

INTRODUCTION TO STUDY OF GENDER HISTORY

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Introduction

In professional circles, gender is currently usually understood in two ways. The first way is based on the definition by Margaret Mead dating back to 1930's and stresses the diversity of biological and social nature of the differences between a man and a woman. The concept of gender as a "social sex" is based on the author's work that was published in 1935 under the title *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. It is a term used for groups of properties and behaviours formed by culture and connected with the image of man and woman. While sex is biologically determined and is (mostly) an immutable category, gender is a set of properties that are attributed to the biological family in social terms and change during the historical development, which also applies in the example of a relatively clearly defined community. Sex is a biological characteristic, gender a social construction, reflecting the expectations associated with the conduct of men or women.

The category of gender refers not to the biological (in essence, we distinguish two biological sexes, male and female), but to the social aspects of sex. Gender, social sex, working with the categories of masculinity and femininity, is the original English name for grammatical gender which became the name for the social genus. It has three meanings referring to:

1. grammatical gender;
2. sexual identity (male, female) and orientation (heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, transsexual);
3. the role attributed to an individual of a certain sex in a society, i.e. a culturally constructed sexual identity or orientation, social sex.

The aim of the distinction between the social and biological nature of sex was to distinguish the differences which are naturally given (biologically) from the socio-culturally produced differences and on the basis of that demand changes in the structure of power relations between men and women in the 20th Century society, thus elimination of inequalities in the process of emancipation of the society.

Starting from 1990's, this definition became the subject of criticism based on post-structuralist access to culture. Under this approach, Judith Butler [\[1\]](#) in particular called for relaxation of clearly defined bipolar categories of the masculinity-femininity type, or gender-sex. From the post-structuralist point of view, gender is performative; its lasting essence is shaped through continued acts and gender stylizations of the body. Behind these acts, however, there is no internal or actual gender identity concealed, it is constantly being transformed and reconstituted through the very acts which only seem to express it. Gender is thus no longer a social interpretation of the biological sex in culture, but it is understood as a discourse device, by which sex and its attributes are produced.

Gender began to be used in historiography as an analytical category in 1970's in connection with the development of history of women, which has led to significant methodological enrichment and anchoring of probably the most dynamically developing historical "subgenre". Through the use of gender-based approach in historical research, the initially narrowly focused history of women could be extended to study gender issues in the whole range of thematic spectrum of the research into the history, and we find the application of gender aspects in research of history of culture, artistic creation, science, social differences, everydayness. In short, gender history has become one of the most significant streams of social and cultural history of the late 20th Century. In the historical context, *gender* first appeared in a paper by Natalie Zemon Davis at a conference in Berkshire in 1974.^[2] The historian expressed therein an idea that the gender which is culturally and socially conditioned and, as a social construct, historically variable could become a similar category as well as a subject of study as *class*.^[3]

Since the printing of the now classic article by Joan W. Scott *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*, which appeared in 1986 in the *American Historical Review*, and then again two years later in *Gender and the Politics of History*, the category of *gender* began to be used to a greater extent but often as synonyms of category *woman*.^[4] Let's recall that, according to Joan W. Scott, gender is "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power".^[5] The category of gender is a social and cultural definition of sex, a system of roles attributed to one or another sex; it is so called "social sex."^[6] J. W. Scott justified the use of *gender* as an analytical category. She worked on the basis of an analysis of existing research on women - *Women's History*, whether related to the history of the feminist movement, women's history in general, characterized as the history of feminine experiencing, or a stream which seeks to highlight the woman,^[7] she did not, however, settle for their permanence in the edge of historiography.

She offered a new, alternative interpretation of history, through which the gender issues would be integrated into the context of political, economic, social and cultural history. J. W. Scott defines *gender* in two interrelated levels: first, gender as a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived gender differences, secondly, gender as an initial method to mark power relations.

If gender is a constitutive element of social relationships, then the label woman on one hand and man on the other form the basis of any action in society. From this perspective, it involves four interdependent aspects through which we perceive gender. First, they are culturally valid symbols, archetypes, which often produce contradictory representations. Secondly, the normative concepts on the basis of which these symbols are interpreted and which limits and controls their metaphorical possibilities. These concepts are expressed in religious, scientific, legal, educational and political doctrines; they take the form of fixed binary oppositions and are perceived as "constant truths". The third aspect is the variable nature of gender relations depending on political or social institutions and finally fourth, gender is individually designed and perceived in relation to affiliation to a social level, race, etc. ^[8]

The initial inspiration for using the concept of gender in history were schools based on post-structuralism, particularly the work by Michel Foucault, his stress on the body as an object, the aim

of power and domination, and discourse analysis, where the signifier itself, *significant*, becomes the subject of study that shapes the signified, *signifié*. Post-structuralist gender thus shifted interest from the physical, social, economic "determination" to language analysis and "social production of the signified."^[9] J. W. Scott also incorporates the concept of power from the concept by Michel Foucault, the term here does not imply a specific, political power, but power as such; power relations are ubiquitous, located within other relationships.^[10] If gender represents the primary method of marking power relations, it then stands at the very foundations of society. Gender relations in the society are objectively given, objectively existing, standing in the foundations of social relations, structuring the perception and symbolic orientation of the whole social life, they found distribution of power. They are time and culture-conditioned; they cannot be referred to as a fixed category, as we cannot talk about not universally valid binary opposition of masculinity and femininity. Gender analysis is not research of women and men, but of how the laws, rules and institutional arrangements relate to the differences between the sexes.^[11]

Gender expresses an idea that, in terms of social behaviour, people are not born as men and women, but it must learn to act like men and women. It illuminates socially shaped attitudes and behaviour patterns, which consist in dichotomous division into male and female.^[12] There is - and always has been - a number of behavioural patterns that are considered to be typically male or female in the society.^[13] The concept puts emphasis on the study of "a comprehensive game of oppositions between the woman and the man, which is flexible and variable depending on the time, culture and political context of the time."^[14] Every culture has its own identification of specific gender roles with some form of behaviour, speech, and clothing, with performance of certain activities.^[15]

The introduction of *gender* into the category of historical research, did not affect only *women's* history, but also stood at the birth of *men's* studies, which began to develop in 1980's mainly in the United States and Great Britain. Woman-researchers dealing with the history of women highlighted in the initial development of women's history the absence of women in the history, this deficiency has been due to their work since 1970's systematically corrected. However, after gender was accepted as a constitutive category in the approach towards the past, the situation has changed. In gender studies, the lack of attention suddenly began to be felt that would be devoted to the development and differentiation of various forms of masculinity, which was thus the same phenomenon that was previously observed in the classical historiography. While many studies were published on gender issues, the vast majority of them just stared their attention to women and femininity constitution as a social category. Men were continued to be seen as representatives of their nation, class, social class or universal representative of humanity, but not as representatives of their social sex - gender. Only after the American Men's Studies Association^[16] began publishing *The Journal of Men's Studies* in 1992, a series of similar titles followed, such as professional journal *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* in 2000 – published thanks to the American Psychological Association.^[17] Also here was captured 'authentic masculinity', which would oppose the masculinity established by the patriarchal order and which is - as a femininity construct - historically contingent. It is possible that in the Euro-American context the increased interest in the category of masculinity was linked to the end of the Cold War, which enabled thematisation and a critical look at the so-called *Cold War discourse* and *Cold War masculinity*.^[18] In terms of men's history, special attention was paid to the revision of the patriarchal order in history as well as to the causes and methods of its

constitution. From this point of view, Robert W. Connell, for instance, sees masculinity as configuration of gender practices that legitimize the superiority of men in the patriarchal structure of power relations.[\[19\]](#) Gradually, however, more influential in the study of men's history proved to be studies focused on the seemingly only internal differentiation of the different forms of masculinity. Owing to monitoring of their interactions affected by the power hierarchy of the society, based on categories such as subordination-superiority, collegiality-fellowship, it appears that the vast majority of typical forms of masculinity is not shaped by the binary opposition of masculinity-femininity, but it is contrariwise as they are constituted primarily due to the mutual differentiation between individual groups of men, whether we want to distinguish between races, classes, or in any other way.[\[20\]](#) Focusing on changes in male gender led first sociology and psychology, then history as well to examine the phenomenon of paternity.

As in the present, social sex was constructed in the past too by the discourse and standards of behaviour that the discourse produced. These were determinative, but at the same time constitutive: they created a male or female identity. History is indeed reconstructible in the context of relations between the sexes with sex being a cultural construct, configuration of which varies depending on production and living conditions.[\[21\]](#)

2. Male and Female Identity, Masculinity and Femininity in the Historical Development, "Other" Identity;

Querelle des femmes, a dispute over sex,[\[22\]](#) led by educated circles of Europe from the Middle Ages to the 20th Century captures the changes in the construct of femininity that prevailed in this or that epoch. Much of this dispute took place at the time when defining was the voice of the Church, initially only Catholic or Jewish, then Protestant as well. Spokesmen for the different denominations comprised in the European society a rather negligible percentage of the population, yet their idea of the woman as an inferior creature, entirely subordinate to the man, the woman as a "vessel of sin"[\[23\]](#), was the leitmotif of the dispute. The binarily conditioned complementarity facilitated definition of both the social sexes, thematized women and men as creatures of God, and moreover it accentuated pairness and mirroriness of the both genders, incompleteness of the man without the woman and the woman without the man, the necessity of interaction.[\[24\]](#)

Strictly speaking, the gender constructs did not in fact change during the Middle Ages and early modern period. While the Enlightenment proclaimed equality before the law, it only covered those to which the law turned – the men. Women's collective gesture in the first phase of the revolution was an ephemeral matter and the Jacobins were able to cope with it using their very own means.

Even before, "natural difference" between men and women had been sought in the field of science, and the scholarly discourse remained a permanent part of European thought, culture and practice deeply into the 20th Century. The Enlightenment thinkers began looking for the "natural difference" in nature, not in metaphysics, more or less connected with religion. It was to define the place and the relationship between men and women in the new (rational) social order. Along with its search, conceptualisation of gender identities took place in the interrelated areas: philosophy providing the empirical sciences with a theoretical and ideological basis, in the legal sciences and medicine,

especially in obstetrics, which was at that time established as a separate medical specialty.^[25] Popularization of those discourses found its expression in didactic publications, which were indebted to the genre syncretism of the Czech environment, which to some extent persisted until the mid-19th Century. The boundaries between genres are not always clear; in the interiorization of the mentioned construct, its practical application, and preservation are involved both educational and popular medical writings and belle-lettres, which aims to cultivate and nurture.

The construct of masculinity was based on the undeniably masculine domination, expression of which was the very name of the man: "homo" was used generally to describe people while the Latin term for a man, "vir", was derived from the "virtus," virtue.^[26]

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[8] Ratajová: *Gender history*, pp. 35 – 36.

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[10] Ratajová: *Gender History*, p. 36.

[11] Ratajová: *Gender History*, p. 36- 37.

[12] Ratajová: *Dějiny ženy*, p. 159. Referring to Judith Butler who rejects this dichotomy. Cf. Judith Butler: *Trampoty s rodem. Feminismus a podryvanie identity*. Bratislava 2003, pp. 22 - 23.

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[17] Victor J. Sedler, *Rediscovering Masculinity*. London 1989; John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in 19th Century Britain. Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. London – New York- Boston, 2005; Michelle K. Rhoades, *Renegotiating French Masculinity: Medicine and Venereal Disease - during the Great War*. *French Historical Studies*, 29, No 2, Spring 2006, pp. 293 – 327. In the Czech environment, for instance, Pavla HORSKÁ, *Tři století evropského feminismu*. *Historický obzor* 2, 1995, pp. 36 – 40, herein p. 37; Jiřina ŠMEJKALOVÁ, *Možnosti využití genderové perspektivy ve výzkumu otcovství ve střední Evropě*, in: Marcin Filipowicz, Joanna Królak, Alena Zachová (eds.), *Od patriarchy k tatínkovi. Západoslávanské modely otcovství*. Univerzita Hradec králové, Hradec Králové 2008, pp. 12 – 22.

