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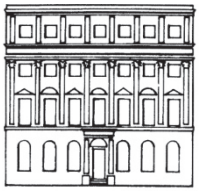

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ARTICLES

PRINCESSES, SEMEN, AND SEPARATION: MASCULINITY AND BODY POLITICS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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In the late 1820s the young Leopold Ranke was eagerly preparing for his first research trip to the Austrian Empire. Engrossed in the writing of his second book, the freshly appointed Professor of History at the University of Berlin was especially interested in reports by Venetian ambassadors. Once he found himself sitting with the coveted reports at the Austrian State Archives in Vienna, he shared his excitement with friends and intellectuals in letters that reveal an additional dimension of his quest. For Ranke, the sources were not dead paper: rather, he saw them as 'blood and mind' ('Blut und Geist'),[1] and called them 'beautiful princesses' ('schöne Prinzessinnen').[2] Like all historians, Ranke experienced the difficulties of archival research; after hours of reading, he felt exhausted and lonely away from his friends. It was difficult to decipher the ancient handwriting and he was sometimes bored with his work.[3] These frustrations and disappointments, however, were outweighed by sensations of sexual attraction he found himself experiencing as he worked; he described some of his archival sources as a 'handsome Italian lady' ('schöne Italienerin') with whom he was 'in love'. He wished to con-

I am deeply indebted to Marynel Ryan Van Zee (University of Minnesota) and Kathleen Canning (University of Michigan) for their instructive comments on earlier drafts of this article.

[1] Leopold von Ranke to Heinrich Ranke, Nov. 1828, in Leopold von Ranke, *Das Briefwerk*, ed. Walther P. Fuchs (Hamburg, 1949), 176. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this article are by the author.

[2] Leopold von Ranke to Bettina von Arnim, Feb. 1828, ibid. 139.

[3] Ibid. 122–8, 180.

summate his relationship with her, describing 'sweet and contented *Schäferstunden*'—the latter then, as now, a romantic term for sexual intercourse—and even 'hoped to father a wunderkind' with his beloved, meaning the book he aimed to finish using these materials.[4] This was not a momentary perception; later, in 1836, when Ranke gained access to a new archive, he again used bodily and sexual metaphors to refer to his excitement and desire. The archive had just been opened to researchers for the first time, and Ranke imagined it as a 'total virgin' ('noch ganz eine Jungfer') waiting to be 'entered' by him ('bei ihr Zutritt habe[n]').[5]

Since these metaphors arose at a time when archival research was about to become the benchmark for historical studies, and Ranke was to become one of the most important nineteenth-century historians—and one of the founders of German history as an academic discipline—his letters reveal not only his intense scholarly interest in his materials, but also refer to the significance of metaphors of gendered and sexualized bodies in the establishment of that discipline. While the fact that it was inaugurated as a masculine discipline, in that it was both professionally practised by men only but also culturally encoded as a purely masculine realm, is common knowledge, the part the body played in this encoding is not. Although mostly overlooked in the history of historiography, the body was important for the discipline's self-image, as we can see, even at this early stage, in the quoted identification of sources with female bodies and of scholarship with heterosexual intercourse and procreation.

As the gendered body became one of the central elements of political discourse in modern Western societies from the nineteenth century,[6] it also became central to the historical discipline that was emerging at the same time. This development was fundamental to all elements of historical study, including definitions of the historian's qualities, historical methods, and the discipline's institutions. In one way or another, biological and symbolic, individual and collective

[4] Leopold von Ranke to Heinrich Ritter, Oct. 1827, ibid. 121–2.

[5] Leopold von Ranke to Ferdinand Ranke, Nov. 1836, in Leopold von Ranke, *Neue Briefe*, ed. Hans Herzfeld (Hamburg, 1949), 230.

[6] See Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur (eds.), *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1987); Kathleen Canning, *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship* (Ithaca, NY, 2006).

bodies were meaningful in all of these contexts. Sources on the discipline's self-description[7] produced by historians such as Ranke himself (1795–1886), Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–1884), Heinrich von Sybel (1817–1895), Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896), and many other scholars mostly unknown today, reveal a gender and body-oriented habitus, to use Bourdieu's term, which structured, and was structured by the professional practice of the emerging discipline. In Bourdieu's formulation, the habitus, understood as a 'matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions',[8] creates individual and collective practices.[9] For the purposes of this article, the concept of habitus therefore helps to explain why so many different scholars acting independently similarly coded the discipline as masculine. In this sense, the male historian's habitus contributed to the establishment of history within the modern research university during the nineteenth century.

