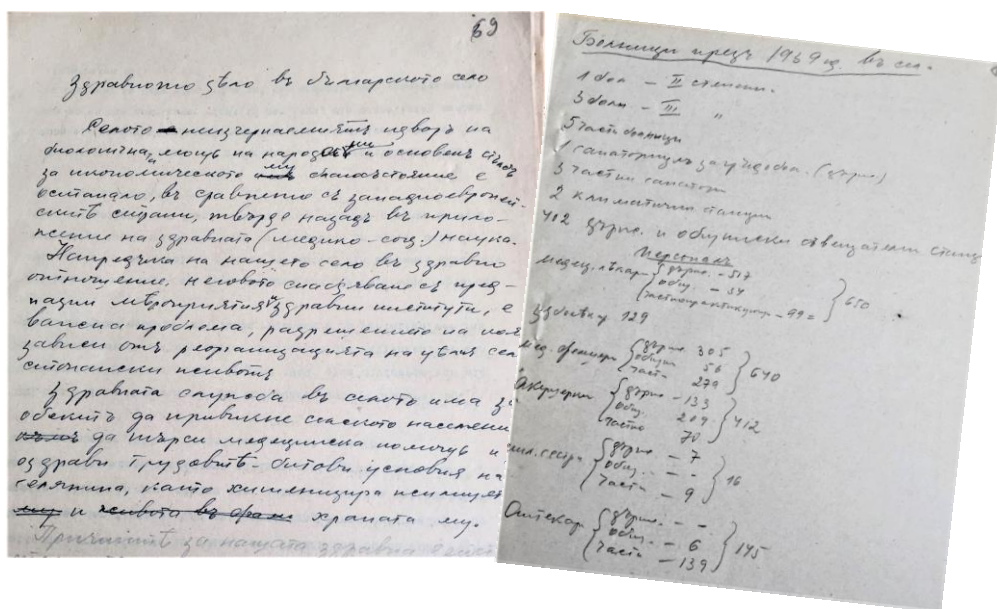
⁵⁷ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2466, f. 15-21.

⁵⁸ Ibid., f. 16.

⁵⁹ Ibid., f. 17-21.

⁶⁰ Ibid., f. 21-22.

⁶¹ Ibid., f. 22-23



Draft on the topic of “health care in the Bulgarian village”⁶² and data on the medical institutions in the villages in 1939.⁶³

In the analysis of the possibilities of public policies for improving the lives of the rural population, Dina Tvardishk pointed out:

"Improvement of life in the village in our country began much later and it was fragmented, as the population was offered imposed separate and unrelated activities, conducted unsystematically, without an established method. It was overlooked that measures to improve the rural living environment, and the village in general, should, if not precede, then at least go hand in hand with measures to improve agriculture. More importantly, it was overlooked that whatever was done by the state authorities and public organizations for the village, would bring no results until the population concerned realizes the need for these improvements. ... This can best be achieved through the organization of the population itself and a widespread agricultural education".⁶⁴

⁶² Ibid. f. 69.

⁶³ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2468, f. 8.

⁶⁴ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2462, f. 18, 32.

In the text, she presented in detail issues such as health care in the villages⁶⁵; the possibilities for improvement⁶⁶; improving the quality of food through the construction of canneries /in 753 villages by 1941/ and the so-called "ovens combined with bath heating" /in 16 villages in 1942/⁶⁷ and especially the issues of "agricultural education" – the network of practical and additional agricultural schools, household management courses for women, etc.⁶⁸

Домакинство-ситуация курсове
за жени

1937г.	- 256 курса	- 6692 посетители
1938г.	- 276 "	- 7.580 "
1939 "	- 350 "	- 9250 "
1940 "	- 588 "	- 15.596 "
1941 "	- (нарастващ интерес на курсовете, както и интерес на посетителите)	

Курсовете се устриват във 150 с. и в 10 димия.
Най-близко през селския и димия
Експертите са от селския и димия
Зем. домакинство и при зем. училища.
Организиране на курсовете сега по селския
предмет за това трябва да се даде на сел. с. с. с.

Household management courses for women, 1937-1941⁶⁹

One of the most-cited authors in Dina Tvardishka's research was the agronomist from the Institute for Agricultural Research Hristina Mocheva /1907 – ?/, who in 1938 published the results from the first large-scale studies on living conditions in villages, on rural household budgets, and expenditure of labor in households – "Rural agricultural household in Bulgaria in 1935/1936. Budget, situation, and cost of labor"⁷⁰ (Мочева

⁶⁵ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2463, f. 143-158; a.u. 2464, f. 165-172; a.u. 2468, f. 69-75.

⁶⁶ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2463, f. 164-181; a.u. 2464, f. 3-7; a.u. 2468, f. 77-91.

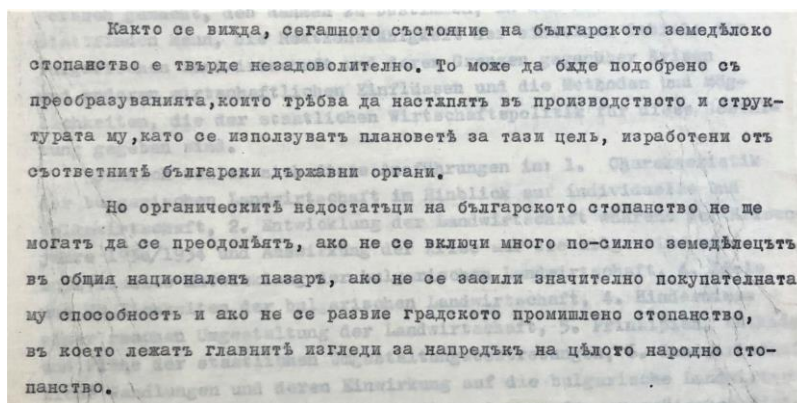
⁶⁷ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2463, f. 136-142.

⁶⁸ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2464, f. 211-226; a.u. 2463, f. 186-197; a.u. 2468, f. 105-128.

⁶⁹ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2464, f. 219.

⁷⁰ The study was conducted in 1935-1936 and it concerned 199 villages with data of 939 households. This study and its analysis of researchers and agricultural experts involved in the community pointed out that the village was an unhygienic space, threatening its

1938). In her studies Mocheva used the methods of the American Home Bureaus – she received a year scholarship /1940-1941/ for *the New York State College of Home Economics* at Cornell University. She is the author of several publications (Мочева 1938, 1941, 1942 1943; Кондов, Мочева, Танев, Tanev 1941), most of which Dina Tvardishka presented in the part of her research in which she analyzed the living conditions, household budgets, "cultural needs and the organization of work", the possibilities for rationalization of domestic work, etc.⁷¹ Hristina Mocheva's name also disappeared from the public space after 1947, when her last book was published (Мочева 1947), and my attempts to find any information about her fate afterward or any photograph of her are still unsuccessful.



Part of the conclusion of "Social problems of the Bulgarian village"⁷²

Conclusion

After the Coup in September 1944, a government dominated by pro-Soviet communists came to power in Bulgaria. The new political regime labeled as "fascists" those who had graduated or specialized in universities in Germany, the contributors to German periodicals, etc. Thus, some women scientists were persecuted for political reasons or were professionally marginalized because of their studies and stay in Germany and their connections with German culture and science. Apart

inhabitants and in need of radical reforms. The emphasis of these publications reminded constantly that the *modernization* of villages inevitably required the participation of young girls and women.

⁷¹ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2462, f. 18-50; a.u. 2464, f. 73-87.

⁷² CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2462, f. 57.

from the personal losses of these women, this also means their complete absence in the collective memory during communism. (Nazarska 2014: 15, 26). One can only guess how Dina Tvardishka experienced those



dramatic political events and the inability to defend her dissertation. Her intentions for an academic career or realization as an expert in the field of agrarian economic and social problems remained unfulfilled and she hid her pre-1944 biography from the eyes of the new government. Dina Tvardishka hid and preserved hundreds of pages of work for the rest of her life, being prematurely written off from the history of science.

Dina Tvardishka after 1956⁷³

Bibliography:

Angelova, Milena 2014. "The Model Village". The modernization Project of the Villages in Bulgaria (1937-1944). – *Martor. The Museum of the Romanian Peasant Anthropology Review*, 19, 89-96.

Apor, Balazs, Peter Apor, Edward A. Rees (Eds.) 2008. *The Sovietization of Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on the Postwar Period*. Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing,

Barbian, Jan-Pieter 1992. "Kulturwerte im Zeitkampf". Die Kulturabkommen des 'Dritten Reiches' als Instrumente nationalsozialistischer Aussenpolitik". – *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 74, 415-459.

Bihl, Wolfdieter 2009. *Orientalistik an der Universität Wien. Forschungen zwischen Maghreb und Ost- und Südasiens*. Vienna: Böhlau.

Blesgen, Detlef J. 2004. "Constantin von Dietze." In: Buchstab, Günter; Brigitte Kaff, Hans-Otto Kleinmann (Hgs.), *Christliche Demokraten gegen Hitler: Aus Verfolgung und Widerstand zur Union*. Freiburg: Herder, 2004. 123–130.

Brand, Marie Berta Freiin von, Ida Kisker Lucie Roeske u. a. 1939. *Die Frau in der deutschen Landwirtschaft*. Schriften der Internationalen Konferenz für

⁷³ CSA, coll. 1650K, inv. 1, a.u. 2042, f. 7.

Agrarwissenschaft, Max Sering, Constantin von Dietze (Hgs.). *Deutsche Agrarpolitik auf geschichtlicher und landeskundlicher Grundlage*, Bd. III. Berlin: Franz Vahlen Verlag.

Dafinger, Johanes 2016. "Student and Scholar Mobility between Nazi Germany and Southern/ Southeastern Europe". In: Clara F., Ninhos C. (eds) *Nazi Germany and Southern Europe, 1933–45*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Daskalova, Krasimira 2006. "Vera Zlatareva". In: De Haan, Francisca, Krasimira Daskalova, Anna Loutfi (eds.) *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, 19th – 20th Centuries*. Budapest: CEU Press, 620-622.

Dietze, Constantin von 1937. "Zwangssyndikate als Mittel der Agrarpreispolitik". – *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Bd. 145, Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius Fachverlag, 129-142.

Dietze, Constantin von 1939. "Die rechtliche Ordnung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes und die gemeinwirtschaftliche Lenkung der Landnutzung. Vortrag für die Tagung der Internationalen Konferenz für Agrarwissenschaft in Canada, August 1938". – *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Bd. 149, Jena: Fischer Verlag.

Dietze, Constantin von 1942. „Landwirtschaft und Wettbewerbsordnung“. - Schmollers Jahrbuch, 66.

Dietze, Constantin von 1942. *Économie continentale: L'économie agraire de l'Europe*. Paris: Sorlot.

Dietze, Constantin von, Max Sering (Hgs.) 1939. *Agrarverfassung der Deutschen Auslandssiedlungen in Osteuropa*. Auftrage der Deutschen Akademie, München Bd. I, Schriften der Internationalen Konferenz für Agrarwissenschaft. Berlin: Franz Vahlen.

Ellinger, Ekkehard 2006. *Deutsche Orientalistik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1933-1945*, Edingen – Neckarhausen: Deux-Mondes-Verlag.

Harwood, Jonathan 1997. "German Science and Technology under National Socialism". - *Perspectives on Science*, v. 5, 1, 128-151.

Hausmann, Frank-Rutger 2002. *Auch im Krieg schweigen die Musen nicht: Die Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Institute im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Second edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Heim, Susanne Carola Sachse and Mark Walker (eds.) 2009. *The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-16.

Heinrich, Walter 1934. *Die Soziale Frage. Ihre Entstehung in der Individualistischen und ihre Lösung in der Ständischen Ordnung*. Jena: Fischer Verlag.

Herzog, Christoph 2010. "Notes on the Development of Turkish and Oriental Studies in the German Speaking Lands". – *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Cilt 8, Sayı 15, 7-76.

Impekoven, Holger 2013. *Die Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung und das Ausländerstudium in Deutschland 1925–1945*. Göttingen: Bonn University Press.

Iwanoff, Christo 1941. *Die Agrarpolitik des Bulgarischen Staates seit der Krise*, Diss., Berlin.

Kalinov Theodor (Hg.) 1943. *Die bulgarische Landwirtschaft*. Zeitschrift für Agrarpolitik und Landwirtschaft, Sonderheft. 157, Berlin.

Kappeler, Andreas 2009. "Hans Koch: The Turbulent Life of an Austrian Ukrainophile". – *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. Vol. 33/34, 255-261.

Laitenberger, Volkhard 1976. *Akademischer Austausch und auswärtige Kulturpolitik: D. dt. Akadem. Austauschdienst (DAAD) 1923-1945.* Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte, Bd. 20. Göttingen: Musterschmidt.

Molloff, Janaki S. 1936. *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur der bulgarischen Landwirtschaft.* Berlin: Weidmann.

Naimark, Norman, Leonid Gibianskii (eds.) 1997. *The Establishment of Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe, 1944–1949.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Nazarska, Georgeta 2014. "Transferring Knowledge: Bulgarian Female Scientists in Bulgarian-German Scientific Networks (1920s–1950s)." – *Zeitschrift Für Balkanologie*, v. 50, 1, 13-41.

Nostitz, Helene 1927. *Rodin in Gesprächen und Briefen*, Dresden: Wolfgang Jess Verlag.

Renneberg, Monika, Mark Walker (eds.) 1993. *Science, Technology, and National Socialism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–17.

Schuhmann, Walter, Ludwig Brucker 1943. *Sozialpolitik im neuen Staat.* Berlin: Rink und Krause.

Sombart, Werner 1906. *Das Proletariat. Bilder und Studien. Die Gesellschaft*, Vol. 1. Berlin: Rütten und Loening.

Sombart, Werner 1934. *Deutscher Sozialismus.* Charlottenburg: Buchholz und Weisswange.

Stökl, Günther 1959. "Hans Koch 1894-1959". – *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, Bd. 7, H. 2, 117-129.

Szöllösi-Janze, Margit 2001. "National Socialism and the Sciences: Reflections, Conclusions and Historical Perspectives". In: Szöllösi-Janze, Margit (ed.), *Science in the Third Reich*. Oxford: Berg, 1–35.

Tanovski, P. G. 1944. *Probleme der bäuerlichen Lebenshaltung in Bulgarien und staatliche Maßnahmen zu ihrer Lösung (1935-1944)*, Diss, Graz.

Wagner, Oskar 1980. "Koch, Hans". In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Band 12, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, S. 263

Weber, Adolf 1931. *Sozialpolitik.* Berlin: Duckner und Humblot.

Wien, Markus 2007. *Markt und Modernisierung. Deutsch-bulgarische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen 1918-1944 in ihren konzeptionellen Grundlagen.* *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* 128, München: Oldenbourg.

Wien, Markus 2010. "Selektive Wissensimporte. Die Beispieldörfer des ‚Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstags‘ im Kontext des bulgarischen landwirtschaftlichen Ausbildungswesens". In: Sachse, Carola (ed.). *‘Mitteleuropa’ und ‘Südosteuropa’ als Planungsraum. Wirtschafts- und kulturpolitische Expertisen im Zeitalter der Weltkriege.* Göttingen: Wallstein, 340-362.

Zarifi, M. 2008. "Using Natural Sciences for Cultural Expansion: The National Socialist Agenda for the Balkans". *The Historical Review*, 4, 199-233.

Ангелова, Милена 2008. "Образцово село": Модернизационният проект за селото в България 1937-1944 г., Благоевград: Университетско издателство „Н. Рилски“ [Angelova, Milena 2008. "Obraztsovo selo": Modernizatsionniyat proekt za seloto v Bulgariya 1937-1944 g., Blagoevgrad: Universitetsko izdatelstvo „N. Rilski“].

Апълбаум, Ан 2012. *Желязната завеса. Рухването на Източна Европа 1944–1956*, София: Рива [Apalbaum, An 2012. *Zhelyaznata zavesa. Ruhvaneto na Iztochna Evropa 1944–1956*, Sofiya: Rival].

Бояджиева, Елена 1984. „Германският научен институт в София, 1940–1944“. – *Векове*, 4, 40-47 [Boyadzhieva, Elena 1984. „Germanskiyat nauchen institut v Sofiya, 1940–1944“. – *Vekove*, 4, 40-47].

Геновски, Михаил 1939. *Общественост и култура*. София: Земя и култура [Genovski, Mihail 1939. *Obshtestvenost i kultura*. Sofiya: Zemya i kultura].

Груев, Михаил 2009. *Преорани слогове. Колективизация и социална промяна в Българския северозапад 40-те – 50-те години на XX век*. София: Сиела [Gruev, Mihail 2009. *Preorani slogove. Kolektivizatsiya i sotsialna promyana v Balgarskiya severozapad 40-te – 50-te godini na XX vek*. Sofiya: Siela].

Златарева, Вера 1940. *Обществени грижи/ Öffentliche Fürsorge*. София [Zlatareva, Vera 1940. *Obshtestveni grizhi*. Sofiya].

Калъпчиев, Георги 1946. *10 години земеделско-стопански проучвания в служба на българското село 1935-1944*. София: Институт за земеделско-стопански проучвания [Kalapchiev, Georgi. 1946. *10 Godini Zemedelsko–Stopanski Prouchvaniia v Sluzhba na Balgarskoto Selo 1935-1944*, Sofiya: Institut za zemedelsko-stopanski prouchvaniia].

Кондов, Никола, Христина Мочева, Стефан, Тенев 1941. *Ножницата на лихвата в нашето земеделско стопанство*. София: Централно ръководство на земеделските камари в България [Kondov, Nikola, Hristina Mocheva, Stefan, Tenev 1941. *Nozhitsata na lihvata v nasheto zemedelsko stopanstvo*. Sofiya: Tsentralno ra-kovodstvo na zemedskite kamari v Bulgariya].