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Formulation of Gender in Philosophy

The difference of sex constitutes the existence of human in both the biological and ontological terms. It is not just about finding the biological compliance of both sexes, but also about understanding through the procedure which through resigning the individual characteristics penetrates to the base constitutive plane of the phenomenon.[1] For centuries, not only in times when philosophy was ruled by the Scripture, but in fact until now, Europe's political power was based on the paternal and patriarchal power. At the theoretical level, the dogma of patriarchal structure was challenged by John Locke. While political power is based on the voluntary association and consent of the subjects, the family relationships are prehistoric and natural, and thus are not part of the civil society. Father has no political power over their children, only a duty to properly educate them, the subordination of women is thus not of political, but of "matrimonial" nature, so it is natural.

Locke's "natural subordination" of women in marriage was opposed in 1700 by English philosopher Mary Astell in her *Some Reflections upon Marriage, Occasion'd by the Duke and Duchess of Mazarine's Case, which is also considered*, which rejected the application of double standards: one for the political and another to the private sphere. In the book *Serious Proposal to the Ladies, Parts I and II. Wherein a Method is offer'd for the Improvement of their Minds* she demanded in 1694 (the second edition was published three years later) establishing Protestant monasteries in which women would engage in religion, education, training and meditation.[2]

Enlightenment as a consequence of the requirement of individual freedom and autonomy of the subject comes with the claim that men and women are rational beings, are therefore potentially subjects. It thus newly postulated the matter of the relationship between man and woman, which accentuated the idea of "natural" differences between both sexes.[3] Since the late 18th Century, concepts of family were formed reflecting the new circumstances and anchored philosophically its traditional image based on the paradigm of the "public" man, providing the family income and participating in the processes of political decision-making, and the "private" woman working in the sphere of the household.[4] Emil Rousseau identifies the gender differences on the basis of gender hierarchy in the family - the father is in the position of the legislative ruler and his mother is subordinated.

Philosophical thoughts at the turn of the 18th and 19th Century pose first and foremost the question of the law, the legal anchorage of the relationship between the man and woman, the matter of marriage. We find it with Ficht, Kant as well as Hegel. Kant, following Rousseau's *Emile*, described later in his *Anthropology* the female sex with two goals determined by the nature: first, conservation of the species, and second, cultivating the society and its refining through femininity. A crucial role played by Hegel's (*Phenomenology of Spirit*, 1807; *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, 1821, etc.) division of space to the public and domestic, the philosopher sees division as a division of the two "rationalities". The first of them seeking autonomy and directs its activity towards the state, science and work, the other is anchored in passivity and concrete individuality, it is directed towards the family and morality. Both are in a dialectical unity, which can be both harmonious and conflicted. In the being divided between the family and the community, it is just a man who moves between the two spheres. As far as equality or inequality is concerned, a woman may be a daughter, wife, mother, sister; only in this latter position she is equal in the relationship with the man. Both Kant and Hegel believe that the woman is equal to the man, but they both respect Rousseau's hierarchy of sex; hence the subordination of women's sense in favour of the aim that transcends it, hence Kant's conviction of the permanent juvenility of woman.^[5]

Despite the hypothesis that each sex dominates its sector, this model was at first sight asymmetric: while the family pays for the domain of women, according to classical concepts it is lead by her husband as the head of the family; moreover, the woman is excluded from the professional world and politics. While decisions taken in the political and economic fields touch women, they may not participate in the decision-making process themselves – the male head of the family presents the family outwards, the Enlightenment concept of the citizen applies to the man only. A cogent argument for non-participation of women in politics was female "specifics" based on a medical construct: sensibility and certain passivity, typical for a woman, may be allegedly best applied in the sphere of religious and educational. Both of these components organically blend in motherhood where there is the right place for the woman. Hierarchy of gender within the family stood in the relationship between spouses as well as in the relationship between siblings.

The era of liberal feminism begins with John Stuart Mill, requesting freedom for all people and the resulting full gender equality.^[6] Yet at the same time, he assumed that most women will continue on their own taking work in the family, and that, inspired by philanthropy or religion, she will transfer through the woman's sphere through social organizations to the public. Liberal feminism, the feminism of equal rights, raises three basic arguments. First, the belief that the current gender inequality is not determined only biologically, but historically as well: a woman is a product of upbringing and upbringing can be changed, second, that modern politics is related to the issue of electoral law, which belongs to women too and, finally, that the marriage law should be based on gender equality. This concept highlights the importance of power, social status and self-realization in the public sphere; it pays attention to the differences between it and the private sphere. It notes that women are pushed into the private sphere where there are many unpaid tasks: the care of the household, children, meeting social needs. He sees eliminating the problem, however, as a private matter resolvable in the legislation of a free society. Liberal feminism is developing in parallel with social feminism, which articulates its goals through social and political categories. It was inspired by ideas of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Leroux, originally a typographic worker, then a journalist, philosopher, Saint-Simon's follower, one of the theorists of female emancipation, called for the right to love (he defined it as "a right in its most divine

degree),^[7] identity and difference between the sexes. Marx in his *German Ideology* points to the fact that the family is a historical phenomenon, and rejects claims it shall cease to exist; at the same time, he advocates for monogamy and divorce. Paid work is reportedly the first step towards women's autonomy; women's emancipation will therefore be based on economic rather than legal factors. Engels also explained subordinate position of women through their relationship to the means of production. Marxism made the requirement of equality of women one of the requirements of the proletarian movement. Proudhon - like Marx - wants to remove social and economic injustice, but it is the law that he sees as a starting point. Fellowship of men and women, according to Proudhon, is based on the economic dualism, with production on one hand and consumption on the other, and on dualism of the work itself: reproduction (household, consumption, frugality) is an attribute of women while production (workshop, shift) is an attribute of men. Though the basis of the state for Proudhon is not the family, but the workshop, he considers the family a heterogeneous part of the social life - peace prevails here based on "natural" inequality, it is free from conflict and antagonism, and it is based on the recognition of sexual duality. Thus in the epistemological level, is throughout-the-centuries petrified feminine gender disappearing as submissive in relation to the man, in practice by the end of 19th Century one may indeed find it unique to meet economically independent and free women.

For public opinion, these works remain an indigestible mouthful; ambiguous response is evident for some thinkers. Eugen Düring in his work *Der Weg zur höheren Berufsbildung der Frauen* in 1877 considered the limitations of femininity to the profession of mother and housewife as the humiliation of women;^[8] August Bebel in the work *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* of 1879 liberates the woman completely: in the new family is important only sexuality.^[9] Positive perception of women's identity remained a minority. A part of thinkers warned that it will reverse the current situation where the man is a subject of the philosophical discourse while the woman is its object. Especially in Germany, aspirations of women for equality and concerns about the interchangeability of the sexes raised a negative reaction. Wilhelm Dilthey in 1890 said that the woman must be lead by practical sense while the man by legal sense.^[10] Female identity firmly rejected misogynist philosophers Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche and Otto Weiniger. Nietzsche, some of whose works were translated into Czech in the early 20th Century, was a decisive opponent of feminism, which he called "masculine imbecility" and "erosion of women's instincts".^[11] His views were resolutely refused by Masaryk, with sporadic reactions of the nascent Czech feminism.^[12] Also Søren Kierkegaard and Auguste Comte gave the "female" matter quite a few pages.^[13] In Kierkegaard's *The Seducer's Diary* we find a newly drafted gender construct: the woman is not reduced to her reproductive role, she is "a men's dream", "perfection in imperfection" nature, idea. Weiniger came with the discovery of bisexuality, which was later on adopted by Freud.

In the Czech philosophical thinking, reflection of women's issues remained weak. Bolzano's lecture of 1810 *O povolání a důstojnosti pohlaví ženského* could not meet with any positive reception in its time – it was indeed confined to a limited audience. It was published in 1881 in *Ženské listy*;^[14] an idea that "for a stable family, the man should be the head, he should consider his wife the first and important helper and friend," as Jesus and the Apostle Paul had ordained,^[15] did not sound any radically in 1881 nor seventy years before. Emancipative tendencies in philosophical thinking elicited a rather negative response - Josef Durdík, one of the Czech Herbartists, accentuated the traditional model of womanhood as late as at the turn of the 19th and 20th Century; while he does allow for a possibility of a qualified female profession, he prefers women who are "strong, but again, as gentle and wise, knowing how to impress and satisfy men. [sic!]"^[16]

A significant impact on the stereotype of women's subordination and intellectual inadequacy was retained by the Catholic Church, maintaining a dominant position in the monarchy through 1855 Concordat enshrined legislatively. In the last decades of the 19th Century, in an already considerably secularized society, this standard was taken over by medical science....

In our country, social feminism was represented by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk,[\[17\]](#) understanding both the "women's" and "worker's" matter as a matter of social questions. He became acquainted with the women's emancipation endeavour through his wife Charlotte who grew up in the emancipated North American environment.[\[18\]](#) Masaryk refused the period construct of femininity and considered women to be equal to men. He influenced some of his students too: in 1890, a Czech translation of the work by John Stuart Mill *The Subjection of Women* was published in Prague, at the expenses of the publisher of magazine *Časopis českého studentstva*, contributed by Charlotte G. Masaryková; the mutual respect and tolerance of the spouses had to make very unusual impression in the Czech environment.[\[19\]](#) *Časopis českého studentstva* presented "the subjection of women" as a state undignified even to men. The stereotypical perception of women was disturbed by Masaryk's lecturing and publishing of the last decade of the 19th and early 20th Century, *Mnohoženství a jednoženství*, *Moderní názor na ženu*, *Postavení ženy v rodině a ve veřejném životě* and *Žena u Ježíše a Pavla*. [\[20\]](#)

Theoretical reflection of the woman as a being equal to the man, though being a wife and mother above all, did not change in a liberal and educated environment until the First World War. For Ellen Keyovou, whose work also appeared in the Czech environment at the very end of the 19th Century, a woman was "culture-penetrated creature", "full revelation of the deepest feminine", a being who "understands the seriousness of scientific work, strict research for truth, free thought and artistic creation." Yet she will "by her whole being desire [...] the happiness of love. [...] Heavy and beautiful art, be both a lover and mother, sacrificing her prominent and greatest force; a religion for her will be to prepare a blissful life".[\[21\]](#)

There is no doubt that the first Czechoslovak Republic had created favourable conditions for the development of free scientific research in which the women began to participate. However, neither of the sexes - with rare exceptions – gave the Czech philosophy a truly original thinker, let alone one that would subject the genesis of the women's issue to a careful analysis. Just one of the (few) Czech women-philosophers did so - although only after 1945: in 1948, the first edition of "female" radio lectures by Albin Dratvová was published in book form. Therein, she summarized the genesis of the women's issue in Europe and the Czech lands, characterizing the emancipation as "releasing of women for independent decision-making about themselves", and laid their origins in the French Revolution that may have with its slogans of equality, liberty and fraternity "given only little thought to the release of women: but these slogans certainly inspired many a woman."[\[22\]](#) From our perspective, it is an interesting attempt to create a typology of the "today's" woman, i.e. the woman of the first decades of the 20th Century. Dratvová notes that it is her own settlement with the fashion typology in medicine, particularly in psychiatry. He remembers former female archetypes: they were "auxiliary souls", "queens", "saints", "sinners", "ladies". In all the cases, according to Dratvová, the

woman is a keeper of values, being always more emotional than a man and what always prevails with her is her "concreteness, not to say practicality of thought and action.^[23] Dratvová's interpretation is primarily an evidence of resignation to a single construct of an all-embracing woman, a single general standard to inspire women's action. However, even for this (unmarried) woman-thinker dealing with a relatively wide range of subjects, from psychoanalysis, through the logic to the problem of causality in physics, the women's emancipation meant a certain threat of family breakdown and subsequent decline in population.^[24]

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[1] Jaroslava PEŠKOVÁ, *Role vědomí v dějinách*, Praha 1997, p. 116-117.