The discipline's development has been summarized as the masculinization of the discipline. Bonnie Smith's analysis of the gendered structures of Western historiography during its professionalization is a milestone in this field. Her pioneering study of academic practices and metaphorical definitions inaugurated an approach to the history of historiography that has been crucial in helping historians understand how their discipline was established as a male realm.[10] Nevertheless, this interpretation is not attentive to the complexity of the relationship between the German historical discipline and the body revealed by close analysis of sources from the founding period. What we still lack is a study that clarifies the role the body played in this process, so that its importance can be fully appreciated in order to understand exactly how the discipline's masculine character was created. As is already clear from looking at Ranke, there was a relationship between imaginations of bodies, bodily practices, and academic

[7] By this I mean sources in which professional historians directly or indirectly describe the aim, scope, methods, or members of their discipline.

[8] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 1977), 83.

[9] Id., *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 1990), 54.

[10] Bonnie G. Smith, 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: The Seminar and Archival Research in the Nineteenth Century', *American Historical Review*, 100/4 (1995), 1150–76; ead., *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, 2001).

scholarship. But how the body was positioned and politicized to serve the discipline's purposes requires further research.[11] While it is fair to assume that historians were not the only profession using sexual and body images to define themselves, they have been chosen here to make a start in exploring this topic because they represent a prominent example.

The evidence presented here complicates existing findings about bodies in scientific contexts and academic masculinities. Other studies have identified the progressive elimination of the scientist's body in discourses relating to the practice of the modern natural sciences during their formation,[12] and a denial of masculine bodies during the professionalization of the British historical discipline.[13] In Germany, the metaphorical and physical incorporation of masculine bodies contributed to the establishment of history's status as an academic subject. This article investigates the impact of the body-oriented habitus on the history of German historiography, that is, how body, gender, and disciplinary knowledge were interconnected in the long nineteenth century. At issue here is not the production of historical knowledge *by* the historical discipline but, rather, the production of knowledge *about* the discipline itself. In this context my argument is that, first, the body was the vehicle for establishing history as a male/masculine enterprise, and second that both female and male bodies were involved in this process. In a broader sense, this analysis contributes to a wider understanding of modern gender norms because German historical practice, in particular, reveals one aspect of how perceptions of bodies and gender in general have shaped modern Western societies and their knowledge practices.

[11] See, as a first step in this direction, Falko Schnicke, *Die männliche Disziplin: Zur Vergeschlechtlichung der Disziplin 1780–1900* (Göttingen, 2015). The present article presents some arguments from this book, which is only available in German.

[12] Werner Kutschmann, *Der Naturwissenschaftler und sein Körper: Die Rolle der 'inneren Natur' in der experimentellen Naturwissenschaft der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/M., 1986). Other accounts have highlighted the importance of at least the sensitive parts of the scientist's body, with the eyes leading the way. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York, 2007).

[13] Judith L. Newton, *Starting Over: Feminism and the Politics of Culture Critique* (Ann Arbor, 1994), 97–124.

Analysing sources from the period of the establishment of the discipline between approximately 1780 and 1900, this article contributes to this project by focusing on three significant elements of the historical discipline in turn. First, crucial contemporary ideas about the historian's qualities are examined. These drew on anthropological understandings of human sexual and gender differences coming out of the broader eighteenth-century conversation about human nature, and influenced the development of the historical discipline. In them, the body appeared mainly as an implied metaphor. Second, I examine essential practices such as the creation of methodology and historical methods. As suggested at the beginning of this article, the long argument about methodology used explicit, gendered, and corporeal metaphors to discuss what to do with the materials of history, as we have seen in the example of Ranke above. Finally, I investigate central institutions where the body was significant as a physical entity. The universities and the historical seminars were able to place these ideas and practices into a purely male/masculine space, which was guarded by the practitioners of history and their bodily actions. This article, therefore, will present different representations of the body in the examples discussed, ranging from abstract language to sexualized metaphors,[14] and, finally, the physical body. Each of the three sections concludes by elaborating a certain type of body politics[15] used to define academic history: first, the anthropological dis-