Кюлюмова–Бояджиева, Елена, 1991. *Германската културна политика и България 1919-1944*, София: Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“ [Kyulyumova–Boyadzhieva, Elena, 1991. *Germanskata kulturna politika i Bulgariya 1919-1944*, Sofiya: Universitetsko izdatelstvo „Sv. Kliment Ohridski“].

Марков, Георги 1942. „Как се провежда общественно-агрономическата дейност в Германия.“ – *Земеделско-стопански въпроси*, 3, 135-145 [Markov, Georgi 1942. „Kak se provezhda obshtestveno-agronomicheskata deynost v Germaniya.“ – *Zemedelsko-stopanski vaprosi*, 3, 135-145].

Моллов, Янаки 1943. „Общи бележки върху проекта за петгодишен земеделскостопански план.“ – *Земеделско-стопански въпроси*, 9, 5-11 [Mollov, Yanaki 1943. „Obshti belezhki varhu proekta za petgodishen zemedelskostopanski plan.“ – *Zemedelsko-stopanski vaprosi*, 9, 5-11].

Мочева Христина 1938. *Селското земеделско домакинство в България през 1935/36 година. Бюджет, обстановка и разход на труд*. София: Държавна печатница [Mocheva Hristina 1938. *Selskoto zemedelsko domakinstvo v Bulgariya prez 1935/36 godina. Byudzhet, obstanovka i razhod na trud*. Sofiya: Darzhavna pechatnitsa].

Мочева, Христина 1941. „Из дейността на домакинските организации в Съединените щати.“ – *Земеделско-стопански въпроси*, 1, 155-157 [Mocheva, Hristina 1941. „Iz deynostta na domakinskite organizatsii v Saedinenite shtati“. – *Zemedelsko-stopanski vaprosi*, 1, 155-157].

Мочева, Христина 1942. „Някои въпроси във връзка с приготвянето на храната и начина на хранене в българското село.“ – *Земеделско-стопански въпроси*, 4, 158-160 [Mocheva, Hristina 1942. „Nyakoi vaprosi vav vrazka s prigotovlenieto na hranata i nachina na hranene v balgarskoto selo“. – *Zemedelsko-stopanski vaprosi*, 4, 158-160].

Мочева, Христина 1942. „Организация на общественно-домакинската служба в Съединените щати“. – Земеделско-стопански въпроси, 1, 11-20 [Mocheva, Hristina 1942. „Organizatsiya na obshtestveno-domakinskata sluzhba v Saedinenite shtati“. – Zemedelsko-stopanski vaprosi, 1, 11-20].

Мочева, Христина 1943. *Основни начала при уредбата на кухня.* София: МЗДИ [Mocheva, Hristina 1943. Osnovni nachala pri uredбата na kuhnya. Sofiya: MZDI].

Мочева, Христина 1947. *Опит за рационализация на труда в едно селско домакинство* София: Институт за стопанска рационализация [Mocheva, Hristina 1947. Opit za ratsionalizatsiya na truda v edno selsko domakinstvo Sofiya: Institut za stopanska ratsionalizatsiya].

Муратова, Нурие 2021., *Жени отвъд архива. Невидимите истории на жените в България.* Благоевград: Университетско издателство „Н. Рилски“ [Muratova, Nurie 2021., Zheni otvad arhiva. Nevidimite istorii na zhenite v Bulgariya. Blagoevgrad: Universitetsko izdatelstvo „N. Rilski“].

Назърска, Жоржета 2005. „Нежелани, неудобни, неприспособими: пионерките в българската наука, 20-50-те год. на XX в.“. В: Кирова, Милена, Корнелия Славова (съст.) *Род и ред в българската култура.* София: Център за изследвания и политики за жените [Nazarska, Zhorzheta 2005. „Nezhelani, neudobni, neprispособimi: pionerkite v balgarskata nauka, 20-50-te god. na XX v.“. V: Kirova, Milena, Korneliya Slavova (sast.) Rod i red v balgarskata kultura. Sofiya: Tsentar za izsledvaniya i politiki za zhenite].

Пенчев, Пенчо 2018. „Пътят към социализма? Първият петгодишен план за развитие на българското селско стопанство“. – *Научни трудове на УНСС*, Том 3, 253-279 [Penchev, Pencho 2018. „Patyat kam sotsializma? Parviyat petgodishen plan za razvitie na balgarskoto selsko stopanstvo“. – Nauchni trudove na UNSS, Tom 3, 253-279].

Петев, Димитър 1943. „Службата при Държавния кураториум за техника в земеделието и работата по създаване на образцови села в Германия“. – *Земеделско-стопански въпроси*, 2, 66-78 [Petev, Dimitar 1943. „Sluzhbata pri Darzhavniya kuratorium za tehnika v zemedeliето i rabotata po sazdavane na obraztsovi sela v Germaniya“. – Zemedelsko-stopanski vaprosi, 2, 66-78].

Попова, Кристина 2011. „...Социалната работа, която избрах за професия на моя живот...“. Райна Петкова (1895–1957) в огледалото на своето служебно досие“. – *Архиви на жени и малцинства*, Т.3, Благоевград: Университетско издателство „Н. Рилски“, 157-170 [Popova, Kristina 2011. „...Sotsialnata rabota, koyato izbrah za profesiya na moya zhivot...“. Rayna Petkova (1895–1957) v ogledaloto na svoeto sluzheбно dosie“. – Arhivi na zheni i maltsinstva, T.3, Blagoevgrad: Universitetsko izdatelstvo „N. Rilski“, 157-170].

Танев, Стоян 2006. „Иван Багрянов – модерен реформатор на българското земеделие“. – *Минало*, 3, 55-69 [Tanev, Stoyan 2006. „Ivan Bagryanov – moderen reformator na balgarskoto zemedelie“. – Minalo, 3, 55-69].

Узузнов, Атанас 1941. „Дейността на обществената агрономия в Германия“. – *Земеделско-стопански въпроси*, 4, 183-188 [Uzuznov, Atanas 1941. „Deynostta na obshtestvenata agronomiya v Germaniya“. – Zemedelsko-stopanski vaprosi, 4, 183-188].

Tatiana Nevskaya

North Caucasus Federal University, Stavropol', Russia

[tnevskeya@yandex.ru]

Alla Kondrasheva

Pyatigorsk State University, Pyatigorsk, Russia

[alla.kondrasheva@yahoo.com]

The History of the Country through the Course of Life Professor Valentina Pavlovna Nevskaya (1919-2009)

Abstract: *The article is dedicated to the prominent Russian scientist, ethnographer and historian Valentina Pavlovna Nevskaya (1919-2009), who received international recognition for the outstanding achievements in the development of the history of antiquity and world Caucasian studies. The biography of the scientist, which reflected many of the most important events of Soviet history (Civil War 1918-1922, economic experiments of the Bolsheviks of the 1920-1930s, the tragedy of the "great terror" policy of 1937-1938, mass repressions, the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 years of the Cold War, etc.). The fate of Valentina Pavlovna was quite typical for the representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia: the choice of her major, as well as the choice of work, was determined by the status of "member of the family of the enemy of the people." Since ancient history was the least politicized branch of Soviet historical science, V.P. Nevskaya chose the history of Byzantium for her thesis topic. The book, written based on the aforementioned thesis, was translated into German and Japanese. The scientific studies conducted by V.P. Nevskaya, who left a big mark in the historical science of the North Caucasus (including taking part in a large-scale academic project of the Soviet era - "History of the peoples of the North Caucasus (end of XVIII in - 1917)". Nevskaya V.P. is the editor and author of the main overview works on history of particular areas and peoples of the region. Particular attention is paid to the works of a scientist on the history of Karachay-Cherkessia (from ancient times before the Bolsheviks came to power), in which, on the basis of numerous personally collected materials, including ethnographic and archaeological proof, the history of the region (population, social, family, land and legal relations, way of life, folklore, traditions, etc.) was recollected and restored. Valentina Nevskaya, having carefully studied the very complex social structure of the hereditary relations of the mountain peoples, came to the conclusion that these peoples were at the feudal stage of development, determining that at the turn of the XVIII - XIX centuries. These relations took place and were firmly fixed in the adatas, the customary law of the peoples of the North Caucasus. Particular attention in the writings of V.P. Nevskaya was given to the Karachais, a small Turkic people living high*

in the mountains of the Western Caucasus. After analyzing a large number of diverse sources, the researcher concluded that feudalism in Karachai developed directly from the general system, and land relations determined the nature of the relationship of Karachais with neighboring peoples, in particular, with Kabardians as a "military-political confederation". Her experience teaching as a professor at the Stavropol State Pedagogical Institute (now the North Caucasus Federal University), where she headed the department of general history, is described. Valentina Nevskaya taught ancient history, continued her research on the history and ethnography of the North Caucasus and prepared a number of candidates of historical sciences. It is emphasized that the works of V.P. Nevskaya are currently important sources for writing dissertations, monographs, and articles on topical issues in the history of the North Caucasus. The texts of her books and articles testify to the highest level of professional skill, versatile erudition, the steady observance of ethical standards, and the awareness of the scientist's moral responsibility.

Keywords: socialist life, socialism, Stalinism, political repressions, Byzantium, Caucasus, highlanders, Karachais, Caucasian studies, social system.



Valentina Pavlovna Nevskaya has lived through all the most important events of the turbulent twentieth century. She was born in 1919 in Samara during the civil war, her father, Pavel Skvortsov, was engaged in supplying the Red Army. Michael Frunze - the commander of the Southern Group of Forces of the Eastern Front - gave the family a crib as a

present. During the First World War, he was a non-commissioned officer, joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party (in 1920 part of this party passed to the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), thus Valentina Pavlovna's father turned out to be a communist). Her maternal grandfather was a priest, mother - a primary school teacher.



Valentina together with her parents Tatyana and Pavel Skvortsov

All through Valentina's childhood, her father worked in the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade (Vneshtorg), so the family often moved cities and countries - Central Asia, Persia, the Far East, Moscow, Germany. Valentina Pavlovna's childhood memories are connected precisely with family's trips to different countries: Japan, Germany and ect. Japan was forever fixed in her mind by women in kimonos, so similar to dolls, and neat beautiful houses that almost looked like toys. During the period of the new economic policy (1921-1929), trade with foreign countries was actively developing, Vneshtorg workers lived as a commune in the Far East: they rented a large house together, hired a chef who cooked for everyone, dined together, spent leisure time in a common living room - played the piano, sang, and all the children played together. It was considered that such an organization of life was an example of a new socialist life.

Then her father, Pavel Mikhailovich, was commissioned to work in Germany. In Germany, he put Valentina to an ordinary German “public school”, where she made friends with many girls. To the parents' question: “Is it true that teachers can beat children?” The school principal answered: “They will not beat her.” In the classroom, most of the children had unemployed fathers, the students were glad to have free lunches at school - simple stew and a bagel. Valentina saw with her own eyes how fascism came to power, speculating on the poverty and needs of the population, using propagandist rhetoric, such as “the acts of “enemies of the German people”. Over time, the teacher in the class began to wear a fascist badge. Pavel Mikhailovich was engaged in the fur trade, from Germany he traveled to the UK, France. He told stories about his meetings with Russian emigrants yearning for their homeland in French cafes, and how he was persuading the famous singer Alexander Vertinsky to return to the USSR.

Later the family returned to Moscow, got an apartment in the city center. Valentina did very well in high school. In the 1930s, the Soviet people did not celebrate the beginning of the New Year, Christmas trees were banned as a religious relic, they were placed only in the houses of “specialists”, the so-called former bourgeois experts. But they solemnly celebrated the onset of the new five-year plan. All students in her school were told that a bright future would soon come. Valentina Pavlovna recalled how in the labor lessons the girls refused to learn to mend stockings, citing the fact that “communism will come soon and there will be plenty of everything.” In the 1930s, virtually no history was taught in Soviet schools; instead, they taught “the seven conditions of Comrade Stalin.” For example, Suvorov was portrayed as a crazy old man who crowed under the table. Valentina knew history and literature thanks to the stories of her mother, Tatyana Vasilievna, who received high school education in the diocesan school and teacher classes before the revolution.

The family lived in well, her father had a senior position at the Main Directorate of the Fishing Industry, and her mother worked in the library. The country was building socialism, technical specialists were greatly valued; therefore, graduating with honors from school, Valentina entered the aircraft building institute. However, Pavel Mikhailovich foresaw hard times approaching, he once said: “Life is good now, but they won’t let us live it.” Arrests began all over the country, “responsible workers” (as the Soviet officials were called then) who worked abroad were targeted first.

In the spring of 1938, Pavel Mikhailovich was arrested, being accused of espionage. Perhaps they also reminded him of the "old crimes" he had committed when he refused to take away bread from hungry peasant children during the infamous grain procurement, which led to the famine of 1932-1933. Then he lost his party membership card, and his wife had to hide a premium personalized revolver, fearing that things could turn out very badly for the family. However, at the time the party card was soon returned to him. In 1938, everything was different, he got the sentence - 10 years without the right to correspondence. At that time Valentina did not yet know that this was equivalent to execution by shooting. Only in the 1990s did the family learn that Pavel Mikhailovich had been shot dead just a few days after he was arrested. Still, in 1938, Valentina, selling the last things left after confiscation, brought small packages for her father to Butyrka prison. The guards would accept her packages after she spent long hours in a queue, although her father was no longer alive. Valentina Pavlovna's mother was exiled from the capital to Mordovian camp as the wife of an "enemy of the people." Valentina was evicted from their apartment in the center of Moscow and had to live in a damp room in a basement.

Valentina was asked to leave the aircraft building institute without waiting for her deduction, as she was the daughter of an "enemy of the people." She was offered to publicly denounce her father, which she categorically refused to do. She got a job at the library. At the Komsomol meeting, Valentina was asked: "In which terrorist acts against party and government leaders did you personally participate?" For several years in a row she was constantly waiting for herself to be arrested as well. Soon Valentina got married and had a son.

Then there was a war, evacuation to Samara together with her husband, who worked at a military factory. Valentina was not accepted to work at the plant in Samara as a family member of "an enemy of the people". Factory workers and their families lived in huts, where it was so cold, the walls were covered with frost in winter. Valentina gave the bread she got for food cards to her son, while she herself was starving. She worked at a logging site, after she worked in workshops repairing clothes of soldiers making shoes. Valentina Pavlovna recalled how they had to fix army jackets with bullet holes close to the heart. Of course, it was not easy, but Valentina Pavlovna recalled how, after a hard working day in a snowy forest, where she helped to prepare firewood, they sang songs in the evening around the campfire. Among the workers there were

many prisoners. Valentina was well respected among them, as she was retelling them the contents of Russian and foreign novels in the evenings.

Despite all the difficulties, her desire to study has never left. Valentina Pavlovna entered the correspondence department of the Institute of Foreign Languages. Then, returning to Moscow, she transferred to the Faculty of History. Studying at a pedagogical institute was exciting and interesting, although life in post-war Moscow was not easy: in winter, ink would freeze in the classrooms, so they kept ink tanks under their clothes, keeping it warm with their bodies. When pies were given out in the student cafeteria, the break time was never enough to get one because of the long lines. But the lectures on literature were taught by the secretary of the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy - literary critic Nikolai Gusev, foreign history was taught by a prominent specialist in the latest history of Central and Southern Europe Vladimir Turk (Popov) - referent of Georgy Dimitrov. Friendship with these wonderful people Valentina Pavlovna kept for life.

In 1946, Valentina Pavlovna went on an expedition to excavate the Greek colony of Olbia in the Bug-Dnieper estuary. She later recalled: "Ancient tombs were amazing. Some houses had mosaic floors. Excavations in Olbia made such an impression on me that I decided to dedicate my work to antiquity after graduation." In choosing this direction of historical science, an important role was played by the fact that antiquity was the least politicized branch of history, which was very significant under the conditions of the Stalin regime.

It was possible to graduate from the historical faculty of the Moscow Pedagogical Institute only in 1947. In 1950, already being the mother of two sons, Valentina Nevskaya defended her thesis "Byzantium in the classical and Hellenistic periods". In 1953, under this name, the publishing house of the USSR Academy of Sciences published her monograph.

The scientific leadership of an incredibly hardworking and capable graduate student with a brilliant knowledge of German and ancient Greek languages was carried out by Vladimir Dyakov, a leading specialist in the field of ancient history.

After the thesis defense, the young scientist had bright future and many opportunities. However, she refused to work in the capital and asked to be assigned to the pedagogical institute of Murom, a small town near Moscow. Her mother by that time had returned from exile, but "without the right to reside" in the capital and major cities. In order to be near her, Valentina Pavlovna gave up her scientific career in the capital.

The young teacher enthusiastically took up work in a new place. She enjoyed teaching, sharing her knowledge with students, and showing them the bewitching world of ancient civilization. But she no longer could imagine life outside of science. Valentina Pavlovna began to collect material for a new study on the historical fate of the city of Byzantium in the Hellenistic and Roman era. It is a pity that this study could never be completed. When Murom Pedagogical Institute had to lay off some staff and cut back spending, she, the only candidate of sciences in the whole institute, was laid off, due to her still being the daughter of "an enemy of the people".

In 1951, Valentina Pavlovna moved to Cherkessk, where she



worked as an assistant professor at a teacher's institute, and after it was closed down in 1953, she became the head of the history sector of the Cherkessk research institute. In 1953, a monograph by Valentina Nevskaya, written on the basis of her candidate dissertation, was published by the USSR Academy of Sciences (*Невская В.П., 1953*), and two years later in the German Democratic Republic (*Newskaja, W. P., 1955*). Book reviews were published by Western European historical journals, and her detailed retelling was published by the Japanese historical journal *Shiho* (*Yasuda, K., 1955, 36-51*). However, it was impossible to plan further work on the topic in such a small southern town.