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[5] Aleš PRÁZNÝ, *K Nietzschevě pojetí ženy*. In: Kateřina ČADKOVÁ, Milena LENDEROVÁ, Jana STRÁNÍKOVÁ (ed.): *Dějiny žen aneb Evropská žena od středověku do 20. století v zasetí historiografie*. Proceedings of the 4th Pardubice Biennale, Pardubice 2006, s. 419.

[6] In 1866, he submitted to the Parliament a proposal to legalise women's suffrage, in 1869 *The Subjection of Women* was published.

[7] Geneviève Fraisse, *Les femmes et leur histoire*. Paris 1998, p. 110.

[8] PRÁZNÝ, *K Nietzschevě pojetí ženy*, p. 419.

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[13] Fraisse: *Les femmes et leur histoire*, p. 80.

10 Bernard Bolzano, *O povolání a důstojnosti pohlaví ženského*. Ženské listy, No. 9 - 9, 1. 9. 1881, pp. 141 – 144; 1. 10. 1881, pp. 157 – 160.

[15] Bolzano, *O povolání a důstojnosti pohlaví ženského*, p. 143, 157.

[16] "But look at their lives: a single continuous band of work as if that slender body was made of steel, unweariness and joyful resignation, anywhere where the welfare of family is concerned, sacrifice, mind soft and yet so much power in their endeavours! They are the heroines of the maternal love that have preserved us here." Josef Durdík, *Karakter*. Prague 1905⁴, p. 48. The first edition of the publication dates back from 1872.

[17] Jana BUREŠOVÁ, *T. G. Masaryk a emancipace žen*. In: T. G. Masaryk, *idea demokracie a současné evropanství*, Part I, Praha, 2001, pp. 261-274. Ibid, *Vztah Charlotty a Tomáše Garrigue Masarykových k ženským spolkům*. In: Marie Neudorflová (ed.), *Charlotta G. Masaryková*, Praha, 2001, pp. 139-152.

[18] Masaryk své ženě. In: *Věstník sokolské župy moravskoslezské*, 1933, No. 5, p. 100; Karel ČAPEK, *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem*. Praha 1946², pp. 111-114.

[19] According to Jarmila Čapková's memories, Charlotte Masaryková was "a good and necessary wife to her husband, it was because he remembered her needs as those of a human of talent ..." Jarmila ČAPKOVÁ, *Vzpomínky*, Praha 1998, p. 242.

[20] T. G. MASARYK, *Mnohoženství a jednoženství. Přednáška pořádaná spolkem Domovina dne 7. března 1899*, Praha 1899; T. G. MASARYK, *Moderní názor na ženu. Otisk přednášky z roku 1904*. Brno 1930 aj.

[21] Ellen KEYOVÁ, *Žena dvacátého století*. Transl. Ad. L. Krejčík. *Rozhledy* 7, no. 19; 1. 7. 1898, pp. 888 – 890, herein p. 889.

[22] DRATVOVÁ: *Duše dnešní ženy*, p. 16.

[23] DRATVOVÁ: *Duše dnešní ženy*, p. 13.

[24] DRATVOVÁ: *Duše dnešní ženy*, p. 18, 74.

Gender and Law

Enlightenment thinking laid the foundation to bourgeois dualism of the state and society where the State controls legislation, the exercise of jurisdiction, the police and the army; the society manages itself under the rules of morality. A citizen, understand a man, followed the standards of morality and equally he governed his wife and children.

The bourgeois legal theory was most aptly handled by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770 - 1831) in his *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (1821). He rationally justified the right to private property as a prerequisite for the realization of personality; in his opinion, morality was an idea of freedom. In terms of morality, the family was put first and its legal status had replaced the ancient theory of the

house.^[1] According to Hegel, the family was a result and the aim of marriage, involving only a range of blood relatives of both spouses. It became the basis of the state; the sense of family was next to the sense of the work the noblest aspect of the bourgeois morality.^[2] Marriage and family should be the main moral institutions and only in their small part they should be open to legislation. The State could only intervene against them when the family and marriage violated the principle of bourgeois morality, or even the laws of the State.

In the family, the citizen was supposed to govern by himself. A citizen was only a man; the nascent modern legislation did not take a woman into account. What's more: if enlightened construct of gender roles in philosophy respected to a certain extent the woman's identity, then in the legislation sphere, the revival of misogyny takes place in the very beginning of the 19th Century when modern civil codes are formed. There were several causes: conservatism of re-establishing regimes, a new bourgeois ideology, the result of revolutionary traumas, and a consequence of the retreat of traditional forms of life, de facto separation of the society to the public and private sphere, transformation of the organization of work in the bourgeois milieu. All this meant a retreat from openness brought about by the Enlightenment.

The time of the birth of modern civil codes is the beginning of the 19th Century. In the fading revolutionary atmosphere, of the Napoleon's *Code Civil* was born, which became the model for other European civil codes, emerging during the first half of the 19th Century. Napoleonic Code, some of which relics were in force until 1968, legislatively anchored the woman as a being of the private sphere and the man as a being of the public sphere, and also confirmed the man's straddling over the two areas. It partly inspired the Austrian *Allgemeine bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, promulgated on June 1, 1811. It came into force on January 1, 1812 – in the same year it was translated into Czech as *Kniha všeobecných zákonů městských*. It was restricted to the codification of private law; 92 (§ 44-136) of the total 1502 sections dealt with marriage and the family. According to § 44, the basis of marriage was formed by the marriage contract, by signing of which two people of different sexes stated their will to live together, to beget children, educate them and support each other. The marriage contract established relationships in the family, unlike the wedding contract, which dealt with the relationship of property rights between the spouses.

The Code, modern and progressive as it may be for its time, was based on the conviction of the woman's inferiority as a human being; it corresponds to the gender construct of her lower intellect and physical inadequacy. The man was the head of household; he managed the household, his wife passed under his power. She was obliged to follow him to his residence, she received his home nationality and name - she kept it even after the possible death of her husband.^[3] According to her forces, she had to help him at home and in business; the husband was to provide all her needs for that, regardless of whether she brought a dowry to the marriage, or not. The wife had to respect all his decisions. If she was minor at the time of the marriage, the husband acquired all the rights of the father or guardian, which he held up to his wife's age of majority. As regards the possibility of guardianship, while modern age law permitted this option for the woman, the Code of 1811 did not. On the other hand, the position of the wife was improved by the Code since the husband could only dispose of earnings from her dowry and property, and not - as it was customary before – of everything.^[4] However, the Code did not specify anyway the above-mentioned separation of the private and public sector - indeed, in areas with delayed onset of modernization, as for the issue of

separated spheres it was rather a thought construct for a long time.

The Code of 1811 was in force for more than a hundred years. Since the turn of the Century, its reform was prepared, it was nevertheless limited only to the application of so-called three sub-amendments, through the Imperial Decrees of 1914, 1915 and 1916; they brought about little improvement of the wife's status. The first sub-amendment newly adjusted, among others, the care of a minor in the father's authority, the care for children in divorce or separation of marriage and the legal status of illegitimate children. Significantly were changed the guardianship issues, and some parts of the inheritance law. The amendment also established the conditions for eligibility of women to testify.^[5] The third sub-amendment newly modified the provision on the denial of conjugal origin of the child.

Factual changes that reflected as a result of political, social and demographic changes before the First World War in the status of women (higher and better education, the need to work outside the home, family planning), to a large extent, undermined to a considerable extent not only the traditional construct of femininity, but also the legal status of the female issue. The birth of the independent Czechoslovak State created the preconditions for new standards of the female deal. The Czechoslovak National Assembly was one of the first legislative bodies to enact gender equality. Women had the active and passive right to vote, study law was finally open to them - the last university education stronghold remaining unconquered by women. The first president was a resolute feminist, the parliament came up with a number of initiatives to remove discrimination against women - not all of them were successfully passed. Nevertheless, we may say that all the conditions arose to start blurring the distinction between the two constructs.

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[5] Karel MALÝ a kol., *Dějiny českého československého práva do roku 1945*. Praha 1997, p. 240.

Formulation of Gender in Ego Documents

Among the sources of a personal nature we rank personal or travel diaries, private correspondence, memoirs or autobiography, and private cash books. The latter source refers to the history of consumption, prices and wages; as far as cash journals kept by women are concerned, they may be the source for the strategies within the family. Research on them is still in the very early stages.

The category of memoirs comprises commemorative narratives focused mainly on the environment and the personalities that the author knew and the events which they witnessed. As a genre, they come under non-fiction literature; they contain time data, local names, proper names and portraits of real people and their genuine statements. They are based on the subjective opinion of the narrator who tries to present himself/herself in an optimal manner, or possible to defend their own lives. Unlike the diary or autobiography, it strives for objectivity of presentation. Despite this, the author made a conscious and unconscious selection of the events being recorded – he/she creates his/her own narrative pattern of conduct that he/she presents as his/her stylized story and indirect self-portrait. This selectivity may be implied in the title of the memoirs: *Vzpomínky, dojmy, ohlédnutí, Svědectví jednoho života ...* When processing the text, the author draws on his/her own, at best a phenomenal memory, private diary entries, writings, correspondence, essays, interviews, travelogues, etc. Memoirs approached in a classical way tend to coherence, at least in general features, recording the whole working life of the author in the chronological sequence. Memoirs assume the time distance from the events that manifests through blending, less often through a confrontation of two time perspectives.

It is usually famous personalities who become authors of memories, sometimes even those who belong to the *insit* literature [1] sphere (cf. Alois Beer's memoirs, [2] Kavalírová's grandmother etc. [3]).

By the relation to reality, we can distinguish memoirs authentic and fictional, imitating their characters in a fiction form. By the concept, memoirs may be monographic (creator-life-work), panoramic (historical background), memoirs fictionalized and mosaic (commonly called *reminiscences*, different in the content marginality or fragmentality, but usually they cannot be well distinguished).

Memoirs sometimes take shape of reconstruction of a fate characteristic for a professional group, such as teachers (Konstantin Vitak [4]). Memoirs by writers tend to be fictionalized in partial "images".

The writer may assume two different positions towards the facts recorded:

1. consciously subjective, according to Altenberg [5] principle "*wie ich es sehe*", as I see it;

2. seeking a relatively objective opinion, "as it really was". But even in this case, a subjective interpretation is distinct, given by the direct immediate participation and involvement of the author-hero's memoirs in the stories displayed.

Determining for the form of narration is the supposed reader (e.g. Lada's *Vzpomínky z dětství* were intended for children,^[6] Marie Strettiová wrote her memoirs for granddaughters^[7], and grandmother Kavalírová for their adult children, Václav Černý for informed readers)^[8] and the functions attributed to the memoirs (political, educational).^[9] Closely related to that is the selection of facts determined by both the facts.

Unlike memoirs, having three time levels (a level of the lived, written and receptive level) and for the wider strata of not always specified readers, the letter has its clear addressee. At times when travelling was long, arduous and often dangerous, correspondence belonged among very important means of communication. It is a massive source, but at the same time, it contains some hidden pitfalls. Its main disadvantage is discontinuity and fragmentation. Critical approach to the correspondence requires confronting it with another type of sources, which is however not always possible. Epistolary genre is allusive and it is not always possible to identify and decipher individual signs, allusions, people (again "correspondent network"^[10]). Everydayness is diluted in correspondence, adjusted to the current situation; the correspondence is subject to fashion usage, which sometimes reduces its informative character. Letters exchanged within the family have a dual function: first to inform about what is happening outside the addressee's local and time reach, while being a remedy against loneliness, longing, creating an illusion of proximity of the writer and the addressee. Family correspondence is not given, unlike letters to friends and acquaintances, for reading in a salon.^[11]

Reflections on the form of femininity and masculinity may be found most often in personal (sometimes travel) diaries. Their goal was an intrinsic need to capture daily events, to record an idea, write oneself out of suffering and joy. *I* of the diarist is twofold: one writes, the other monitors and corrects.^[12] The first *I* chooses words, the other applies individual aspect in selecting the facts to be captured.'