[14] For the approach outlined above, metaphors are neither understood as simply literary or linguistic phenomena, nor interpreted in the line with the theory of substitution, according to which a metaphor that is transferred from one context to another changes both its meaning and its textual function. (For a summary of this group of interpretations of metaphors see Mogens Stiller Kjärgaard, *Metaphor and Parable: A Systematic Analysis of the Specific Structure and Cognitive Function of the Synoptic Similes and Parables qua Metaphors* (Leiden, 1986), 59–65.) Metaphors are understood here rather as political forms; in this article metaphors of gender, sexuality, and bodies are seen as the result of social practices and as capable of influencing them.

[15] The term 'body politics', which is often used but rarely defined, needs at last an operational definition. It is here understood as a set of arguments and actions referring to biological, physical, or symbolic bodies by which gender and thus power hierarchies from outside the discipline are instrumentalized in response to politically motivated intentions. In the words of Jordanova, this is because the body is 'a general category' in the Western tradition and 'the medium through which sexual matters were represented and explored'.

dain for female bodies and the exaltation of male ones by defining the latter *ex negativo* as academic (instrumentalizing femininity); second, the designation of heterosexual male bodies as the only adequate ones for the practice of history (instrumentalizing masculinity); and third, the transformation of this language into physical practices (implementation).

I. *Defining the Historian's Qualities (Anthropology)*

Among the discourses that shaped German society in the nineteenth century, anthropological debates occupied a crucial place. The definition of history, too, was strongly influenced by gendered ideas of anthropology. Drawing on debates since the Enlightenment, these ideas concentrated on questions regarding the 'true' and 'objective' nature of men and women. As the discipline was established from the late Enlightenment on, the anthropological debate with its long history and continued vitality contributed to defining the historian's qualities. Allegedly scientific arguments derived from anthropological discourses used the body to deny women those characteristics that would have qualified them to undertake what was understood as real scholarship in general, and historical research in particular. In this respect, the historical discipline was in keeping with the nation, because during the nineteenth century the two were not only connected by an understanding of history as political and national (with all the exclusions that caused) but shared common gender and body

Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1989), 13. Body politics consists of individual or collective acts of addressing, placing, empowering, or disempowering bodies that are physical but also associations of language and human actions impacting on each other, a point that Smith-Rosenberg stresses. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, 'The Body Politic', in Elizabeth Weed (ed.), *Coming to Terms: Feminism, Theory, Politics* (New York, 1989), 101–21, at 101–3. A viewpoint that differs from Smith-Rosenberg's (and is also generally held), sees body politics as not only a matter of female bodies, and therefore includes male bodies as its subjects and objects. A review of the sources investigated for this article suggests that this is a crucial condition for coming to a comprehensive understanding and implementation of Jordanova's early, yet often disregarded, plea to consider male bodies as well. Jordanova, *Sexual Visions*, 14.

imaginations. Using metaphors referring to the body, the anthropological debate amalgamated corporeality with academic history upholding the close connection between masculinity and the body that historical studies on masculinities have shown.[16]

This was already the case in the early stages of the discipline, as illustrated by the example of Friedrich Schiller who, from 1789 onwards, worked for several years as a historian at the University of Jena. The tangible, everyday consequences for the historical discipline created by gendered hierarchies can be seen in the genesis of his well-known inaugural lecture, 'What is Universal History and to What End Do We Study It?' of May 1789. Schiller wrote to his friend, Christoph Gottfried Körner, saying that he would send him the manuscript of this lecture to ask for his opinion. This was important to Schiller, because he hoped to use the lecture to lay the foundations for his professorship in history.[17] But he did not accept Caroline von Beulwitz and Charlotte von Lengefeld, who later became his wife, as conversation partners of equal weight in this matter. Although Körner, an author, was not a professional historian, while Beulwitz and Lengefeld were intellectuals and part of the cultural life of Weimar classicism, it was no accident that Schiller asked Körner alone to advise him on his entry into 'scientific' history. This demonstrates the different perceptions of men and women, including their relation to academic history, which Schiller, along with many other authors, justified in a number of publications as the natural order.[18] In 1794 Schiller was sure that women 'can never and must not share scholarship with men because of their nature'. He saw the reason for this in anthropological constants such as the 'whole internal construction of their [women's] essence' ('ganze innre Bau seines Wesens').[19]

[16] See e.g. George L. Mosse, *The Image of Men: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford, 1998), 24; Wolfgang Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit in Europa (1450–2000)* (Cologne, 2003), 182–5.

