



A BIOGRAPHICAL
DICTIONARY OF
**women's movements
and feminisms**

*Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe,
19th and 20th Centuries*



Edited and with an Introduction by

Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova and Anna Loutfi

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AND ANNA LOUTFI



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This book represents the first attempt on this scale to bring together information on women's movements and feminisms in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe. We have not aimed to be ‘comprehensive’—that would by definition be impossible. We do think that a second edition of the *Dictionary* would have to pay greater attention to significant minority groups within the geographical territory covered here, and possibly even beyond (after all, where does ‘Europe’ end?). Inevitably, there will be some inaccuracies; hopefully, new materials will come to light; ideally, discussion will be provoked. The editors would therefore wholeheartedly welcome any feedback and/or contributions to the debates surrounding women's activism in the region of Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe, possibly for a second, revised edition of the *Biographical Dictionary*.

Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova and Anna Loutfi
Budapest and Sofia, May 2005

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Often Used Abbreviations

CESEE	Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe
IAW	International Alliance of Women
IAWSEC	International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship
ICW	International Council of Women
IFUW	International Federation of University Women
IIAV	International Information Center and Archives for the Women's Movement
IWSA	International Woman Suffrage Alliance
LEW	Little Entente of Women
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Symbols Used in the Lists of Sources

- (A) Archival material
- (B) Printed primary sources
- (C) Work(s) **BY** the subject (in chronological order)
- (D) Work(s) **ABOUT** the subject (in chronological order)
- (E) Other works used while preparing this piece
- (F) Internet sources

Maps

1. Emergence of Modern Balkan States, 1804-1862.
2. The Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich*, 1867.
3. Balkan State Territorial Expansion, 1881-1886.
4. June 1914: Map of Europe
5. The Countries of Europe, 1919
6. Europe in 2005

Map 1

“Emergence of Modern Balkan States, 1804-1862.”



Source: Map 25 in Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox. *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of the Balkans*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Map 2

“The Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich, 1867.”



Source: Map 34 in Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox. *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of Eastern Europe*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Map 3

“Balkan State Territorial Expansion, 1881-1886.”



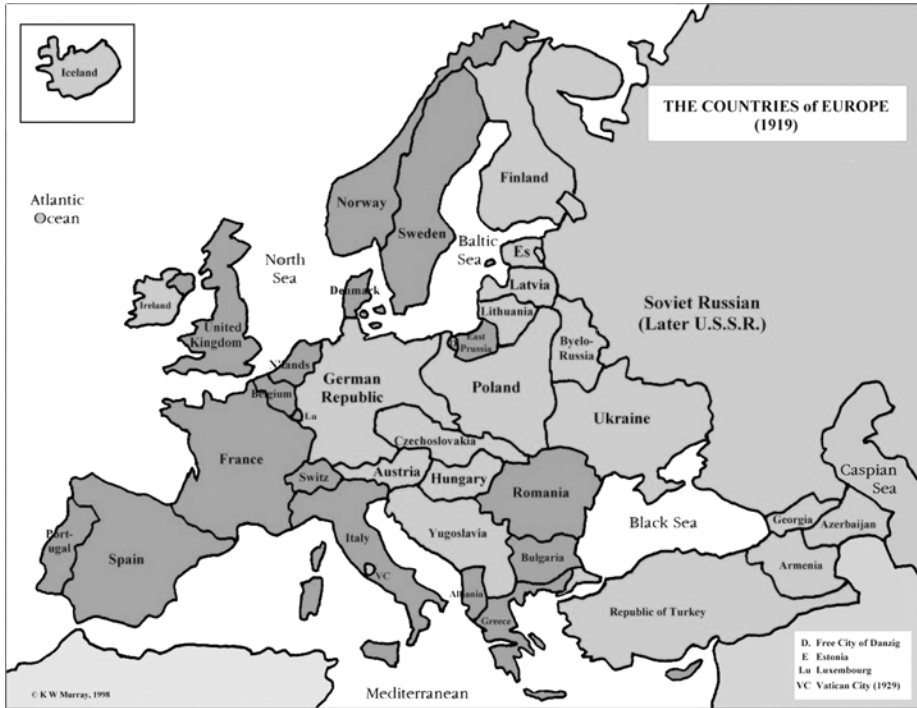
Source: Map 29 in Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox. *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of the Balkans*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Map 4
“June 1914: Map of Europe”



Source: <http://www.westernfront.co.uk/thegreatwar/articles/timeline/images/Europe14.jpg>

Map 5
“The Countries of Europe, 1919”



Source: <http://users.tibus.com/the-great-war/states19.htm>

In Europe, after World War I ended, some new countries were created and others had their former existing borders redrawn (both types colored light grey in the above map). During the early 1920s a number lost their independence (for example; the Ukraine, and Belarus) and were incorporated into the, then, new USSR. Their sovereignty was only regained during the 1990s.

Map 6
"Europe in 2005"



Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Europe-large.png>

Introduction

I. Why this book?

This book describes the lives, works and aspirations of more than 150 women and men who were active in, or part of, women's movements and feminisms in 22 countries in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe. In doing so, it challenges the widely held belief that there was no feminism in this part of Europe. Taken together, the biographical portraits not only show that feminists (we will come back to this term) existed here, but also that they were widespread and diverse, and included Romanian princesses, Serbian philosophers and peasants, Latvian and Slovakian novelists, Albanian teachers, Hungarian Christian social workers and activists of the Catholic women's movement, Austrian factory workers, Bulgarian feminist scientists and socialist feminists, Russian radicals, philanthropists, militant suffragists and Bolshevik activists, prominent writers and philosophers of the Ottoman era, as well as Turkish republican leftist political activists and nationalists, internationally recognized Greek feminist leaders, an Estonian pharmacologist and science historian, a Slovenian 'literary feminist,' a Czech avant-garde painter, a Ukrainian feminist scholar and Polish and Czech Senate Members. There were feminists of liberal persuasion, Social Democrats, communists, partisans, Catholics, Jews, Protestants, members of the Orthodox Church and atheists; in sum women, and some men, from all walks of life. Their stories together constitute a rich tapestry of feminist activity.

The belief that there was no feminism in this part of Europe (probably with the exception of Russia, where the history of women's movements has been well documented)¹ is not limited to 'ordinary people,' but is shared by academics as well. Such a fine historian as Eric Hobsbawm wrote only a few years ago with respect to the period around 1900 that "In the condition of the great majority of the world's women, those who lived in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the peasant societies of southern and eastern Europe, or indeed in most agrarian societies, there was as yet no change whatever."² It is true that supporters of women's movements and feminist causes in those regions formed a relatively small part of the population in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—perhaps smaller than in some of the (more industrialized) countries of Western Europe in the same period. Yet, rather than *a priori* assuming that there was no change, it may be more constructive for historians to pay close attention to the undoubted presence and influence of women's activities and protests,

trying to understand in which contexts they developed and how. Women's activities in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe (CESEE) produced (as in 'the West') "a small but unprecedented number of women who were active" and "distinguished, in fields previously confined entirely to men"³: dynamic personalities such as Callirhoe Parren (Greece), Elena Ghica/Dora d'Istria (a Romanian of Albanian descent), Fatma Aliye and Halide Edib Adıvar (Turkey), Milica Ninković (Serbia), Vela Blagoeva and Anna Karima (Bulgaria), the Croatian Dragojla Jarnević, Bosnians Stoja Kašiković and Staka Skenderova, and many, many others.

Western feminist historians may not have been so blunt as Hobsbawm, but until recently their work has been generally limited to the Western European continent (or even to a limited number of countries there: namely England, Germany and France). Karen Offen, in her important book *European Feminisms 1700-1950* (2000), has clearly made all possible efforts to include data about Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe, but was restricted by the piecemeal and limited information available for most countries of these regions.⁴ The history of women's movements in this part of Europe by and large has either not been researched or published only in local languages (the books in Romanian by Ștefania Mihăilescu and Ghizela Cosma are good examples of the latter),⁵ without a bridge to the mainly Anglophone world of international scholarship. Of course there are differences in this respect between the various countries, and projects are underway, but it is safe to say that the history of women's movements and feminisms is largely unwritten and that most recent publications deal with the contemporary history of women's movements/feminisms after 1989.⁶ The recent (2004) volume *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: A European Perspective*, edited by Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, does include some countries from the Eastern half of the European continent, but only a handful (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Greece);⁷ our book, with its focus on 22 countries, aims (through biographical accounts) to give a broader overview of the social-economic-cultural-political factors shaping women's movements and feminisms across the diverse countries of this part of Europe.⁸ Therefore the first goal of this *Biographical Dictionary* is to provide reliable information—in principle based on primary research—about women and men who were involved in women's movements and feminisms in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe. We hope to initiate cross national discussions of the history and meaning of feminism(s) in CESEE, and thus to contribute to the expanding field of international and comparative historical research of women's movements and feminisms, as well as contributing in a more general sense to building women's and gender history as an academic field of teaching and research in CESEE.

By uncovering and making accessible this wealth of information, we also hope to challenge the above-mentioned view that there was no feminism in CESEE, as well as the commonly accepted notion that feminism in the region was 'imported' from 'the West' and alien to 'local traditions.' These two (related) assertions are clearly not

innocent. They have been and still are used in many countries around the world to discredit local women's movements and feminisms. Yet "in every society, in every generation, women protest gender injustice,"⁹ and any suggestion to the contrary is a denial of the intelligence and human agency of countless women and men, including those featured in this *Biographical Dictionary*. As Judit Ascady has recently put it with respect to Hungary, "If attention is not drawn to this historical background of ... feminism, all the efforts of those who once devoted their energies to this cause will be wasted, and modern-day feminism will be seen as alien and unconnected."¹⁰ The biographies here not only provide a window onto that historical background (thus giving present-day women's movements the 'historical support' that they need and are entitled to), in some cases they demonstrate explicitly the historical continuities between feminisms past and present (as in the case of Veselinka Malinska from Macedonia).

Finally, writing the histories of women's movements and feminisms in CESEE will hopefully increase tolerance and understanding of women's movements and feminisms today, if only by showing the many historical connections between them—particularly before 1940.

II. Choices and Methodology

Biographies

We have chosen to reconstruct the history of women's movements and feminisms in CESEE in the form of biographical portraits. One of the main reasons for doing so is our belief that—within all the structural limitations that have existed and continue to exist—human history is made by human beings. In the context of fundamental social changes taking place everywhere in Europe in the nineteenth century (urbanization, industrialization, literacy and education programs, technological changes, 'modernization'), women and men were moved and inspired—by religious beliefs, the struggle for national liberation, socialism and/or feminism—to reject women's secondary status, their poverty and/or illiteracy, discriminating laws, women's exclusion from the realms of culture, higher education, science and politics, age-old traditions presented as unchangeable as well as, for that matter, modern forms of patriarchy promoted by the new 'inclusive' social and political movements such as nationalism and socialism. In order to understand why some women and men opted for change, or even devoted their lives to the struggle for social justice (including gender equality), we have to situate their personalities and personal histories in the broader social-economic-cultural-political context, which is what the entries generally do.

Moreover, the biographical perspective not only clarifies why some individuals opted for change, but also explains the fields in which they became active, usually (as many entries show) connected to their own specific aspirations and the problems and

barriers they encountered—yet another example of the feminist insight that the so-called ‘public’ and ‘private’ spheres are intimately connected. A focus on individual life stories in the context of wider social-economic-cultural-political structures brings out these connections: women such as Hermin Beniczky (1815–1895), Eliška Krásnohorská (1847–1926), and Terézia Vansová (1857–1942), who personally suffered from not having had a thorough and structured education and then went on to become pioneers of women’s education; Bulgarian women lawyers prevented from practicing their profession such as Dimitrana Ivanova (1881–1960) and Vera Zlatareva (1905–1977), whose life stories merged with the interwar Bulgarian feminist movement to form a personal and political history of struggle with the male legal (and other) professions; or women such as the Turkish Nurser Öztunalı (1947–1999) who, on the basis of her own experience with marital violence, initiated a huge campaign against violence against women as a social/structural rather than individual phenomenon. The biographical/individual level also enables readers to trace which persons (e.g. family members or others) and literature most influenced the ways our subjects/protagonists thought and acted, and in which formal and informal networks they operated—locally, nationally and internationally.

A third reason for choosing the form of biographical entries is the sheer pleasure or inspiration that we derive from reading about other people’s lives, a pleasure we hope our readers will share.