The wedding day in Cherkessk, 1952

Valentina Pavlovna became interested in the history and culture of the Caucasian peoples. There were practically no serious scientific studies of the history of the Circassians, Karachais and other peoples of the region. Having studied a huge number of special and general Caucasian literature, as well as exploring the funds of the central and local archives, Nevskaya V.P. wrote the monograph "The Accession of Circassia to Russia and its Socio-Economic Consequences", which was published in Cherkessk in 1956. (*Невская В.П., 1956*). This monograph gave a new,

more objective view of the complex process of the integration of the peoples of the Caucasus into Russia. Earlier, during the time of Stalinism, Soviet historical science was dominated by the theory of "least evil" put forward by Comrade Stalin regarding the annexation of the southern territories to the Russian Empire. Russia was seen as a "prison of peoples", therefore the entry of a number of peoples into its composition was the least evil compared to the presence of the Caucasian peoples in Turkey and Iran as more backward states. It was not so easy to overcome the stereotypes laid down by the Short Course of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), on which the post-war generation of students was brought up.

In 1957, Karachais deported to Central Asia were returned to their homeland. Valentina Pavlovna devoted more than a quarter of a century of her life to the study of the Karachai people. Same year of the return of Karachais to their homeland, she published a historical and ethnographic essay dedicated to this people. The repressed people who returned from exile evoked not only scientific interest, but also deep respect given the fact that they were not embittered, and worked selflessly to revive their historical homeland.



Field work in an Karachai Aul in the 1960-es

From that time, Valentina Pavlovna published works on the history and ethnography of Karachais almost every year (*Балтин П.И., Сикиев М.М. (ed.) 1957, 15-53; Невская В.П., 1958, 225-247; 1959, 84-207; 1960*). Having survived the Stalinist repressions herself, she especially sympathized with the hardworking repressed people. Of course, it was not easy to switch from antiquity to the history of the Caucasus, but the fact that she deeply studied the rural community of the closest neighbors of ancient Byzantium - the Thracians, helped her. Comparing the information she knew well with the peculiarities of the Karachai rural community, she came to valuable conclusions, which formed the basis of all her subsequent scientific work. Having headed the history sector of the research institute, Valentina Nevskaya selected a team of like-minded people and conducted a lot of organizational work. She recalls with a smile that she was the first candidate of sciences in all of Karachay-Cherkessia. At that time, many people around her did not understand the meaning of her status. They would ask her - "Are you a candidate for government election or what?"

Over the years of hard work, she has published several monographs on Karachai. She spent her vacation days and her personal money on trips to the archives of Stavropol, Krasnodar, Rostov-on-Don, Tbilisi, Moscow, Leningrad. Parsing through the squiggles of bureaucratic cursive writing of the 19th century and yellowed archival documents, she dramatically ruined her eyesight.

Valentina Nevskaya became the founder of an important scientific direction in Russian Caucasian studies. The history of the Karachais was completely unexplored, there were ethnographic descriptions of pre-revolutionary authors, and travelers' notes. The first historians and publicists of the 20-30s of the XX century could not objectively characterize the social system and social relations of this small number of people, due to insufficient sources. Many, dogmatically accepting the theory of socio-economic formations, believed that the Karachais were at the level of the tribal system, since they had strong tribal relations and ties, and there was no state. Others believed that since slaves were mentioned in adat (customary law), and before joining Russia, the slave trade was significantly developed, then they were living in a slave system.

The most important task of Caucasian studies during this period were the determination of the nature of the social system of mountain peoples. Valentina Nevskaya, having carefully studied the very complex social structure and land relations of the mountain peoples, came to the conclusion that these peoples were at the feudal stage of development.

She believed that, although the exact date of the emergence of feudal relations in Karachai has not been established, it is safe to say that it happened at the turn of the XVIII - XIX centuries, which is confirmed in adathes. Having analyzed a large number of diverse sources, Nevskaya came to the conclusion that feudalism in Karachai developed directly from the communal system. However, the process of disintegration of tribal communities here dragged on, and some vestiges of the tribal system persisted in the 19th century. Valentina Pavlovna was able to show how and in what conditions the expansion of tribal and the formation of rural communities, as well as the formation of feudal property took place.



In a silver-lead mine in Karachai

While studying the social relations of the Karachais, the peculiarities of their land ownership and land use, Valentina Nevskaya came to the conclusion that the feudal property developing in Karachai appeared in a veiled form, which gave rise to special forms of feudal exploitation. Land relations also determined the nature of the relationship of the Karachais with neighboring peoples, in particular, with the Kabardians. Valentina Pavlovna quite successfully identified these relations as a “military-political confederation”. In her works, she showed that the need for such an alliance was mutual, and therefore the tribute of the Karachais to the Kabardians mentioned in the sources was a payment for the use of Kabardian pastures and did not testify to the political dependence of Karachai on the Kabardian princes. Complex land relations also corresponded to the social structure of society. Valentina Nevskaya showed that the incompleteness of the feudalization process and the persistence of community relations also left their mark on the social structure.

As a young woman, collecting field material, she traveled all over Karachay, spent hours talking with aksakals in remote mountain villages,

collecting bit by bit invaluable information about folklore, life and traditions. Otherwise, such information of living witnesses of the past could have been gone forever, since the Karachais had no written language before the revolution. "Thanks to this truly independent work of the scientist, a huge amount of invaluable factual materials on the history of the Circassians, Karachais and other peoples of the region was collected and put into scientific circulation. These materials serve, and will continue to serve as a gold fund for subsequent Caucasian experts," wrote her friend and colleague Vladlen Gadzhiev (2005, 465) in an essay about Valentina Nevskaya.

She was surprised to learn that the old people during their disputes about the past would refer to the conclusions from her books as the last argument. The ancient aksakal, with whom Valentina Pavlovna was talking, took out a passport, pulled out a piece of paper with the name of the book and asked her to bring him this book from the city, so that he had something to refer to in arguments with his peers. Seeing that the name of her monograph was written on a piece of paper, Valentina Pavlovna laughed, and said that it was her book. To this the old man replied - "I do not need your book, I need this book, it was written a long time ago, there is the whole truth about our people." Valentina Pavlovna said that this review of the stern old man became for her the highest recognition of the objectivity and reliability of her work. Her conclusions were accepted by authoritative people of the people with whom and for whom she worked. Similar situations happened in her life many times. While on an intercity bus, hearing that a man was telling something about the history to his son, she corrected him, noticing an error in the story. To which the man proudly replied: "What are you telling me here? It is said so by Nevskaya herself." Valentina Pavlovna did not admit that the Nevskaya he was referring to was her.

The years of work in Karachay-Cherkessia were very productive: several monographs, participation in large all-Union research projects, preparation of anthologies and collections of documents, help to colleagues, brilliant defense of a doctoral dissertation in Rostov-on-Don in 1966. The work of Valentina Pavlovna "Karachay in the 19th century. The evolution of the agrarian system and the rural community" caused a stormy and lengthy discussion. Her official opponent, an outstanding scientist, historian and orientalist, academician Ali Sumbatzadeh, praising the work, noted: "This is not only a scientific, but also a moral feat: to be able to penetrate so deeply into the life of another people."

In a very short time, Valentina Pavlovna became a well-known and respected Caucasus expert. She took part not only in many regional and all-Union conferences, in all sessions of Caucasian experts, but also in the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnographic Sciences, in the XXV International Congress of Orientalists. Modern Karachai historians Ramazan Tebuyev and Rashid Khatuev wrote about Valentina Pavlovna (2002, 3-4): “Of the Karachai historians, perhaps only her

name remains above any doubt and only her opinion is certainly authoritative for everyone”.



Valentina together with her daughter Tatyana Nevskaya

Of course, there were some problems. The famous scientist did not agree to “fill” her works with endless references to the classics of Marxism-Leninism, which caused difficulties in the discussion and publication of her works. She refused to give an ideologically verified name to the next monograph “The Progressive Importance of Circassia’s Accession to Russia”, as such a name contained a ready assessment of this complex and

ambiguous process, and managed to defend her opinion. Valentina Pavlovna always with pleasure reminisced the Circassian period of her life, she loved coming to Karachayevsk and Cherkessk, where she was always greeted with great respect.

In 1971, Valentina Pavlovna started teaching at the Stavropol Pedagogical Institute, nowadays - North Caucasus Federal University (NCFU). Later, she headed the department of world history. She returned to teaching her beloved antiquity, continuing her research on the history and ethnography of the North Caucasus, and raised many candidates of historical sciences. She took an active part in writing a large monograph

“Karachaevtsy” (*Невская В. П., Шаманов И. М., Е.П. Алексеева Е. П. и др.*, 1978), published a series of thematic collections “The History of Mountainous and Nomadic Peoples of the North Caucasus” (*Невская В. П.*, 1967; 1972, *ect*).

A scientist of great erudition, broad interests and enviable capacity for work, Valentina Nevskaya played an important role in preparing the academic multi-volume history of the peoples of the North Caucasus being developed in the country for the first time. At the time when many historians expressed doubts about the possibility of the successful implementation of this project, Valentina Pavlovna unconditionally supported it. Her reasoned speeches at specially convened meetings in the cities of the Caucasus, discussions at the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences and with the vice president had a great impact. When the question was positively resolved, Nevskaya took an active part in the development of the structure of volumes, drafted the second volume, took an active part in its preparation, was the curator of several chapters and participated in the writing of 5 chapters of book. Valentina Pavlovna was deputy executive editor of the book, executive editor of which was Alexei Narochnitsky, prepared historical maps, edited the chapters of the second volume (*История народов Северного Кавказа (конец XVIII - 1917 г.), II*, 1988). This work is still the only academic general work on the history of the entire region. All young Caucasian scholars begin their journey into science from this book.

Working in Stavropol, Valentina Nevskaya continued her research of the North Caucasus. She was a scientific editor and took an active part in writing the two-volume collective work, *Essays on the History of the Stavropol Territory* (*Невская В.П., Найдено А.В. и др. (ed.) I*, 1984), as well as the generalizing work *The Peasantry of the North Caucasus and the Don in the Period of Capitalism* (*Анфимов А. М. (ed.)*, 1990). Valentina Pavlovna was engaged in source study and historiography of the North Caucasus, according to the results of her many years of research in the country's archives, she published a collection of documents “Socio-economic, political and cultural development of Karachay-Cherkessia (1790-1917)” (*Невская В.П., Шаманов И.М., Несмачная С. И. (ed.)*, 1985).

Valentina Pavlovna was not only a serious scientist, but also a popularizer of science. Under her editorship, a school textbook, *History of the Stavropol Territory from Ancient Times to 1917*, was published (*Невская В.П., Найдено А.В., Назарова, И.М. и др. (ed.), 1986*), where she also acted as the author. Nevskaya is also a scientific editor and one of the authors of a large collective work “*Our Land in the Stavropol Territory. Essays on History*” (*Кочура Д. В., Невская В. П. (ed.), 1999*). She took an active part in the preparation of the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the History of the Kuban* (*Трехбратов Б.А. (ed.), 1997*), where she wrote 23 articles.



Together with colleagues from the Karachay-Cherkessian Research Institute

Scientific involvement did not prevent Valentina Nevskaya from teaching with pleasure. It is well known that the history of the ancient world has tremendous significance for the formation of a professional historian. It is impossible to become an educated and cultured person without having knowledge of the basics of ancient mythology and art, especially of the ancient period. And, finally, this is one of the most interesting stages in world history, full of bright, unforgettable and fateful events for mankind, unusual and great personalities. Therefore, the inter-

est that students always show in ancient history is not accidental. This is confirmed by the words of the professor of the history of the Ancient World of NCFU, Professor Alexander Belikov: "In this regard, Stavropol students are very lucky. A representative of the Moscow school of antiquologists, a well-known specialist in the history of the Byzantine polis of the classical period, a person who received an excellent classical education and was passionate about ancient history, she put her teaching to a whole new level ... thanks to Valentina Pavlovna, freshmen understood that historiography is not at all boring, and the story of the history of the study of an event or period can be excitingly interesting. "

At the Department of General History of the Stavropol Pedagogical Institute, the teaching of the history of the ancient world was already conducted at the university level. Valentina Pavlovna always knew how to find talented students and help their scientific growth, and they were drawn to her. For all the natural kindness, which is its most important quality, immediately noticed by students, she could be strict and fundamentally demanding, not accepting of laziness and disorganization.

Having become a professor-consultant of the department, for a long time she led the work of the student historical circle, continued to lead graduate students and applicants, investing all her soulfulness in this work, devoting a lot of time and effort to them. And never forgetting to be interested in their problems, providing not only scientific assistance, but also moral support during some difficult periods of their lives. In her memoirs, the Stavropol scientist Larisa Svechnikova writes about Valentina Nevskaya (2019, 31(196), 3): "As one of Valentina Pavlovna's favorite students, I always remember her as a bright person who carried only kindness. Valentina Pavlovna was distinguished by the fact that she knew how to rejoice at the successes of other people, empathized with their failures".

At a completely new beginning, the field of Caucasian studies for herself, Valentina Pavlovna quickly achieved international recognition. Including recognition of the Cambridge Bibliographic Committee, studying the contribution of scientists around the world in the development of priority and little-studied scientific problems. For outstanding work in the development of world Caucasian studies, this Committee twice awarded Valentina Nevskaya the honorary title "Woman of the Year".

All that she achieved in life, she achieved not because of circumstances, but despite them. This strong woman became successful in everything she put her head to. And at the same time, she is a caring mother and beloved grandmother, adoring her grandchildren. All three of her

children received higher education, and became recognized experts in their field.

Valentina Pavlovna is an outstanding representative of the classical old Russian intelligentsia, now, unfortunately, almost extinct. The highest level of education and internal culture, goodwill, innate natural politeness, delicacy, deep decency, charm, subtle humor, independent and active life position, tolerance and kindness, combined with integrity and intolerance to any manifestations of dishonesty or corruption.

According to professor of SKFU Tamara Bulygina (2019, 3, 317): “V.P. Nevskaya, despite the vicissitudes of fate, in recent years has been noted by the attention and love not only of her neighbors, but also of her colleagues. They were always attracted to Professor Nevskaya not only for their high competence, but also for their internal culture and goodwill in communication.” Valentina Nevskaya was one of the first at the university to be awarded the title of Honorary Professor of Stavropol State University. She was awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor and the medals “For Labor Valor”, “For Valiant Labor”, the badge “Excellence in Enlightenment of the USSR” and other awards. However, she considered her title “daughter of Karachai” assigned by her people to be her main award.

There are people who radiate good and light. By their very presence, they warm this world, making it better and kinder.

Bibliography:

Анфимов, Андрей М. (ed.), 1990. Крестьянство Северного Кавказа и Дона в период капитализма. Северо-Кавказский научный центр высшей школы. [Anfimov, Andrey M. (Red.), 1990. Krest'yanstvo Severnogo Kavkaza i Dona v period kapitalizma. Severo-Kavkazskiy nauchnyy tsentr vysshey shkoly] - Ростов-на-Дону: Издательство Ростовского университета.

Балтин, Петр И., Сикиев, Михаил М., (ed.) 1957. Карачаевцы. Народы Карачаево-Черкесии: (Историко-этнографические очерки) [Baltin, Peter I., Sikiev, Mikhail M., (Red.), 1957. Karachayevtsy. Narody Karachayevo-Cherkesii: (Istoriko-etnograficheskiye ocherki)]. – Ставрополь: Книжное издательство, 15-53.

Булыгина, Тамара А., 2019. В. П. Невская: личность и человек (к 100-летию со дня рождения). [Bulygina, Tamara A., 2019. V.P.Nevskaya: lichnost' i che-lovek (k 100-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya)] In: Радмила С. Айриян, Мария А. Пономарева (ed.), Новое прошлое. Thenewpast [V: Radmila S. Ayriyan, Mariya A. Ponomareva (Red.), Novoye proshloye. Thenewpas] – Ростов-на-Дону: Южный федеральный университет, 3, 317.

Гаджиев, Владлен Г., 2005. Мастера отечественного кавказоведения. [Gadzhiev, Vladlen G., 2005. Mastera otechestvennogo kavkazovedeniya] – Махачкала, 465.

История народов Северного Кавказа: в 2-х т., 1988. [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza: v 2-kh t., 1988]. T.2: История народов Северного Кавказа (конец XVIII в. – 1917 г.). [T.2: Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza (konets XVIII v. – 1917)]. Ed.: Алексей Л. Нарочницкий; deputy ed.: Валентина П. Невская. – Москва: Наука.

Кочура, Дмитрий В., Невская, Валентина П. (ed.), 1999. Край наш Ставрополье: очерки истории [Kochura Dmitriy V., Nevskaya, Valentina P. (Red.). Kray nash Stavropol'ye: ocherki istorii] – Ставрополь: Шат-гора, 1999.

Невская, Валентина П., 1953. Византий в классическую и эллинистическую эпохи. [Nevskaya, Valentina P., 1953. Vizantiy v klassicheskuyu i ellinisticheskuyu epokhi]. Ed.: Владимир Н. Дьяконов. – Москва: Издательство Академии наук СССР.

Невская, Валентина П., 1956. Присоединение Черкесии к России и его социально-экономические последствия [Nevskaya, Valentina P., 1956. Prisoyedineniye Cherkessii k Rossii i yego sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye posledstviya]. Ed.: Павел А. Брюханов. – Черкесск.

Невская, Валентина П., 1958. Колониальная политика царизма в Черкесии и Карачае в аграрном вопросе. [Nevskaya, Valentina P., 1958. Kolonial'naya politika tsarizma v Cherkessii i Karachaye v agrarnom voprose]. In: Сборник трудов Карачаево-черкесского государственного педагогического института. [V: Sbornik trudov Karachayevo-cherkesskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta]. – Нальчик, 1, 225-247.

Невская, Валентина П., 1959. Земельная реформа и отмена крепостного права в Черкесии. [Nevskaya, Valentina P., 1959. Zemel'naya reforma i otmena krepostnogo prava v Cherkessii]. In: Труды Карачаево-Черкесского НИИ. Серия историческая. [V: Trudy Karachayevo-Cherkesskogo NII. Seriya istoricheskaya]. – Черкесск: Карачаево-Черкесское книжное издательство, III, 84-207.