Regarding women and young girls, who over the long 19th Century embarked on writing a journal, they were aware of their social gender, which they managed to express through language: through the words of diary they related their image to an image generally acceptable, to the construct of femininity. It does not matter whether the author identifies with it, or she defines herself against it, she rebels. She has a standard inside, an ideal, a goal, towards which she heads. In writing, the writer thus creates her image, using the language she constructs reality. We know that (mostly) an unknown reader was anticipated, but the author chose this approach not only because of him: she tried herself to meet the demands that were laid on her. And those were rigid; after all, the woman remained the "appendage of the human race."^[13] She was someone's daughter, wife, sister, and mother. That obliged: she lived primarily for others and her own feelings were not supposed to be relevant. A woman on her own or independent woman was something unusual.

A thoughtful woman-writer, especially if interested in philosophy, psychology, astronomy and politics, raises questions about the meaning of human life. Not surprisingly, some of them got at the problem of equality of the sexes. Self-reflection thus could have been directed toward confrontation with a male world, toward the uncovering of "I" using awareness of "otherness". That is actually here where the diary becomes a massive source for reconstruction of gender perspective, for perception of the femininity or - rarely - masculinity. To what extent were the Austrian (or Czech) lands affected by "the crisis of masculinity, which kept on "threatening" Western European countries from the appearance of *les précieuses* in the early 17th Century[14], we cannot say yet. In any case, the 19th Century woman perceived the male superiority from an early age. She perceived it and accepted: the desire for knowledge, if not muted right in its infancy, was developed and strengthened with the girl usually by the father. Brother in the family occupied a more important position than she did. Being in contact with him, she quite possibly realized the confining conventions of her gender: her brother could do more in learning, entertainment and awakening erotic, he did not have to face such stringent requirements.[15] In the time when domestic labour had no clear quantifiable value, masculinity was also associated with performance. Starting from 1890's, masculinity coincides with military conscription, which in addition to sadness (if it is a close person who is supposed to leave "for the field") gives the opportunity to challenge the values of this masculine privilege.[16] War - during the *long* 19th Century there were three conflicts - strengthened the militant component of the male identity. That corresponded to the dichotomy of the male and female worlds, sex complementarity, guaranteeing the alleged harmony between the man and the woman. Yet, as if "the poltroonery of the European civilization" of the late 19th and early 20th Century hit the Czech lands: the moral inadequacy of "non-noble" men in the medical discourse, and on the other hand, women's diaries assessing positively male empathy, gentleness, and even physical attractiveness rather than centuries-petrified 'virile' features.

The gender construct of femininity sent the woman to the private sphere; she was the wife, mother and homemaker. With some simplification, we can say that the women-writers could in relation to this construct take three positions: to completely identify with him, with some modifications to accept it or refuse it. For the first position, complete identification with the contemporary femininity construct, we will probably not find any example among the women-writers. To the contrary, we will find several women who identified themselves with the contemporary model of womanhood, but wished to modify the form of women's access to improved or vocational training. In particular, Sofia Podlipská, regarded by the public as *an emancipist* who allowed for a female profession, but her ideal remained an educated and understanding wife (a partner of an educated and understanding husband) and mother: *a housekeeper, seamstress, hostess*. [17] Rieger sisters, who refused being called *emancipists*, ruminated in the same way. In the vision of an educated woman was revelled Ruzena Svobodova, who already in her early age was attending "emancipating" lectures in the U Náprstků House and cherished the work of a teacher. [18] Only later on, an emancipated woman turned into a deterrent example to her. [19] And the third group consisted of - in addition to women whose marriage tragically failed - active, confident women, even writers-rebels. Dissatisfaction with the woman's fate, [20] the abstraction of which was the generally prevailing belief that a woman should stay at home, sew, clean and cook, led to attitudes that should provoke a small-town environment (alcohol and smoking took the form of a protest), or to searching for the answer to questions related to the female education and emancipation in reading. We even find a complaint to the convention-forced feminine 'inadequacy'. While the feminist journalism was sometimes ahead of the model of marital cohabitation, in which a woman is economically active and shares the domestic duties with a man in a partnership, *rebels* did not count on a help from a man (as opposed to

journalism undeniably practicably). Indeed, for separate, forceful, unbound by conventions and economically independent women, a man defending women did not command any significant respect.

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[1] Naive literature, half-literary output mostly published additionally in print. Its main features are spontaneous life experience of the author, the expressive means of expression, intuitive, and emotionally-driven mixing of stylistic devices and ignoring the boundaries of genres.

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[16] Cf. Milena LENDEROVÁ, Vladan HANULÍK, Sylvie ČERNÁ, Andrea HUDÁKOVÁ, Lucie JELÍNKOVÁ, Michaela ŠANDOVÁ (ed.): *Deníky Františky Honlové*. Fontes Historie Pagi Pardubicensis, 2, 2005, Pardubice 2005, p. 43.

[17] Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví - Literary Archive of the Museum of National Literature (further on referred to as LA PNP), Sofie Podlipská, Osobní fond, rukopisy vlastní, *Upomínka na roky 1853 – 1856*; Deník (untitled) 1856 – 1857; Deníkové záznamy (untitled) 1858 – 1861; entries of February 28, 1857.

[18] "That night I went to the teachers association, I like educated women, women conscious women having duties and in that lovely ring of the teachers I found very much. Able to discuss any subject with a kind of enthusiasm natural only with an educated and literate woman. And I see how wrong those judgments and views are condemning teachers and trying to ordain for girls men's powers that are not able to understand children as a woman-girl can. [...] Oh, I do not understand how men may condemn women's educated and laugh about it. LA PNP, Růžena Svobodová, osobní fond, rukopisy vlastní, Deník 1881 – 1886, zápisy z 6. a 7. 9. 1886. (Private fund, personal manuscripts, Diary 1881 - 1886, records of the 6th and 7th September 1886)

[19] Sometime in September or October 1894, after a lecture on women's education by Karel Baxa, Svobodová "characterized" emancipated women as "morbid characters of humpbacked or otherwise twisted old maids, who failed to marry and would like to lose their predicate... education and upbringing of women and the emancipation are various concepts, contradictory." LA PNP, Růžena Svobodová, osobní fond, rukopisy vlastní, Deníkové zápisky 1881 – 1918, též zápis z 28. 12. 1894, týkající se socialistek Karly Máchové a Barbory Rösslerové. (LA PNP, Ruzena Svobodova, Personal fund, personal manuscripts, Diary writings 1881 - 1918, also of 28 Minutes 12th 1894, related to socialists Karla Máchová and Barbara Rösslerová.)

[20] Novak complains about "laws and conventions" preventing her from confessing love to her chosen one. LA PNP, Teréza Nováková, osobní fond, rukopisy vlastní, *Thyrza's Diary*, zápis z 29. 9. 1873. (LA PNP, Tereza Novakova, Private fund, Personal manuscripts, *Thyrza's Diary*, entry of 29th September 1873) Honlová writes: "the woman, actually the girl, in my circumstances a slave without its own power is. We are living in the nineteenth century, this nonsense is it the time's fault of a few reactionary views? I wish there were just a few!" *Deníky Františky Honlové*, p. 42.

Gender and Prescriptive Literature and Belle-letters

European pedagogical thinking responded to philosophically, medically and legally enshrined polarity of sex: in 1789, bestseller *Väterlicher Rat an meine Tochter* is published in Braunschweig. German linguist and pedagogical writer Joachim Heinrich Campe, well acquainted with the Parisian

environment, here in the form of popular dialogue clarifies to her only daughter Charlotte to whom he dedicated the publication what is "the woman's fate." She has a threefold task, or occupation, says the author. As the wife, she is obliged to her husband with love, solicitude and care, as a mother she is obliged to bear and raise children, as a housekeeper to be characterized with neatness, cleanliness, diligence and thriftiness.[1] Campe died in 1818, his work (and other works of the German philanthropism), however, were published throughout the entire first half of the 19th Century and influenced educators across Europe.[2]

The Czech lands were no exception. During the long 19th Century, gender constructs were changing only slowly. Their popularization is credited to pedagogical writings belonging to the genre of prescriptive[3] (normative) literature, the beginnings of which fall in the Czech environment right to the pre-March period. In addition to the popularly written educational writings, here belong some works of fiction and with a strong didactic tone. In the Czech lands, the genre has a special characteristic: it respects the duplication of identities of the group, to which it turns: the Czech woman of the 19th Century spontaneously identifies herself with her female clearly designated lot, and at the same time - though not always spontaneously - assumes the Czechdom group identity.

As far as the female gender is concerned, there are two predominant objectives in the sources examined: to inculcate the female-reader with standards associated with the her future mission of wife and housekeeper (not of the mother: the physiological nature of pregnancy was taboo and popular writings turning to mothers came only after the mid-19th Century) and simultaneously acquaint her with the basic standards of conduct. Thus until the turn of the Century, women's prescriptive literature compensated handbooks of social behaviour with social catechisms.

Czech language social catechism originated at a time when the strict forms of etiquette were abandoned and forms of social communication simplified. In the Czech patriotic environment, moreover, the originally French hard-and-fast etiquette was also associated with privileged environment of the German language. Simplification of these standards was therefore also an expression of a protest against the German culture, and at the same time an expression of identification with the reviving Czech nation.[4] For a long time, the woman remained a mere object in social catechisms. Dealing with the "beautiful skin" required by visions of their authors respecting certain principles: women do not have a sense of humour, there must be respect for the female appearance, curiosity, sensitivity, foppishness, loquaciousness, irritability, stubbornness, devotion, superstition, jealousy ...[5] The authors of the social catechisms do not reject an educated woman, but she must not be too clever since like that she is "unbearable".[6]

Emergence of the literature for young women is associated with the collapse of the original syncretism,[7] which the Czech language literature during the first half of the 19th Century was characterized with. Diversification of the genres is advancing parallelly with finishing of Czech literary language, at a time when there is a complete language system created meeting the needs of the modern society. Just then, in the second phase of the so-called National Revival, works emerge that may be included (with some reservations) in the genre of girls' prescriptive literature.

Lessons for women and girls were given primarily in "domestic housewives" that while urging the girls to behave, their primary goal lay elsewhere. *Mladá hospodyňka v domácnosti, jak sobě počínati má, aby své i manželovy spokojenosti došla. Dárek dcerkám československým*, a book by Magdalena

Dobromila Rettigová, a sort of key and decalogue of moral and happy family life, [8] written in 1833, was published seven years later. The woman-author was getting at setting basic standards of woman's behaviour and conduct - religious faith, a sense of order and cleanliness, industriousness, thrift, humility, submissive behaviour toward her husband, skills to treat the servants. The handbook included an extensive syllabus of instructions on housekeeping and basic instruction on the etiquette of Czech patriotic society: the language of social communication was Czech to her. Herein, Rettigová managed to combine three educational objectives: learning and automation of "female" skills, instilling the need for further self-education, promotion of patriotic interests related to communication in Czech. She did not, however, dispute the submissive status of women in the least; this verbiage remains binding even in the next few decades.