Women’s Movements and Feminisms

One of the reasons why feminism is often seen as a ‘Western’ phenomenon is that (Western) feminists themselves have conveyed that perspective—often with the concomitant notion of superiority and the belief in having *the* right perspective, if not the duty to impose that on others. Indeed historically, as has been documented extensively over the last ten to fifteen years, many Western feminists have shared the imperialist perspective of their governments and co-nationals¹¹ (and with respect to CESEE, some would argue, similar missionary/imperialist tendencies have become prevalent after 1989 as well).¹²

In order to avoid reproducing such tendencies, and in line with our belief that 1) women’s movements and feminisms always have to be contextualized and 2) historically have taken many forms, we have not pre-defined what we understand by ‘women’s movements and feminisms.’ Instead we have asked local experts—the Advisory Board members or Country Coordinators (see page xiii)—to put together lists of names of those subjects they felt should be included in this *Dictionary*. Similarly, in drawing a distinction between ‘women’s movements’ and ‘feminisms,’ we sought to keep an open mind in order not to exclude *a priori* writings and activities that aimed to improve women’s status and position (as part of a ‘women’s movement’), yet did not

necessarily aim for women's equality with men and/or to challenge patriarchal structures (as 'feminism' is generally defined as doing).¹³

Indeed, we provided only two 'hard' criteria regarding the inclusion of subjects: that they were active in the nineteenth or twentieth century, and that the subject no longer be alive (which is the reason why the *Biographical Dictionary* contains very few entries about contemporary activists/feminists). We informed the Country Coordinators that, considering the state of the research, we were interested in women and men who had established women's organizations and journals, as well as in all kinds of international connections. Of course, the choices that the Country Coordinators made were shaped not only by the state of women's history in their respective countries (which varies widely), but also by their own disciplinary backgrounds and interests. That is why for some countries we have more 'literary feminists' than 'feminist activists' affiliated to women's organizations.

The Countries

The question of which countries to include in a biographical dictionary of this nature is a difficult one. There is no such thing as a simple definition of 'Europe' nor any simple division of Europe into 'East' and 'West,' as many authors have shown. The labels 'East' and 'West' are relative, historically changing, mutually constitutive and politically laden. In addition, these labels suggest homogenous entities that do not exist.¹⁴ We have decided to include countries in the Eastern half of the European continent generally perceived to be 'outside' the 'core,' yet nevertheless part of Europe. Most of them have shared histories as parts of the Russian, Prussian, Habsburg and Ottoman empires. This includes Turkey which, through the Ottoman Empire, has a shared history with the South Eastern European peninsula—'European Turkey' seen by some as part of the Balkans. Of course many of these countries also share a history of state socialism.

On the basis of the current map of this part of Europe, the countries included in the *Biographical Dictionary* therefore are: Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey and Ukraine.

III. What have we found?

Altogether, if we consider the differences between all these 22 countries (of which there are many—too complex and varied to address here), the similarities from a gender perspective are overriding. All countries reveal male domination at both the sym-

bolic and the material level, which is to say that despite the differences, common oppressive gender principles and hierarchies were at work in the historical period covered by the *Dictionary*. Women were subordinated to the 'first sex' and this was reflected in the many common features of their status—devalued motherhood, moral (but not legal or financial) responsibility for family life, vulnerability to violence, high levels of illiteracy and high mortality rates (e.g. in childbirth) etc.—that were a consequence of their being regarded as the 'second sex.' All the same, gender is not the only category of social organization that affects women's lives. The similarities and differences between women's conditions are not only a question of the degree to which 'the masculine principle' is dominant, but also of how this principle intersects with other social demarcations.

What we have found striking is that there does not seem to have been an ideological position or party line, faith, political modernization program or cultural/religious national movement that was exempt from the burning issues of the day raised by what was known across all spectrums of intellectual endeavor as 'the woman question.' All the same, two ideologies stand out in their involvement with 'the woman question': nationalism and socialism. These two ideologies in particular brought men and women together to fight for what many perceived as a 'common cause.' 'The woman question' was set within a wider 'national question' or a wider 'social question' and thus the issues and problems raised—touching among other things on increased opportunities and rights for women in the fields of education, employment and the civil law—were seen to be of relevance to the whole of society. Socialist and nationalist organizations, often in alliance with one another, produced intellectuals and ideologues of both sexes who criticized the subordinated position of women under imperial despotism, capitalism and/or patriarchy as a sign of a 'deeper' problem (that it would later be the job of state-socialist or republican models of government to address). In these contexts, individual women, feminists and organized women's movements often (but by no means always) saw alliance and even compliance with male-dominated organizations, parties and structures as necessary to the realization of their own goals. This kind of approach to women's and feminist issues and causes may be seen in (Romanian) Eugenia de Reuss Ianculescu's philosophy that "both men and women were engaged in a common struggle for the country's social and economic progress,"¹⁵ or the decision, in the 1920s, of the Greek *Syndesmos gia ta Dikaiomata tis Gynaikas* (League for Woman's Rights) to work with men "for strategic reasons."¹⁶

While this close relation between nationalism and socialism and 'the woman question' is not a new finding in itself, the entries show that women's involvement in nationalism and socialism not only allowed them to articulate certain demands (mostly for women's education, sometimes for the vote), but also to challenge the limits of those ideologies or to criticize them from within. These findings support an alternative feminist reading that does not reduce the histories of nationalism or socialism to male-dominated rhetorical exercises in gender equality. Instead, the attention of read-

ers is drawn to the manifest ways in which women saw nationalist and socialist projects as necessary to their own emancipation as women,¹⁷ while many at the same time recognized gendered exclusionary practices as problematic features of those projects. The Polish Narcyza Źmichowska and Hungarian Mária Gárdos are examples. In 1895 the Ukrainian Natalia Kobrynska wrote: "It would be more realistic for women workers, while admitting that the victory of the workers will also be their victory, to ensure their own rights and not become dependent upon the grace of men." Similarly, the well-known Russian Bolshevik Alexandra Kollontai was by the 1920s already expressing doubts that economic conditions under communism would lead "automatically to harmonious relations between the sexes."¹⁸ In this respect, the lives and work of women such as Źmichowska, Gárdos, Kobrynska and Kollontai reflect debates and questions regarding gender policies that have been present throughout the history of modern nationalism and socialism in CESEE [for the postwar period see for example the work of critical intellectuals such as Croatian philosopher Blaženka Despot (1930-2001)].¹⁹

Another important finding is that, although women's organizations in CESEE were urban phenomena, women's movements and feminisms here often addressed a wide, agrarian social base in ways that would seem to contradict Hobsbawm's assumption (previously mentioned) that social change was not a factor in "the peasant societies of southern and eastern Europe." Liberal newspapers in Lithuania edited by women in the early twentieth century targeted a large Lithuanian population (85 percent) living in the countryside, as well as providing women's supplements addressed to women of both the towns and the countryside. In late nineteenth-century Ukraine, women activists competed with national 'populist' or socialist women's organizations that appealed to a primarily agrarian base, Belarussian nationalist feminists wrote poems "to peasant women," Romanian feminists opened schools for peasant girls and Russian feminists protested land reforms (1906) that they feared would threaten the existing rights of peasant women. Feminist and women's activities were thus part of radical changes in the lives of both urban and rural populations, and raise questions about dichotomies such as native/foreign, urban/peasant and traditional/modern.

Three other similarities between the 22 countries are also worth mentioning here. Firstly, there is the importance of education in the history of European women's movements and feminisms. In almost all cases, this is what the first initiatives to improve women's lives focused on. Suffrage, as in most Western countries, only became an issue later. To a certain extent, this finding is evidence of the dramatic impact Enlightenment and liberal thought had on the subjects from all 22 countries, many of whom were influenced by core Enlightenment theories of citizenship and education by men such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and many of whom reacted negatively to the lack of attention paid to women's education and their accompanying lack of civil and civic status. The overwhelmingly positive reception across the region of John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869) suggests that

in Eastern as well as Western Europe, women and men had been growing increasingly frustrated with male-centered views on the functions of education, politics and social roles. It also demonstrates the relevance of Mill's (and other key feminist thinkers') works for CESEE—works that were often translated into local languages. Secondly, it is remarkable how many of our biographical subjects expressed an interest in women's history and the history of women's movements in their own countries and beyond.²⁰ This is true of Fatma Aliye (Turkey), Callirhoe Parren (Greece), Zinaida Mirovich, Inessa Armand and Ekaterina Nikolaevna Shchepkina (Russia), Lydia Sklevicky (Croatia), Eliza Orzeszkowa (Poland) and Milica Ninković (Serbia) to name but a few. Thirdly, many of our subjects were activists who expressed a powerful belief in the force of internationalism. This belief often (but not always) remained unshaken even in the aftermath of the devastation caused by the two World Wars. Perhaps (as the Hungarian Ilona Stetina seemed to suggest) the extent of the devastation wreaked upon Europe in the first half of the twentieth century strengthened the commitment of activists to the international women's movement, seeing international connections and contacts as vital to the success of their own particular, local struggles.

In addition to these specific results, the entries taken together raise questions about the categories that we use in writing the history of women's movements and feminisms. Thus, we have noticed a certain hesitancy among scholars about including socialist or communist feminists, indeed, some would argue that a 'communist feminist' is in itself a *contradictio in terminis*, "no matter how many specific examples of [communist] policies in favor of women we may find."²¹ Arguments against 'communist feminists' have pointed to the fact that first socialists and later communists have denounced and attacked the women's movement as 'bourgeois,' and made explicit their aversion to 'feminism.' This approach has seen gender policies, especially for the communist era in Eastern Europe, as 'state directed' (i.e. motivated by the economic interests of the party or state), rather than reflecting women's 'own aspirations.'

However, for many socialist and communist women at the time, socialism was not just the only political stream that advocated women's equality (and therefore attractive), but they themselves were deeply convinced that the only way to social justice, including gender equality, was through socialism (as for instance the Macedonian entries demonstrate). Secondly, some women, such as the Austrian Social Democrat Käthe Leichter, did not consider themselves part of the women's movement, yet through their writings and activities they contributed significantly to knowledge about women's, especially working women's situation. In the case of Leichter it is clear that no matter how we categorize her, neither this categorization nor Leichter's own self-identification (*Selbstzuordnung*) encompass all aspects of her individual and political biography.²² Thirdly, there were women, probably quite a few, who identified with, and remained active within the socialist movement, even though they disagreed with its patriarchal practices and sidelining of 'women's issues' in the name of socialism (as

discussed above). Fourthly, and conversely, there were many women—as the Bulgarian and Polish entries in particular show—who seemingly identified as *both* feminists and socialists without much effort. Lastly, and specifically relating to the period of state socialism, there were women such as the Slovenian Vida Tomšič (1913–1998), with a high-ranking position in the communist state hierarchy, who contributed significantly to improving women’s status and situation. Tomšič truly believed that private property had to be dismantled in order for patriarchal relations to ‘wither away.’ She participated in the twentieth Triennial Plenary Conference of the International Council of Women (Vienna, 1973) and in three of the major UN Women’s Conferences (1975, 1980, 1985), at which she, as the author writes, “represented the ‘official’ Yugoslav position ... [Vida Tomšič] contributed a great deal to the new legislation issued during the socialist period of 1945 to 1990 as a specialist on gender questions, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the policies she advocated [such as freedom of reproductive choice] combined both official ideology and [her] own ideas.” At the same time, she was part of a government that had declared feminism “an unnecessary, even harmful, ‘bourgeois’ phenomenon” and which had abolished “all women’s civil organizations from ‘pre-communist’ times—the *Jugoslovanska ženska zveza* (Yugoslav Women’s Union), the *Splošno slovensko žensko društvo* (General Slovene Women’s Association) and the *Krščanska ženska zveza* (Christian Women’s Union).”²³ So, how is one to categorize someone like Tomšič? Was she a communist feminist? Karmen Klavžar, the author of one of our entries on Slovenian feminist Angela Vode, explicitly refers to Tomšič as “feminist.”²⁴ Clearly, the last word about this complex issue has not yet been said, and we hope that the material offered here will initiate further debate.

Secondly, similar questions can be asked about philanthropic and/or religious organizations with a focus on women (and children): were these charity organizations—which sought to provide material relief/assistance, to give girls and women opportunities in a modern environment that seemed by and large hostile to their needs [such as the *Pesti Izraelita Nőegylet* (Pest Israelite Women’s Association), Hungary’s largest Jewish women’s association], and which often emphasized ‘conservative’ family values and shied away from the political voice of feminism—were these organizations part of the women’s movement?²⁵ Taking a broad definition of women’s movements to include those initiatives that aimed at improving women’s lives, we believe that they were. Moreover, contextualization is again crucial. Under tsarist law in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Russia, explicitly political organization/agitation was dangerous for women as well as for men. ‘Conservative’ Shabanova (1848–1932), the founder and Chairwoman of the *Russkoe Zhenskoe Vzáimno-Blagotvoritel’noe Obshchestvo* (Russian Women’s Mutual Philanthropic Society) was imprisoned in her early career for anti-tsarist/revolutionary activities; Filosofova (1837–1912), her colleague, was exiled for the same. These women did not refrain from voicing opposition to existing structures because of religious, pious or other kinds of conservatism. Similarly, women in Republican, interwar Turkey worked within the ‘harmless’ framework

of philanthropy—often refusing to compromise their political agendas. As Serpil Çakır writes: “Official authorization of the *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* [Women’s People’s Party] was refused on the grounds that women did not yet have political rights and members were advised to set up a women’s association, suggesting the extent to which the parameters for the granting of social and political rights for women were largely set by men as founders of Republican Turkey. The *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* became an association: the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women’s Association), but its founding principles were in fact similar to the proposed program of the political party.”²⁶ In our view, the question therefore is not “what were these women?” but “what forums did they have and what did they do with them?”