Невская, Валентина П., 1960. Социально-экономическое развитие Карачая в XIX веке: (дореформенный период). [Nevskaya, Valentina P., 1960. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoye razvitiye Karachaya v XIX veke: (doreformennyy period)]. Ed.: Хамид О. Лайпанов – Черкесск: Карачаево-Черкесское книжное издательств.

Невская, Валентина П. (ed.), 1967. Очерки истории Карачаево-Черкесии: в 2-х т. [Nevskaya, Valentina P. (Red.). Ocherki istorii Karachayevo-Cherkessii: v 2-kh t.]. T.1. С древнейших времен до Великой октябрьской социалистической революции. [T.1: S drevneyshikh vremen do Velikoy oktyabr'skoy sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii]. – Ставрополь.

Невская, Валентина П., 1972. Аграрный вопрос в Карачае и Черкесии в эпоху империализма. [Nevskaya, Valentina P., 1972. Agrarnyy vopros v Karachaye i Cherkessii v epokhu imperializma]. – Черкесск: Ставропольское книжное издательство. Карачаево-Черкесское отделение.

Невская, Валентина П., Шаманов, Ибрагим М., Алексеева, Евгения П. и др., 1978. Карачаевцы: Историко-этнографический очерк. [Nevskaya, Valentina P., Shamanov, Ibragim M., Alekseyeva, Yevgeniya P. i dr., 1978. Karachayevtsy: Istoriko-etnograficheskiy ocherk]. Ed.: Леонид И. Лавров. – Черкесск: Ставропольское книжное издательство. Карачаево-Черкесское отделение.

Невская, Валентина П., Найдено, Анатолий В. и др. (ed.), 1984. Очерки истории Ставропольского края: в 2-х т., 1984. [Nevskaya, Valentina P., Naydenko, Anatoliy V. and etc. (Red.). Ocherki istorii Stavropol'skogo kraya: v 2-kh t.,

1984].Т. 1: С древнейших времен до 1917 года. [Т. 1: S drevneyshikh времен do 1917 goda]. – Ставрополь: Книжное издательство.

Невская, Валентина П., Шаманов, Ибрагим М., Несмачная, Светлана, И. (ed.), 1985. Социально-экономическое, политическое и культурное развитие народов Карачаево-Черкесии (1790-1917): Сборник документов. Государственный архив Ставропольского края и др. [Nevskaya, Valentina P., Shamanov, Ibragim M., Nesmachnaya, Svetlana, I. (ed.), 1985. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoye, politicheskoye i kul'turnoye razvitiye narodov Karachayevo-Cherkesii (1790-1917): Sbornik dokumentov. Gosudarstvennyy arkhiv Stavropol'skogo kraya i dr.] – Ростов-на-Дону: Издательство Ростовского университета.

Невская, Валентина П., Найдено, Анатолий В., Назарова, Ирина, М. и др. (ed.), 1986. История Ставропольского края с древнейших времен до 1917 года: региональный учебник для общеобразовательной школы. [Nevskaya, Valentina P., Naydenko, Anatoliy V., Nazarova, Irina M. i dr. (Red.), 1986. Istoriya Stavropol'skogo kraya s drevneyshikh времен do 1917 goda: regional'nyu uchebnik dlya obshcheobrazovatel'noy shkoly]. – Ставрополь: Издательство Ставропольского краевого института повышения квалификации работников образования.

Свечникова, Лариса Г., 2019. Ее имя останется в памяти [Svechnikova Larisa G. Yeye imya ostanetsya v pamyati]. In: Ставропольские ведомости, 31(196).

Тебуев, Рамазан С., Хатуев, Рашид Т., 2002. Очерки истории карачаево-балкарцев.[Tebuyev, Ramazan S., Khatuyev, Rashid T., 2002. Ocherki istorii karachayevo-balkartsev]. - Ставрополь, 3-4.

Трехбратов, Борис А., (ed.), 1997. Энциклопедический словарь по истории Кубани с древнейших времен до Октября 1917 года. [Trehbratov, Boris A., (Red.), 1997. Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar' po istorii Kubani s drevneyshikh времен do Oktyabrya 1917 goda]. – Краснодар.

Newskaja, W. P., 1955. Byzanz in der klassischen und hellenistischen Epoche. Übers. aus dem Russ. Dr. Hans Bruschwitz. –Leipzig : Koehler Amelang.

Yasuda, K., 1955. Byzantij v Klassicheskyui Ellenisticheskyu Epokhi. Shicho: The Journal of History – Tokio, 55, 36-51.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.11>

Nurie Muratova
South-West University "Neofit Rilski"
[nmuratova@gmail.com]

Turkish Women in Science during the Totalitarian Regime in Bulgaria **(Mefkure Mollova, Hayriye Memova, Zinetti Nurieva)**

Abstract: *The article aims to trace the life and scientific adaptation of three women from the Turkish community in Bulgaria who were engaged in science during the communist period.*

They are the only ones from the Turkish community in Bulgaria who during the communist period were engaged in science in the field of humanities. The three have different destinies in science and life, fully determined by the political circumstances and their decisions and choices. Two of them have their scientific careers interrupted - Mefkure Mollova, who refuses to give in to the political pressure of the regime and is expelled from the university and all scientific institutions in the country for the rest of her life; Hayriye Memova, who for a long time follows the rules of the regime until they asked her for an impossible compromise. The third is Zinetti Nurieva, who fits into the regime and even supports and works for it. Eventually, all three women complete their scientific and life paths abroad, as emigrants.

The study is based on documents from the secret archives of the State Security, memories and personal testimonies. This is so because during the communist regime the documents about the Turks were destroyed and today it's difficult to find such in the public archives.

Keywords: *women in science; scientific careers; Turkish community in Bulgaria; totalitarian regime; Mefkure Mollova; Hayriye Memova; Zinetti Nurieva*

The research is focused on Turkish women in Bulgaria, who have professionally developed in the field of humanities.¹ Their scientific and life history is connected with the political vicissitudes and the violent policies of the communist regime against the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

¹ The study does not cover the professional paths of Turkish women in natural and exact sciences.

After the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877/78, the Turks in Bulgaria remained a minority and were initially 15% of the population of the newly formed Bulgarian state. Their numbers gradually declined as a result of wars and deportations, as well as because of various expulsion policies. These processes were accompanied by contradictory policies to exclude the Turkish community from the country's education system. After 1885, Turkish schools in Bulgaria became private and during the different periods, their number varied depending on the state policy towards the Turks. The lack of state support, the financial difficulties, and the lack of trained teachers doomed them to a low educational level (Stoyanov, V. 1997: 71-72, 78). The state policy was tacitly oriented towards maximum suppression of the education of the Turks and this is carried through various legal and other means (Stoyanov, V. 1997: 90). During this period up to 1944, the only way for Turkish boys and girls to attain higher education was to graduate from a Bulgarian high school. But even this was not encouraged by the state, for example in the 1930s parents had to pay a special fee if they sent their child to a public school or a school outside their community (Kanev, Kr. 1998: 80). Graduates of Turkish secondary education schools couldn't study at a higher level school, as there was no Turkish university in the country. Only the Muslim Theological School Newwab in Shumen offered higher courses. It was established in 1923, first with a secondary and later with a higher level of education. But its fate after the communist coup of 1944 was also sad, as it had been perceived by the communist regime as a dangerous reactionary center, preventing the spread of party propaganda among Turks and other Muslims. During the 1947/1948 academic year, the secondary level of Newwab was transformed into a real high school with teaching primarily in Bulgarian, and its higher level was closed (Kulach, O. 2020). Some of its highly educated teachers were gradually laid off, and at the end of 1949, they were even pressured to leave the country. In 1950-1951, all but one of them were forced to emigrate to Turkey through detention, torture, and forced deportation (Kılıç, O., 2020). In this migratory campaign, 95% of the graduates of the secondary and higher level of the Turkish school also left for Turkey (Cambazov, İ, 2005: 134). The source of staff for Turkish schools was cut off, as there were trained not only Islamic clerics but also teachers for Turkish junior high schools. In addition, as a result of these repressions, in Bulgaria, there were no Turkish teachers, experts in Turkish literature, Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian left and the Turkish population was deprived of its educational and cultural leaders.

In return, in the early 1950s, state pedagogical schools were opened for the Turks in the country in Razgrad, Sofia, Kardzhali, and others. The main goal of their training was to re-educate the Turkish youth in the communist spirit and to form a new teacher contingent and a new intelligentsia, which was entrusted with the hopes to influence the Muslim community. However, there were almost no specialist teachers left in the country to work in the new Turkish pedagogical schools.

After the communist coup in 1944, the Turkish private schools were initially equated with the Bulgarian ones and received the same status (Stoyanov, V. 1997: 97). Turkish schools became public and were financed and controlled entirely by the state. This led to a great expansion, where in the 1950s, their number in all levels of education exceeded 1000. However, this period of promoting Turkish culture was short, and gradually in the 1960s and 1970s Turkish schools got completely closed. Thus, after the closure of Newwab, in 1957/1958, first the Turkish high schools, and in the next academic year all Turkish schools merged with the Bulgarian ones (Yalamov, I. 2002:332). As a result, over the next decade, a whole generation of Turkish youth remained illiterate. (State Security, 814-815).

The path to higher education in Turkey was also closed, as the two countries were in different political blocs during the Cold War. In a short period in the 1950s, approximately 80 Turkish young men and women from Bulgaria were allowed to study higher education in Turkish in Baku (Azerbaijan), but this practice was also quickly stopped (Muratova, N. 2021). In the 1950s, Turkish language majors were opened for a short period at Sofia State University, of which Turkish Philology survived the longest time. During the 1952/1953 academic year, the Turkish Department to the Faculty of Philosophy, History, Philology and Physics and Mathematics at Sofia State University was established. Students were admitted in the majors of History in Turkish (38 students enrolled in the first academic year), Turkish Language and Literature (30 people with Turkish as their native language), and Physics and Mathematics in Turkish (27 people). These majors started with great difficulty, as there was a serious shortage of Turkish language teachers, who had been expelled to Turkey or were serving sentences in prisons. Teachers of Turkish philology (Mefkure and Riza Mollovi) were appointed, although they were not experts in Turkish (Mefkure Mollova graduated in French philology and Riza Mollov in Slavic philology) and prominent Turkologists from the USSR, in particular from Baku, were involved. Along with founding the major of Turkish Philology in 1952, a Department of Turkish Philology

was also established. It became the main service unit for teacher training for the Turkish pedagogical schools and also enabled graduates of Turkish secondary schools to receive higher education at a state university, something to which they had not been entitled so far. This was the result of communist propaganda before 1944 and an expression of the communist regime's desire to appear more tolerant of minorities than previous governments and thus win their sympathy. The aim was also to prepare a communist elite to promote the regime's policies among the Turks; to tear them away from Islam and distance them from their Turkish self-consciousness by inclusion to the international communist idea.

The only Turkish women who were engaged in science were graduates mainly of the "Turkish Language and Literature" major - Mefkure Mollova (1927-2009), who was one of the first teachers in the "Turkish Language and Literature" major and Hayriye Memova (1934-2018) from the first class. Apart from them, Zinetti Nurieva (1935), took another path and had a career as a philosopher at the Bulgarian Academy of Science. All three did not study in Turkish schools and this allowed them to know fluent Bulgarian and later to complete higher education at Sofia State University (during this period the Turks were accepted).

In the interwar period, we found information about only one Turkish woman, Atidje Ibraimova, whose success was described in the "Women's Voice" newspaper in 1927. She was also a graduate of the Bulgarian Maiden's High School. This is the only known case of a Turkish woman with higher education and intention to pursue science in the period before the Second World War.² The further fate of Atidje Ibrai-

² Women's Journal, April 16, 1927, issue 278. Thanks to Prof. Georgetta Nazarska for directing me to this information. The article in the newspaper reads: "Although the compact mass of Turks living in Bulgaria was still unaffected by the reforms that Mustafa Kemal imposed on their compatriots in the Republic of Turkey, the young Turkish woman in Bulgaria showed a keen interest in culture and gained success. A few years ago, a Turkish girl graduated from the Vidin Maiden's High School as the first student of the class. This year Ms. Atidzhe Ibraimova graduated with honors in philosophy from Sofia State University. Born in Sofia, she graduated with honors from the Sofia Maiden's Pedagogical School in 1922 - as the first student of Bulgarian language, she received a complete collection of Vazov's works, awarded to her personally by the then Minister of Education Mr. Omarchevski at the annual act of the school. During the first year of her studies, Ms. Ibraimova attracted the attention of her professors of philosophy. Thanks to her knowledge of foreign languages and rare diligence, she soon became known at the university as the first successful student, and in February she successfully graduated, completed all her exams, and received a diploma of higher education in Philosophy from Sofia University. Ms. Atidzhe

mova in science remained unclear, but she had very likely gone to Turkey with her family.

Mefkure Mollova, Hayriye Memova, and Zineti Nurieva were probably the only Turks (as well as from other Muslim minorities such as Roma and Pomaks) who engaged in humanities during the communist period in Bulgaria. The three had different destinies in science and life, fully determined by the political vicissitudes of the regime's attitude towards the Turks in Bulgaria. Mefkure Mollova flatly refused to give in to the political pressure of the regime and got expelled from the university and all scientific institutions in the country for the rest of her life.

Hayriye Memova grew up in the regime and followed its rules for 20 years, but when she had to make an impossible compromise with her scientific work, she opposed and got punished for that. Zineti Nurieva fit into the regime and even supported and worked for his scientific postulates. Eventually, all three women completed their scientific and life paths abroad as emigrants.

Their stories show the different opportunities for reaction and choices that women had in science in the second half of the twentieth century. All three were born in the 1920s and 1930s and belonged to the Turkish community in Bulgaria. The three stories are indicative of the role of political circumstances in scientific careers, especially for women. The interesting and comparable thing about all three women is that they faced the same circumstances and made different decisions, implementing different life and professional strategies. After 1944, the communist government in Bulgaria started targeted policies against both minorities, as well as against women in particular. Women's rights were formally given and the regime was demonstratively placing women in high positions in all areas. Campaigns for the mass inclusion of women in public life were launched and special policies for women from minorities implemented.

Ibraimova worked mainly on questions in the field of psychology and aesthetics - an area that has been considered very difficult and serious for very hardworking and talented students. "Vidin was a famous center of modern Turkish culture in that period and other Turkish girls also graduated from the Maiden's High School (Hajj, p. 2021).

Mefkure Mollova³ was born in 1927 in the town of Dobrich. She came from a family of Crimean Tatars. For 40 years, her father was a Turkish language teacher at the Turkish school in Dobrich. She graduated from the French Catholic College "Sen Andre" in Varna, one of the most prestigious schools in the city, which educated girls of different nationalities - Bulgarians, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Turks from the region of South Dobru-dzha. She later graduated in French Philology from Sofia State University. She entered the Department of Turkish Philology at the end of 1953, where she began teaching Turkish dialectology under the direction of Azerbaijani Professor A. Shiraliev. Her career as a university lecturer was very short. In 1961 she was suddenly fired from the university together with her husband Riza Mollov. After that, she never worked for any scientific institution again and remained a "housewife" (as it's written in all official documents) for the rest of her life. In 1973 she defended her dissertation at the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and her scientific supervisor was again the famous Turkologist Prof. A. Shiraliev from Baku. This was the first Turkish dialectology dissertation defended in Bulgaria. Until the end of her life, as a "housewife" she was actively involved in science and published articles and studies in Bulgarian, French, Russian, and Turkish in foreign journals - in Poland, the Soviet Union, Turkey, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, Denmark, and others. She had over 100 published studies in the field of Turkology. Her name was known in global Turkology and her works are cited to this day. It is still impossible to say how many of her scientific works had remained unpublished and in which institutions and private archives are they stored.



Between 1953 and 1960, Mefkure Mollova was one of the founders and first lecturers of Turkish Philology at Sofia University. At that time there was a shortage of experts in Turkology and the major began with two ethnic Turkish philologists, who were well-known scientists, attract-

³ In publications the names used are Mefkure Mollova, Mefkure Riza Mollova, Mefkure Molla.

ed from Azerbaijan, and who transferred the experience of the Soviet Turkological School.⁴ In these first years, Mollova established herself as a scientist in the field of Turkish dialectology, after numerous expeditions to Turkish villages throughout Bulgaria together with Azerbaijani guest professors and other Bulgarian colleagues. The famous, and at that time still novice Hungarian Turkologist, György Hazai (Stoyanov, V. 2017: 171-180) also took part in some of these expeditions. All participants in these expeditions collected linguistic data, which, according to Assoc. Prof. Mirzazade from Baku was enough for a lifetime of work.⁵ Some of this collected material went to the Soviet Union, taken away by the Azerbaijani guests, but much remained in Bulgaria.⁶ During this period Mollova made her first scientific publications. After the Azerbaijani scientists left Bulgaria, the relations with them did not break and they maintained correspondence and were sending literature to their young colleagues in Bulgaria. Thanks to her and her husband's letters to Prof. Mirzazade from the second half of the 1950s, preserved by his successors, one can also see Mevkure Mollova's scientific aspirations and plans in those years when she was a junior teacher.

Unclear circumstances in 1960 led to the dismissal of Mevkure Mollova and her husband Riza Mollov from the university. Minutes of the Department of Turkology at Sofia University from this period are preserved, showing that in a series of departmental meetings the Mollovs were accused of violating work order and ethics and having arrogant behavior. The meetings of the department were formed as "comradely court".⁷ In the 1960/1961 academic year, Mevkure and Riza Mollovi simply disappeared from the department. It is still difficult to identify what the real reasons for their dismissal were and their dismissal orders have not been preserved. The party organization protocols of the Faculty from that year were missing, and the higher administrative levels at the

⁴ Prof. Mamedaga Shirali Oglu Shiraliev (1909 - 1991) and Assoc. Prof. Hadi Ismail Oglu Mirzazade (1908 - 1965).