Among the Czech women- journalists, it was Sofia Podlipská who, influenced by the views of John Stuart Mill, was best informed about the trends in the European feminist thinking. She expressed her ideas in a number of larger and smaller publications. In her concept, gender roles are clearly given and historically embedded: the woman-mother is responsible for the welfare of the next generation; a man creates a material background for the family, and at the same time, is responsible for "defending the physically weaker bothers, children, women, elders", and for "the progress of spirit of all generations." [9] Warp characteristics of the female gender is the love in the metaphysical form - not only the motherly love (which is the first concern), but also the matrimonial and general love for mankind. Without love, which lacks any erotic connotations in Podlipská's concept, one cannot enter into marriage. The author acknowledges the realization of love outside the family: in a "professional" pedagogy, or in any other "female profession". [10]

Also Podlipská's coeval Věnceslava Lužická emphasizes the good, love and patriotism as crucial values in the life of Czech households. It is the woman who is responsible for putting them in a life. In Lužická's eyes, the woman has a special responsibility for the moral state of the nation, and therefore, the work of women in Czech households is comparable to the work of men for the Czech nation. Lužické cannot be denied one primacy: she is the only of the period authors, who in her pamphlet *Svatební dar. Listy dobré babičky ku provdané vnučce* sees the gender disproportion in the complementarity of the woman's and man's gender roles in the family: while the girl is being prepared from childhood for the role of mother, wife and housekeeper, "no one cares that the boy should also be brought up as the husband and father, no less, than if each boy has brought that great art in the world." [11]

Bold signs of change in the female ideal are evident in an interesting article by a literary employed teacher Julie Gintlová *Ideál ženy emancipované*, serialized in the fourth volume of the magazine *Ženské listy* in 1878. [12] The text clearly resonates with a new tone: the main place of the woman's activity may still be a house, household, this does not, however, exclude her own career of the woman having the right to pursue paid and qualified profession, which can be combined with motherhood. A prerequisite of this emancipation, according to the author, is "emancipation" of the man who is willing (and able) to exercise all the "female" work.

It is clear that the status of women, which was reflected and, at the same time, determined in similar sources, changed rapidly during the last decade of the 19th Century. Demographic practice

changed, marriage age increased, the number of children in families decreased, infant and child mortality decreased. The number of men, who - mostly for economic reasons – had never concluded a marriage, was increasing. This also raised the number of unmarried, i.e. materially unsecured, women. The war in 1866 multiplied the number of widows forced to secure livelihood. Add the increasing erudition of women: from 1870, there was a possibility of GCSE examination at the girl's pedagogy, from 1890 Minerva Girls' High School, from the turn of the Century, girls studied - though still few in number - at the Prague University.

The philosophical discourse about the family and the woman had a broader social impact through the reception by representatives of German Romanticism. Particularly Hegel's dualism of *public* and *private* found its expression in literary works. Schiller's verses about a housekeeper, a guardian of the hearthstone, from morning to night working in the household, furthermore a patient governess, written in 1799, [13] were printed across 19th Century in the German language school readers and even German textbooks of Czech pupils and students. Gender stereotypes can also be found even in fiction written in Czech. One of the first authors trying to publish own ideas from the twenties of the 19th Century, was the mentioned Rettigová. Jan Pospíšil Hostivít Publishing House published in 1821 and 1822 two volumes of *Mařenčin košíček, Věneček pro dcery vlastenecké*, evocative of the topos of the Early Modern Age virgin chaplet, in 1825, and *Příběhové pro dcerky české a moravské z Kocebue přeložené* from 1828. The short stories were to entertain, educate, inculcate moral principles, [14] but particularly to strengthen the reader's humility and friendliness towards the female role, the *gender* construct clearly defined socially, legally and ideologically. Deviation from the woman's virtues is always sternly, even cruelly punished by death or madness.

In her fictionalized short stories "from real life", it was also Sofia Podlipská who articulated her educational principles. Three-part *Příklady z oboru vychovavacího* [15] belong among the most schematic "opuses" by the author - perhaps that is why they are so eloquent a spring. Podlipská's heroines - whether they are girls from wealthy or non-wealthy families - have in mind their main "occupation": to become a wife, mother (first and foremost) and a good housekeeper. Woman in Podlipská's interpretation does not take *a priori* masculine vices into account; marriage is based on affection and deep understanding, made possible particularly due to the woman's education, emphasis on rationality is dealt with. The household is governed by an educated girl, advised, thinking, familiar with the findings of science, medicine and education that she applies to educate children, able to rationalize the domestic work since she had been preparing for them for at least one year in special courses. [16] Earning, exclusively skilled labour is permitted, [17] but only as a supplement to unsatisfactory family income.

A step towards a certain transformation of feminity construct is demonstrated in a very popular "novel cycle" by German writer Emma Rhodenová *Svéhlavička* that in her own way was "czechized" by Eliška Krásnohorská, was published from 1890's. [18] The whole story of heroine Zdenka, passing from stormy puberty to mellow motherhood, is accompanied by moral lessons designed on the basis of opposition between "generally" accepted feminity construct, too narrow fetters of which are criticized by the author, [19] accenting the model of a modern, "wisely" educated girl. Cultivation is done through "order": getting up early, regular work, order, precision and above all education. There is also another goal in general shared by Czech language prescriptive literature: patriotism.

In the context of the development of the woman's issue remains Růžena Jesenská halfway, an author of books for adolescent girls. Jarmila, a heroine of the homonymous didactic story,^[20] is clearly raised for the marriage. Besides language and music, she learned to cook, sew, oversee the maid, admit visits and care for young children. She is acquainted of literature and art, has an exquisite (albeit time-conditioned) taste. She is raised towards love of the nation. Jesenská let Jarmila have her education, which was not, however, intended to obtain the qualification.

Sources:

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[Sofie Podlipská, Listy staré vychovatelky k někdejší schovankám. Praha 1868.](#)

[Julie Gintlová, Ideál ženy emancipované. Ženské listy 1878, s. 51 an.](#)

[František V. Kodým, O výchování mládeže v našich domácnostech. Praha 1884.](#)

[1] Annette Kuhn (ed.): *Chronik der Frauen*, Dortmund 1992, s. 311.

[2] J. Jungmann ve své *Historii literatury* uvádí Campeho Knížku mravů pro děti z roku, 1820?; Rettigové Mařenčin košíček z r. 1821, Věneček, Chudobičky a Mladou hospodyňku. Oddíl „Spisy pro mládež“ zahrnuje celkem 112 bibliograf. položek, ale bez genderové specifikace, spíš bývá zdůrazněno „povídky pro mládež obou pohlaví“. Josef JUNGSMANN, *Historie literatury české*, Praha 1849², s. 463 – 470.

[3] V Čechách užila označení „preskriptivní“ jako první zřejmě Alena Šimůnková ve studii *Statut, odpovědnost a láska: vztahy mezi mužem a ženou v české měšťanské společnosti 19. století*. Český časopis historický 95, 1997, s. 55 - 109. V českých jazykových slovnících výraz nenajdeme. V *Akademickém slovníku cizích slov*, II, Praha 1995, s. 617, je uvedeno slovo *preskripce* ve smyslu 1. *předepsání, předpis, nařízení, dispozice*; 2. *zákaz vymahatelnosti, žalovatelnosti, práva, promlčení*. Odtud i adjektivum *preskripční*. Připomeňme, že pod tímto pojmem „preskriptivní“ rozumíme literaturu, která předepisuje modely žádoucího chování a jednání, ať se jedná o zdravou životosprávu, společenskou či náboženskou komunikaci, o pravidla spojená s určitou sociální rolí.

[4] Vladimír Macura, *La tradition protocolaire tchèque et slovaque du début du XIX^{ème} siècle et ses adaptations socialiste*, In: Alain Montandon (ed.): *Savoir-vivre en Europe: modèles et langages: Norvège, Pologne, Roumanie, Pays-Bas, Pays tchèques et slovaques*, Paris 1994, p. 73.

[5] Jaroslav KVĚTENSKÝ, *Tajemník lásky a dvorný společník*. Vzory k dopisům milostným, jakož i navedení pro mladé lidi, jak se mají chovati ve společnosti, zvláště chtějí-li získati lásku dívky; návod pro mladé dívky, jak lze zalíbiti se a získati dobrého a věrného manžela; hry společenské; květomluva; drobné verše atd. atd. 3. nově upravené a přehlédnuté vydání, Praha, b. d. (between 1891 a 1912), p. 126; J. Jelínek, *Rádce milenců. Pravidla slušného se chování, zvláště pro mladé lidi; hojná zásoba dopisů milostných, společenské hry a zábavy. Květomluva aj.* V Telči, b. d. (1897), pp. 24-25.

[6] Jelínek, *Rádce milenců*, pp. 23 – 27, 44.

[7] Vladimír Macura, *Znamení zrodu. České národní obrození jako kulturní typ*,² Jinočany 1995, p. 29.

- [8] Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková, *Praha před sto lety*, Praha 1935, p. 100.
- [9] Sofie PODLIPSKÁ, *Účastenství ženy na výchování lidstva*, Pracovna 2, 1895 – 1896, s. 10; according to Jitka MAŠÁTOVÁ, *Sofie Podlipská. Vychovatelské snahy české spisovatelky 19. století v teorii a praxi*. Diploma thesis. Faculty of Arts, Palacky University in Olomouc, Olomouc 2005, s. 66.
- [10] Sofie PODLIPSKÁ, *Listy staré vychovatelky. K někdejší schovankám*. Praha 1868, pp. 15 – 29; TÁŽ, *Studie o práci*. Praha 1889, p. 4.
- [11] Věnceslava LUŽICKÁ *Svatební dar. Listy dobré babičky ku provdané vnučce*. Praha 1906, p. 25.
- [12] Julie GINTLOVÁ, *Ideál ženy emancipované*. *Ženské listy* 6, 1878, pp. 1-4, 19-21, 35-38, 50-54.
- [13] Srov. Hans Hattenhauer: *Evropské dějiny práva*. Praha - München 1999, pp. 504 - 505..
- [14] Josef Johanides, *Magdalena Dobromila Rettigová*, Rychnov n. Kněžnou 1995, p. 135.
- [15] Žofie Podlipská, *Seminární texty z oboru vychovacího*. Part I, Praha 1874.
- [16] Žofie Podlipská, *Příklady z oboru vychovacího*, III., Praha 1875, p. 69.
- [17] The title of Chapter III, Part I is "Mother Worker" - has nothing to do with a factory though - the mother receives funding through arts: painting portraits. Podlipská, *Seminární texty z oboru vychovacího*. III., Praha 1875, s. 18an.
- [18] Emma z Rodenu, *Svéhlavička. Příběh z pensionátu*. Dospělým dívkám českým vypravuje El. Pechová-Krásnohorská. 5th Edition, Praha, b. d. (1915), pp. 5 – 6.
- [19] Emma z Rodenu, *Svéhlavička*, p. 23.
- [20] Růžena JESENSKÁ, *Jarmila. Dospívajícím dívkám*. Praha 1924².

Visualisation of Gender

Iconographic sources were, until recently, considered by historiography to be secondary, for the history of the event, the iconographic method remained only an appendant one, the task of which was to illustrate already finished synthesis, to which the historian came almost exclusively by using criticism of the sources of written nature. Iconographic exploration paid attention mostly to symbolism and iconography of the saints. To facilitate analysis of the representation and the discovery of semantic codes of images, German and French researchers assembled iconographic thesauruses as early as in the earliest decades of the twentieth century, designed mostly as interpretations of cultural reality; they helped to clarify a number of symbols in art. Inventory of particular picture elements allowed analysis of image and encoding of its content.^[1]

Images as authentic sources were used by a small number of historians as early as in the 19th and 20th Century.^[2] The change was only brought about by a dynamic conception of the source, with which came representatives of the Annales "school". A source is here understood as a set of material properties, characteristics forming a certain information structure, which is constituted being based on questions asked by the historian. This information structure is thus not dependent only on material properties, but also on the level of knowledge, which is the starting point for formulation of questions. Newly formulated are questions asked with sources previously known, and moreover, the

set of sources is extended with the use of previously unknown sources, or considered only as potential sources. This includes the use of image sources, which can not be overlooked in the works by Jean-Pierre Vernant, George Dubyho or Jean-Claude Schmidt. Interesting is the contribution of Michel Pastoureau who came from heraldic studies to interpretations of symbolism of colours. The new perspectives threw also the history of mentalities open to the iconographic sources, associated with the names of Philippe Aries and Michel Vovella; the latter organized in 1976 in Aix-en-Provence a colloquium entitled *Iconographie et histoire des mentalités*.