[17] Friedrich von Schiller, *Briefwechsel: Schillers Briefe 1.1.1788–28.2.1790*, ed. Eberhard Haufe (Weimar, 1979), 303.

[18] Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib, 1750–1850* (Frankfurt/M., 1991).

[19] Friedrich Schiller, 'Ueber die nothwendigen Grenzen beim Gebrauch schöner Formen' (1794), *Philosophische Schriften*, ed. Benno von Wiese, 2 vols. (Weimar, 1963), ii. 3–27, at 17.

Since the Enlightenment, scholars, doctors, philosophers, teachers, and other educated men (and women) had tried to explain the difference between men and women by reference to physical differences. In this context, 'nature' stood for the physical elements of life and early became a synonym for a creature's (living) body, as influential encyclopedias noted.[20] It is crucial to pay attention to these kinds of fairly abstract body metaphors because the anthropological discourse was used in order to generate general truths about men and women: 'their generality is an important feature of the way they [the metaphors] functioned.'[21]

To provide evidence, scientific attention was directed to the genitals but also to other organs, for instance the brain, which had been studied in France and Germany since the eighteenth century. The findings physicians obtained by measuring and weighing the brain were generalized and produced the 'common knowledge' that men are more intelligent because male brains are bigger.[22] Morphological and anatomical data was thus transformed into scientific 'facts' about the nature of the sexes and, as such, was used in several contexts, including defining history. Against this background, and as a result of the various publications dealing with gender differences in physical terms, it is easy to see why Schiller did not need to name the female body explicitly when discussing the inability of women to be historians. He could operate with allusions to it ('nature', 'essence') to make his point clear. Within the discourse of the late Enlightenment it was clear that semantically, 'nature' lay in the realm of the body and its anatomy, as Londa Schiebinger and Ludmilla Jordanova have shown.[23] As a result, in his letter to Beulwitz and Lengefeld, Schiller

[20] See Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*, 64 vols. (Leipzig, 1740; reprint Graz, 1995), xxiii. 1036.

[21] Jordanova, *Sexual Visions*, 8.

[22] For detail on this issue see Michael Hagner, *Geniale Gehirne: Zur Geschichte der Elitegehirnforschung* (Göttingen, 2004); Frank Stahnisch, 'Über die neuronale Natur des Weiblichen: Szientismus und Geschlechterdifferenz in der anatomischen Hirnforschung (1760–1850)', in Frank Stahnisch and Florian Steger (eds.), *Medizin, Geschichte und Geschlecht: Körperhistorische Rekonstruktionen von Identitäten und Differenzen* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 197–224.

[23] See Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, 1989), 178–88, 201; Jordanova, *Sexual Visions*, 43–65.

announced that he would show them the script of his lecture merely 'for fun', because it might include 'something interesting for you'.[24] In his view, their bodies and related competences prevented a professional or strategic debate of the sort he could expect to have with Körner.

In Imperial Germany students used their bodies in several ways to perform and demonstrate academic masculinity (excessive alcohol consumption and duels in the fraternities, for example),[25] and this had also been important earlier. Marian Füssel has established that the link between masculinity and the academic realm was close long before the end of the nineteenth century. Although emphasizing the significance of status and regional differences, he demonstrates that early academics had already established cultural meaning through physical action and language.[26] Schiller followed this pattern in his own way, and related his inaugural lecture to his masculinity by excluding women from his historical work.[27]

Schiller's case is emblematic of how gendered spheres, once they have been separated, remained neatly distinct, even in the early period of the German historical discipline's professionalization. In Schiller's day, when universities as totally homosocial institutions had not yet been challenged by the claims of the women's movement, the male body was already established as the only scientific one in the sense of being the only one capable of producing academic discourse (*Wissenschaft*). In the course of the nineteenth century this thought took hold within the German historical discipline. Even mid century concessions by historians who regarded women as possessing as

[24] Schiller, *Briefwechsel*, 287.