⁵ Interview with his daughter Prof. Chimnaz Mirzazadeh, who keeps her father's archive. Baku, June 9, 2019

⁶ The fate of the collected material is the subject of independent research. One part is in the Soviet Union, where its further fate is unknown, the other part remains in Bulgaria in the personal archives of the participants, and is subsequently seized by the State Security during searches or at the border. Some data leads me to the thinking that today most of the seized materials are probably stored in the Center for Oriental Languages and Cultures.

⁷ A form of public condemnation during communism. See Pashova, An.

University (Faculty and Academic Council) did not give an answer to this question. There is a letter from Riza Mollov to the Central Committee of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) from 1980, found in the archives of the State Security. In that letter as a reason for their dismissal from university 20 years earlier, he had stated his opposition to the assimilation policy towards the gypsies in the late 1950s and described that his wife was also persecuted on this occasion and even arrested while traveling on a train.⁸



Left unemployed at the age of 33, in a society where there was no free labor market and scientific institutions were not accessible to the unreliable for the regime, Mefkure Mollova devoted herself to her research activities as a "housewife".⁹ For the next 30 years, she did not work in any scientific institution. The scientific community in Bulgaria avoided mentioning her name, as she had been perceived as "excommunicated", although her independent scientific development was not a secret. She managed to maintain her scientific contacts

abroad, no matter how difficult this was in a closed isolated country and even attended international forums in the Soviet Union. She also defended a dissertation on "East Rhodope Turkish dialect (phonology) and its correlation to other languages and dialects of the Oguz group" at the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Her dissertation is stored in the National Library "Sts. Cyril and Methodius", but is inaccessible to readers for unknown reasons.¹⁰ Mollova continued to publish in specialized Bulgarian linguistic issues, but most of her research papers were published abroad. A bibliographic reference executed through WorldCat, showed over 100 articles of her, most in French, published in renowned European and world publications in Turkology and

⁸ See AKRDOPBGDSRSBNA (Dossiers Commission) - M, 111 times. - 35185, vol. 2. pp. 185-195.

⁹ This is how she is identified in the State Security reports.

¹⁰ In 2016, Hristo Kyuchukov published from French a translated version of her dissertation, using a copy from the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences. See Kyuchukov, Hr. 2016

Linguistics.¹¹ Even Soviet issues published her articles, deeming them important and translating them from French into Russian.¹² Throughout this period, Mefkure Mollova also published in the Bulgarian scientific press¹³, at the same time without participating anyhow in the scientific life of the country. For almost 30 years after her dismissal from the university, she had been stigmatized and neglected, and at times her name was used to edify and intimidate other "disobedient" Turks in the scientific community.¹⁴ This explains the lack of any documents about her, both in Sofia University's archives and in the state archives, where administrative documents of the university are stored. Documents about her life from this period can probably be found in her family (no one stays in Bulgaria), as well as in the personal archives of her former students and university colleagues. The fate of her scientific archives is also unknown. In 1983, their family home was searched and much of her research was confiscated, where its future remained unclear, as with all manuscripts, books, etc. confiscated by the State Security.¹⁵

¹¹ For example in *Rocznik orientalistyczny*, Warszawa (1960, 1992), *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (1967, 1969, 1985), *Folia Orientalia* (1968), *Ural-Altaische Jahrbucher* (1970), *Вопросы тюркологии* (1971), *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, München (1973), *Türk Dili Araştırma Yiliği-Belleten*, Ankara (1973), *Archív Orientální*, Praha (1974), *Советская тюркология* (1974), *Asian and African Studies*, Slovakiya (1979), *Јужнословенски филолог*, Белград (1979, 1988), *Studia et acta orientalia*, Bucarest (1980), *Oriens* (1981), *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1988, 1990, 1993), *Archiv orientální*, Praha (1989, 1990), *Folia onomastica Croatica* (1992), *Orientalia Suecana*, Uppsala (1992–1993) and many others, where her last publication is from 2008.

¹² Eg: Опыт фонетической (консонантической) классификации тюркских языков и диалектов огузской группы // Вопросы языкознания [Experience of phonetic (consonant) classification of Turkic languages and dialects of the Oguz group // Questions of linguistics], 3, 1968, 82–93. From French: G. F. Blagova.

¹³ She had numerous publications in "Balkan Linguistics", "Bulgarian Language" and others.

¹⁴ After 1985, when her name was forcibly changed to Mira Mollova, she started publishing, using only the initial for her changed first name, which coincided with her real name - M. Mollova. There is not a single publication of hers under the name Mira Mollova.

¹⁵ A report from the State Security says: "With the permission of the General Prosecutor's Office, on August 11, 1983, the home was searched and 222 books and magazines illegally imported from Turkey were seized. Much of this literature was anti-communist and contained slander against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the USSR and other socialist countries. In some of the seized magazines "Horizon", published in the SFRY with Turkish subtitles, were published articles by the Mollovi family about

During the years of unemployment, the Mollov family was in distress and lived of the salary of Riza Mollov, whose scientific career was also interrupted and he was forced to work in the library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. After his death in 1986, Mefkure was left without this income and offered the National Library to buy the rest of their rich personal library. This got immediately reported to the State Security and in October 1988 a *Janissary Report*¹⁶ against her was filed, accusing her of intending to export and sell valuable Ottoman manuscripts from the 17th and 19th centuries and other valuable Turkish literature. Although a large number of books were seized during the search, she was also suspected of evading many of her books and documents. Remaining out of State Security's sight so far because of her life in isolation, suddenly the resources of the repressive machine were directed towards her with full force. There began surveillance, wiretapping, secret entrances to her home, stagings, etc.¹⁷ This was not new for Mefkure, as her husband Riza Mollov had been persecuted for much of his life, which ultimately led to his downfall. But despite this pressure, according to intelligence officer senior lieutenant Volen Kuzov, "Mollova continued to collect and create "scientific" works for the Turks in Bulgaria"¹⁸, and maintained contacts with over 20 Turkologists and journalists from Turkey, SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), Germany, France, and Denmark. Agents also detected her son's attempt to save "two folders with Mollova's work and a notebook with notes and drafts", who took them to Agent Andreev for safekeeping (apparently considering it a safe place without suspecting that he worked for the secret services)¹⁹. At the end of 1988, a criminal investigation was staged with Mollovs' possessions, which the State Security was trying to seize or steal. Agent "Milena" from the National Library secretly microfilmed the two priceless Ottoman manuscripts from the 17th and 19th centuries, offered for redemption, without Mollova's knowledge, and without registering them in the library. "The manuscripts were an exceptional work of art. The covers and all the sheets were inlaid with artistic gilding, or, as agent "Milena" said "they were all gold"²⁰. State Security searched for places where Mefkure

the Turkish dialects in Bulgaria, directly directed against the interests of our country " - KRDOBPBGDSRSBNA (Dossiers Commission), F. V0, a.e. 78255, p. 21.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 25.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 35.

Mollova and her son were hiding documents and looked for a way to confiscate them.²¹

In the end, Mefkure Mollova parted with all her possessions, with her manuscripts, the rich Turkological library²², collected for many years from all over the world, and in general with everything that she had. This happened during a search on the border, in the middle of 1989, when she was going to her son in France, who had previously been extradited from Bulgaria by force. She was thoroughly searched and all her manuscripts and "coins, brooches, crowns²³, watches, rings and pearls", found in a bag in her luggage were taken, leaving her only with the money that she had – 200 German marks.²⁴ Among the seized manuscripts and books with which Mollova was heading for her new life in the West were four boxes of slips of raw material on Turkish dialects in Bulgaria.²⁵ To this day, the fate of this repeatedly seized archive is unknown.

Four years after Mefkure Mollova had been expelled from the University, one of her first students, **Hayriye Memova-Suleymanova**²⁶, was appointed to the Department of Turkology at Sofia State University after



a competition in 1964. She also fell a victim to the confiscation and squandering of her scientific archives. She was from the first class of Turkish Philology, and the first Turkish woman to have later started working in the same department as a lecturer. She worked there from 1964 to 1981, when she was also forcibly removed. After that, her scientific career in Bulgaria continued at the Institute of Balkan Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences from 1985 until her departure to Turkey in 1989.

However, documents about Hayriye Memova-Suleymanova cannot

²¹There was already a practice in the State Security of "seizure by initiating an investigation under Art. 319 of the Penal Code, as it had been done with the archives of Paskov – a VMORO activist" - Ibid., p. 43.

²² The State Security commissioned an examination of the books, which she had offered for purchase to the National Library, and it became clear that the library did not have these editions, except for the multi-volume book by B. Berthold.

²³ Golden dental crowns.

²⁴ KRDOBPBGDSRSBNA (Dossiers Commission), F. V0, a.e. 78255, p. 49.

²⁵ Mefkure Mollova continued to work in France to the end of her life and published about 30 more articles on Turkology.

²⁶ For details on the history of Hayriye Memova, see Muratova, N., Z. Zafer, 2020.

be found in the institutional archives, where she worked, due to the erasure of traces of the forced assimilation of Turks, which also affected the documentary heritage. There is no trace of Hayriye Memova's almost 20 years of work in the archives of Sofia University. Only in the University Almanac, published in 1988, there is a short article about her under the name Irena Yuliyanova Yassenova - a name given to her by force and not corresponding to her publications, which, among other things, automatically made her anonymous for science.²⁷ In the same way, although there is no personnel file, in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' archives, there are still documents about her work, as her name is already changed there.

Her archive is inaccessible, but there are electronically published memories by Hayriye Memova's son - Erhan Suleymanoglu²⁸, along with her articles in Bulgarian and Turkish. A lot of information about her scientific activity in Bulgaria can be extracted from this electronic resource.

Hayriye Memova was part of the entire period of the institutional scientific and educational infrastructure of Turkology in Bulgaria from 1952 to 1989. Her biography - scientific and personal - is an example of the mechanisms of control and arbitrariness of the repressive apparatus over scientific institutions under totalitarian mode. Hayriye Memova graduated from Turkish Philology in 1956, and in 1964 became a full-time lecturer in practical Turkish in the same field. She began her scientific career enthusiastically and with high hopes. For several years she was involved in expeditions with students in Turkish villages and collected linguistic materials. She also collected a large body of materials from the Gagauz. She began her scientific work together with her fellow student Emil Boev, who later became Mefkure Mollova's successor in the department as a teacher of dialectology. After graduating the major, the two students from the first class of "Turkish Philology" - Hayriye Memova and Emil Boev published three books on Turkish folklore, fairy tales, and riddles.²⁹ Following, first Boev and then Memova became teachers in the major. They were the young addition to the Department of Turkology and started together, gradually taking different paths and suf-

²⁷ This also applies to one of the first professors in Turkish philology, Mefkure and Riza Mollovi, who are not even mentioned. See: Almanac of the Sofia University "Kliment Ohridski", 1939-1988. V.1-3. - Sofia, 1988, p. 1257.

²⁸ Süleymanoğlu E., (Ed.). [Electronic resource, 12.12.2021].

²⁹ Memova, H. E. Boev, eds. Rodop manileri. – Sofia:Narodna prosveta, 1962, 1965; Boef E., H. Memova, eds. Rodop turk halk masallari, – Sofia:Narodna prosveta, 1963.; Boef E., H. Memova, eds. Rodop turkuleri, – Sofia:Narodna prosveta, 1964, 1966.

fering a fatal division both in their scientific views and in their life choices. Boev's career took off, he became a professor and held senior administrative positions at the university for decades. Even today there is a Center for Oriental Languages and Cultures, established by him and bearing his name. Meanwhile, Hayriye Memova had to constantly defend herself from suspicions, attacks, and threats.

In the 1970s, she was threatened with dismissal, following the example of Mefkure Mollova, which had taken place ten years earlier. After specializing in Baku, Memova was banned from defending her dissertation there. Later, in 1975, Hayriye Memova managed to defend it in Baku with Prof. Agamusa Akhundov. Increased pressure on Turks teaching students led to Memova's removal from the Department of Oriental Languages in 1981 when nationalist hysteria in Bulgaria was rising. In early November 1981, the door to her university office was broken down.³⁰ She continued to attend Sofia University regularly, but did not teach, she was left without a salary and did not have the right to teach for more than 4 years. Her employment record was revoked and this did not allow her to start working elsewhere. The party organization at the university also unofficially excluded her. In 1981–1985, Hayriye Memova was forced to work part-time at the Electric Truck Plant in Sofia as a cleaner in order to survive.



**Hayriye
Memova
and prof.
Dr. Z. X.
Tagizade in
Phonetic
Laboratory
in Baku,
1970**

³⁰ Archives of the State Security, IIIrazdel-35711, Case № 19865, DOP "Lisitsa", p. 88.

Meanwhile, the State Security opened a Case for Operational Inspection (COI) "Fox" of Hayriye Memova-Suleymanova for pro-Turkish nationalism, led by the Sixth Department of the State Security. The persecution continued for 7 years. The formal occasion was her Bulgarian-Turkish thematic dictionary published in July 1981. According to her memoirs, the dictionary was confiscated in the University Printing House and by order of the Rector's Office № 4170 from 14.07.1981, a commission for its burning was formed. In addition, according to her, officials seized the original of an unpublished Turkish-Bulgarian dictionary, which she had prepared for publication. Thus both dictionaries were destroyed.³¹ The rector's orders from this period are missing, so the intentions to burn the published dictionary cannot be confirmed, but its suspension from distribution is well documented in the archives of the State Security. Upon receiving the documents in the state archive from Sofia University, the rector's orders were not among the documents for permanent storage and were probably destroyed. Hayriye Memova had copies of these orders and therefore cited their exact numbers and dates in her memoirs. A comparison with previous orders of the rector, stored in the archive, shows that the numbers indicated by Memova correspond to the numbering of the document flow.

The minutes of the Department of Oriental Languages were another documentary gap for the study of these events. Some of them were missing and this issue had been discussed in the department many times. There were discussions about cases of protocols replacement, falsification, disappearance. This question arose whenever there was a conflict in the department, and State Security's agents reported it. Some minutes of meetings, which were missing in the archive of Sofia University in the State Archive Sofia, had been found in the personal archives of some lecturers. The deliberate destruction of this documentation made it difficult to reconstruct the events at the university from those years, thus in some cases, we had to rely solely on memories.

The investigation of the State Security against Hayriye Memova was conducted by 19 agents and trustees, and for this purpose 6 hidden places for meetings were used. From the investigation documents, it became clear that these were her colleagues, students, relatives, former classmates, fellow students, and acquaintances. The investigation was led by Captain Georgi Ivanov Chapkanov (a former student of Memova and lecturer in the department), Colonel Sapundzhiev, Head of Department

³¹ Süleymanoğlu E., *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

02, and Lieutenant Colonel Veselin Bozhkov, Head of Department 04 of the Sixth Directorate of the State Security. A full arsenal of *events from the conspiratorial work of the State Security is attached* - telephone eavesdropping (*Pirin Event*), microphone eavesdropping (*Rhodope Event*), control of personal correspondence (*Vihren Event*), and others.

On August 11, 1983, at the same time, the homes of former Turkish Philology professors Riza Mollov and Mefkure Mollova, Assoc. Prof. Ibrahim Tatarli³², Hayriye Memova (a cleaner at that time) and Salih Bakladzhiev³³ (BAS), were searched, resulting in the confiscation of their books and archives. Tape recordings and texts from Turkish folklore collected during many years of field research were also confiscated. The search and seizure of their scientific literature and manuscripts were conducted by the General Investigation Department (GSU) headed by General Kotsaliev, who directly led the operation. The protocol of the search of Memova's house showed that a huge number of manuscripts, all her books in the field of Turkology, the published and ready-to-publish research, all materials in the field of Turkish dialectology and folklore (including records) collected during years of scientific expeditions, were confiscated.³⁴



Some of the literature seized from Mefkure and Riza Mollovi, Hayriye Memova, Ibrahim Tatarli, and Salih Bakladzhiev was incriminated and handed over to the Secret Fund of the Library at the Department of Oriental Languages at Sofia University.³⁵

In 1985, after her name was forcibly changed, Hayriye Memova started working at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The files of her employment are kept in

³² He was also a Turkish lecturer at the Department of Turkology, who managed to move to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in 1981.

³³ He was later convicted and imprisoned for pro-Turkish activities.

³⁴ Letter to the Minister of the Interior from 24 January 1993 (Personal archive of Mihail Ivanov)

³⁵ Archive of the State Security, IIIRAZ-35711, Case № 19865, DOP "Lisitsa", p. 153.

the academy's archive.³⁶ Although the Academy of Sciences was not a safe place, it was the only place that sheltered Turkish scholars. This was because there they could be kept away from students and teaching and thus controlled more effectively. On December 29, 1987, the Scientific Council at the IB-BAS held a meeting to discuss the work of Assoc. Irena Yassenova (forcibly given her new name) - *Slavic lexical component in the Turkish language and the Balkan Turkic dialects*³⁷, and two years later, at a meeting on December 28, 1989, the Scientific Commission for Philological Sciences at the Higher Attestation Commission with protocol № 9 awarded Irena Yuliyanova Yassenova³⁸ the scientific title senior research associate II degree. This came a day before the decision to restore the names of Turks and Muslims and months after the author had already taken the forced path of emigration. Thus, while living in Bulgaria, Hayriye Memova did not receive a single degree, although her entire scientific path happened there. Nowadays, the study of her attempts for scientific development is hampered by the lack of documents that were deliberately destroyed in the mid-1980s to erase the Muslim names in them (Zafer, Z. 2012; Zafer, Z. 2020)³⁹. Documents about this difficult life and scientific destiny are stored mainly in the Secret Services' archive. Apart from being a story of scientific and physical persecution, this is yet another story of a lost and irretrievably scattered scientific archive.