Lastly, some of the entries here also challenge the way in which we think about the history of the international women’s movement. There is consensus that the three major international organizations, the International Council of Women (ICW), the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, later International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship (IWSA/IAWSEC) and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) occupied a political ‘scale’—from moderate/conservative (ICW) to (liberal) feminist to leftish/progressive feminist.²⁷ Yet interestingly, many Polish socialist feminists who were involved in the IAWSEC and the Polish *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet* (Women’s Association for Civil Labor), affiliated to the IAWSEC from 1929, challenge this scheme. So does someone like Angela Vode, co-founder in 1920 of the Communist Party in Slovenia, a member of that party until 1939, and simultaneously involved in the ICW and IAWSEC.²⁸ It is worth bearing in mind that if our biographical subjects were able to bridge the contradictions between feminism, nationalism, socialism, communism, philanthropy and revolution in their own lives—then surely historians, including women’s historians, must adopt similarly open approaches to their own research and methodologies, rather than creating forms of closure through the use of predefined and potentially limited categories.

IV. Further research and wishes

While the process of compiling this book has brought together a wealth of information, it also highlights areas for further research of women’s movements and feminisms in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe. Many authors of entries included in this *Biographical Dictionary* note that in their respective countries, there continues to be little academic interest in the “rich and colorful” and “fully-fledged” feminist movements that may have existed and have been subjected to “collective amnesia” in the historiography of the twentieth century.²⁹ Potential areas of further research include more full-scale biographies of women’s leaders and activists; the complex interrelation between religion and women’s movements; different forms of

women's organizing across the CESEE countries, with a focus on various class, ethnic and minority groups; the connections between liberal feminism and socialism (both before and after 1945) and interregional, international and transnational connections based on joint research projects of scholars from different parts of Europe.

Several of the research areas mentioned here will undoubtedly help shed light on life 'under communism,' including personal experiences of confronting, contesting and interpreting official Party narratives, and raising questions about the meaning of 'socialist emancipation' (i.e. of women) and 'state feminism.' It is also hoped that further attention to these research areas will contribute to the creation of more comparative and integrative perspectives on the history of CESEE, possibly by those involved in the network formed through the making of this *Dictionary*.

V. Practical and Technical Issues

Women's names

As a rule, this book has taken to using the family (i.e. surname) of each individual subject in order to convey that person's *adult* status—be it a woman or a man. (This rule may be waived when describing the subject's childhood or early years). However the business of naming, especially women, is particularly complex. For feminists, the issue of a woman's family name, generally that of her father's and changing upon marriage (in some women's lives this means several changes of name), may be troubling in and of itself as a patriarchal practice. Even though it is historically accurate to refer to a Hungarian woman by her husband's full name, as "Mrs Artur Meller" (possibly then followed by her full maiden name), it may not always 'feel right' to do so. The problem is practical as well as ideological, at least in so far as writing women's history is concerned. For the case of Turkey, Fatmagül Berktay has pointed out to us that in the Ottoman era there were no surnames or official birth records. Sometimes the 'pater familias' would record names of newborns on the family Quoran, but not always and not usually of the females. Likewise, former slave girls bought or given to the Palace and often married off to 'pashas' were 'given' names, with the result that accurate information about women's 'real names' is obscured. Across the 22 countries (as elsewhere in Europe), a woman, whether married or single, may have chosen a pseudonym for herself—as many of our *Dictionary* subjects did—to avoid political persecution for her beliefs or (especially in the case of writers) to avoid the bias of male critics towards her as a 'woman writer.' In such cases, it 'feels right' to name the subject at times as she named herself. Many women adopted several pen-names and pseudonyms over the course of their lives, not only in their literary activities, but also in public and political life. The Latvian writer and politician Ivande Kaija (1876–1941), whose name (meaning 'Seagull' in Latvian) she chose for herself, is a case in

point. These examples draw attention not only to the patriarchal practice of denying women their own names and the historical dilemmas of reproducing those practices, but also to the alternative naming practices that women devised for themselves.

The names that appear italicized and in bold refer to the names of subjects included in this *Biographical Dictionary*, in order to highlight the connections between some of the subjects.

Names of organizations

Where possible, we have used the original names of organizations followed by the English translation the first time the organization appears in the text, rather than using translated names of organizations. There are three reasons for this approach: one, to avoid linguistic insensitivity; two, to convey a sense of the worlds in which these organizations operated and three, to facilitate the further research of scholars interested in the histories of organizations and/or their members.

Sources

Each entry ends with an overview of the sources used for that piece. For the system employed in the organization of sources, see page xiv with Often Used Abbreviations and Symbols Used in the Lists of Sources.

The *Biographical Dictionary* does not give, or aim to give complete bibliographies of subjects at the end of each entry. The bibliographies provided are lists of sources from which the information contained in each entry has been drawn, and may be treated as preliminary bibliographies for those interested in carrying out further research.

Notes to the Introduction

- 1 See among other publications, Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Bolshevism and Nihilism, 1860-1930*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978; reprint 1991; Linda Harriet Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia, 1900-17*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984; Marina Ledkovsky, Charlotte Rosenthal and Mary Zirin, eds., *Dictionary of Russian Women Writers*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994; Norma Corigliano Noonan and Carol Nechemias, eds., *Encyclopedia of Russian Women's Movements*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001; *Adam i Eva: Al'manakh gender'noi istorii* (Adam and Eve. An almanac of gender history), Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia nauk, Institut vseobshchei istorii, 2002.
- 2 E. J. Hobsbawn, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, New York: Vintage Books, 1989, 193.

- 3 *Ibid.*, 192.
- 4 Important exceptions are Russia (see note 1) and Ukraine. See M. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists Despite Themselves. Women in Ukrainian Community Life: 1884-1939*, University of Alberta: CIUS Press, 1988. Susan Zimmermann's monograph about the Hungarian women's movement only appeared in 1999. See Susan Zimmermann, *Die bessere Hälfte? Frauenbewegungen und Frauenbestrebungen im Ungarn der Habsburgermonarchie 1848 bis 1918* (The better half? Women's movements and women's aspirations in Hungary in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848 to 1918), Vienna/Budapest: Promedia Verlag/Napvilág Kiadó, 1999.
- 5 Ștefania Mihăilescu, *Emanciparea femeii române: Antologie de texte. Vol. I 1815-1918* (The emancipation of Romanian women: an anthology of texts. Vol. 1 1815-1918), Bucharest: Editura Ecumenica, 2001; Ghizela Cosma, *Femeile și politica în România. Evoluția dreptului de vot în perioada interbelică* (Women and politics in Romania. The evolution of suffrage rights in the interwar period), Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002.
- 6 See e.g. Sabine Lang, "Women's Movements in Eastern and Central Europe," Eva Maleck-Lewy, "The East German Women's Movement After Unification," Malgozata Fuszara, "Women's Movements in Poland" and Krassimira Daskalova, "The Women's Movements in Bulgaria After Communism," all in the book *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan and Debra Keates, eds., New York: Routledge, 1997; Laura Grunberg, "Women's NGOs in Romania," in Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, eds., *Reproducing Gender. Politics, Publics, and Everyday Life after Socialism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, 307-335; various pieces in Gabriele Jaehnert, Jana Gohrisch et. al., eds., *Gender in Transition in Eastern and Central Europe. Proceedings*, Berlin: Trafo Verlag, 2001.
- 7 Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker eds., *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: a European Perspective*, Stanford CA.: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- 8 Other English-language anthologies with some articles about the historical women's movement in CESEE include Tanya Renne, ed., *Ana's Land. Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*, Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1997, and Gabriela Griffin and Rosi Braidotti (ATHENA), eds., *Thinking Differently. A Reader in European Women's Studies*, London and New York: Zed Books, 2002.
- 9 Shawn Megan Burn, *Women Across Cultures. A Global Perspective*, London and Toronto: Mountain View 2000, 220.
- 10 Judit Ascady, "The Construction of Women's Case. Turn-of-the Century Hungarian Feminism," in Tanya Renne, ed., *Ana's Land. Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*, Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1997, 106. It may also be worthwhile to repeat the observation made before that 'feminism' is no more or less 'foreign to the region' than socialism, about which no such accusations are made. Finally, women in Western countries, such as the Dutch feminist Anna Maria Storm-Van der Chijs in the 1860s, were *also* inspired by what happened elsewhere and consciously brought that to bear upon their activities at home. For connections between feminists in mostly Western countries, see M. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: the Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-century Feminism*. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1999.
- 11 See among many others, Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian*

- Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994; Mineke Bosch, "Colonial Dimensions of Dutch Women's Suffrage: Aletta Jacob's Travel Letters from Africa and Asia, 1911-1912," *Journal of Women's History* 11, no. 2 (1999): 8-34.
- 12 See e.g. various pieces in Tanya Renne, ed., *Ana's Land. Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*, Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1997, and Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever, "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5, no. 2 (2003): 163-190.
- 13 For this distinction see e.g. A. van Drenth and F. de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power. Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the Netherlands*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999, 46. A useful definition of feminism is given by Kumari Jayawardena in her *The White Woman's Other Burden. Western Women and South Asia During British Rule*, New York and London: Routledge, 1995, 9: "Feminism can be defined as a consciousness of injustices based on gender hierarchy, and a commitment to change."
- 14 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, London etc.: Penguin Books, 1995; first published by Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978. For Europe see Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994; for South Eastern Europe/the Balkans see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- 15 See the entry by Raluca Maria Popa about Eugenia de Reuss Ianculescu.
- 16 See the entry by Aleka Boutzouvi about Avra Theodoropoulou.
- 17 As Katherine David has pointed out with respect to Czech feminism: "The national cause and the feminist cause seemed to them to be complementary and indeed interrelated aspects of a common challenge" See her "Czech Feminists and Nationalism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy: 'The First in Austria'," *Journal of Women's History* 3 no.2 (1991): 26-45; here 26. For socialism see also Richard Stites, "The Socialist Women's Movement" in *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia. Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978; reprint 1991, 233-277.
- 18 See the entries about Źmichowska by Grażyna Borkowska, about Gárdos by Susan Zimmermann, about Kobrynska by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, and about Kollontai by Natalia Gafizova.
- 19 See the entry about Despot by Gordana Bosanac.
- 20 See on this point also Francisca de Haan, "A 'Truly International' Archive for the Women's Movement (IAV, now IIAV): From its Foundation in Amsterdam in 1935 to the Return of its Looted Archives in 2003," *Journal of Women's History* 16 no.4 (2004): 148-172; here 149.
- 21 This argument is made by Mihaela Miroiu in her *Drumul Către Autonomie. Teorii politice feministe* (The road to autonomy. Political feminist theories), Iași: Polirom, 2004, 185, where she asks, "Există un feminism comunist?"
- 22 Edith Saurer in an e-mail, 3 July 2004.
- 23 See the entry by Mateja Jeraj about Vida Tomšič.
- 24 See the entry by Karmen Klavžar about Angela Vode.
- 25 The same question might be asked about one particular entry, Sarolta Geöcze from Hungary, who, while dedicating her life to women's causes, combined an overt right-wing nationalism with an explicit anti-feminist stance.

- 26 See the entry by Serpil Çakır about Nezihe Muhittin.
- 27 See in particular the important book by Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: the Making of an International Women's Movement*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- 28 For a similar comment, see Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, eds, *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: a European Perspective*, Stanford CA.: Stanford University Press, 2004, 326.
- 29 See Judith Sapor, "Sisters or Foes: The Shifting Front Lines of the Hungarian Women's Movement, 1896-1918," in Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, eds, *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: a European Perspective*, Stanford CA.: Stanford University Press, 2004, 189-205; here 190.

Subjects per Country*

- Albania:** Shaqe Çoba (1875-1954)
Elena Gjika (Dora d'Istria) (1828?-1888?)
Sevasti (1870-1949) and Parashqevi (1880-1970) Qiriazi
Urani Rumbo (1895-1936)
- Austria:** Ingeborg Bachmann (1926-1973)
Auguste Fickert (1855-1910)
Marianne Hainisch (1839-1936)
Käthe Leichter (1895-1942)
Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938)
Karoline von Perin-Gradenstein (1806-1888)
Adelheid Popp (1869-1939)
Therese Schlesinger (1863-1940)
- Belarus:** Esther Frumkin (1880-1943)
Vera Matejczuk (1896-1981)
Alaiza Pashkevich ('Tsiotka') (1876-1916)
Nadzeja Sznarkiewicz (1897-1974)
- Bosnia and Herzegovina:** Jelica Belović-Bernadzikowska (1870-1946)
Stoja Kašiković (c. 1865-?)
Staka Skenderova (1831-1891)
- Bulgaria:** Vela Blagoeva (1858-1921)
Dimitrana Ivanova (1881-1960)
Elissaveta Karamichailova (1897-1968)
Lyuben Karavelov (1834-1879)

* This list is only intended to provide a guideline to readers wishing to locate the current nation states where the subjects listed above were active, or to identify the nationalizing/nationalist contexts in which their feminist and women's organizations operated.