[25] For more details see Miriam Rürup, 'Auf Kneipe und Fechtboden: Inszenierung von Männlichkeit in jüdischen Studentenverbindungen in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik', in Martin Dinges (ed.), *Männer – Macht – Körper: Hegemoniale Männlichkeiten vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Frankfurt/M., 2005), 141–56.

[26] Marian Füssel, 'Studentenkultur als Ort hegemonialer Männlichkeit? Überlegungen zum Wandel akademischer Habitusformen vom Ancien Régime zur Moderne', ibid. 85–100.

[27] In Schiller's work, however, depending on the genre, both heroic and passive female figures are to be found. For the ambiguous image of women in Schiller in general see Helmut Fuhrmann, 'Revision des Parisurteils: "Bild" und "Gestalt" der Frauen im Werk Schillers', *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, 25 (1981), 316–66.

much reason as men (for example, Heinrich von Sybel),[28] could not alter that; such sentiments turned out to be merely rhetorical, as we can see in von Sybel's other perception of female professors as an 'utterly dispensable asset'.[29] Despite all the significant social changes going on at this time in the economic sphere, the family, and university structures, the idea of male-only scholarship remained constant throughout the professionalization of the historical discipline. The same applied to the idea that the foundation of scholarship lay in the (male) body, which was still important towards the end of the century.

One example of the body's later significance is provided by Georg Busolt, Professor of History at Kiel from 1881 who, almost a hundred years after Schiller's inaugural lecture, still shared the latter's views to the extent that invoking women's qualities and bodies as unfit for historical practice seemed completely self-evident. He defined his discipline in a volume edited by Arthur Kirchhoff, *The Academic Woman*,[30] which collects numerous statements on the question of whether women should be admitted to university, as follows:

> As far as my discipline, history, is concerned, the following are required to solve the problems it poses: a view which is intensely and methodically trained, with a strong emphasis on investigating facts, a rich experience of life and human nature, political judgement and broad knowledge of the economic, the governmental, and, to some extent, also the religious spheres. All these are characteristics . . . which a woman, because of her entire nature ('*ihrer ganzen Natur nach*'), could not possess, so that even the most capable among them will never be suitable as a historian.[31]

[28] Heinrich von Sybel, 'Ueber die Emancipation der Frauen: Vortrag gehalten zu Bonn am 12. Februar 1870', in id., *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1874), 57–79, at 59.

[29] Ibid. 73.

[30] This edited volume was part of the lively debate on the possibility of women studying at university during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The editor, Arthur Kirchhoff, had asked several male professors, scholars, and women's teachers for their opinion on this issue by letter. He published all responses received in 1897.

[31] Arthur Kirchhoff (ed.), *Die Akademische Frau: Gutachten hervorragender Universitätsprofessoren, Frauenlehrer und Schriftsteller über die Befähigung der Frau zum wissenschaftlichen Studium und Berufe* (Berlin, 1897), 185.

Here the body was presented as 'nature' again. Other nineteenth-century historians did the same, as Jordanova has shown using the example of Jules Michelet.[32] In his writings he 'represented social conditions through naturalistic and medical metaphors',[33] and other German historians used the term *Natur* in discussing their health in order to link their body to their academic work,[34] as Busolt did when he set the body as the limit of a scientific approach to history. His denial of female historians was still primarily backed up by reference to the female body: while he spoke of learnt qualities (knowledge in several fields), he referred, as Schiller had done a century earlier, to the nature of women, that is, the female body and related skills. The established difference between men and women was taken as a biological fact, structuring not only the society of Imperial Germany as a whole, but also the historical discipline in particular.

The historical discipline, as Busolt's contribution underlines, was by no means just influenced by a certain set of ideas of role-division, but functioned as one of its (co-)producers by reinforcing the confrontation between the male intellect and the female body and associated emotional and psychological characteristics in its realm.[35] The use of 'nature' as one of the most abstract body metaphors of all helped him to deliver this message because its generality warded off criticism. Busolt made it even more general by using the unnecessary extension of 'entire nature'. In this respect, the choice of abstract vocabulary was highly political as it invoked the notion of an ahistorical, general truth about the social status of men and women. Busolt linked the skills mentioned to male bodies only, because unlike in female bodies, intellect and reason were matched in them, and they were understood as being properly academic. Yet male bodies were not directly mentioned, but merely alluded to in distinction to

[32] Jordanova, *Sexual Visions*, 66–86.