Regardless of their artistic value, iconographic sources are an unsubstitutable source of information. They present to the scholar a world of people and things, gestures, actions, objects, relationships, everydayness. They are a massive source for cultural history, whether they are symbolic image sources (facts and events are depicted by certain symbols; this includes maps, plans, technical drawings, diagrams) or - above all – the factual video sources (drawings and paintings, frescoes, graphics, cartoons, sculptures, pictorial cloth, book paintings and illustrations, advertising, photography, reportage and news film). Also in mapping contemporary gender stereotypes, iconographic sources offer almost undreamed-of possibilities.

Criticism and interpretation of an image source requires a special approach, which has several phases. Of course, there is distinction of (historical) reality from the artist's imagination. The artistic and documentary values of the spring are not usually in relation to one another. We always need to think about the function played by the image source at the time it was created. And finally, portrayals of certain human activities (swimming, food, love, death, birth, baptism, marriage, smoking pipes and drinking tea), portrayals of certain attributes, objects or beings (a vase with flowers, candle, mirror, dog, a bird in a cage) but also gestures (hand stretched out, a kiss on the mouth, placing the figures on the right or left), which we now seem like obvious and asymptomatic, still had in the 19th Century painting its own internal symbolism. Symbolic are also the colours used on clothes, for example: they say a lot about the social status, position or function of the person portrayed.[\[3\]](#)

Throughout the ages, the world was reflected mainly by the man-painter. The woman was allowed to be muse of poets, novelists, painters, sculptors and musicians – through their eyes and based on their vision her image was interpreted and disseminated. It was a very old "privilege", falling into the time when the humans first tried to express their world through art. With the female figure he articulated his ideal, his hierarchy of values. Hence the emphasis on the feminine attributes, the attributes of motherhood in the prehistoric art and in the artistic expressions of some oriental despotisms, hence the unpopularity of the female theme in the art of the early Middle Ages. The Roman art did not provide many opportunities for visual representation of the woman as painting was essentially book, a free sculpture was rare. Reliefs on the portals of churches point to liking of the Apocalypse of St. John - only occasionally the image of the son of God also included a not very clear figure of the Virgin Mary. The theme of the Last Judgment is followed by Christological and later on Marian cycles. Jesus' mother is the first woman, which the Christian art shows. An essential feature of the image is suppression of the physicality - from our environment let us remind Ostrov Psalter from around 1200 with a portrait of the Madonna enthroned.[\[4\]](#) Representation of Eve, rare even in the European context,[\[5\]](#) is not present in our environment. In Bohemia, the Marian theme developed for plate painting - the oldest example, Madonna of Most, was painted before 1345,

Madonna of Veveří by Master of Vyšebrodský Altar before 1350, besides Vyšebrodský circle it was Madonna Vyšehradská, Madonna Zbraslavská or monumental Madonna Strahovská.^[6] Master Theodoric, who decorated St. Cross Chapel at Karlstejn with plate paintings, captured along with other saints St. Catherine and St. Elizabeth of Thuringia. Master of Třeboň Altar extends the woman theme of the holy virgins Margaret, Mary Magdalene and Catherine.^[7] Around the half of the 15th Century in Bohemia begins to apply a type of crowned Madonna called Assumptions.^[8] Portraits noble mortals - donators, part from those modestly huddled in the corner of large folios, the bring book illuminations and sculpture; they are on seals, coins and medals. Despite the increasing ability of accurate and real expression, the portrait of a woman or a female character from the late Middle Ages to European Romanticism bear always a *topoi*: every time it is a display of the contemporary ideal of beauty or historical notions of badness, good, evil and sin. In the 15th Century, Madonna becomes a human being: in the European context, we encounter the motif of Madonna nursing Jesus. The number of portraits of other woman-saints is increasing.

Renaissance shows both the biblical and mythological female figures while rehabilitating ordinary mortals, the portraits of whom are increasing in number. But the nude is allowed only in case of biblical or mythological beauties.^[9] Only in the 19th Century painters dared to show a naked body, which belonged to neither goddess nor mythical figure.

The theme of Virgin Mary remained popular; it allowed stressing one of the ingredients of the female gender, motherhood. Imperative of diligence associated with a component of the housekeeper corresponds with the popularity of the sewing theme, an activity traditionally considered an attribute of femininity, regardless of the social environment.^[10] In the second half of the 19th Century, the theme of a woman working in the field follows - this applies both to the French Millet, and for Czech Josef Manes. The canvas is conquered by demimonde women, visitors of cafes, prostitutes, only sporadically displayed in previous eras.

The popularity of the female figure in the visual arts was also given by the fact that it allowed a clear personification of positive and negative values (more eloquent than any are Braun's *Ctnosti* and *Neřesti* (*Virtues* and *Vices*), the country and the nation: let us remind the French Marianne, *suffering* Czechia and indifferent to her suffering, Austria. This trend is evident even cartoon humour and satire - from the mid-19th Century, a growing number of people enjoyed it. In addition, the cartoon humour was fond of denouncing negative characteristics representing the female gender stereotype: chattiness, vanity, unreliability, inability to resist erotic temptation and from the late 19th Century, takes the female emancipation to task

In the work of the painter, you can track the relationship between colours, forms and symbolic functions. Colours used on the clothes have usually their message, their symbolism, and sometimes (infrequently) even a gender code. They are one of the means of expressing not only the social status of the individual portrayed but also the specific time of some event: the robe the judge was wearing during a normal hearing was black, and when delivering judgments, the judge was wearing a red ceremonial robe.^[11] Not wealthy peasants were depicted in muted colours, greyish or discoloured while the colours on the suits of princes and prelates shone brightly.^[12]

A distinctive sign of wealth was the blue - the colour that will "stick", penetrates deep into the fabric. Its popularity was brought by the 12th and 13th Century and coincided with the change of religiosity:

God became a light and the light is blue. The Marian cult boom joined: Virgin Mary wears the heaven blue. The blue became the colour of the Church and Mary's painful motherhood, it was primarily women who liked dressing blue. The 19th Century turned it into the colour of Republicans, opposing white of the monarchists and black of the clericals. After the First World War, it became the colour of the political conservatism, which it has remained.[\[13\]](#)

Red is the colour of blood, love, and hell, it's a proud colour, filled with ambitions. It is fascinating and burns as the fire of Satan. Especially for religious reformers it was outrageous, so they drove it from the churches and from the suits of believers. From 16th Century men, with a few exceptions, do not wear red; in women's clothing it had never been very popular. But it had some positive features, it could turn away some evil forces: hence the use of red on *koutnice*, on the sheets protecting the bed of the Sundayer and the newborn, hence the popularity of red clothes in the early infancy. Other - again a "bad" face is the red sowing destruction, violence, anger, crime and sin. Its ambivalent nature was reinforced by the red lanterns hanging over the entrances to brothels. Red then marked the two sides of love: divine (the senior dignitaries of the Catholic Church dressed in red) and physically sinful. Since the late 18th Century it has acquired a tone of warning through the events of the French Revolution, later it became the colour of the political left.[\[14\]](#)

White brings the most universal symbols, life, death. In our diction, it is associated with the absence of something: a white sheet (no text), a white night (no sleep), a blank check (no sum), whitewashed pub (temporarily without regulars); at the same time, white is the colour of purity, innocence and truce. White is the colour of virginity, nevertheless, the brides' white dresses do not have a very long history. It guarantees purity - for centuries underwear that directly touched the body was white, it was bleached and later boiled. The white skin remained a distinctive sign of the grandeur until the 19th Century. Then the bourgeoisie wanted to be distinguished from the pale of workers employed in factories: a tanned skin became a sign of a good social status, which allows a regular stay at sea.[\[15\]](#)

Green is the mediating colour, peaceful, quiet, as apparent from the Roman and medieval texts and the famous Goethe tract. It performed the same function as the liturgical colour. It was gained quite easily from natural resources, but it was unstable, poorly kept on the fabric and painting groundwork used and this instability led to the point when it became a symbol of everything that moves, changing, it became the colour of fortuity, games, fate, good luck. Since around 1800, when the international signalling for vessels appeared, later taken over by trains and cars, the green, meaning permission, became the antithesis of the red, meaning a ban.[\[16\]](#) Gender code has been looked for to no avail.

The yellow hides the attributes of infamy. It is unstable; it is the colour of photos that fade, leaves that fall, people who betray. Judas was dressed in yellow; yellow was used to label homes of counterfeiters of coins. Gradually, it became a symbol of betrayal, lies, fraud. To her bad reputation contributed yellow sulphur, considered a diabolical element. Before the mid-14th Century, it became the colour of prostitution: since the Middle Ages, the prostitutes had to distinguish from ordinary women by their clothing. They wore a yellow cord or sash over their shoulders. Only at the end of the 19th Century, the reputation of the yellow improved.[\[17\]](#)

The black colour along with white form together an important pair. Spontaneously we think of its negative characteristics, of death, grief, hell, underground. But the black is respectable, it indicates moderation, humility, nobility, authority, values, which Reformation professed, which declared war on bright colours. Thanks to it, the black became fashionable, the colour of Nobles. It was also the colour of pirates, anarchists took it in the 19th Century and later on, the black of the ultra-left became the black of the ultra-right.[\[18\]](#)

The colour scale features numerous half-colours - pink, maroon, orange, purple, grey. Purple and grey were colours of elderly women, pink the colour of young girls. At the turn of the 19th and 20th Century, a shift comes in the use of colours: the colour was not used anymore to record the facts, but to induce the effect; and colours then gradually lose their connotations. With one exception - two pastel colours, once asymptomatic become distinctive character gender: "safeguard" red gave way to pink for girls and light blue for the boys. As the gender code, they remained until the late 20th Century.

[\[1\]](#) François GARNIER, *Thesaurus iconographique. Système descriptif des représentations*. Paris 1984, p. 13.

[\[2\]](#) Laurent GERVEREAU, *Voir, comprendre, analyser les images*. Paris 1994, p. 30.

[\[3\]](#) Daniel Roche, *La culture des apparences. Une histoire du vêtement, XVII^e - XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1989, s. 18.

[\[4\]](#) ROYT, *Středověké malířství*, s. 16.

[\[5\]](#) Cf. the lintel of the northern portal of the cathedral St. Lazare in Autun. dating back about 1140. In the relief, there is a figure of Eve, creeping (!) to foliage to pick an apple, from which she turns her eyes away. Recently deposited in the Musée archéologique of Dijon.

[\[6\]](#) Jan ROYT, *Středověké malířství v Čechách*. Praha 2002, p. 53 – 55.

[\[7\]](#) ROYT, *Středověké malířství*, p. 99.

[\[8\]](#) ROYT, *Středověké malířství*, p. 113.

[\[9\]](#) Itzhak Goldberg, *Le nu féminin : cherchez l'homme*. In: Horatio Amigorena et Frédéric Monneyron (éds.): *Le masculin. Identité, fiction, dissémination*. Colloque de Cerisy, Paris 1998, s. 141.

[\[10\]](#) Georges DUBY, Michelle PERROT, *Histoire des femmes en Occident. 4.*, Paris 1991, p. 313; Květa KŘÍŽOVÁ, *Šlechtický interiér 19. století v dobových zobrazeních ze zámeckých sbírek*. Praha 1993, p. 12; from images for example Georg Melchior Kraus (1737 - 1806), *Stolní společnost Anny Amálie*. Zentralbibliothek Vymar. Repro: *Slovník světového malířství*, Praha 1991, 354 - 355.