Ekaterina Karavelova (1860-1947)
Anna Karima (1871-1949)
Kina Konova (1872-1952)
Julia Malinova (1869-1953)
Vera Zlatareva (1905-1977)
Ekaterina Zlatoustova (1881-1952)

Croatia: Blaženka Despot (1930-2001)
Dragojla Jarnević (1812-1875)
Marija Jurić (1873-1957)
Adela Milčinović (1878-1968)
Kata Pejnović (1899-1966)
Lydia Sklevicky (1952-1990)

Czech Republic: Milada Horáková (1901-1950)
Milena Jesenská (1896-1944)
Eliška Krásnohorská (1847-1926)
Charlotta Garrigue Masaryková (1850-1923)
Božena Němcová (1820?-1862)
Teréza Nováková (1853-1912)
Františka Plamínková (1875-1942)
Karolína Světlá (1830-1899)
Toyen (Marie Čerminová) (1902-1980)
Božena Viková-Kunětická (1862-1934)

Estonia: Elise Käer-Kingisepp (1901-1989)
Vera Poska-Grünthal (1898-1986)
Lilli (Caroline) Suburg (1841-1923)

Greece: Callirhoe Parren (1859-1940)
Maria Svolou (1892?-1976)
Avra Theodoropoulou (1880-1963)

Hungary: Countess Apponyi (1867-1942)
Hermin Beniczky (Mrs Pál Veres) (1815-1895)
Johanna Bischitz (1827-1898)
Mariska Gárdos (1885-1973)
Sarolta Geőcze (1862-1928)
Vilma Glücklich (1872-1927)
Emilia Kánya (1830-1905)
Teréz Karacs (1808-1892)

Eugénia Miskolczy Meller (Mrs Artur Meller) (1872-1944)
Róza Schwimmer (1877-1948)
Margit Slachta (1884-1974)
Szeréna Stern (Mrs Pollák) (1894-1966)
Ilona Stetina (1855-1932)

Latvia: Aspazija (1865-1943)
Regina Ezera (1930-2002)
Ivande Kaija (1876-1941)
Klāra Kalniņa (1874-1964)
Karoline Kronvalde (1836-1913)
Berta Pipiņa (1883-1942)

Lithuania: Felicija Bortkevičienė (1873-1945)
Magdalena Galdikienė (1891-1979)
Ona Mašiotienė (1883-1949)
Gabrielė Petkevičaitė (1861-1943)

Macedonia: Kostadina Bojadjieva Nasteva-Rusinska (1880-1932)
Veselinka Malinska (1917-1988)
Estreya Haim Ovadya (1922-1944)
Rosa Plaveva (1878-1970)
Kočo Racin (1908-1943)

Moldova: Elena Djionat (1888-?)

Poland: Justyna Budzińska-Tylicka (1867-1936)
Kazimiera Bujwidowa (1867-1932)
Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska (1866-1934)
Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit (1859-1921)
Teodora Męczkowska (1870-1954)
Zofia Moraczewska (1873-1958)
Iza Moszczeńska (1864-1941)
Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841-1910)
Anna Szelańska (1880-1962)
Maria Szeliga (1854-1927)
Tadeusz Żeleński (Boy) (1874-1941)
Narcyza Żmichowska (1819-1876)

Romania: Maria Baiulescu (1860-1941)
Calypso Botez (1880-?)
Princess Alexandrina Cantacuzino (1876-1944)

Elena Meissner (1867-1940)
Sofia Nădejde (1856-1946)
Ella Negruzzi (1876-1948)
Eugenia de Reuss Ianculescu (1866-1938)
Alice Voinescu (1885-1961)
Adela Xenopol (1861-1939)

Russia:

Praskov'ia Arian (1864/5-1949)
Inessa Armand (1874-1920)
Mariia Chekhova (1866-1934)
Anna Engelgardt (1838-1903)
Anna Filosofova (1837-1912)
Liubov' Gurevich (1866-1940)
Anna Kal'manovich (?-?)
Alexandra Kollontai (1872-1952)
Nadezhda Krupskaja (1869-1939)
Ekaterina Kuskova (1869-1958)
Zinaida Mirovich (1865-1913)
Serafima Panteleeva (1846-1918)
Anna Shabanova (1848-1932)
Ol'ga Shapir (1850-1916)
Ekaterina Shchepkina (1854-1938)
Poliksena Shishkina-Iavein (1875-1947)
Nadezhda Stasova (1822-1895)
Mariia Trubnikova (1835-1897)
Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams (1869-1962)

Serbia:

Ksenija Atanasijević (1894-1981)
Draga Dejanović (Dejanovich) (1840-1871)
Biljana Jovanović (1953-1996)
Draga Ljočić (Ljotchich)-Milošević (1855-1926)
Milica Ninković (Ninkovich) (1854-1881)
Žarana Papić (1949-2002)
Isidora Sekulić (1877-1958)

Slovakia:

Hana Gregorová (1885-1958)
Elena Maróthy-Šoltésová (1855-1939)
L'udmila Podjavorinská (1872-1951)
Barbora Rezlerová-Švarcová (1890-1941)
Terézia Vansová (1857-1942)

- Slovenia:** Zofka Kveder (1878-1926)
Pavlina Pajk (1854-1901)
Alojzija Štebi (1883-1956)
Vida Tomšič (1913-1998)
Angela Vode (1892-1985)
- Turkey:** Fatma Aliye (1862-1936)
Suat Derviş (1905-1972)
Halide Edib Adivar (1884-1964)
Ulviye Mevlan Civelek (1893-1964)
Nezihe Muhittin (1889-1958)
Nurser Öztunalı (1947-1999)
Sabiha Sertel (1895-1968)
- Ukraine:** Natalia Kobrynska (1851-1920)
Olha Kobylianska (1863-1942)
Solom'iya Pavlychko (1958-1999)
Olena Pchilka (1849-1930)
Milena Rudnytska (1892-1979)
Lesia Ukrainka (1871-1913)

ALİYE, Fatma (1862–1936)

Prominent Turkish woman writer and philosopher of the Ottoman era; advocate of (Muslim) women's rights; founder of the *Cemiyet-i İmdadiye* (Charity Society, 1897–?).

Fatma Aliye was born on 26 October 1862 into a mansion in Istanbul. Her father, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha (1822–1895), was an influential bureaucrat of the Ottoman State, a lawyer and a historian. Her mother was Adviye Rabia Hanım. Fatma had a brother, Ali Sedat, and a sister, Emine Semiye (1864–1944), also a prominent figure in her time, though less so than Fatma.

A Member of the Ottoman Parliament, Fatma Aliye's father was appointed Governor of Egypt when Fatma was three years old and the family spent the years 1866 to 1868 in Aleppo. When she was thirteen, her father was appointed to another governorship and for six months the family resided in Janina (in the western Ottoman Empire; today Ioannina, Greece). Fatma Aliye's early years as the daughter of a traditional Ottoman bureaucrat in the post-*Tanzimat* period were a mixture of mansion life and the new cultural milieu that accompanied 'Westernization' (i.e. political reconstruction through the adoption of 'Western' public and legal institutions). Fatma received no formal schooling, since at that time there were no high schools or colleges open to women, but was privately tutored at home until the age of thirteen; her father taught her Arabic, history and philosophy and she also took other private lessons. In 1875, her father became the Minister of Education. Fatma Aliye, who had now come of age, was not permitted to take lessons with male teachers and ordered to stay away from the *selamlık* (traditionally the part of the house reserved for men) and move into the *harem* (the part reserved for women). In 1878, the family spent nine months in Damascus due to her father's new position. The following year, at the age of seventeen, Fatma Aliye was married upon her father's wishes to Captain Mehmet Faik Bey (died 1928), one of the *aide-de-camps* of Sultan Abdülhamid. It was not a marriage based on love; Aliye's husband was intellectually far less qualified than she and tried to keep her away from intellectual pursuits—at least for a while. Fatma Aliye gave birth to four girls: Hatice Faik Topuz Muhtar (born 1880); Ayşe Faik



Topuz (1884–1967); Nimet Faik Topuz Selen (1900–1972) and Zübeyde İsmet Faik Topuz (born 1901). In 1885, her husband was posted to the central Anatolian province of Konya for a period of eleven months and Fatma Aliye, who had remained in Istanbul with her children, had the opportunity to return to intellectual pursuits, particularly writing. Later, her husband's negative attitude to her intellectual life would change and he would even encourage her to publish.

The fact that the Ottoman Empire was ruled by the *Shari'a* (Islamic law) had an impact not only on religious, but also cultural life. The dominant ideology of the period aimed at a synthesis between Islam and 'the West' and the resulting 'civilization-alism' found its way into Fatma Aliye's views on women and women's rights. She placed primary importance on the family and regarded women as the driving force of 'civilization' via their roles as mothers, emphasizing the need for women's education, raising the problem of women's freedom and responsibilities in 'the family' and in 'society,' and demanding rights for women within these prescribed boundaries. Some of her arguments, calling for sexual equality as well as the preservation of gender differences, reflected widespread currents of nineteenth-century European feminist thought.

Her first translation from French, of George Ohnet's novel *Volonté* (*Meram* in Turkish), was published in 1889. She did not use her own name for the reason that it was then considered inappropriate for a woman to publish and write. In *Meram*, the translator's name appeared as "a Lady," but among intellectual circles it was considered improbable that a woman could have really completed such an impressive translation. For a long time after, Fatma Aliye employed the pseudonym *Mütercime-i Meram* (the [female] translator of *Volonté*), but she published her novel *Muhazarat* (Useful information, 1892) under her real name. *Muhazarat*, which came out in a second edition in 1908, was the first novel by a woman in the Ottoman Empire. After its publication, Fatma Aliye's name began appearing in newspapers and magazines.

For thirteen years (1895–1908), Fatma Aliye wrote the editorial column for the *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for women). The publication, which came out twice a week, debated women's issues and provided Turkish women intellectuals (such as Emine Semiye, Fatma Fahrünnisa, Gülistan İsmet, Nigar Osman and Leyla Saz) with a public forum. Aliye's novels *Ra'fet* and *Udi* (The lute player), published in 1898 and 1899 respectively, also dealt with the kinds of subjects discussed in the pages of the *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, such as women's entrapment in arranged marriages. Aliye saw economic independence for women as a solution to this, and many other problems faced by women. *Ra'fet* and *Udi* were later translated into French, as was Fatma Aliye's 1895 book about Muslim women, called *Les femmes musulmanes*. In a letter (dated 2 April 1895) sent by Nicolas Nicolaides, an editor of 'L'agence Ottomane' (a well-known contemporary publisher of works on 'the Orient'), Aliye was informed that *Les femmes musulmanes* was being published at the same time by another publisher under another title and writer's name!

Fatma Aliye's biography, covering her life until the age of 33, was written by Ahmet Mithat Efendi (a prominent intellectual of the period) and published in 1911 under the title of *Fatma Aliye: Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarının Doğuşu* (Fatma Aliye: the birth of an Ottoman woman writer). Aliye herself co-authored *Hayal ve Hakikat* (Dream and truth) with Ahmet Mithat Efendi in 1894. Following her interest in philosophy, Aliye wrote *Teracim-i Ahval-i Felasife* (Biographies of philosophers, 1900), in which she criticized 'Western' writers for their lack of knowledge regarding 'Eastern' societies, Muslim women and Islam. In a similar vein, she contributed to written debates with orientalists (such as the writer Emile Julyar) in articles published in French newspapers and wrote *Nisvan-ı İslam* (Women of Islam, 1896; translated into French and Arabic) and *Taaddüd-i Zevcat'a Zeyl* (Polygamy—an appendix, 1899).

Further research by Aliye, published under the title "Ünlü İslam Kadınları" (Famous Muslim women, 1895), aimed to provide readers with examples of publicly active and intellectual 'Eastern' women performing socially valued roles. She demanded to know how women could remain so unaware of their own history (a critical issue for women abroad, as well as in Turkey). As a distinguished writer, she won international prestige, appearing in biographies of women writers, having her work exhibited at the library of the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, August 1893) and cited in the catalogue of the Women's Library at the same World Fair. Seven years later, she was invited to another exhibition in Paris, but could not accept.