[33] Ibid. 80.

[34] Falko Schnicke, 'Kranke Historiker: Körperwahrnehmungen und Wissenschaft im 19. Jahrhundert', *Historische Anthropologie*, 25/1 (2017), 11–31.

[35] For the German case in general in this confrontation see Karin Hausen, 'Family and Role Division: The Polarisation of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century, An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family', in Richard J. Evans and William Robert Lee (eds.), *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Germany* (London, 1981), 51–83.

non-proper, non-academic bodies and their 'female special anthropology' ('*weibliche Sonderanthropologie*').[36]

Jacob Caro, another historian whose voice we hear in Kirchhoff's volume, unintentionally offered an explanation for the fact that both the masculinization of the German historical discipline and the body as its vehicle remained almost unquestioned for such a long period. He claimed: 'In the study of history it is necessary to separate the situation from the contingency. If we admitted women, who are interested in the contingency of the situation, to the debate, we would be declaring that there are constant revolutions. Could this be the intention?'[37] What is striking about this quotation is that it shows that the German historical discipline was anxious about changes it might face if women were accepted into it. In Caro's view the discipline's male/masculine character was not secure, but under threat. Caro feared that it would lose the epistemological character he and his male fellows had just established. To prevent that, both Caro and Busolt emphasized that their discipline was essentially masculine. Women, by contrast, were associated with a serious lack of the abilities required to appreciate logical order and facts, and with an even more serious lack of mental qualities such as reason, intellect, sagacity, mental strength, responsibility, authority, and originality. Far more than in Schiller's case, this use of the female body seems defensive, aiming to protect the masculine character of history against the transitions and claims of the women's movement but also to defend the political status quo and to ensure the German historians' conservative world view.

Even these few examples indicate a first kind of body politics within the historical discipline, as the status of people within academic history depended on their actively and intentionally gendered bodies. As these texts (and others[38]) show, this is the result of the conjoining of the body and historical research in the conflation of the bodies of individuals who were professional, academic historians, the bodies of individuals who were denied this status, and collective bodies, such as the historical discipline. Marginalized in this and the second important collective body, the nation, women were not full

[36] Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter*, 126.
[37] Kirchhoff (ed.), *Die Akademische Frau*, 186–7.
[38] See Schnicke, *Die männliche Disziplin*, esp. 61–341.

members of either.[39] In both cases men were defined as historical subjects, while women were set aside because of their 'nature', meaning their body.

Thus the first type of body politics in German academic history defined the collective body of the discipline by highlighting its opposite (instrumentalizing femininity). Harking back to popular anthropological knowledge, women and their bodies were cited only as negative examples, while female historians in the entire Western world were simply ignored or intentionally filtered out.[40] This meant that female bodies were seen as inappropriate, as representing corporeal lack, and as alien to the discipline. Femininity was important in defining the masculine discipline and the body became political, in a broad sense, because it was a category of knowledge and an essential part of the discipline's discourse. In compliance with this, masculinity assumed an academic value, whereas it was considered impossible for the female body to write professional history, a kind of body politics that could be interpreted as 'being-perceived' by men in Bourdieu's terminology of perception:

> Thus, the perceived body is socially doubly determined. On the one hand, in even its seemingly most natural aspects (its volume, height, weight, musculature, etc.) it is a social product. . . . On the other hand, these bodily properties are apprehended through schemes of perception whose use in acts of evaluation depends on the position occupied in social space.[41]

As a result, 'masculine domination', in Bourdieu's phrase which constitutes women as symbolic objects whose being (*esse*) is a being-perceived (*percipi*), has the effect of keeping them in a permanent state of

[39] For the German context of this see, among others, Ute Planert, *Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich: Diskurs, soziale Formation und politische Mentalität* (Göttingen, 1998).

[40] While other national contexts are much more fully researched, for Germany see Angelika Epple, *Empfindsame Geschichtsschreibung: Eine Geschlechtergeschichte der Historiographie zwischen Aufklärung und Historismus* (Cologne, 2003); Hiram Kümper, *Historikerinnen: Eine biobibliographische Spurensuche im deutschen Sprachraum* (Kassel, 2009).