[\[11\]](#) Laurent GERVEREAU, *Voir, comprendre, analyser les images*. Paris 1994, p. 33.

[\[12\]](#) Laurent GERVEREAU, *Voir, comprendre, analyser les images*. Paris 1994, p. 33.

[\[13\]](#) Michel Pastoureau, Dominique Simonnet, *Le petit livre des couleurs*. Paris, 2005, p. 15 – 23.

[14] Pastoureau, Simonnet, *Le petit livre*, p. 23 – 35.

[15] Pastoureau, Simonnet, *Le petit livre*, p. 35-46.

[16] Pastoureau, Simonnet, *Le petit livre*, p. 47-57.

[17] Pastoureau, Simonnet, *Le petit livre*, p. 63 – 68.

[18] Pastoureau, Simonnet, *Le petit livre*, p. 76 – 79.

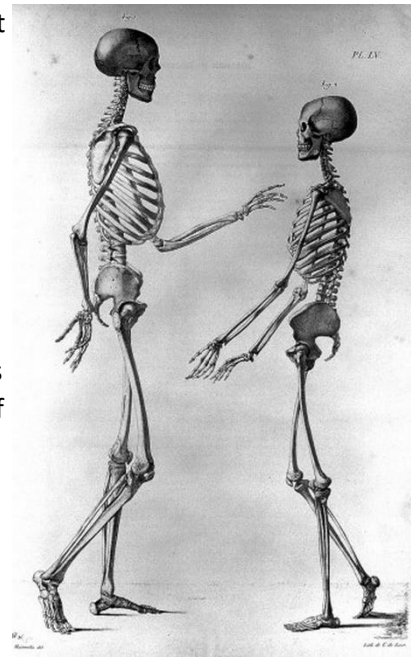
Gendered Body

The relationship between gender identity and the human body became in the nineties of 20th century one of the key research topics, as in gender studies, and in gender history itself. Where else also search base for the different character of women's and men's gender stereotypes than in the constitution in the core relationship that defines its own capacities and capabilities of human beings to relate themselves to the outside world, accept and acquire its values and social strategies needed for full participation in society, or vice versa on the basis of their knowledge levels of physical existence to resign or accept the position within networks of power relations, gender and socially stratified society.

Exploring aspects arising from the relationship between body, individuality and society were basically inspired by the interest, which was aroused through publication of Michel Foucault's studies devoted to the development of social relationships and discourse in the process of modern society development modern.[1] This process is accompanied by a number of changes, including the increase of State control over individual bodies, exercised and sophisticated surveillance apparatus transferred to the medical care provider.

Process of modernization theorists show that, together with the weakening of the influence of religious dogma on the functioning of society from the 18th century, growth the importance of science in terms of establishing new social norms and stereotypes based on knowledge of the newly

constituting modern scientific disciplines. Science of Enlightenment proclaimed by rhetoric contributes to increase the freedom and independence of individual lives and society and independents from evils, which has long surrounded the man. But along with the penetration of scientific knowledge in public discourse also the increased level of controlling of the population through practices and rules resulting from the application those scientific disciplines, that have a man used to rule the world. With the retreat power of religious framework to define the values, appear the body increasingly as an objective of understanding, describing, as well as control and regimentation, and also as bearer of symbolic values of man. The body thus became one of the constitutive foundations of human society. Thanks to more detailed anatomical knowledge to pass since the Enlightenment has become body be a ground and base element for developing gender stereotypes and shows basal essential physical differences between male and female.[2] Thanks to the knowledge of this natural dichotomy became gender differences more natural than ever before, apparently consisting entirely of course on the physical, anatomical basis.



Body in terms of social sciences figures not as immutable physical object, on the contrary, the emphasis in research is on transformation and development of functions that the body can take in respect of the individual and society. For this reason, is research on the development of the body almost completely based on interdisciplinary approaches and a wide range of research topics and methods.

Nevertheless, we can determine the constitutive basis, for which is in the research aspects of human physicality usually paid the most attention. Philosophy favours exploring the role of the phenomenology of the body in the process of perception - how our body involved the shaping of relations of identity, consciousness of the selfhood and reception area.[3] Anthropology of the body, however, focuses on exploring the symbolic values derived from the body, functions that the body may represent a culture or a process of embodiment - being in culture through the body.[4] In sociology, the main topics of research has become the particular social constructions of body, power relationships, based on monitoring, control and physical aspects of manifestation of the body.[5]

In historiography the body is conceived as a variable historical object - changeable and constantly reconstructed phenomenon, inseparable from the cultural context in which his owner was born, where he lived and died. Each society is characterized by this approach to its own vision of the body, which is always culturally dependent. The historical body is therefore not regarded as a given, but rather something that we is mediating system of cultural meanings. From the perspective of gender studies is the greatest emphasis given on the research of gender stereotypes and social roles of men and women and the biological and cultural nature of body as a source of such differences.[6]

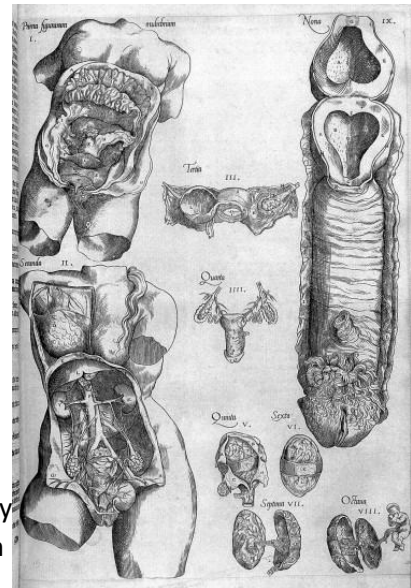


Pioneering work on the role of the body in cultural context was Marcell Mauss's influential essay - *Les Techniques du corps*,[\[7\]](#) dedicated to the function of the body in the social context. Mauss stated in its conclusions that the human body is somehow involved in all activities that accompany a man - be it gestures during a talk, giving the importance of words, or even the ability to perceive the space around him. Body significantly affects our being in the cultural context, so it is, as Mauss said, the most important tool of mankind. With adaptation of the body to the new cultural habits dealt also Norbert Elias,[\[8\]](#) from the sixties of 20th century, a whole series of works prepared on the basis of historical sources of serial demography, formed the thematic focus on birth rate, infanticide and other statistically interpretable data.

In 1963, Michel Foucault published the first of his major works - *The Birth of the clinic*,[\[9\]](#) and influenced by that future development in research on the body more than any other author. Under his influence began to be pronounced a critique of the current approach to the body as a unchangeable fixed category.

Body in terms of gender studies has become an important component of interest in the second half of the eighties of the 20th century. The first works were devoted to studies of the body as metaphoric symbols or allegory wider social and political categories such as nation or social class.[\[10\]](#) An important part of the course were mainly works on theory of society medicalisation, inspired by Foucault's works on the transformation of epistemological discourse in the process of development of modern biomedicine.[\[11\]](#) The aim of these works was to study on the way how influenced the health regulation, development of medical knowledge, professionalism and the formation of modern obstetrics, the position of individuals in the society.

From nineties, the number of studies devoted to the issue of the body rapidly increased, and this problem has become one of the key research topics in all areas of humanities. The reason for such an expansion of interest in research related to aspects of physicality is probably the fact, that the body itself is today for the first time in centuries seen not as immutable biological entity, but rather as a continuous variable category.



A significant part of gender-oriented studies is paid to the issue of transformation of conception of the female body in the discourse of modern biomedicine, constituted from 17th to 19th century. Metaphysics and ontology were the resulting theological tenets of the determining factors in defining the relationship of man and woman till the 18th century. In that time began a gradual change – process of modernisation. Intellectuals, referred now to as the bearers of ideas of the Enlightenment began not just a human society, but the world itself, considered not as a place led by the transcendent will, but as a distinct space, governed by the laws of a fixed given laws - a nature. Learning about natural laws, communication with the world of natural givens, replaced metaphysical contemplation. Infiltration of the principles of operation of natural laws designed to ensure the natural functioning of society based on social relations.

For this reason, it was necessary to redefine the relationship between men and women on the non-metaphysical base. As one of the appropriate discipline was also proved the medical science.^[12] Society in that time have been influenced by theorists of medicine residues of ancient medicine. From antiquity to the 17th, or even till 18th century persisted biological justification for

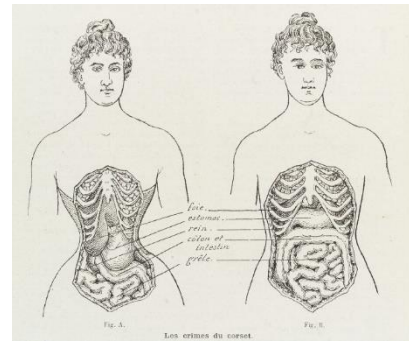


women as deficient organism on the basis of theories of Aristotle, Hippocrates and especially Galen. Aristotle, understood women as creatures of nature colder and weaker than men, women, according to him, haven't enough heat to warm their soul to clean it and became by that less inferior. Galen was following theory of 4 substances established by Hippocrates, reasoned that women are made of different substances - inherently cold and wet, and so that also passive, the men on the contrary warm and dry and active men. Women were homologous inverted image of men and the female sexual organs were seen also only as a reversibly formed, a copy of the organs of men - the perverted male. Reasons for underdevelopment of the genital organs were perceived in the natural coldness of the female body, male body on the other hand, reportedly naturally warmer, it was much better adapted to the vibrant activity, female body thus becomes a natural cause of female passivity in society and relationship to man. Coldness of the female sex was justified by the advantages of cooling the bodies of semen that there will produce a new life, where higher temperatures would be a withered semen as the desert.

This concept was taken over by medieval scholasticism and dominated until the 17th century, when for the first time appeared unique views and pictures suggesting that women are inherently the same as men, therefore they do not consist of different substances. Influential work, *De humani corporis Fabrica libri septem* (1543) of Andrea Vesalius found in both sexes at least some common features, such as a single skeleton. It is significant that while the skeleton of women and men Vesalius understood as identical, reproductive organs are still interpreted by Galen - namely homologous. Female genitalia in their seminal work, *De humani corporis Fabrica* illustrate an exact copy of the genital organs of male converts inside the woman (so underdeveloped in the right direction) – the reversible image of man.

For grounding of women in power structures of society was crucial that her body was always considered as an imperfect male. Very long persisted residues of Galenic tradition, especially in the case of genital paid until the early 19th as a leading opinion. Cultural determination of women was also visible in progressive scientific views, which dealt with specific design of the human body and mutual differences between men and women, their organs, muscles and bones. While women and

men are regarded by them as being substantially equivalent, women are, after all, determined by their biological role - a role of mother. In this way, for example, were made the first portraits of female skeletons. Genevieve Charlotte Thiroux d'Arconville in her anatomical atlas of female skeletons has shown non-natural hypertrophied pelvis and small skulls. [13] By that was emphasized the disposition of the female organism to reproduce and vice versa denied the possibility of equal intellectual development of women to men. In this way can be demonstrated that gender differences have not just been derived from basic biological and anatomical differences, disparities between the sexes, but there was clearly contrary to the penetration of gender stereotypes in medical science.



A fundamental aspect of the process of medicalisation was the increase in supervisory functions of state institutions to codify and control female body. Women's body was from 18th century still subordinated to a greater control of medical science. Essential for the subsequent development was the emphasis placed by theorists of state-cameral sciences at the growing wealth, strength, and hence the number and quality of the population. Johann Peter Frank, as a representative of this approach is an excellent example. [14] His theoretical concept of medical police was clearly aimed at female reproductive body as a single source of future population. It should be emphasized that the female body was especially interesting because women was the bearer of the fetus and thus the basic source of future prosperity and security.

Woman becomes a prisoner of its biological nature, subject of scientific research in related to reproductive functions of the female body - the function of female sex organs, menstruation, conception, childbirth, women's sexuality. Woman has been closed in the private space and carefully guarded, yet, however, was exerted continuous pressure on the discipline, describing, detailed examination to improve results of new knowledge mastery, such as obstetrics.