While the story of Mefkure and Riza Mollovi was the first striking case of persecution of Turkish scholars at Sofia University since 1944, the fate of Hayriye Memova was typical for Turkish intellectuals loyal to the regime, members of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and faithful to the ideology. Mefkure Mollova was different from everyone else, more an exception, as she quickly severed ties with the regime and endured all consequences of this for almost three decades. Hayriye Memova was trying to be loyal to the regime and for long believed that she could legally receive justice – through the Communist Party (by appeals to its governing bodies), through the leadership of BAS (Bulgarian Academy of Science), Sofia University, and the trade unions. She was a party member and trade union leader and did not expect to be a subject of such severe

³⁶ NA-BAS, f. 113, op. 5, a.e. 26, pp. 1.

³⁷ NA-BAS, f. 113, op. 5, a.e. 37, minutes of the Board of Directors.

³⁸ CDA, f.1120, op. 21, a.e. 1330, pp. 74–109.

³⁹ It has become more difficult for researchers to synchronize the enforced names with real ones.

personal repression. However, the persecution against her was constantly and aggressively escalating. Her colleagues, who were also under pressure, were transferred to another institution, while she was forced to work as a janitor for 4 years because she refused to support the forced assimilation of Turks (the so-called revivalist process). This was a very important event compared to her colleagues in the same position, who voluntarily, convincingly, and consciously gave up their names. They even addressed the Turkish community through the Turkish press, urging them to recognize their Bulgarian origins and to gladly accept their new Bulgarian names.⁴⁰ One of the signatories of this declaration was **Zineta Mustafaova Nurieva**, who changed her name to Bora Bozova.

Zineta Mustafaova Nurieva⁴¹ was born on October 24, 1935, in Karnobat. In 1965 she graduated in pedagogy from Sofia University. She worked at the Institute of Philosophy of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, which was extremely ideological in that period. In 1970 she became a research associate I degree, and in 1971 - a candidate of science. She specialized in: Algeria (1972-1973); Poland; Hungary; Turkey; Russia; Romania; the Czech Republic. In 1975 she received the state medal "Cyril and Methodius" II degree (Katsunov, V., J. Ivanova, Tsv. Stoyanova 2018: 42). Her research interests were in the field of scientific atheism. She defended her dissertation on "Overcoming the Islamic worldview of the Turkish women in socialist Bulgaria."



In 1983 she received the title of senior research associate II degree in scientific atheism. The reason was that she was "one of the pioneers of Marxist Islam in our country."⁴² Zineta Nurieva was a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party and came from a family of workers. She had contributed to the critique of Islam. She criticized

⁴⁰ Declaration of a group of intellectuals and public figures from among the Bulgarians who restored their Bulgarian names, published in "Otechestven Front", № 12187, 26.VII.1985, "Nova Svetlina", № 89, 27.VII.1985, the newspapers "Dobrudzha Tribune", "Dunavska Pravda", "Novo Ludogorie", "Shumenska Zarya", "Haskovska Tribuna", "Slivensko Delo", "Silistrenska Tribuna" and others. from 27.VII.1985

⁴¹ She wrote under the names Zineta Mustafaova Nurieva, Bora Mustafaova Bozova, and in Turkey, she is Ziyneti Barlas.

⁴² CDA, F. 1120, op. 14, a.e. 817, p. 119.

French philosopher and political leader Roger Garaudy for Islam, who was a member of the resistance but got expelled from the French Communist Party due to opposing the invasion of Czechoslovakia. He later converted to Islam. Zinetti Nurieva actively participated in the ideological fight. Her work among the Turks in Bulgaria was especially important. She was a member of the Committee of the Bulgarian Women's Movement, a state-run organization that promoted the regime's ideological policies among women. Her studies "Woman and Islam", "Islamic Anti-Communism", as well as many popular science articles in the periodicals, agitated for atheistic education of Bulgarian Turks and were especially promoted. Apart from being a propagandist, she was used by the communist regime as a scientist on a mission to develop the science of Marxist Islam. In her work, she sought an internal connection between Islam and communism, and Islamic anti-communism was portrayed as a form of bourgeois anti-communism.⁴³ Her main work was "Islam and Modern Anti-Communism", published in 1986 under the name Bora Bozova (Bozova, B. 1986).

The reviews of her scientific development showed that her work was highly valued in Bulgaria, and in particular for its impact on the Turks in Bulgaria.

She also explored anti-feminist aspects of the Islamic dogma and ritual practices. She participated in the center of policies towards the Turkish women, aiming at "modernizing" them and detaching them from tradition. Islam was perceived as a spiritual weapon for the social enslavement of the Turkish woman.

Zinetti Nurieva participated in the substantiation of the policy of the communist regime for assimilation of the Turks and this ensured her career growth. She was used as a connoisseur and an "insider" to represent Islam from the Marxist-Leninist and party, atheistic perception. She examined the influence of Islam on the way of living, psychic, and worldview of Turks in Bulgaria and convinced them to abandon it and join the party's atheistic policy, which would equal them to the Bulgarians. This would solve the issue of the homogeneity of the Bulgarian nation. As religion was intertwined with national-ethnic consciousness and culture.⁴⁴ Islam could be overcome by modernization under the influence of "socialist transformations".

⁴³ „Aktualni problemi na ateistichnata deinost: za sistemata na pariina prosveta. (co-author.). - Sofia, 1982.

⁴⁴ CDA, F. 1120, op. 14, a.e. 817, p. 129.

Her scientific growth was determined by her loyalty to the regime's policy and this was clearly emphasized in the reviews of her works. She worked closely with Nikolay Mizov, the regime's chief atheist philosopher, who was her reviewer.

In 1986, when the names of all Turks in Bulgaria were forcibly changed, Zineta Nurieva published her scientific works under a new name - Bora Bozova. She then published her monograph, "Islam and Modern Anti-Communism". At the end of 1989, after the communist regime fell and freedom to all religions was given, she also left for Turkey, without being persecuted.

A rather interesting choice, since her entire career was based on atheistic propaganda and fighting against Turkish self-consciousness in Bulgaria. She started working at the Institute of Balkan Studies in Edirne, then part of Istanbul University. After its closure, in 2002-2003, Zineta Nurieva (known in Turkey as Ziyneti Barlas) worked for a year until retirement in the Department of History at Istanbul University. The end of her career in Turkey was also turbulent.

Conclusion:

All three women presented, completed their scientific and life paths abroad. Mefkure Mollova emigrated with her son, who was expelled from Bulgaria in mid-1989 because of participating in Turkish protest movements. She settled in Paris, where she continued to work individually for another 20 years on her research. Hayriye Memova also left for Turkey with the influx of Turks expelled from Bulgaria in August 1989. Her career there was also difficult, as Turkey did not recognize her degrees from Bulgaria and she was forced to defend her dissertation once again in Baku in 1995. Following, she taught at several Turkish universities and published a dictionary, banned in Bulgaria, and several other articles, anthologies, and more. Thus, she became part of a series of women, expelled from Bulgaria to Turkey, where they had a successful scientific career.

The three stories of the only Turkish women in the humanities in Bulgaria during the communist period presented here, show the whole spectrum of possible career pathways of women in science. They outline the possible choices - complete disobedience to the regime, partial agreement in an attempt to avoid conflicts, and complete subordination to the regime and service in its favor.

Bibliography:

Стоянов, Валери. 1997. Турското население в България между полюсите на етническата политика, София: ЛИК. [Stoyanov, Valeri. 1997. *Turskoto naselenie v Bulgariya mezhdu polyusite na etnicheskata politika*, Sofiya: LIK.]

Кънев, Красимир. 1998. Законодателство и политика към етническите и религиозните малцинства в България, В: Общности и идентичности в България, съст. Анна Кръстева, С. [Kanev, Krasimir. 1998. *Zakonodatelstvo i politika kam etnicheskite i religioznite maltsinstva v Bulgariya*, V: *Obshtnosti i identichnosti v Bulgariya*, sast. Anna Krasteva, S.]

Муратова Нурие. 2021. Баку вместо Анкара, Балканистичен форум, 3, 2021. [Muratova Nurie. 2021. *Baku vmesto Ankara*, Balkanistichen forum, 3, 2021].

Муратова, Нурие, Зейнеп Зафер. 2020. Политически и научни репресии – случаят Хайрие Мемова-Сюлейманова, Балканистичен форум, 3, 2020, с. 9–56. [Muratova, Nurie, Zeynep Zafer. 2020. *Politicheski i nauchni represii – sluchayat Hayrie Memova-Syuleymanova*, Balkanistichen forum, 3, 2020, s. 9–56].

Стоянов, Валери. 2017. Дьорд Хазай в ранните години на българската университетска тюркология, В: Тюркологията днес. Предизвикателства и перспективи, Йорданова М., Саръиванова И. (съст.), С., с. 171-180. [Stoyanov, Valeri. 2017. *Dyord Hazay v rannite godini na balgarskata universitetska tyurkologiya*, V: *Tyurkologiyata dnes. Predizvikelstva i perspektivi*, Yordanova M., Saraivanova I. (sast.), S.]

Кючуков, Христо. 2016. Юбилейно за д-р Мефкюре Моллова, Берлин. [Kyuchukov, Hristo. 2016. *Yubileyno za d-r Mefkyure Mollova*, Berlin.]

Сüleymanoğlu E., (Ed.). Prof. Dr. Hayriye Söleymanoğlu Yenisoy, Makaleler, Dil-Edebiyat-Eğitim-Folklor, Önsöz – Annemiz Hayriye Memoğlu-Söleymenoğlu Yenisoy (12–21) [Електронен ресурс, 12.12.2021].

Къльч, Осман. 2020. Жертва на съдбата. Превод Зейнеп Зафер, София: Кралица Маб. [Kalach, Osman. 2020. *Zhertva na sadbata*. Prevod Zeynep Zafer, Sofiya: Kralitsa Mab].

Кацунов, Валери, Джени Иванова, Цветана Стоянова (съст.). 2018. Жените в историята на академичната наука в България: (Хабилитираните жени в БАН), София: БАН, с. 42. [Katsunov, Valeri, Dzheni Ivanova, Tsvetana Stoyanova (sast.). 2018. *Zhenite v istoriyata na akademichnata nauka v Bulgariya: (Habilitiranite zheni v BAN)*, Sofiya: BAN, s. 42].

Бозова, Бора. 1986. Ислямът и съвременният антикомунизъм, София: Наука и изкуство. [Bozova, Bora. 1986. *Islyamat i savremenniyat antikomunizam*, Sofiya: Nauka i izkustvo].

Ялъмов, Ибрахим. 2003. История на турската общност в България. София: ИК "Илинда-Евтимов". [Yalamov, Ibrahim. 2003. *Istoriya na turskata obshtnost v Bulgariya*. Sofiya: IK "Iinda-Evtimov"].

Държавна сигурност – Смяната на имената – Възродителният процес (1945-1985 г.), Том I, DVD. – София: Комдос, Документ 175, с. 814-815. [Darzhavna sigurnost – Smyanata na imenata – Vazroditelniyat protses (1945-1985 g.), Tom I, DVD. – Sofiya: Komdos, Dokument 175, s. 814-815].

Хаджъ Садък. 2021. Хасан Ерен – от Видин до върховете на тюркологията, *Balkanistic forum*, 2021, 3, 248-261. [Sadik Hacı, Hasan Eren – ot Vidin do varhovete na tyurkologiyata, *Balkanistic forum*, 2021, 3, 248-261].

Cambazov, İ. 2005. Medreset'ün-Nüvvâb, Anılar-Belgeler. Sofya.

Zafer, Zeynep. 2012. Bulgaristan Türklerinin 89 Göçünü Hazırlayan Eritme Politikasına Karşı Direnişi, 89 GÖÇÜ Bulgaristan'da 1984–89 Azınlık Politikaları ve Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç, İstanbul: Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2012, 200–231.

Zafer, Zeynep. 2020. 30. Yılında Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç, Bölüm adı: Kuzeydoğu Bulgaristan Kadınının Zorunlu Asimilasyona Karşı Mücadelesi, İzmir Kâtip Çelebi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İzmir, 2020.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.12>

Tetiana Liakh
*State Higher Educational Institution "Uzhhorod National University",
Ukraine*
[tatianalyakh592@gmail.com]

Philosophy of Overcoming as a Constant of Creative Thinking of Lesia Ukrainka

Abstract: *The article explores the philosophy of overcoming in the Lesia Ukrainka's creative work. This constant of the author's artistic thinking is consistent with the meaning of "existentialist humanism" according to Sartre, who postulates the existence of man in the world, not introversion. The key to understanding the Lesia Ukrainka's philosophy of overcoming is the poetry "Contra spem spero!" The artistic reception of the author of the myth of Sisyphus agrees with her understanding of Camus, however, unlike the French philosopher, Lesia Ukrainka sees the meaning of life in the movement to goal, creativity. Another cornerstone of Lesia Ukrainka's philosophy of overcoming is a resistance to national enslavement and spiritual slavery. The writer dedicates a number of dramatic poems on biblical and mythological themes to this topic, in which the existential mode of national enslavement is projected onto the realities of the author's day. Lesia Ukrainka reflects the overcoming the "existential vacuum" (Frankl) by heroes, their acquisition of harmony with world through death in her dramas "The Noble Woman [boiarynia]", "The Forest Song [lisova pisnia]", and "The Blue Rose [blakytna troianda]". Studying the philosophy of overcoming in the Lesia Ukrainka's artistic reception ascertains once again that her creative work, philosophic discourse assonant, on one hand, with the Western European thought of the late 19th – early 20th centuries, and, on the other hand, an original phenomenon in the Ukrainian literature of the outlined period due to projection of individual existence of the poetess.*

Keywords: *philosophy of overcoming; existentialism; existential vacuum; being; will; the myth of Sisyphus; Lesia Ukrainka.*

Lesia Ukrainka is known as one of the leading figures in Ukrainian literature. Born Larysa Kosach (1871-1913) in Zviagil' (Volyn'). While living in the part of Ukraine that was ruled by the Russian Empire, her mother, Olha Kosach, a notable civic activist and writer (Olena Pchilka), provided Lesia's education according to her own program which placed special emphasis on Ukrainian language and culture. Later Olena Pchilka

helped her daughter to choose pen-name, identifying her with her nation. Lesia's uncle, Mykhailo Drahomaniv, a well-known scholar of the time, inspired her to study English, which she learned to speak fluently, along with German, French, and Italian. Knowing Greek and Latin, as well as Polish, Russian, and Bulgarian, the poetess could read and appreciate almost the entire wealth of European literature and acquire the wide knowledge of European science and culture that awed her contemporaries.

Ukrainian cultural and political life of those times was regimented by the tsarist government which forbade the Ukrainian publications, theatrical and musical performances (according to the Ukase of Ems of 1876). The growth of the Ukrainian national movement was developed by groups of poets, writers, and intellectuals. One of the most active



groups centered around Mykola Lysenko, a noted composer. Among the leaders of this group were Olena Pchilka and Mykhaylo Staryts'ky, a noted dramatist. The older generation was represented by Oleksander Konys'ky, Kost' Mykhalchuk, and the younger generation, in addition to Lesia and her brother Mykhaylo, by M. Slavyns'ky, V. Samiylenko, M. Hrushevs'ky, E. Tymchenko, I. Steshenko, O. Chermyakhivs'ky, and many others. The group's aim was primarily literary – to enrich Ukrainian literature with translations of foreign (mainly Western European) authors. Thus, Lesia Ukrainka was translating Heine.

The first collection of Lesia Ukrainka's poems, "Na Krylakh Pisen" (On the Wings of Songs) was published in 1892. A second collection of her poems, "Dumy i Mriyi" (Thoughts and Dreams) appeared in 1899 in Lviv. The third collection, "Vidhuky" (Echoes), published in 1902 in Chernivtsi, represents the best of her lyrical form. Between 1897 and 1903 she wrote a number of articles and essays on social, cultural and literary subjects ("Kupala na Volyni" (The Festival of Kupalo in Volhyn'), "Utopiya v literaturi" (Utopia in Literature), "Dva napryamky v novitniy literaturi" (Two Tendencies in Modern Literature), "Ukrainski pys'mennyky na Bukovyni" (Ukrainian Writers of Bukovina), "Novi perspektivy i stari tini" (New Perspectives and Old Shadows), "Uvahy pro novu polsku literaturu" (Observations on the New Polish Literature),

“Evropeyska sotsiyalna drama kintsya XIX stolittya” (European Social Drama at the End of the Ninetenth Century)).

Her dramatic works, which she began to write in 1901, have the perfect and beautiful form of expression and contain deep meaning. She chose her subjects from the Bible, from ancient Greece and Rome, early Christianity, the Moslem past, medieval times, as well as from Spanish history, the distant world of Egypt or seventeenth century America. Her first drama, “Blakytna Troyanda” (The Blue Rose) appeared in 1896. Between 1896 and 1904 she wrote dramatic poems “Oderzhyma” (Obsessed), “Vavylons’kyy Polon” (The Babylonian Captivity), and “Na Ruyinach” (In the Ruins) and two dramatic sketches “Proschannya” (Farewell) and “Iphigenia v Tavrydi” (Iphigenia in Tauris).

Lesia’s illness (tuberculosis of the bone), which she fought with great dignity until her death, forced her to travel frequently, in search of treatments. She visited Italy, the Ukrainian part of the Carpathian Mountains, the Crimea, the Caucasus, Germany and Egypt. Lesia Ukrainka wrote many of her dramatic works during these years of continual travel. In 1907, she finished “Cassandra”, one of her best dramatic poems. When Lesia’s life’s pathway was nearing an end, scenes of the Ukrainian landscape rose before her in all their beauty and vitality and inspired thoughts on the essence of human life, on immortality, and the eternal human spirit. That inspired her fairytale “Lisova Pisnya” (The Forest Song), which she wrote in 1911 and which remains her best work. Her final great dramatic poem, “Orgiya” (Orgy), written shortly before her death in 1913, overflows with strength and faith in the high ideals of national life.