[41] Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 2001), 64.

bodily insecurity, or more precisely, of 'symbolic dependence'.[42] This became apparent in the German historical discipline, as male perception defined femininity in relation to an assumed corporeal inability to produce academic history, making women dependent on men in terms of their ability to participate in the production and experience of history. By contrast, male bodies were not mentioned explicitly, but only indirectly, by claiming female bodies as their opposite. Within this first kind of body politics male bodies were established as proper academic ones merely *ex negative*.

II. *Empowering and Questioning Masculinity (Methods)*

In terms of methods and methodology—as a second aspect of the establishment of history as a discipline, following anthropology—the discipline of history was set up as a male space of action by the sexualization and embodiment of operations aimed at producing knowledge. In an intense discourse on method and methodology, historians considered a set of defined operations necessary to create their discipline. Although research on the gendering of historical methods has hitherto been neglected, there is evidence that, based on anthropological ideas, male bodies were again positioned at the discipline's centre in terms of method. As a result of this location, history as an important constituent of the German modern research university was permeated by the conviction that male historians and male bodies were required for truly scientific, proper academic investigations to be undertaken.

An early example is Justus Möser, author of a history of Osnabrück, who in his concise essay 'How to Present One's Emotions Well', published in 1780, conceived of lecturing as an intellect-based use of the emotions. Intended as advice for educated circles, the essay explained what was necessary to create a good speech and introduced the traditional five rhetorical steps as expressions of the 'fire' ('Feuer'), 'desire' ('Begierde'),[43] and 'heated imagination' ('erhitzte

[42] Ibid. 66.

[43] Justus Möser, 'Wie man zu einem guten Vortrage seiner Empfindungen gelange' [1780], in id., *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. vii: *Patriotische Phantasien und Zugehöriges*, ed. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Hamburg, n.d.), 11–15, at 12.

Einbildung')[44] that the male author needed to succeed. According to Möser, the scholar required 'passion' and 'love' for his topic. In his words, these are the opposite to *Erschlaffung*,[45] a term that is difficult to translate; the word indicates 'relaxation', a 'diminution of swelling', or a 'return to a flaccid state'. *Erschlaffung* in this context was meant to be both the inability of the male scholar to do scholarly work and the productive goal of scholarly work. Suggesting that successful research required a repetition of those productive activities, Möser identified the historian's work with phases of male sexual arousal. Accepting Christian Begemann's interpretation, Möser invented a 'cycle of libidinous pushes'.[46] This was not an innovative view, as such sexualized concepts of intellectual production were commonplace in the late eighteenth century. Yet among historians Möser was one of the first to apply them to his academic work. The reference to the body in this description lies in the suggestion of the male historian's sex organ which, through the combination of 'desire' and *Erschlaffung*, moved into the centre of the historical discipline.

It is crucial to note that for Möser the image of reduced arousal (*Erschlaffung*) also stood for the failure to work on a sound methodological basis. More precisely, this meant that he semantically equated the loss of male sexual ability, extending into biological impotence, with poor scholarship. This perspective shows how tightly the use of methods and sexual potency were intertwined as early as the late eighteenth century and how both were fixated on the male body. If the relaxation of the penis was seen as a threat, this implies the inherent coupling of academic work with male physiology. This understanding, conveying the idea that only men had sex drive and that this could be transformed into academic work, was significantly transmitted through the growing discourse on sexuality in the eighteenth century. Masculinity was based on sexuality, as Isabel Hull has established;[47] but, while according to the knowledge of the late

[44] Ibid. 13.

[45] Ibid. 12.

[46] Christian Begemann, 'Kunst und Liebe: Ein ästhetisches Produktionsmyologem zwischen Klassik und Realismus', in Michael Titzmann (ed.), *Zwischen Goethezeit und Realismus: Wandel und Spezifik in der Phase des Biedermeier* (Tübingen, 2002), 79–112, at 86.