Women's attributes became those associated with their parent roles - sensibility, emotionality, empathy, a basic organ of female body was the heart not the brain. Predisposition, which the female body carried earlier in the metaphysical plane, in the new paradigm became - anatomical. At the time when it was poorly explained childbirth and women's menstruation a woman's body was still hidden behind a veil of mist. Women were from the perspective of physicians in virtually constantly endangered danger of illnesses. Unclear origin of menstruation led to many theories - a German word *Reinigung* clearly refers to theories associated with faith in the purgative function of this phenomenon, many scientists believed that such a woman's body stripped of harmful substances present in the body.



Menstruation has become a kind of periodical disease of female organism that it undermines - the periodical opening of wounds. It causes pain in a woman's head and women body is treated as an object in status of permanent ill - and as such must be and shall be subjected to expert medical

supervision.

Female genital organs by Enlightenment theories also greatly influenced the rest of the body – there were observed changes of female habitus during the period time. It was inferred that the genitals have a strong influence on the nervous system of women. As a woman in virtually every month in the state of the disease and health in the meantime a kind of biological risks - is subjected to strict supervision also female psyche. Now the context of vulnerability to disease will then develop a strategy for identifying the woman as being weak and nervous nerve. In this way, lead the discourse of medical science to a constitution of gender stereotypes in the very essence of human existence - the biological sex differences.



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Masculinity and Men's History

Within the context of the development of the third phase of the feminist movement since the seventies of 20th century was gradually consolidated the so-called men's movement - not very coherent movement compound of many men's groups with different perspectives on issues relating to women's emancipation process and gender issues. We can see 4 main divergent groups in men's movement.

The first one was established in connection with the development of the feminist movement - for the direct support of its demands. These were mainly the liberal-minded intellectuals, accepting a feminist analysis of social practices and gender-based differences, which have tried to work together with women to promote the requirements of the liberal part of the feminist movement and to minimize gender-based discrimination in society.

From the advancement of research in gender studies has benefited a group of men analyzing the role of men in traditional patriarchal society. In view of the male leaders of this current movement are the traditional masculine characteristics associated with the representation of masculinity in society, often disadvantageous for men themselves and even can be dangerous for them. Thanks to the societal stereotypes men can not show emotion, mental and physical weakness and playing of his

role in society often leads to the cultivation of practices, which often negatively affect men's health directly, such as excessive competition, alcoholism, risky demonstration of masculinity through dangerous sport activities, etc. Representatives of this type of men's movement, challenging perceptions of traditional male roles as positive are asking for establishing of new model for "stronger sex", with possibility to escape from the yoke of duty and stereotypes, which according to their opinion as matter fact cannot really give to men any profit.

Another part of men's movement, sometimes known as the father's movement, was made up of men frustrated by what they call anti-male prejudices in society. Their scope is nowadays visible also in Czech Republic, typically manifests itself in the agitation for equality in rights to child-rearing, or their custody after divorce. Its leaders, however, seeks to refute the generally prevailing stereotypes identifying female role with motherhood and raising children, and attributing to fatherhood minor role in process of socialization.

Important group of men's movement, consisted mainly from rigid religiously oriented Christian men, is aimed against any changes in society in consequence with women's emancipation. Their rhetoric was developed in response to the gradual change in paradigm of the traditional view of male and female roles in society. According to their opinion as the results of emancipation process of women arisen problems and social changes, as for example atomization of families and disruption of traditional social structure based on partnership, cohabitation, and the subsequent socialization of children in the closed family. They take the view that disintegration of society is due to disruption of the fundamental values of civilization and the only way to correct it is a return to traditional (patriarchal) distribution of gender roles.

In the seventies of 20th century was then established also scientifically based answer to the debates in society concerning new problems with masculinity and men's roles. This answer is called men's studies, based on the theoretical concepts of gender studies was established a group of academic researchers, which focused their attention on problems connected on the study of masculinity(-ies). Their activity was also partially motivated by the development of negativistic tendency of male movement and thus formed as a response from academic circles to a certain negativistic parts of men's movement, which tried to discredit gender studies as an anti-male scientific based instrument.

In the field of history this academic research claims its activities to fill a gap in gender research are caused by excessive concentration of the scientific community to issues related to women's history. The introduction of gender as the category of historical analysis not only influenced the development of women's history, but also stood at the beginning of men's studies, which began in the eighties to develop mainly in the U.S.A. and Great Britain. In gender studies began to be felt at once the lack of attention devoted to the development and differentiation of various forms of masculinity. And as the result of one-side oriented study of gender problems has been developed to the same phenomenon that was previously observed and described in classical non-gendered history – but now has disappeared the man from (gender) history.

Many studies on gender issues were published, the majority of them just pointed out from the historical context the history of women and constitution of women as a social category. The men

were in historical studies still presented as representatives of nation, class or universal representative of humanity, but not as representatives of their social role - gender. From the seventies, and especially in the late eighties began to develop the scientific infrastructure essential for the further development of men's studies. In 1992, The American Men's Studies Association^[1] began to publish The Journal of Men's Studies, representative periodical focusing on research on gender issues associated with men.

In the framework of men's history have been paid special attention to the revision of patriarchal order in history, causes and methods of its constitution. Acquired great influence in particular the study of Robert Connell, in which masculinity conceived as a specific configuration of gender practices that legitimize the superiority of men in the patriarchal structure of power relations.^[2]

Men's studies, however, persisted not only in attempts to find the causes of a patriarchal system and describe the constitution the traditional male role. On the development of men's studies had a large influence the fact that it has been constituted at the time when first works with the revisited view on the category of gender were published. Judith Butler's definition of performative gender and the discourse analysis was certainly a considerable source of inspiration, as well as a pluralistic environment of poststructuralist philosophy. Since the beginning of men's studies, parallel to a study prompted an attempt to find ideal type of masculinity, has been also formed a study oriented to differentiate different types of masculinities and their development and interaction of their holders.

Researchers, through monitoring the interactions of different types of masculine roles, came to the conclusion that the majority of typical forms of masculinities is not shaped by the binary opposition of masculinity-femininity, but rather are primarily due to the mutual constitution of differentiation between groups of men, whether is the differences arising from differences of race, class, or socially and economically-based inequalities.^[3]

It follows that men's studies are characterized more plural approach to history of men than women's studies. Therefore we are not talking about the development of one specific type of masculinity, but rather about the changes, the emergence and formation of often very different concepts of masculinities dependent on differences of national, class and social identities. Nevertheless, also in terms of men's history we can find in history a few breakpoints, when we can speak about total change of paradigm of masculinity and its representation.

The last major breakthrough in this sense occurred in connection with the beginnings of the constitution of bourgeois society from the late 18th Century. During the Enlightenment came into life a new concept of ideal masculinity. It is a principle based on biological sex difference based on anatomical differences between men and women. Category man and woman finally separated from each other and became the primary source of identity categories through which individuals affect their social life. Having established itself alongside the fundamental differences on the basis of anatomical knowledge, however, began to develop also a concept of so called hegemonic masculinity.^[4]

According to some scholars the concept of hegemonic masculinity fully enforces until the last third of the 19th century - a time when the company has definitely received a middle-class character of

bourgeois ideals, in the previous period was the imprint of the ideal hegemonic masculinity complicated by different discourse within the religious, nationalist, but also Estates differentiated societies and groups.^[5] The beginnings of the formation of the concept of the ideal man take place in the 18th century.

The largest contribution on the promotion of concepts of ideal masculinity in discourse of majority society is attributed to several factors which began to influence society especially from the last third of the 18th century. Significant was especially a creation of field of public communication through which information could be distributed and, therefore, also stereotypes about different social roles more effectively spread in the broader social layers in the more uniform and unifying form than ever before. Of course, there has been some forms of male sociability (religious fraternities, alcohol and coffee societies, etc.) developed since the Middle Ages, but the membership in these have been limited to privileged or wealthy men. With the modernization of society from 18th century have been a number of phenomena linked to a large extent and crossed social boundaries. The printed media has gained extraordinary importance, whether in the form of a book or periodical, introduced was also the compulsory school attendance, in which occurred during the process of socialization clear imprint of stereotypes belonging to the representation and perception of male and female roles. Very important were also the reforms in the military forces, particularly the introduction of regular armies, and thus compulsory military service, a prominent factor which influenced transformation of the ideal type of masculinity.

Insight into the development of an ideal type of masculinity gave George L. Mosse in the study *The Image of Man*,^[6] comparative analysis of the development of stereotypes surrounding the category of masculinity in European and American context since 18th to 20th century. The subject of his research was the formation masculinity manifested in different contexts, such as ways of viewing of the male body in sculpture, ritual duels of honour between men, the distribution of generally accepted codes of male honour throughout the company, the formation of gymnastic associations and practicing of gymnastic activities itself, but also stereotype of masculinity developed in the fascist regimes and capture of men's roles in the interwar and postwar cinema.

Mosse concludes that the modern ideal was born in the Napoleonic wars and, like many other cultural phenomena have also new ideal of masculinity spread quickly through Europe's cultural or, conversely, the direct political influence of Napoleonic France, and has then acquired such importance that it has been adopted as a normative by all subsequent political and cultural movements and became the basis for the perception of male roles in society at all.

The hegemonic masculine ideal was rooted in the Greek ideal of beauty - a balanced presence of force and reason and generally accepted values - such as honour, courage and mental and physical endurance. The manifestations of that ideal often occurred in contrast to the so-called anti-types, namely, the archetypal characteristics of the opposite of ideal masculinity, which were mainly attributed to men from marginalized parts of society - Jews, gypsies, homosexuals or mentally retarded persons. The process of differentiation to these kinds of anti-types contributes to a much easier and safer interiorisation of dominant ideal of masculinity.

A very important part of studies devoted to the history of masculinity, occupies a debate on the so-

called crises of masculinity. Extreme views are talking about the so-called permanent crisis of male identity, which lead to efforts to control public discourse and, through this control establish the role of men in society as a dominant. Sober views speak at least about one, but sometimes about a few crises of masculinity, associated with the development of Euro-Atlantic society. As the most evident is usually considered masculinity crisis accompanying European society in the time period of fin-de-siècle. Proclaimed culture of decadence that rejected the values of middle-class, economic crisis, calling into question the role of man as breadwinner and master of the house, homosexuality visible in the public space, but also the development and early successes of the female emancipation movement, the emergence of pacifist organizations, or changes in fashion styles, when women's fashion for the first time through the "reformed clothing " came closer to male-type clothing, challenged the rules and firmly anchored dichotomy belonging characteristics of what was feminine and what masculine.

But despite the crisis, the ideal of masculinity formed in the late 18th and 19th century remained basically up to the present time. George L. Mosse finds the reason of such success and endurance of this stereotype to his connection with the same foundations of modern civil society.

The ideal of masculinity no doubtful symbolizes the core values of liberal civil society - individualism, autonomy, the ability of human development through their own mental and physical strength to a better future. And since those ideals survive also their major challenge at the time of post structuralism, are still inherently associated with running the company today.

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Content

Gender can be understood as a socially formed set of characteristics, behaviour, interests, appearance, etc., as a social construct of sex, feminity and masculinity. This construct is historically variable and is manifested variously not only in different cultures and different historical epochs, but also in various social classes. Gender is a "useful category" of historical analysis, and as was illustrated by recent studies, is also a useful category of analysis of cultural history and creation of art.

The aim of following learning material is to make students familiar with the content and genesis of the concept of culture, with meaning of category „gender“ and its application in the history within the process of formation of terms and connotation of masculinity and feminity. From the point of gender aspect will be introduced the formation and transformation of gendered subjectivity, with emphasis on changes in the social status of women, which meant disruption in historical constructs of feminity.

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