Fatma Aliye is also known as the founder of the first women's association in the Ottoman Empire, the *Cemiyet-i İmdadiye* (Charity Society), established after the Greek war of 1897, in order to provide bereaved wives and children, as well as war veterans with material assistance. In recognition of her efforts she received a medal from Sultan Abdülhamid in 1899. She also worked for other charity societies: the *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer* (Ottoman Red Crescent) and the *Müdafaa-i Milliye Osmanlı Kadınlar Heyeti* (National Defence Women's Committee), founded by women following the Tripoli and Balkan Wars of 1911 and 1912.

In order to defend her father and teacher, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, against political attacks, Fatma Aliye wrote the book *Cevdet Paşa ve Zamanı* (Cevdet Pasha and his time), published in 1911. Between 1921 and 1929, she traveled to France several times for health reasons and to search for her daughter, Zübeyde İsmet, who had converted to Christianity and left Turkey. In the final years of her life, Aliye's work did not receive much attention and she suffered increasingly from financial difficulties and poor health. She died on 14 July 1936 in Istanbul.

General neglect of the Ottoman era in Turkish scholarship can be attributed in part to the ideological preferences of the Republican regime, through the decades from the 1920s up until the 1980s. In this latter decade, the number of studies on Ottoman society and Ottoman women began to increase in number and ideological

paradigms have since shifted. Fatma Aliye is remembered in Turkish historiography today as a pioneering woman-writer and intellectual.

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SOURCES

- (A) Fatma Aliye's personal archival collection at the Library of Istanbul Municipality. Contains manuscripts, letters, documents and photographs. For further information see Mübeccel Kızıltan and Tülay Gençtürk, eds. *İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi Fatma Aliye Hanım Evrakı Kataloğu* (Istanbul Municipal Library: the catalogued documents of Fatma Aliye Hanım). Istanbul: Istanbul Municipality Publishing, 1993.
- (B) *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for women) (1895–1908).
- (C) Fatma Aliye, “Ünlü İslam Kadınları” (Famous Muslim women), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for Women), no. 8 (14 September 1895): 3–4 and no. 9 (18 September 1895): 2–3.
- (D) Aşa, Emel. *Fatma Aliye Hanım*. PhD thesis. University of Istanbul, 1993.
- (D) Mithat Efendi, Ahmet. *Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarının Doğuşu* (Fatma Aliye: the birth of an Ottoman woman writer) (1911). Istanbul: Kırkambar Publishing, 1994.

**APPONYI, Countess, Mrs Count Albert Apponyi,
born Countess Clotilde,
Klotild Dietrichstein-
Mensdorff-Pouilly (1867-
1942)**

Long-standing President (from 1910) of the *Magyarországi Nőegyesületek Szövetsége* (MNSz, Alliance of Women's Associations in Hungary); Hungarian representative to the International Council of Women (ICW); holder of various positions in the League of Nations throughout the interwar period.



Mrs Apponyi with her famous husband and three children in the 1920s or early 1930s

Countess Dietrichstein-Mensdorff-Pouilly was born on 23 December 1867 in Vienna, the daughter of Catholic parents: Count Alexander Mensdorff-Pouilly, later also Prince of Dietrichstein zu Nikolsburg, high-ranking member of the Austrian military and statesman (1813–1871), and Countess Alexandrine (Den Priskau) Dietrichstein zu Nikolsburg. Countess Clotilde had two older brothers: Hugo (1858–1920) and Albert (1861–?). As a young woman, she was awarded the title of Dame of the Star-Cross Order to the imperial court in Vienna. In 1897, she married the politician Count Albert Apponyi (1846–1933), who was more than twenty years her senior and then (later even more so) a leading figure among those nationalist-liberal elements of the Hungarian political elite who sought greater autonomy from Austria. “Hardly ... more divergent milieus” and political backgrounds “could be imagined” than those of the newly married couple. Yet Countess Klotild—knowing that the “woman” of Count Albert Apponyi “could be nothing else but Hungarian with heart and soul [–] took the big step and did so completely” (Apponyi *sine anno*, 238). The newly married Countess moved to Budapest, learned Hungarian perfectly and entered ‘high society’ in the Hungarian capital, soon coming to identify entirely with the Hungarian nation. Her first child was a son, Count György Apponyi (Eberhard, 1898–1970), followed by two girls; one of them named Mária.

Soon after moving to Budapest, Countess Apponyi became involved in a broad spectrum of welfare and women’s associations. From at least 1908, she was (and is very likely to have remained for decades) the President of the *Női Munkát Értékesítő*

Klotild Nőegyesület (Klotild Women's Association for the Sale of Work by Women); in 1913, she became a member of the Executive Board of the *Országos Katholikus Nővédő-Egyesület* (National Catholic Association for the Protection of Women) and in 1930, she became the President of the highly respected association of female teachers, the *Mária Dorothea Egyesület* (Mária Dorothea Association). Among her long-standing interests was the protection of children—e.g. from harm inflicted through unrestricted access to cinema—and she was stoutly devoted to the ideals of temperance and other, related movements.

In 1910, Countess Apponyi became the President of the *Magyarországi Nőegyesületek Szövetsége* (*MNSz*, Alliance of Women's Associations in Hungary), an umbrella organization for women's associations of all kinds (excluding socialist ones) and a huge number of welfare organizations, mostly focusing on women and children. The *MNSz* had been founded in 1904 upon the initiative of the *Országos Nőképző Egyesület* (National Association for Women's Education) and of Augustza Rosenberg (long-standing Acting President who in 1946, at the age of 88, held the title of Permanent Acting President). Immediately upon its foundation, the *MNSz* became a member of the International Council of Women (ICW); the impetus to found the *MNSz* was bound up with the organizational aspirations of the ICW in Central-Eastern Europe and (in tension) with the emerging organizational endeavors of progressive and leftist women.

Countess Apponyi was President of the *MNSz* for about three decades. In 1912, in her capacity as President of the *MNSz* and against the background of ongoing suffrage reform, she addressed the House of Representatives of the Hungarian Parliament with a request for the enfranchisement of a small group of women of distinguished intellectual, economic or social status. From this time on, Countess Apponyi publicly advocated women's suffrage. In 1917, utilizing her social position and connections, she negotiated at the highest political level for the inclusion of women's suffrage into planned new suffrage legislation—without immediate success. In 1918, she publicly supported the campaign for women's suffrage, organized mainly by the progressive *Feministák Egyesülete* (*FE*, Feminist Association).

In the interwar period, the *MNSz* acquired a somewhat marginalized position on the political landscape. Many of the moderate and conservative associations, particularly those related to various Christian denominations, were now united under the banner of the right-wing nationalist and revisionist *Magyar Asszonyok Nemzeti Szövetsége* (*MANSz*, Hungarian National Women's Union), presided over by the well-known writer Cecile Tormay (1876–1937) from the foundation of the organization in 1918 until Tormay's death. Countess Apponyi was open to cooperation with both the *MANSz* and with the *Keresztény Női Tábor* (Christian Women's League). On the opposite end of the spectrum of non-socialist women's organizations stood the *Feministák Egyesülete*, with *Eugénia (Miskolczy) Meller* and *Vilma Glücklich* as its leading representatives; on several occasions the *FE* aimed (successfully) to strengthen its position

by aligning itself publicly with the *MNSz* and its President, Countess Apponyi. A key event in this regard was a large meeting of women's associations from across the political landscape held in 1929. Countess Apponyi of the *MNSz*, encouraged by the *FE*, called the meeting to protest the planned (and eventually partially realized) abolition of women's eligibility for election to village, town, city and county parliaments or councils. As a follow-up to the meeting, the Countess herself published a much discussed leading article in the conservative daily *Új Nemzedék* (New generation, 10 April 1929), underlining the importance of this issue for Hungarian women's associations. Ten years later, when the Hungarian Parliament debated a law in favor of dismissing married women from the civil service, the Countess again assumed leadership of a delegation representing the *MNSz*, the *MANSz*, the *FE* and other important associations, handing over a memorandum to the Minister of Finance.

After her first election as President of the *MNSz*, Countess Apponyi began to increasingly emphasize international engagement. Having already represented the *MNSz* at the Rome Quinquennial of the ICW in 1914, her international activities broadened during World War I, when she worked in Switzerland on matters relating to Hungarian international affairs. By the end of the 1920s, Apponyi was developing a particularly strong international profile. The Countess represented Hungary as a substitute delegate (1928–1934), later delegate (1935 to at least 1937) to the annual Assembly of the League of Nations and participated repeatedly (as an official delegate of her government in Geneva) in the activities of, or formally related to the League of Nations. Initially, these developments were closely linked to the fact that Apponyi's husband had also been regularly representing his country at the League Assembly. But after the death of Count Apponyi (in 1933), Countess Apponyi continued, independently, to build on her reputation as an individual international representative of her country (although her involvement in women's activities in Geneva is unresearched to date). In 1930, she was elected to the prestigious position of President of the Committee on "Social and General Questions"—the fifth of the six principle committees of the Assembly of the League of Nations. She was re-elected for this position in 1935 and 1937 (but not in 1936).

Countess Apponyi died on 1 September 1942. The long-standing President of the *MNSz* had begun her career as a "celebrated female member of the Viennese aristocracy" (Apponyi *sine anno*, 238). At the end of World War I, a respected, politically influential and leading representative of the non-socialist women's movement in Hungary, she witnessed the declaration of Hungarian independence, a development completely in compliance with the world-view she had always so whole-heartedly advocated alongside her husband. In the interwar period, due to the dominance of conservative and in part anti-Semitic women's organizations, she became less influential at home, in spite of her leanings towards territorial revision of the Paris Peace Treaty in favor of Hungary. Nevertheless, she continued to play her centrist role in the Hungarian women's movement, as well as abroad. In the years leading up to her death, she

experienced the dramatic growth of undemocratic elements in Hungarian political life and legislation, a tendency that very much went against the grain of the national liberalism she had adopted as a young woman and kept at the core of her identity ever since. Her son György (a Member of Parliament from 1931 to 1944) actively opposed anti-Jewish legislation and German-friendly politics in the late 1930s. Upon German occupation in March 1944, he was arrested by the Gestapo and taken to the concentration camp in Mauthausen, Austria. Although he survived, he never returned to Hungary.

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ARIAN, Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia (1864/5–1949)

Russian feminist. Founder, editor and publisher of the *Pervyi Zhenskii Kalendar'* (First Women's Calendar) (1899–1915). Founder of the *Pervyi Zhenskii Politekhnikeskii Institut* (First Women's Technical Institute) (in existence from 1906 to 1924).

Praskov'ia Naumovna Belenkaia was born on 12 April 1864 or 1865 (her Moscow archive lists her date of birth as 1865 but the autobiographical statement in her St Petersburg archive lists it as 1864), to a Jewish family in St Petersburg, probably of the merchant class since Jewish residence in the Imperial capital was strictly limited.

Admitted to the physics and mathematics section of the St Petersburg *Vysshie Zhenskie (Bestuzhevskie) Kursy* (Bestuzhev Higher Women's Courses), Belenkaia completed the third graduating class of the Courses in 1884. She never took her final exam—perhaps due to her political activities; the Courses were a hotbed of radicalism and, like a number of other feminist activists, Belenkaia was a student radical. The date of Belenkaia's marriage is not known, but upon marriage she adopted the family name of her husband, Miron Isaevich Arian.

Praskov'ia Arian supported herself as a translator and journalist—forms of employment available to educated Russian women—while seeking to combine her work with her ideals. She wrote for a range of publications, including the *Birzhevyi Vedomosti* (Stock market gazette), the *Sputnik Zdorov'ia* (Health guide), the *Vestnik Blagotvoritel'nosti* (Philanthropy bulletin) and *Iskusstvo i Zhizn'* (Art and life). In 1884, she founded a daycare center, *Detskaia Pomoshch'* (Children's Aid), for children of workers in St Petersburg, where she worked for ten years alongside the center's first President (and feminist pioneer), *Nadezhda Vasil'evna Stasova*.

In 1899, Arian founded the *Pervyi Zhenskii Kalendar'* (First Women's Calendar), single-handedly compiling, editing and publishing this compendium of information for women (each year from 1899 to 1915). The *Kalendar'* contained articles on religion, health, employment and education, as well as biographical sketches of Russian feminists, radical activists and literary figures, with accompanying photos. It chronicled the activities of the major feminist organizations, such as the *Russkoe Zhenskoe Vzaimno-Blagotvoritel'noe Obshchestvo* (Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society)—including photos of the society's facilities—and the *Liga Ravnopraviiia Zhenshchin* (League for Women's Equal Rights). Feminist congresses also received detailed coverage: in particular the 1908 *Pervyi Vserossiiskii Zhenskii S'ezd* (First All-Russian Congress of Women) and the *Pervyi Vserossiiskii S'ezd po Obrazovaniiu Zhenshchin* (First All-Russian Congress on Women's Education; held from 26 December 1912 to 4 January 1913). Arian recruited a wide range of contributors to the *Kalendar'*, includ-

ing the writer Maxim Gorky, the radical activist Vera Figner, the artist Il'ia Repin and the psychologist Vladimir Bekhterev.