The greatest contribution made by Lesia Ukrainka into the Ukrainian spiritual life was her firm conviction, expressed in her works that Ukrainian culture has its own independent position since its beginnings and that the creative minds of her nation have to develop original values which are not subservient to the Russian imperial culture, despite the fact of political Russian rule over Ukrainians. Issues of national and political independence of the Ukrainian people, cultural autonomy, the emancipation of women are reflected in all her works. Lesia Ukrainka was stepping into the new century and into a new philosophical and artistic realm, she was among the founders of Ukrainian Modernism.

Lesia Ukrainka’s creative work was focused on revealing the unchanging and eternal foundations of human existence, ranging from specific historical circumstances to absolute categories, which creates a special philosophy of her artistic thinking.

Dontsov was one of the first to analyze the author's worldview in the context of Western European philosophy. He noticed signs of voluntarism in Lesia Ukrainka's creative work: "Emphasizing the moment of freedom in her poetry, she approaches Schopenhauer's voluntarism. For her, as well as for that, the will wants not because it feels the lack of something and would like to eliminate this marriage, only for no reason <...>. Not hedonistic, only purely energetic motivation of the will is the basis of her worldview" (Донцов, *Поетка українського Рісорджіменто (Леся Українка)*, 1922, p. 645).

Such features of Lesia Ukrainka's creative work give grounds to Dontsov (1922, p. 645) to place her work "next to such apostles of the cult of energy as Stendhal, Merimee, Stevenson, Nietzsche, Carlyle, Rodin, Barbey d'Oreilly, Guyot or D'Annunzio and other pioneers of the new religion that must revive our unbelieving, free age".

According to Dontsov, Lesia Ukrainka's philosophy of will has introduced an innovative element into Ukrainian literature, the poet re-thinks "the tragedy of unshakable will, unforgivable feeling; the tragedy of a nation in a position to win or perish" (Донцов, 1922:634).

An organic fusion in the Lesia Ukrainka's creative thinking of her national worldview with the thoughts of European philosophers was noted by Zerov (1929, p. 410): "she also adopted the science of European individualistic thought, from Byron so late in Ukrainian literature to Ibsen and Nietzsche".

Modern literary criticism considers the creative work of the poetess in the context of Western European philosophical thought, in particular in line with the philosophy of Nietzsche's life, the existentialism. Hundorova believes that "traces of the influence of Nietzsche's aesthetic-individualistic impulse are felt in Lesia's theory of "neo-romanticism", in her anti-Christian critique ("Obsessed", "In the Catacombs") <...>. The cultural synthesis of "eternal return" and Nietzsche's Dionysian conception echo in her "Forest Song" and "Orgy" (Гундорова, 2009:156).

Modern researchers study the Lesia Ukrainka's creative work through the prism of the philosophy of existentialism. Thus, Dobronosova fits the poetess' creative work "in the context of non-academic philosophical discourse of the late 19th – early 20th centuries, non-classical European philosophy, existential-personalistic search for representatives of the Kiev school of existentialism and existential orientation of Ukrainian literature of the early twentieth century" (Доброносорова, 2002:4).

Stebelska, comparing the Lesia Ukrainka's creative work with the existentialism of the French philosophers, notes that the urges of this

direction, expressed in Sartre's motto of freedom, which is like a "curse", or emphasize the "free will" of man, repeated in many Camus' works, resonate with the concepts of the Lesia Ukrainka's will" (Стебельська, *Образи волі і рабства в драмах Лесі Українки, Збірник праць на 100-річчя поетки, 1971 – 1980*, p. 222). Pankov et al. (1996, p. 49) compare the ideological content of Lesia Ukrainka's drama with the existentialist conceptions of Heidegger, Jaspers, and Sartre, and call a feature common to them "the field of human consciousness determines its meaning".

Despite the researchers' considerable attention to the philosophical context of Lesia Ukrainka's creative heritage, the individual-author strategy of Lesia's philosophy, determined by her own existence, in particular, the philosophy of overcoming, the study of which is the aim of this article, needs more careful study. The works in which, in our opinion, overcoming is fully revealed as a mode of human existence and its artistic embodiment have become the subject of this study.

Literary critics placed more emphasis on the motive of struggle, protest against social and national oppression in the works of Lesia Ukrainka. Thus, Yevshan considered in the poetess' creative work "the struggle against that oppression, with that general death and soulless atmosphere, the protest against stupidity and slander" (Євшан, 1913:192).

Franko (1898, p. 265), analyzing the poetry from the cycle "Tears and Pearls [slozy-perly]", noted the "reaction against the cold despair", which manifested itself "from quiet sadness to mad rage and courageous, proud curse". Ishchuk-Pazuniak (2008, p. 115) emphasized the national liberation motives of Lesia Ukrainka's lyrics.

The motive of struggle, resistance to negative external social and national circumstances is for Lesia Ukrainka only the one of the vectors of the philosophy of overcoming, which has a much deeper existential meaning that Yevshan (2016, p. 190) wrote about – "a struggle with oneself". This constant of Lesia Ukrainka's creative work was generated by her own experiences of personal life situations, and, therefore, is not just a motive of works, but also an integral part of individual life, which allows one to consider overcoming as a philosophical category, if we take into account "an approach conceiving of a system of categories as a list of the highest genera of beings" (Stanford Encyclopedia, 2018).

The category of overcoming was one of the postulates of the philosophy of Stoicism and is related to human patience, acceptance of one's own destiny (will of the Gods), avoidance of the conflict between duty and the thirst for self-preservation. Later, Stoic thinking influenced the philosophical doctrines of the twentieth century, in particular existential-

ism, philosophy of life and more. According to Lesia Ukrainka, this category is consistent with the meaning she invested in the concept of “existentialist humanism” by Sartre: “Man is all the time outside of himself: it is in projecting and losing himself beyond himself that he makes man to exist; and, on the other hand, it is by pursuing transcendent aims that he himself is able to exist. Since man is thus self-surpassing, and can grasp objects only in relation to his self-surpassing, he is himself the heart and center of his transcendence. There is no other universe except the human universe, the universe of human subjectivity. This relation of transcendence as constitutive of man (not in the sense that God is transcendent, but in the sense of self-surpassing) with subjectivity (in such a sense that man is not shut up in himself but forever present in a human universe) – it is this that we call existential humanism” (Sartre, 1946).

This is exactly what “the heart and center of his transcendence” is the lyrical subject of the poem “*Contra spem spero!*” (1893), which is rightly considered the creative credo of the writer. This poem can be called the key to understanding the Lesia Ukrainka’s philosophy of overcoming. The semantic center of poetry is an allusion to the myth of Sisyphus, which reflects the torments of superhuman efforts. Written during the exacerbation of the poet’s illness, the poem became a kind of verbal expression of her own sensory perception of the world, overcoming-experiencing her physical suffering.

In a few decades, this myth will become the cornerstone of the philosophy of the absurd proclaimed by Camus in *The Myth of Sisyphus* (1942). The philosopher sees the absurdity of human existence in the incompatibility of man and the world because the world cannot be known by man, and therefore is hostile to it: “A world that can be explained even with bad reasons is a familiar world. But, on the other hand, in a universe suddenly divested of illusions and lights, man feels an alien, a stranger. His exile is without remedy since he is deprived of the memory of a lost home or the hope of a promised land. This divorce between man and his life, the actor and his setting, is properly the feeling of absurdity” (Camus, 1979:13.).

In the story of Sisyphus, Camus (1979:13) emphasizes the moment when Sisyphus descends to the fallen stone, and realizes the futility of his efforts, but accepts his stone, his destiny: “A teach of those moments when he leaves the heights and gradually sinks towards the lairs of the gods, he is superior to his fate. He is stronger than his rock. <...> All Sisyphus’ silent joy is contained therein. His fate belongs to him. His rock is his thing”.

The very realization of one's fate, the very struggle for the top of the mountain, according to Camus (1979, p. 111), fills Sisyphus' existence with meaning and makes him happy: "Every atom of that stone, every mineral flake of that night-filled mountain, in itself forms a word. The struggle itself towards the heights is enough to fill a man's heart. One must imagine Sisyphus happy".

In the Lesia Ukrainka's poem, the idea of overcoming troubles, which reveals the power of the human spirit, is pervasive. Unlike Camus, the Ukrainian author emphasizes the lifting of the stone, the movement upwards, just then for her comes a moment of joy:

Thought he mountain side be rough and steep,
Onward will I bear the ponderous stone;
Struggling upwards' neath the crushing load,
Still will I my joyous song in tone (Ukrainka, 1950:51).

The anaphora "I will" emphasizes the analogy between rising up and life itself: "will I bear the ponderous stone" – "I will live!" And here we see another feature of Lesia Ukrainka's philosophy, which is correlated with overcoming – the movement, about which Dontsov very aptly said: "What was important for her was the movement itself, not where it comes from or where it goes; this incessant movement, rise and fall, the eternal transition from one to another, reminiscent of the game of waves at sea, where the mountains suddenly turn into an abyss, an abyss into the mountains; movement as an expression of a great, primordial, all-embracing force that conceals all contradictions" (Донцов, 1922:644).

If we compare the reception of Sisyphus' myth in Camus and Lesia Ukrainka, it is obvious that the French philosopher comprehends Sisyphus's overcoming of the mountain immanently, i.e. the meaning of human existence is the realization of his position, and the process itself is not aimed at a certain goal. Upward movement can be seen as a direction to the transcendent: to a clear goal ("Searching ever for that guiding star – radiant empress of the midnight skies"), as well as to creativity ("On this hard and ingrate soil I'll sow / Flowers that shall bloom with colors rare").

Lesia Ukrainka embodies the invincibility of man, his eternal urge to compete, national, spiritual, creative, in the image of Prometheus ("Fiatnox", "Iphigenia in the Tauris", "Cassandra"). Zabuzhko (2014, pp. 223–224.) sees in Prometheus the highest meaning of Lesia Ukrainka's historiosophy: "Disillusionment in history <...> put forward the only possible earthly alternative: that "Promethenian", "celestial", according to the Valentinians' terminology, spark of a *transcendent love*, which in

the forms of Hegel's "individual spirit" opens a way through the prism of the deified material world, *beyond* history and *above* it, and, ultimately, only gives meaning to earthly history – (author's italic type)".

The spiritual power of a man who opposes national enslavement is another cornerstone of the slavish consciousness of the philosophy of overcoming by Lesia Ukrainka, who lived, in the apt words of Kostenko, "in the conditions of a blocked culture". Kostenko very aptly characterizes the era of Lesia Ukrainka, calling it "existential blockage": "three ropes that suppressed Ukrainian culture – the great power one that suppressed all, the colonial that suppressed dependency, and just Ukrainians, who blocked much by a chronic failure to solve their problems (Kostenko, 2000:14).

The author devotes to the theme of enslavement, the "existential blockage", a number of dramatic poems on biblical and mythological themes ("In the Catacombs", "Cassandra", "Captivity in Babylon", "Or-gy", "Obsessed"), in which the existential mode of national enslavement is projected onto the of the author's day. The heroes of these dramas seek to overcome slavery not only physically but also spiritually.

The motif of national and cultural slavery of the Ruin era is heard in the "Boyarynya" (The Noble Woman) drama. The author puts the heroine in a situation that Frankl called an "existential vacuum": "Man has suffered another loss in his more recent development inasmuch as the traditions which buttressed his behavior are now rapidly diminishing. No instinct tells him what he has to do, and no tradition tells him what he ought to do; sometimes he does not even know what he wishes to do. Instead, he either wishes to do what other people do (conformism) or he does what other people wish him to do (totalitarianism)" (Frankl, 1992: 110–111).

In a hostile Muscovy, Oksana is slowly dying out of longing for Ukraine, and most importantly – out of guilt, her own indecision, passive betrayal of her homeland:

We feared
So much the blood shed, Tartars, and the rack,
The demon's oaths, the Muscovitish spies,
And never gave a thought how it might be
When things had settled down... (Ukrainka, 1950:165).

Oksana's physical death should be seen as a self-sacrifice of the heroine for guilt before the Motherland, and at the same time – as an opportunity to overcome being split into her own and others, and thus –

finding an existential integrity through a spiritual resurrection and unity with Ukraine:

Stepan

Don't grieve, Oksana dear!

We will soon again see how brightly shine

Both sun and moon in your beloved Ukraine.

Oksana

What? Am I going to die? Why then, for sure,

My soul will thither fly... (Ukrainka, 1950:163).

According to Demska-Budzuliak (2009, pp. 150–151) “the outcome of this drama is similar to the outcome of the “The Blue Rose”, when the way out of the situation of spiritual captivity is possible only in death”. This opinion can be attributed to the drama extravaganza “The Forest Song”, whose heroes on the way to love overcome a number of obstacles up to fantastic metamorphoses (Lukash turned into a werewolf, and later Mavka by the power of his love returns him to human form and spiritual essence, and Mavka herself turns into a willow) and through physical death receives eternal life:

Ah, for that body do not sigh!

This now infused and glows with fire divine,

As clear and bright and glittering as good wine

Whose life in sparkling bubbles mounts on high (Ukrainka, 1950:259).

Thus, through overcoming, a death is perceived metaphysically, as an ascent to absolute spirituality. In this context, according to Matsyna, central to this concept of the metaphysics of death can be considered “the metaphysics of Overcoming, reflecting the dynamism of the inner spiritual existential space, reflecting the relationship of part immanence with the transcendence of holistic Being” (Мацына, 2016:29).

The heroes of the drama “The Blue Rose” are also in an “existential vacuum”. This work is interesting because the overcoming here takes place both on the external level (confrontation of circumstances) and internal: Lyubov Goshchynska directs all her life energy to the fight against hereditary disease, and therefore – with her love, because “he, who is threatened with terrible illness, shouldn't get marry, it's just a crime!” (Українка, 1896:16).

Therefore, overcoming the heroine's illness is perceived as resistance to the then spiritless society, which in the eyes of Lyubov Goshchynska is nothing and trivial: “<...> all these are our actions, fuss,

all this is done just to not sit idly by. Yes, it's all small, microscopic!” (Українка, 1896:23).

The law of causality, heredity, degeneration – these are our new gods (Українка, 1896:17), – sadly states Lyubov Goshchynska. These “new gods” are contrasted with the true religion of love of minstrels, the symbol of which is the “blue rose”: “That was a love of the “blue rose” times, and it is not a love of our times and our fate” (Українка, 1896:30). Such an opposition to the profane sacred is also observed in the drama extravaganza “The Forest Song”, which determines the existence of the heroes.

The tragedy of Lyubov Goshchynska’s image is that the character of the heroine, neo-romantic in nature, (“Than it comes in a fierce, slow fire, it is better to shine once and burn!”), longing for true love as Dante and Beatrice had, the aspirations of the purpose of life do not correspond to its temporal, are perceived as deviations from the norm, because “in our time, blue roses are abnormal creatures of a sick culture” (Українка, 1896:30). Therefore, the words jokingly uttered by one of the characters of the drama (“the great wheel of civilization needs its victim” (Українка, 1896:19) become prophetic for Lyubov, she became a victim not only of her own life circumstances, but also of her time.

In order to somehow realize his responsibility to his descendants, Lyubov directs all her life energy to the fight against hereditary disease. The heroine's overcoming of her heart with her mind reflects the opposition in the existence of a transcendent and immanent person. In the symbolic language of the drama, this is indicated by an artistic detail – two cabinets with books that the girl reads: “a shelf with books in beautiful frames”, where books for the soul (“good authors”), and “a glass cabinet with thick books”, where “scientific authorities”, books on philosophy, psychology, and psychiatry stay. With the help of these books, Lyubov Hoshchynska strives to overcome a hereditary disease, her feelings, which ultimately leads to a tragic end.

The existential state of the heroine corresponds to the concept of “self-overcoming [samopodolannia]” by Stus (Cryc, 1972.) that the poet describes as follows:

Only will,
overcoming – like self-overcoming,
confrontation, as if survival
though you live indifferently, would you disappear...
(a poem “When your tree-like body will fall asleep”).

Comparing the conversations of the heroes with the style of Ibsen (“our conversation turns out to be *à la Ibsen*”) brings the conflict of drama from the personal plane into the context of the socio-political situation, in which Europe was at the turn of past centuries. Faced with war, a society undergoing spiritual and economic degradation, the “old civilization” has almost been destroyed economically and spiritually, and a new one has not yet been built. Lesia Ukrainka’s characters felt this spiritual devastation even before the personal tragedy that befell them, and they hoped that their love – the “blue rose” – would be their salvation. However, the real world turned out to be stronger than the nurtured ideal. Hoshchynska is looking for death, because as she says about herself, “there is a person in the world and one can think that he lives, but there is no life in him for a long time” (Українка, 1896:83). Orest is also on the verge of death, having a hard time perceiving Lyubov’s nervous breakdown, and later parting with her (“his heart can break at any moment, he himself is motionless” (Українка, 1896:96) the state of the characters in the drama by Bernard Shaw “Heartbreak House”, who also seek death, or rather – a way out of the “existential vacuum”. Like Lesia Ukrainka, the English playwright addresses the theme of madness, which embraces the characters in the play’s finale: an explosion and fire that destroys everything around, causing the characters joy and singing, they are waiting for new bombers. Bernard Shaw explains the symbolism of his work as follows: “Heartbreak House is not merely the name of the play which follows this preface. It is cultured, leisured Europe before the war” (Shaw, 1913–1916).

Shaw wrote a work which, in his opinion, continued the theme of the degeneration of society, which was touched upon in his plays by A. Chekhov and L. Tolstoy: “it was for Tolstoy the house in which Europe was stifling its soul; and he knew that our utter enervation and futilization in that overheated drawing room atmosphere was delivering the world over to the control of ignorant and soul less cunning and energy; Chekhov, more of a fatalist, had no faith in these charming people extricating themselves. They would, he thought, be sold up and sent a drift by the bailiffs” (Shaw, 1913–1916). Shaw continues this series with Ibsen’s dramas: “We stared and said, “How Russian! They didn’t strike me in that way”. Just as Ibsen’s intensely Norwegian plays exactly fitted every middle and professional class suburb in Europe, these intensely Russian plays fitted all the country houses in Europe in which the pleasures of music, art, literature, and the theater had supplanted hunting, shooting,

fishing, flirting, eating, and drinking. The same nice people, the same utter futility” (Shaw, 1913–1916).