Arian traveled widely. Working in the archives of Swiss universities, she gathered data on Russian women studying abroad for the *Kalendar'* issues of 1899 and 1912 and, after a trip to Japan, published articles on the Women's University in Tokyo and the status of Japanese women (see the *Kalendar'* issues of 1904 and 1905). News about the international women's movement was a regular feature of the *Kalendar'*.

The *Kalendar'* dwelled on a range of issues affecting women. Prominent among them was health, both physical and mental. Each issue contained nutritional advice and pointers on personal hygiene and behavior. The 1912 *Kalendar'*, for example, included the article "Nervnost' i mery dlia bor'by s nei" (Anxiety and ways to fight it).

Arian is perhaps best known as the driving force behind the establishment of the First Women's Technical Institute. It was Arian who lobbied the government tirelessly for permission to open what were originally called the *Vysshie Zhenskije Politekhnicheskie Kursy* (Women's Higher Polytechnical Courses); she also carried out the fundraising necessary to sustain the new venture, hired the staff and rented the initial space (an apartment) in her own name. When the Courses opened on 15 January 1906, they were the first in the world to train women engineers. Arian remained committed to providing educational opportunities for workers of both sexes. In the year that the *Vysshie Zhenskije Politekhnicheskie kursy* opened (1906), she was granted permission to open an evening school for workers in the Narva Gate section of St Petersburg. Despite government harassment, closings and arrests of students, the school survived for ten years.

Never once imprisoned for her activities, Arian maintained ties with those who had been incarcerated for their opposition to the tsarist regime. From 1907–1917, she was an active member of the support group for prisoners in the notorious Schlüsselburg Fortress.

Arian was among a number of women activists in this period to maintain ties with political radicals and with legal feminist groups. The pattern of her activism challenges the notion that women of her generation went 'from feminism to radicalism' and that feminism and radicalism were separate, mutually exclusive spheres. Arian was active in the *Russkoe Zhenskoe Vzaimno-Blagotvoritel'noe Obshchestvo* (Russian Women's Mutual Philanthropic Society), speaking and writing for the society, working in its library and chairing the committee researching conditions of women's work in Russia.

After the October Revolution of 1917, Arian complained privately to friends about the mere lip service paid by the Bolsheviks to women's rights. In the 1930s, she conducted courses for workers at the Kirov factory in Leningrad (today St Petersburg), lecturing on Pushkin. In 1942, during the siege of Leningrad, she was

evacuated to Piatigorsk and then to Tashkent. She died in Moscow (?) on 28 March 1949.

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ARMAND, Inessa-Elizaveta Fiodorovna (1874–1920)

Activist of the Russian and international workers' and feminist movements. Pseudonym: Elena Blonina.

Inessa Armand was born Inessa Steffen in Paris on 26 April 1874, the illegitimate child of Theodore Steffen, a British opera singer, and Nathalie Vil'd, a French actress. She grew up speaking French and English and later learned Russian, German and Polish. After her father died in 1889, she moved to Russia to stay with relatives. In 1893, she married Alexander Evgen'evich Armand (died 1943), whose family were wealthy manufacturers of French origin. By 1903, Inessa Armand had given birth to four children (Alexander, Varvara, Inna and Vladimir). In 1902, she left her husband; in 1903, she married his younger brother Vladimir, who shared her radical political views and bore him her last child, Andrei.



In the summer of 1903, Vladimir and Inessa Armand went to Moscow to become professional revolutionaries. Under the influence of Marxism, Inessa regarded the women's movement as merely the 'female equivalent' of the male workers' struggle for liberation. She believed the 'class criterion' must always be taken into account when defining a revolutionary attitude to the struggle for women's rights, since participants in that struggle from different social strata would have different social concerns.

Under the threat of arrest, the Armand family emigrated for Paris. After her husband's death from tuberculosis, Inessa Armand remained politically active, in spite of the everyday hardships she faced bringing up five children alone. In 1904, Armand joined the *Parti Socialiste Français* (French Socialist Party). In the same year, she returned to Russia (Moscow) and became a member of the *Rossiiskaia Social-Demokraticheskaia Rabochaia Partiia* (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party). It was also in 1904 that the *Moskovskoe Obshchestvo Uluchsheniia Uchasti Zhenshchin* (Moscow Society for the Improvement of the Situation of Women), established in 1899, elected Armand Chair of its Commission on Education.

With the outbreak of the 1905–1907 Russian Revolution, Armand began organizing Sunday schools for craftswomen, female workers, maids and housewives. The aim was to turn these units into centers for revolutionary propaganda, where women might

be encouraged to discard their traditional views on the family. On 7 February 1905, Armand was arrested in St Petersburg but released three months later. She immediately resumed revolutionary agitation among women workers and also made efforts to establish contacts between Russian and foreign socialist feminists, as part of efforts to unify the international women's labor movement.

The failed Revolution of 1905–1907 was followed by a wave of political reaction and Armand's activities were noted by the authorities. In the fall of 1907, Armand managed to emigrate, again to France where she joined the most vigorous activists of the Presidium of the emigrant Bolshevik organization: "The Group for Assistance to the Party." In 1908, she traveled illegally to St Petersburg in order to participate in the First All-Russian Women's Congress but did not play any active role in organizing the Congress or its sessions. (Her own views did not correspond with those of the liberal wing of the Russian women's movement, which had initiated the Congress.)

At the end of December 1909, in Paris, Armand met the leader of the Russian Social Democratic Party, Vladimir Ul'ianov (Lenin) (1870–1924). The beginning of their friendship dates from the spring of 1911, when the socialists succeeded in opening a party school in Longumeaux (near Paris) where Armand worked as a lecturer. Lenin found himself among one of the many unable to resist the beauty and charm of this remarkable feminist.

In the spring of 1912, socialist emigrants sent Armand to Russia to organize underground party activities. By this point Armand, along with other Russian and foreign colleagues, had become actively involved in setting up a foreign version (i.e. to be published abroad) of the new women's magazine *Rabotnitsa* (Female worker)—initially intended for a Russian proletarian female readership. The first issue of this magazine came out on 8 March 1914 (International Women's Day).

Armand grew increasingly fascinated by socialist feminism. In January 1915, she composed a brief draft of an article on feminism and sent a draft version of a pamphlet on women's rights to Lenin. He sharply criticized Armand's program for women's liberation and recommended that she remove her demand for free love, since it seemed a bourgeois demand to him—an appeal to "freedom of adultery" and a threat to the emergent new communist society (Stites 1978, 260–261). It was always necessary, declared Lenin, "to take into account the objective logic of class relations in matters of love" (Margar'an 1962, 213–215). Armand chose not to agree.

Armand represented Russian Social Democrats at several key international events: the International Socialist Women's conference (1915), the International Conference of Youth (1916) and the Zimmerwald (1915) and Kintal (1916) conferences of the social democratic internationalists. From 1916, she lived in Paris. Sharing some of Lenin's ideas—in particular the importance he placed on the role of women workers in preparing for socialist revolution—she translated many of his works into French.

After the fall of the Russian Monarchy in February 1917, Armand returned to Russia via Germany. In April 1917, she was an elected delegate to the *Sed'maia Vserossi-*

iskaia Konferenciia Rossiiskoi Social-Demokraticheskoi Rabochei Partii (Seventh All-Russian Conference of the *RSDRP*, Russian Social Democratic Party of Workers). After that she moved to Moscow to be with her children (her youngest son Andrej had become sick and there was a chance that he had tuberculosis). In Moscow, Armand set up courses for the education of agitators and propagandists; she wrote speeches for workers and participated in the work of the *Moskovskogo Soveta Rabochih Deputatov* (Moscow Deputies' Council). In the summer of 1917, she took her children to the south of Russia, returning to Moscow in the midst of the Revolution. After Soviet rule had been established, she took part in new Party activities. She had an incredible capacity for hard work, often working up to fourteen hours a day. She found herself among the most prominent party leaders and was an elected member of the *Moskovskii Gubernskii Komitet Partii* (Party Committee for the Province of Moscow); later, she became Chair of the *Moskovskii Gubernskii Ekonomicheskii Komitet* (Moscow Economic Council).

'The woman question' continued to be regarded as an important aspect of social change. Even Vladimir Lenin, Armand's idol, finally agreed (not without her influence) that now was the time to recognize that women had their special demands and needs, and that it was necessary to devise new working methods to improve women's situation. In the spring of 1918, Armand began organizing the "School of Soviet Work," which was to have, for the first time, a special *Zhenotdel* (Women's Bureau). It was at this time that Armand's interest in the history and theory of 'the woman question' intensified and she became editor of a new magazine, *Zhizn' Rabotnitsy*" (The life of a woman worker).

From 1918 to 1919, Armand was the head of the *Zhenotdel* at the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Bolshevik Party, which held executive power. Back then she also worked—under the pseudonym Yelena Blonina—for another magazine, *Kommunistka* (Woman-communist).

In 1919, Armand began working for the Second Communist International Congress, where she defended ideas of social equality between men and women. She was concerned about the ways in which everyday life and family relations in Russia were to be practically restructured; in her view, the new Russia lacked the necessary resources to liberate women. In a society struggling for survival, the creation of facilities that could have freed women from daily chores (something often cited by male discussants of 'the woman question') seemed an impossible dream. One had to search for other ways of liberating women. Armand saw all the hardships her contemporaries endured and treated them as her own, prompting her to organize and lead the *Pervaia Mezhdunarodnaia Konferenciia Zhenshchin-Kommunistok* (First International Conference of Women Communists).

Years of overwork (including care for her children), fatigue and hunger all took their toll on Armand's energy and strength. In the fall of 1920, she contracted cholera and died on 24 September 1920. The urn containing her ashes was buried in Moscow

in the Kremlin wall. Soviet historiography has mostly paid attention to her Party activities and her work during the first years of the Soviet regime. The work of western historians has often dwelled on the relationship between Lenin and Armand. No publications have yet addressed her impact on the Russian feminist movement.

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ASPAZIJA (Elza Rozenberga, in marriage Pliekšāne) (1865–1943)

Latvian poetess, public figure, feminist.
Pen-names 'Aspazija' and 'Kalna.'

Elza Rozenberga was born on 16 March 1865 at the farmstead Zaļenieku Daukšas. Her parents were the landowner Dāvis Rozenbergs-Rozenvalds and his wife Grieta. Elza had two brothers, Kristaps and Zamuēls, and one sister, Dora. The pen-name 'Aspazija' came from Elza's fascination with the Austrian writer Robert Hammerling's cultural-historical novel *Aspasia* (1876) about the great Aspasia of Miletus. The young Elza Rozenberga was attracted to Aspasia's exceptional life and accomplishments, as well as to her knowledge, which had influenced great thinkers such as Plato, Pericles and Socrates. Ironically for the future life of Elza Rozenberga,



Aspasia's work survived only through the voices of the men she had inspired. In a similar vein, even nowadays, Aspazija is valued not so much for her own works, as for her influence on and assistance to the poet Rainis, her life-long partner.

For ten years, Elza Rozenberga studied at Doroteja's school for girls in the city of Jelgava. Under the pen-name of 'Kalna' (literal translation: 'She-Mountain'), Rozenberga published her first article in the newspaper *Baltijas Vēstnesis* (Baltic herald). In 1886, she married Vilhelms Maksis Valters who, in accordance with contemporary marriage law, became the legal owner of her homestead property, subsequently lost it and later disappeared after leaving for America. Together with her relatives, Rozenberga moved to the city of Jelgava, where she held several jobs to support her family. Her first poem, published under the new pen-name of 'Aspazija,' appeared in 1887 in the newspaper *Dienas Lapa* (Daily paper). In 1888, she took part in a contest arranged by the Rīga Latvian Society (which was at the helm of the Latvian national awakening movement in the second half of the nineteenth century). Her play *Atriebēja* (She—the avenger) won first prize but was never staged due to stringent criticisms by members of the contest commission, who wanted to see a happy ending. Even re-worked, the play was not staged because of its critical representation of the economic and social colonization of Latvian peasants by despotic Baltic German oppressors.

In 1891–93, Aspazija, while working as a private teacher, wrote the social drama *Vaidelote* and the poem “Saules meita” (The daughter of the sun) about women’s experiences and values. In 1893, she began working at the Latvian Theater in Riga as a playwright, and was introduced to the cultural, poetic and artistic milieu of Riga. She also tried to launch an acting career, but soon gave up. The following year, this theater staged Aspazija’s *Zaudētas tiesības* (Lost rights), which explored a young working woman’s insecurities, the social and sexual pressures restricting her choices in life, and society’s double standards. In the same year, The Latvian Theatre in Riga staged Aspazija’s earlier work, *Vaidelote*, in which she employed mythology to represent a woman’s struggle against prejudice and dogma, her right to live and feel on her own terms. Aspazija’s plays caused controversy in a society that was coming to grips with modern ideas of women’s emancipation and rights.

In the 1890s, Aspazija not only became a well-known journalist and literary critic, but also an outstanding figure in women’s groups connected with the organization *Jaunā Strāva* (The new current), which she joined in 1894. *Jaunā Strāva* fought against the Russian imperial power on the one hand, and local Baltic German rule on the other, but also openly supported women’s emancipation. This movement attracted a number of young women, still school students, from the educated circles of Latvian society, who linked the emancipation of women with the political and economic emancipation of the nation. Of all the social issues of her time, ‘the woman question’ and the debates it generated in Europe and in the Russian Empire interested Aspazija the most. She was particularly influenced by August Bebel’s *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (Woman and socialism, 1879; published in Latvian in 1912). For Aspazija, the idea of a free Latvian nation was directly related to the overall emancipation of Latvian women. Together with other women from *Jaunā Strāva*, she became an active supporter of women’s rights and emancipation, contributing to debates in Latvian literature and the press.

Latvian women of the late nineteenth century could not organize political movements similar to the suffrage campaigns of the USA and Great Britain because they did not have the political and economic sovereignty that would have provided the specific spaces in which experiences, traditions and institutions of statehood could have been established and developed. Women’s emancipation in Latvia, within the confines of the Russian Empire and under the local rule of the Baltic German elite, occupied those spaces that appeared most ‘friendly’ to the participation of women: namely culture, art, literature and voluntary public organizations (e.g. charity and temperance). Aspazija was deeply impressed by Henrik Ibsen’s drama *A Doll’s House* (1880, first staged in Latvia in 1897), whose protagonist, Nora, struggles to emancipate herself from the burden of old traditions. Aspazija considered theater to be a medium that could facilitate engagement with social issues and change values, attitudes and traditions. In her plays from the turn of the century, in which she defended women’s right to individuality and self-esteem and protested women’s socially con-

structured inferiority, her central characters are consistently women. Aspazija's collections of poems were dedicated 'to woman' and her value as a human being.

While active in *Jaunā Strāva*, Aspazija had become acquainted with Jānis Pliekšāns (1865–1929), pen-name 'Jānis Rainis,' the editor-in-chief of the progressive newspaper *Dienas Lapa* (Daily paper). He became Aspazija's partner in life and work and in 1897, Aspazija and Rainis got married, after which "Aspazija was still recognized as an outstanding literary figure in Latvian culture. However, she was increasingly perceived as *the second half—the Muse of Rainis*" (Cimdiņa <http://www.women.it>). They did not have children but recently published documents indicate that Rainis had a son from his secretary and, when Aspazija discovered this, she insisted the child be sent to an orphanage.

Having become Rainis's 'other half' and 'supporter,' Aspazija nevertheless continued to write. The romantic drama *Sidraba šķidrums* (Silver veil, 1905) displayed a shift in Aspazija's writing from women's social issues to romantic dramas and poetry—a shift that reflected changes in early twentieth-century Latvia. In the tragic aftermath of the Russian Revolution of 1905, Rainis and Aspazija emigrated to Switzerland. In 1920, both returned to the newly proclaimed independent Republic of Latvia. Aspazija became very active in the public and political activities of the Republic of Latvia and was elected to the Constitutional Assembly, a special representative body set up to write and oversee the implementation of the *Satversme* (the Latvian Constitution, adopted in 1922, after which the Assembly was officially dissolved).

After the proclamation of Latvian independence, women were granted equal political rights with men. However, the interwar gender regime in Latvia exposed a certain contradiction between modern discourses of emancipated womanhood and traditionalist discourses of female roles; individualism and modernism against community and traditionalism. As in other European countries, the modernization of women's roles in the family and the labor market was combined with women's exclusion from the political sphere and social and economic marginalization. Like *Klāra Kalniņa* and other women activists of the pre-independence period, Aspazija kept writing about the significance of women's participation in public and political activities, but was gradually marginalized in public life.

The death of Rainis in 1929 came as a serious shock to Aspazija, though she continued with her literary work. From 1933 until her death in 1943, she lived in Dubulti, a small part of the sea-resort Jūrmala, beside Riga. She wrote collections of poems and dramas, noted for their mysticism, published the last autobiographical volumes of *Mana dzīve un darbi* (My life and works, 1931–1940) and worked on the literary legacy of Rainis. In the mid-1930s, she was offered the post of honorary director at the "Daile" Theater and in 1939, received the *Tēvzemes balva* (Fatherland Award).

Aspazija witnessed further crucial changes in the political situation of her nation: the authoritarian regime (1934), the annexation of Latvia by the USSR (1940) and the

Nazi occupation (1941). She faced serious financial problems, illness and loneliness in Dubulti, though supported by close friends and relatives—among them V. Strēlerte, K. Skalbe and Z. Mauriņa. She published little in the last years of her life. During the Nazi occupation, she was invited to write poetry and film scripts for her plays in German as an outstanding figure of Latvian culture and literature but declined, seeing the offers as ideological cooptation. When her 75th anniversary was celebrated in 1943 in the form of a public event held at the National Theater, she did not attend, reportedly saying: “it would make me shiver to shake hands with all these *Zonderführers*, or whatever one should call them” (cited in Viese 1975, 225). In the last, lonely years of her life, Aspazija received care and support from the students and teachers of a local school. She died on 5 November 1943.

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ATANASIJEVIĆ, Ksenija (1894–1981)

Serbian philosopher, thinker, professor; leading feminist in Yugoslavia in the first half of the twentieth century; member of the presidium of the *Skupštine Lige žena za mir i slobodu* (Serbian Women's League for Peace and Freedom) and editor of the first feminist journal in the country, *Ženski pokret* (The Women's Movement, published from 1920 to 1938).



Ksenija Atanasijević was born on 5 February 1894 in Belgrade. Her mother died during childbirth, a tragedy affecting Ksenija's life in later years. Her father, from a well-off family, was the director of the State Hospital in Belgrade. He passed away when she was just twelve, an event swiftly followed by the death of her brother in World War I. Ksenija Atanasijević was then brought up by her stepmother, Sofija Kondić, an educated woman who taught at the *Viša ženska škola* (Women's College) in Belgrade.

During her high school years, Atanasijević was influenced by a philosophy professor, Nada Stoiljković; it was probably Stoiljković who encouraged her to study philosophy at Belgrade University. She graduated in July 1920 with the highest marks in her graduating class, obtaining a university diploma in "pure and applied philosophy and classics." An excellent student, Ksenija Atanasijević decided to pursue an academic career in philosophy and soon after the graduation, began working on a doctoral thesis on Giordano Bruno's *De triplici minimo*. She visited Geneva and Paris to discuss her thesis with specialists and, on 20 January 1922, defended her Ph.D. with honors in Belgrade. Her thesis was entitled *Brunovo učenje o najmanjem* (Bruno's teaching as given in his work 'De triplici minimo'); upon its completion and successful defense, Atanasijević became the first woman to hold a Ph.D. in Serbia. She was then 28 years old. Soon after, she became the first female university professor to be appointed to the Department of Philosophy at Belgrade University, where she taught classics, medieval and modern philosophy and aesthetics.

Ksenija Atanasijević left a substantial volume of work, including over four hundred texts, among them books and essays in philosophy, psychology, history and literature. Her interest in philosophy was broad and eclectic, covering ethics, metaphysics, logic, aesthetics and the history of philosophy. She is best known for her original interpreta-

tions of Giordano Bruno's work and for her 'philosophy of meaning' developed in *Filozofski fragmenti* (Philosophical fragments, 1928–1929), considered by many to be her most significant work. In this, as well as in *Aspekti i analize filozofije humanizma* (Aspects and analyses of a philosophy of humanism, 1969) and *Značenje i vrednost egzistencije* (The meaning and value of existence, 1968), Atanasijević developed an innovative ontological-axiological philosophy of the meaning of human existence across several fields. Some authors regard these works as a blend of different subjects and modes of thought; others insist on speaking of 'intuition' in her philosophical discourse. Her thinking on individuality and social meanings in the form of aphorism anticipated the existentialism of Kafka and J. P. Sartre. She perceived herself not as a 'discursive' but as an 'intuitive' philosopher, yearning to create a philosophy from elements of intuitive-imaginative consciousness. Indeed, Ksenija Atanasijević truly *lived* her philosophy as the praxis of a liberal and moral person. Among the first in Yugoslavia to plainly oppose German nationalism and anti-Semitism in an essay, "Oko za oko" (Eye for an eye), published in the newspaper *Pravda* (Truth) in 1933, she held several lectures on the Jewish contribution to world culture and was subsequently arrested by the Germans in 1942. After the war, the same liberal and moral praxis would lead to Atanasijević's arrest by members of the newly established communist regime.

Ksenija Atanasijević was a committed feminist both in theory and in practice. She was a member of the Presidium of the *Skupštine Lige žena za mir i slobodu* (Serbian Women's League for Peace and Freedom) and editor of the first feminist journal in the country, *Ženski pokret* (The Women's Movement, published from 1920 to 1938).

Atanasijević was also a prominent member of the *Alijansa ženskog pokreta* (Women's Movement Alliance). In this latter capacity, she wrote a number of articles and essays discussing feminist issues relevant to the Serbian society of the time—the place of women in Serbian public sphere, the leadership of the feminist movement and women's suffrage rights—thereby helping to define the main issues and future course of Yugoslav feminism in her time. Her philosophical treatments of the position of 'woman' in culture covered a wide range of themes, from female characters in Greek tragedies to women's emancipation in modern times. She saw the latter as a process, to be realized through the "enhancement of [women's] ethical awareness" and the "conscious determining of her spirituality" (Petrović 2003, 7). Atanasijević's important feminist works include *Etička podloga feminizma* (The ethical basis of feminism, 1927), *Položaj žene u našem javnom životu* (The position of woman in our public life, 1928) and *Feministički pokret i njegove vodje* (The feminist movement and its leaders, 1938).

In 1936, after twelve years of teaching practice, Atanasijević was removed from her university position, the result of a reaction to the liberal ideas she promoted and especially to her decision not to become part of any academic ideological clique. Ksenija Atanasijević's sense of intellectual autonomy meant that not only was she unwilling to

accept conservative ideologies structuring her teaching and writing, she was also capable of criticizing the work of her professors and colleagues. At the time, women in Serbia rarely occupied such powerful positions as that of university professor and Atanasijević was perceived as a potential threat to male-dominated philosophy. Although a number of professionals within the academic community saw her dismissal as illegal, with public figures formally protesting the decision (among them the writer Sima Pandurović and other women's activists), Atanasijević's position at Belgrade University was never restored to her. She was later offered a position with the Ministry of Education, followed by a period working for the university and the National Library. She retired in 1946 as an employee of the National Library.

To this day, the bulk of Ksenija Atanasijević's work, which addresses a comprehensive set of important philosophical and cultural questions, continues to be kept out of the academic mainstream in contemporary Serbia.

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BACHMANN, Ingeborg (1926–1973)

Austrian writer.

Ingeborg Bachmann was born in Klagenfurt in the Austrian state of Carinthia on 25 June 1926. Her mother, Olga Bachmann, born Haas (1901–1998), came originally from Heidenreichstein in Lower Austria, where her family owned a knitwear factory. Her father, Matthias Bachmann (data unknown), came from a Protestant farming family in Obervellach in Carinthia and trained as a primary school teacher in Klagenfurt. He was headmaster of a school in Klagenfurt for many years and served in both World Wars as an officer. Ingeborg Bachmann had two younger siblings: a sister Isolde, born in 1928, and a brother Heinz, born in 1939. From 1932 onwards,



she attended primary and secondary school in Klagenfurt, sitting her Matura in 1944 and subsequently attending a teacher training institute until May 1945. Here, Bachmann's German teacher was the popular local writer of 'Heimat' literature and one-time Nazi sympathizer Josef Friedrich Perkonig, whose parochial influence would be significant in, among other works, her first publication, *Die Fähre* (The ferry, 1946).

Bachmann's perception of the dual nature and inheritance of her childhood environment had a lasting effect on her work. On the one hand, the area around Obervellach, situated at the intersection of the geographical and linguistic borders of Austria, Italy and Slovenia, is characterized as an idealized microcosm of the Habsburg Empire, where different peoples, cultures and languages mingled peacefully within one political unit. Following the writer Joseph Roth, Bachmann called this mythical, childhood place Galicien, but in later works its utopian strain is increasingly challenged by its darker, historical aspect. An awareness of the destruction brought about in history is certainly heightened in retrospect, but extracts from Bachmann's diary, written during the summers of 1944 and 1945, show a clear, contemporaneous rejection of Nazi ideology. It could be argued that both Bachmann's life and her life's work are wedged between, on the one hand, the dream of an impossible utopian state in private and public, fictional and historical forms, and on the other hand, between the individual and collective modes of behavior that beset that dream from the outset.