We see the same “utter futility” in the Lesia Ukrainka’s drama, which the heroes were able to overcome through their own death. By the way, “The Blue Rose” was first published in 1908, a few years before the play “The Heartbreak House” (1913 – 1916), which once again convinces how subtly Ukrainian poetess felt the spirit of time.

Lesia Ukrainka’s philosophy of overcoming is not only the motive of her works, but also an integral part of the poet’s individual life. This constant of the author’s creative thinking is consistent with the meaning invested by Sartre in the concept of “existentialist humanism”, which postulates the existence of man in the world, rather than introversion. The key to understanding the philosophy of overcoming Lesia Ukrainka’s is poetry “Contra spem spero!” The artistic reception of the author of the myth of Sisyphus agrees with her understanding of Camus, however, unlike the French philosopher, Lesia Ukrainka sees the meaning of life in movement to goal, in creativity. Another cornerstone of the Lesia Ukrainka’s philosophy of overcoming is a resistance to the national enslavement, spiritual slavery, and going beyond the “blocked culture” (Kostenko). The writer dedicates a number of dramatic poems on biblical themes to this topic, in which the existential mode of national enslavement is projected on modern authors of reality. Lesia Ukrainka reflects the overcoming of the “existential vacuum” (Frankl) by the heroes, their acquisition of harmony with the world through physical death in the dramas “The Noble Woman”, “The Forest Song”, “The Blue Rose”.

The study of the philosophy of overcoming in the Lesia Ukrainka’s artistic reception once again convinces that the author’s work, her philosophical discourse on the one hand agrees with Western European thought of the late 19th – early 20th centuries, and on the other, due to the projection of individual existence of the poet. The study of the Lesia Ukrainka’s creative heritage in a philosophical way allows for a deeper understanding of the author’s inexhaustible and always open to new reading phenomenon. The study outlines further aspects of the study of Ukrainian literature in connection with philosophy.

Bibliography:

Гундорова, Т., 2009. *Проявлення слова. Дискурсія раннього українського модернізму.* Київ. [Hundorova, T., *ProYavlennia Slova. Dyskursiia rannoho ukrainskoho modernizmu*].

Демська-Будзуляк, Л., 2009. *Драма свободи в модернізмі: пророчі голоси драматургії Лесі Українки*. Київ. [Demska-Budzuliak, L., *Drama svobody v modernizmi: Prorochi golosy dramaturgiyi Lesi Ukrainky*].

Доброносова, Ю., 2002. Семантико-екзистенційна специфіка філософського дискурсу Лесі Українки (історико-філософський аналіз). Київ. [Dobronosova, Y., *Semantyko-ekzystenciina specyfika filosofskogo dyskursu Lesi Ukrainky (istoryko-filosofskiy analiz)*].

Донцов, Д., 1922. *Поетка українського Рісорджіменто (Леся Українка)*, Антологія української літературно-критичної думки першої половини ХХ століття. 2016. С. 623–656. Київ. [Dontsov, D., *Poetka ukrainskoho Risordzhimento (Lesia Ukrainka)*. *Antolohiia ukrainskoi literaturno-krytychnoi dumky pershoi polovyny XX stolittia*].

Євшан, М., 1913. *Леся Українка*, Антологія української літературно-критичної думки першої половини ХХ століття. 2016. С. 185–193. Київ. [Yevshan, M., *Lesia Ukrainka*. *Antolohiia ukrainskoi literaturno-krytychnoi dumky pershoi polovyny XX stolittia*].

Ішчук-Пазуняк, Н., 2008. *Леся Українка: ідея свободи України у спектрі світової цивілізації. Розвідки і доповіді*. Київ. [Ishchuk-Pazuniak, Nataliia. *Lesia Ukrainka: Ideia svobody Ukrainy u spektri svitovoi tsyvilizatsii. Rozvidky i dopovidi*].

Забужко, О., 2014. *Notre Dame D'Ukraine: Українка в конфлікті міфологій*. Київ. [Zabuzhko, O., *Notre Dame D'Ukraine: Ukrainka v konflikti mifolohii*].

Зеров, М., 1929. *Леся Українка. Критико-біографічний нарис, Українське письменство*. 2002. с. 383–416. Київ. [Zerov, M., *Lesia Ukrainka. Krytyko-biografichnyi narys, Ukrainske pysmenstvo*].

Костенко, Л., 2000. *Геній в умовах заблокованої культури, Урок української: науково-публіцистичний журнал-дайджест*, 2, с. 12-18. [Kostenko, L., *Henii v umovakh zablokovanoi kultury, Urok ukrainskoi: naukovo-publitsystychnyi zhurnal-daidzhest*].

Мацына, А., 2016. *Метафізика Преодоления как интегральная модель архаического восприятия смерти, Международный журнал исследований культуры*, 1 (22), с. 27-38. [Matsyna, A., *Metafizika Preodoleniya kak integralnaya model arkhaischeskogo vospriyatiya smerti*]. [online] Available at: <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/metafizika-preodoleniya-kak-integralnaya-model-arhaicheskogo-vospriyatiya-smerti>> [Accessed 10 December 2021].

Паньков А. і Мейзерська, Т., 1996. *Поетичні візії Лесі Українки: онтологія змісту і форми*. Одеса. [Pankov, A., Meizerska, T., *Poetychni vizii Lesi Ukrainky: ontolohiia zmistu i formy*].

Стебельська, А., 1971 – 1980. *Образи волі і рабства в драмах Лесі Українки, Збірник праць на 100-річчя поетки*. 1971 – 1980. с. 207-232. Філадельфія. [Stebelska, A., *Obrazy voli i rabstva v dramakh Lesi Ukrainky, Zbirnyk prats na 100-richchia poetky*]. Philadelphia.

Стус, В., 1972. *Вибране. Час творчості*. [Stus, V., *Vybrane. Chas tvorchosti*]. [online] Available at: <<http://litmisto.org.ua/?p=23949>> [Accessed 12 December 2021].

Українка, Леся, 1896. *Блакитна троянда, Зібрання творів у 12 т., том 3: драматичні твори (1896 – 1906)*. 1976. С. 9-111. Київ. [Ukrainka, Lesia. *Blakytina troianda, Zibrannia tvoriv u 12 t., Tom 3: dramatychni tvory (1896 – 1906)*].

Франко, І., 1898. *Леся Українка, Зібрання творів у 50 т., Том 31: літературно-критичні праці (1897 – 1899).* 1981. С. 471–529. Київ. [Franko, I., *Lesia Ukrainka, Zibrannia tvoriv u 50 t., Tom 31: literaturno-krytychni pratsi (1897 – 1899)*].

Camus, A., 1979. *The Myth of Sisyphus.* New York.

Frankl, V. E., 1992. *Man's Search for Meaning. An Introduction to Logotherapy* [part one]. Boston.

Sartr, J.-P., 1946. *Existentialism is a Humanism [Lecture given in 1946], Existentialism from Dostoyevsky to Sartre.* United States. [online] Available at: <<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/sartre/works/exist/sartre.htm>> [Accessed 11 December 2021].

Shaw, B. G., 1913 – 1916. *Heartbreak House.* [online] Available at: <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3543/3543-h/3543-h.htm>> [Accessed 11 December 2021].

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2018. [online] Available at: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/categories/>> [Accessed 10 December 2021].

Ukrainka, Lesia, 1950. *Spirit of Flame. A Collection of the Works of Lesia Ukrainka.* New York.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.13>

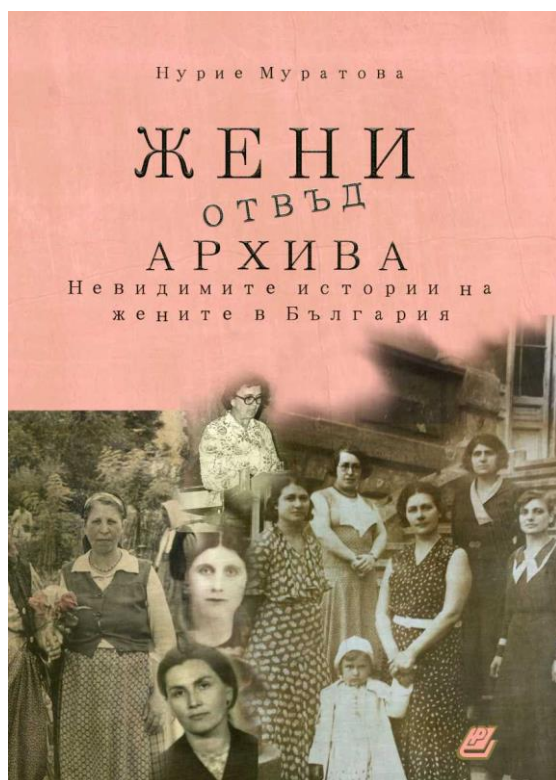
BOOK REVIEW

Daniela Koleva
Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski"
[koleva@phls.uni-sofia.bg]

Women beyond the Archive

Abstract: *Review of the book Nurie Muratova, Women beyond the Archive. Invisible Histories of Women in Bulgaria (Blagoevgrad: Neofit Rilski University Press, 2021, 272 p.)*

Key words: *women's archives, Bulgarian archives, intersectionality, postcolonial studies*



Nurie Muratova, *Women beyond the Archive. Invisible Histories of Women in Bulgaria* (Blagoevgrad: Neofit Rilski University Press, 2021, 272 p.)

Нурие Муратова. *Жени отвъд архива. Невидимите истории на жените в България*, Университетско издателство „Неофит Рилски“, Благоевград, 2021, 274 p., ISBN: 978-954-00-0259-0, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5718857>

The book *Women beyond the Archive. Invisible Histories of Women in Bulgaria* is a result of Nurie Muratova's long-term research in the fields of the

history of women, history of minorities, and archive studies. The chronological frame of her research covers almost the whole 20th century, with a focus on the period of the communist regime. In the monograph, Muratova has found the points of cross-fertilisation of the three thematic fields, where they feed into and enrich one another. The discovery of cross-fertilisation, and its effective utilisation in the book is an important contribution. In the following discussion, I shall focus primarily on its potential to inform research in women's history.

It is a matter of general agreement that women are either altogether absent from the archives or – to the extent they are present – they are 'hidden'. Without challenging this truism, Muratova de-trivialises it by a patient and meticulous mining the state archives in Bulgaria for the possible locations of documents by/about women (including minority women). She starts from the Foucaultian assumption of power-knowledge and develops it in a novel way to capture the microphysics of the exercise of that power through the archive by examining the archival policies from a gender perspective. In this endeavour, the author successfully adapts theoretical insights from postcolonial studies, gender studies and minority studies. The combination of approaches from the latter fields in order to demonstrate the accumulation and amplification of disadvantages (the so-called 'Matilda effect') is not new in itself and Muratova has applied it systematically in a number of previous studies. The innovation here lies in the contextualisation of these themes in the book: the author convincingly shows the "archival power" in historiography and questions the apparent neutrality of the archive. The comparisons of the development of women's archives in a few Western and Balkan countries are particularly revealing as they not only provide evidence of the absence or the invisibility of the women in traditional archives, but take a step forward to explicate the links between the development of social movements and women's movements, between the rise of feminist theories and the study of women's history, between the establishment of transnational research networks and of specialised women's archives. The survey and the analysis of such archives, of their forms, functions and development leads to the conclusion that "the very idea of an archive has been expanded" (p. 81).

This finding implies a more general thesis about the dynamics of the production of historical knowledge, which is no longer defined entirely by the policies of state archives. This is particularly true for the post-communist settings where the 'archival revolution', i.e. the access to archives deemed to remain secret, but also the "disintegration of the mono-

lithic character of the traditional archive” (p. 38) and the recourse to alternative sources, have stimulated a re-assessment of the recent past and a discovery of hitherto unknown and unrecognised historical actors. Therefore, Muratova captures an important ongoing tendency when she observes “a shift of the research process from the place of research to the matter of research in its possible multifarious representation” (p. 35). At the empirical level, her own book (in particular Chapter 4) is an example of such a shift and a proof of its fruitfulness.

No less noteworthy are the author’s observations on the cultural production of historical knowledge in the aspect of its sources – both their origin, and their contextualisation and interpretation. Her meticulous examination of Bulgarian archives and their situation in the past couple of decades, as well as the identification of their deficits in relation to the history of women will no doubt be a *conditio sine qua non* for a future studies in the field. Muratova acknowledges the good culture of documenting in pre-1944 women’s movements and explains the gaps in the archives with the monopoly of the communist regime on historical memory, identifying a few “levels of hiding”, some of them conditioned by the ideology, others – by the methods of archiving. These findings lend support to her conclusion that in Bulgaria, as in other post-communist countries, “the nexus women’s movement – women’s archives – women’s history” has not been realized (p. 102). Thus Muratova not only enriches the research on women’s history and the history of minorities, but also outlines a research agenda in these fields based on a critical reassessment and diversification of the sources, awareness of the circumstances in which a certain archive was established (hence the workings of the ‘archival power’), and connecting the document with the broader social context.

More than that – with her own research, she proves the applicability and the fruitfulness of this agenda.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37708/bf.swu.v31i1.14>

Nurie Muratova
South-West University “Neofit Rilski”
[nmuratova@gmail.com]

Kristina Popova
Bulgarian Academy of Science
[chadoblg@yahoo.com]

Online Exhibition “Women and the Transfer of Knowledge in the Black Sea Region”

Abstract: *The aim of the exhibition is to present the place of women in the transfer of knowledge in the Black Sea Region and in its rich cultural representations and its historical dynamics. The concept is to present women as objects of male representations and a men-dominated scientific discourse as well as to present them as emerging subjects of knowledge and knowledge exchange by the end of the 18th and 19th centuries as well as in academic cultures in the 20th century – to illustrate their works, lives, achievements and contributions.*

Keywords: *exhibition; women in science; transfer of knowledge; Black Sea Region.*

The online exhibition “Women and the Transfer of Knowledge in the Black Sea Region” (<http://womeninscience.swu.bg>) is an ongoing project which was prepared in 2017 – 2021 according to the EU Project ‘*Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities. Europe and the Black Sea Region*’. The exhibition is based on materials (photographs, pictures, texts about women’s history in the Black Sea Region in XVIII – XX Century which were provided by Georgeta Nazarska, Nurie Muratova, Kristina Popova, Anastasiya Pashova, Petar Vodenicharov, Claudia Dobre, Marine Aroshidze, Gayane Ayvazyan, Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, Eudochia Saharneanu, Irada Baghirova, Zeynep Zafer, Ioannis Grigoriadis, Valentyna Koliesnik, Alla Kondrasheva and other.

It is elaborated by Nurie Muratova.

The aim of the exhibition is to present the place of women in the transfer of knowledge in the Black Sea Region (BSR) and in its rich cultural representations and its historical dynamics. The concept is to present women as objects of male representations and a men-dominated scientific discourse as well as to present them as emerging subjects of knowledge and knowledge exchange by the end of the 18th and 19th centuries as well as in academic cultures in the 20th century – to illustrate their works, lives, achievements and contributions.

The exhibition is structured by countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, North Macedonia, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine), time, personalities and topics. The main topics of the online exhibition “Women and the Transfer of Knowledge in the Black Sea Region” are:


- Female images and descriptions as promoted by local traditions and by travel notes of foreigners in the 18th and 19th centuries.
- The emerging visualization of women in the BSR.
- The role of religion in the visualization process of women in the BSR.
- The Orientalist views toward women.
- Discourses about bringing up children and the education of women in a historical perspective.
- Pedagogical theories of the Age of Enlightenment about female education and their dissemination in the BSR.
- Emerging female participation in the public sphere, e.g. the first schools for women, female high schools, access to university, as well as the representation of the female teacher in the 19th-century-BSR.
- The educated women and their biographical background. Life, achievements and reception in the society.
- Writing women – e.g. female diaries, letters, poetry, novels and publications.
- First female translators and their role in the transfer of knowledge.
- First female periodicals and journalists.
- Women in the civic society in the BSR. Maternalism, female charity societies and the spread and transfer of social knowledge.
- Women as travelers and their travel notes and travelogues.
- Women as scientists – the role of women scholars in changing traditional male scientific discourses.
- Feminism. The first feminist societies, personalities and issues in the BSR.

- Famous feminists in the BSR and their participation in international women organizations and congresses, especially in the International Association of University Women.

- Participation in scientific conferences, congresses and other forms of academic life.



- Discussions about the social roles of women and their participation in public life during the 19th and 20th centuries.

- Institutions of women's memory in the BSR, e.g. museums, archives, collections, and feminists' walks on places of women's memory.



WOMEN AND THE TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE BLACK SEA REGION
Online Exhibition

[ABOUT THE PROJECT](#)
[18TH CENTURY](#)
[19TH CENTURY](#)
[20TH CENTURY](#)
[21TH CENTURY](#)
[RESOURCES](#)
[CONTACT](#)

The ideas of the European Enlightenment gave strong impulses to the female education.

Educated women became important figures at that time finding their places in the cultures of knowledge as well as in the knowledge transfer. One of the main aims of the exhibition is to over-

CATEGORIES

Home

18 Century

Travel notes

Women and Religion

Writing Women

19 Century

Travel notes

Women and Education

Writing Women

Orientalist views

Women and science

Female Translators

Periodicals and Journals

Feminism

Charity Societies

BALKANISTIC FORUM

1/2022

Volume XXXI, Issue 1

Editors:

Kristina Popova and Nurie Muratova

Format 70/100/16

Design: Nurie Muratova

Printed in Publishing House - South-West University

Bulgaria, 2700 Blagoevgrad, 66 Ivan Mihailov str.