Leaving Klagenfurt in the autumn of 1945, Bachmann studied philosophy, German and psychology, first in Innsbruck, then Graz and finally (from 1946–1949) in Vi-

enna, where she graduated in 1950 with a dissertation on Heidegger, *Die kritische Aufnahme der Existentialphilosophie Martin Heideggers* (Critical reception of the existentialist philosophy of Martin Heidegger, 1949). During this period as a student, she published a number of short stories as well as her first poems and also worked on a novel, *Stadt ohne Namen* (The town without a name), for which she was unable to find a publisher and which subsequently disappeared. But it was as a poet, exploring the nature of time, love and memory that Bachmann was to become famous. It was also during this period that she became part of the literary establishment of post-war Vienna. As a member of Hans Weigel's group in Café Raimund, Bachmann became acquainted with the most important literary figures of post-war Vienna, including Ilse Aichinger and many others. Her most significant contact here was Paul Celan, with whom Bachmann conducted an extraordinary literary dialogue through her work. They dedicated work to one another and, within their texts, wove a complex network of mutual quotations and references. Their close personal and intellectual relationship was to endure until Celan's death in 1971.

In April 1952, Hans Werner Richter, the established West-German writer and editor, invited Bachmann and Celan to attend a meeting of the *Gruppe '47* (Group '47) in Niendorf an der Ostsee. The following year, Bachmann was awarded the prestigious *Preis der Gruppe '47* (Group '47 Prize), an event that marked Bachmann's breakthrough as a writer and her branching out from the Viennese cultural milieu. She resigned from her job as a scriptwriter with the radio-broadcaster *Rot-Weiß-Rot* (Red-White-Red) in Vienna and shortly afterwards moved to Rome. From 1953 onwards, Bachmann collaborated with Hans Werner Henze, contributing poems and libretti for (among others) his *Nachtstücke und Arien* (Night-pieces and arias), *Der Prinz von Homburg* (The prince of Homburg), and *Der junge Lord* (The young lord). In 1953, her first collection of poetry, *Die gestundete Zeit* (Mortgaged time) was published to critical acclaim, followed in 1956 by a second collection, *Anrufung des Großen Bären* (Incantation of the great bear). Despite the fact that Bachmann had also by now published short stories and essays (on Wittgenstein, Musil and others) and had broadcast her first radio play, *Ein Geschäft mit Träumen* (The business of dreams, 1952), she was publicly cast in the role of a slightly helpless, faltering and feminine, if intellectually brilliant poet. This image was to dominate until she was re-read in the context of feminist and critical theory in the 1980s.

In July 1958, Bachmann met the Swiss writer Max Frisch in Paris and began a relationship that was to have a significant personal impact on her life and work. Between 1958 and 1962, they lived in Zurich and Rome. In 1959, Bachmann was awarded the *Hörspielpreis der Kriegsblinden* (Radio Play Prize of the War-blind) for her radio play *Der gute Gott von Manhattan* (The good God of Manhattan, 1958). In 1959/60, she was a guest lecturer at the Universität Frankfurt, where she met the Frankfurt School philosopher T. W. Adorno, and, through him, Gerschom Scholem. In June 1961, she published translations of the poetry of Giuseppe Ungaretti as well as *Das dreißigste*

Jahr (The thirtieth year), her first collection of short stories. It received a mixed reaction, but the dominant view was that articulated by the influential critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki, that it was the work of a fallen poet.

Following the end of her relationship with Frisch in autumn 1962, Bachmann suffered a nervous breakdown, delaying her move to Berlin to take up a Ford Foundation scholarship until the spring of 1963. During this period, she began work on what was to develop into the *Todesarten* Project (Ways of death)—a compendium of the means by which society murders women. By the time of her death in 1973, thousands of pages of *Todesarten* fragments existed; but only one completed novel, *Malina* (1971), described by the author as an overture to the cycle, and a loosely related collection of short stories, *Simultan* (Paths to the lake, 1972), had been published.

Thematically, it could be said that the *Todesarten* texts cohere around the redefinition of war. They look to the perpetuation of fascist modes of behavior in the acceptable practices of society and individuals, and in particular in the relationships between men and women. One of the dominant means of death suffered by the protagonists in the *Todesarten* is the attack on their ability to speak for and define themselves; they suffocate in gas chambers, they have their mouths attacked, their language stolen, they become the objects of someone else's study, they become trapped in the texts of others. This was a fate Bachmann herself suffered repeatedly. From Hans Weigel's book, *Unvollendete Symphonie* (Unfinished symphony, 1951), to Max Frisch's *Mein Name sei Gantenbein* (Gantenbein, 1965), and *Montauk* (Montauk, 1975), to Adolf Opel's *Ingeborg Bachmann in Ägypten* (Ingeborg Bachmann in Egypt, 1996), and *'Wo mir das Lachen zurückgekommen ist...'* *Auf Reisen mit Ingeborg Bachmann* ('Where I rediscovered laughter...' *Travels with Ingeborg Bachmann*, 2001), the writer's private life was repeatedly made into the fodder of others' publications, a fate referred to in the *Todesarten* fragment, *Fanny Goldmann* (1978) as "slaughter on 386 pages" (Koschel et al. 1978, 515). The project as a whole is thus a collection of lives, stories and histories that have been erased from public view; it makes visible the invisible murders in society and links them to the manner of exercising power that also underpinned the Holocaust. In Bachmann's work, where the women repeatedly fall victim to men yielding power in the manner of Bluebeards, fascists and colonizers, relations between the sexes offer a prototype for the destruction of one human life by another. It is this fundamental structuring principle and theme of her work that was only highlighted from the 1980s onwards, when feminist critics recognized that the seemingly vulnerable, low-voiced poet was engaged in an uncompromisingly critical exploration of patriarchy. While Bachmann did not identify herself as a feminist and was not associated with the feminist movement, her intellectual contribution to the analysis of the gender of power is unique. By allowing historical truths to emerge in the fates of fictional victims, Bachmann not only followed her own conviction that "the individual does not live in history, but history in the individual" (Koschel et al. 1978, 230), but also linked a specifically patriarchal history to the smothering of a female voice. That smothering,

according to Bachmann, takes place in marriage as it does in murder, in grand narratives as in small.

From 1965 onwards, Bachmann was again based in Rome but continued to travel extensively. Among her most important trips were those to Athens and Egypt (1964) and to Poland (including Auschwitz) in 1973. She was now working primarily on the *Todesarten* texts, while also continuing her collaboration with Hans Werner Henze. She was awarded the *Georg Büchner Preis* (Georg Büchner Prize) in 1964 and the *Großer Österreichischer Staatspreis* (Austrian State Prize) in 1968.

Bachmann died in Rome on 17 October 1973 as a combined result of injuries sustained in a burning accident in her apartment on 26 September 1973 and complications caused by her addiction to prescription drugs. Bachmann herself dated this problem back to the break-up of her relationship with Max Frisch in 1962. She was buried in Annabichl Cemetery in Klagenfurt on 25 October 1973.

Since the first publication of her collected works (four volumes) in 1978, the characterization of Bachmann as a lost poet has been increasingly challenged by a more politically charged view of her social and literary concerns. During the 1980s, critical attention shifted steadily from her early work to a focus on the *Todesarten* Project. Since the publication of the *Todesarten* critical edition (four volumes) in 1995, two volumes of finished and unfinished poetry have been published, *Letzte, unveröffentlichte Gedichte. Entwürfe und Fassungen* (Final unpublished poems. Sketches and versions, 1998). *Ich weiß keine bessere Welt* (I know of no better world, 2000), and extracts of her 1945/46 diary have also been released. Her 8,000 page estate, of which some 300 pages have been locked away until 2025, is held at the National Library in Vienna.

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BAIULESCU, Maria (1860–1941)

Accomplished author, civic organizer, Romanian nationalist and feminist leader.

Daughter of Orthodox Archpriest (Protopop) Bartolomeu (1831–1909) and Elena Baiulescu, Maria Baiulescu grew up in an intellectual family in the relatively prosperous region of Brasov and received an exceptionally good education for a Romanian woman at the time. After graduating from the Girls French Institute and the German Secondary School in Brasov, Baiulescu began her writing career as a translator. She published some early articles under the pseudonym of Sulfina. She later used her own name and published widely in Transylvanian newspapers and in the *Enciclopedia română* (Romanian Encyclopedia). Her topics included poetry, prose and commentaries on society and politics. Her correspondence indicates that she was well connected among Romanian leaders and intellectuals and generally admired for her views.



Baiulescu was notably active in Transylvanian civil associations. She translated and wrote plays for the popular *Societatea pentru crearea unui fond de teatru român* (Society for the Creation of a Romanian Theater Fund). She also served as a lecturer and an author for 'Astra,' or the *Asociațiunea transilvană pentru literatura și cultura poporului român* (Transylvanian Association for the Literature and Culture of the Romanian People)—the largest Romanian civil association in the Habsburg Empire—before leading the women's subsection of Astra's medical and biopolitical section from 1927 until 1935. A long-standing activist in the *Reuniunea Femeilor Române din Brașov* (Brasov's Romanian Women's Society), she served as the society's President from 1908 until 1935. In 1913, Baiulescu also initiated the *Uniunea Femeilor Române* (Union of Romanian Women), an association that brought together over one hundred women's organizations for the purpose of creating a center where women could meet one another, exchange ideas and work together for common goals. After World War I, she headed the *Uniunea Femeilor Române*, withdrawing from the leadership of the association in 1935 at the age of seventy five.

In her leadership roles and in her writings, Baiulescu emphasized three primary spheres in which women contributed to their communities: the social and philanthropic, the national and the political. Her own social and philanthropic work concen-

trated on children, the infirm and the elderly. She is often noted for supporting the boarding school for poor or orphaned girls funded by the *Reuniunea Femeilor Române*. Under her direction the school taught housekeeping and household industry, theoretical and practical instruction in subjects such as sewing, gardening and hygiene, in addition to academic disciplines such as foreign languages and history. Although the practical skills in housekeeping and household industry confined women to a distinctly 'feminine' sphere, they also enabled graduates to support themselves as dress-makers, teachers or governesses.

Baiulescu envisioned women at the forefront of the Romanian national movement. Priests and male school teachers had traditionally served as national leaders for village communities (where most Romanians lived), but Baiulescu believed that they had largely abandoned their national roles, for fear of losing their living stipends from what most Romanian nationalists viewed as a centralizing Hungarian state intent on assimilating non-Hungarians (i.e. before 1918). She argued that only women were capable of preserving the Romanian nation. By providing proper care and education for their children, women raised both health standards and national consciousness. Their work, in short, safeguarded the health of the nation. To realize her vision, Baiulescu strove to improve the basic care of children and reduce infant mortality through, for example, basic hygiene standards. She urged Romanian women to teach their children the Romanian language and national traditions and assigned to women the task of preserving Romanian folk costumes. These symbols of Romanian nationality ostensibly separated Romanians from Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Gypsies and all other 'non-Romanians' in Hungary, and Baiulescu counted on women to maintain the distinctions.

In many ways Baiulescu's feminism resembles what scholars such as Mary Beth Norton have called "republican motherhood," especially the ideal of the "mother-educator"; but, unlike many advocates of a domestic sphere for wives and mothers, Baiulescu also worked to have women accepted in society as equals to men. She was, for instance, a forceful voice for extending suffrage and civil rights to women. In 1918, Baiulescu was a founding member of the *Asociația pentru emanciparea civilă și politică a femeilor române* (AECPPFR, Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women), dedicated to preparing women for exercising political rights and taking on public duties. In the 1920s, Baiulescu was one of a handful of women in dialogue with the Romanian Minister of Justice on drafts of civil rights legislation (which remained in draft form). She was also well informed of events across Europe and in frequent contact with supporters of women's rights in France, Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium and Hungary. The Red Cross in Sweden (1929) and Belgium (1935) commemorated her work with medals. The *Országos Gyermekvédő Liga* (Hungarian League for the Protection of Children) also recognized her specific work with children.

Baiulescu's feminist views are best understood within the context of a larger Ro-

manian national movement. Throughout Baiulescu's lifetime, Romanian leaders worked to build an autonomous national community. Baiulescu fully participated in this work, striving to create a significant place for women in the Romanian national community while it was being organized. Baiulescu often referred to Romanian women as "the mothers of our people," a telling expression indicating that her feminism was subordinated to her nationalism. This contextualization of women's roles within the nation follows the views of her parents who, as leaders of Romanian civil associations, promoted women as mothers with moral duties to their families and to their extended national family. (Elena Baiulescu, for example, served on the leadership committee of the Romanian Women's Society in Brasov during the 1890s.) After the creation of Greater Romania in 1918, the focus of Romanian nationalists changed; they no longer needed to defend the Romanian nation from a centralizing Hungarian state but aimed to strengthen and unify the fledgling national community. In this very different context, Maria Baiulescu's views do not seem to have changed much. Although her correspondence offers little insight on her specific views of the burgeoning feminist movement in interwar Romania, her continued activism until her death on 24 June 1941 demonstrated that she supported women's emancipation because women made important philanthropic and educational contributions to the nation.

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