[47] Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, NY, 1996), 245–6.

eighteenth-century women could indeed also feel sexual desire, they should be denied it on moral grounds.[48]

In his speech commemorating Barthold Georg Niebuhr, the founder of the University of Bonn, mentioned above, Sybel later argued along these lines when he articulated the unavoidable connection between historical criticism and, as he called it, a 'masculine maturity of culture' ('männliche Reife der Bildung').[49] In 1864 Sybel also established ties between this fairly abstract opinion and the actual practice of his discipline: this 'masculine maturity', he wrote, is necessary 'to allow us to balance imagination and reason, to prefer solid truth to the most pleasing fantasy, and to gain a solid picture of events as they really happened'.[50] In these sentences, Sybel dealt with the core of the methodical inventory of history, source criticism and the development of historical judgement. In his text, he was gendering these crucial methods by defining them as forming part of masculinity. Sybel emphasized this through the significance he attributed to characteristics indicating masculine maturity, such as 'conscious volition',[51] and 'reflective, critical, self-confident intellect.'[52]

In his speech entitled 'On the Rules of Historical Knowledge' he more or less implicitly framed the rule that historiography had to be masculine at the methodological level if was to be seen as a scientific enterprise. The result of this position became apparent when Sybel articulated his perception of medieval historiography: 'This era had no idea of historical judgement, no sense of historical reality, no hint of critical reflection.'[53] The lack of masculine maturity, which Sybel identified with his own age only, is directly connected here with medieval history's lack of scientific qualities.

Within the German branch of academic history there was no place for a positive evaluation of 'womanly qualities', as was the case among some German economists around the turn of the twentieth century whereby characteristics assumed to be female (such as sympathy and devotion), and even women researchers themselves, were

[48] Ibid. 251–2.

[49] Heinrich von Sybel, 'Ueber die Gesetze des historischen Wissens (1864)', in id., *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1874), 1–20, at 15.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid. 12.

[52] Ibid. 8.

[53] Ibid. 16.

seen as benefiting socio-economic studies.[54] But no such assessment was to be found in the self-descriptions of historians. Only operations understood as masculine were accepted as both proper and scientific. 'What makes the man also makes the historian',[55] wrote Hartwig Floto, one of the members of Ranke's seminar. A 'scientific' historian was so naturally considered masculine that maleness and the ability to be an historian were equated semantically—a way of thinking that, incidentally, was not limited to men. Emilie von Berlepsch, a female critic of Swiss history, herself preferred a historian to be a 'talented male'.[56]

Forms of gendering historical methods were acts of designation and naming, achieved by the aspects mentioned so far. They supported the German historical discipline's masculinization and brought the body into play. One of these examples is the letter, mentioned above, which the young Leopold Ranke wrote to Bettina von Arnim in 1828. The two had a short but intense relationship in Berlin, while he was one of the guests at her salon before he left to undertake his research. During his journey he missed her as a friend and possibly more. In this situation he experienced the sources he studied in the archives in Vienna as female objects, calling them 'beautiful princesses', that is, gendering and embodying them. 'You would never believe', Ranke wrote in his letter of February 1828, 'the weight of manuscripts still waiting for me, full of things worth knowing. Just think, perhaps beautiful princesses, all cursed and waiting to be disenchanted.'[57] It is possible that Ranke was merely trying to impress Arnim, whom he admired as a writer and a woman, but the metaphors quoted meant much more. Ranke did not restrict them either

[54] Marynel Ryan Van Zee, '"Womanly Qualities" and Contested Methodology: Gender and the Discipline of Economics in Late Imperial Germany', *Gender and History*, 22/2 (2010), 341–60.

[55] Hartwig Floto, *Ueber Historische Kritik: Akademische Antrittsrede, gehalten am 2. Mai in der Aula zu Basel* (Basel, 1856), 17.

[56] Emilie von Berlepsch, *Einige Bemerkungen zur richtigern Beurtheilung der erzwungenen Schweitzer-Revolution und Mallet du Pan's Geschichte derselben* (Leipzig, 1799), 55.

[57] Ranke, *Briefwerk*, 139. The entire passage in German reads as follows: 'Sie glauben nicht, welche Last von Manuskripten voll der wissenswürdigsten Sachen noch auf mich wartet. Denken Sie sich so viel, vielleicht schöne Prinzessinnen, alle verwünscht und zu erlösen'.

to conversations with her, or to his first research trip, but used this language again and again to frame his academic work. As mentioned at the beginning of this article, in a letter of 1827 to Heinrich Ritter, a university friend, he called the materials he was studying the 'object of his love', with whom he wished to have *Schäferstunden*, meaning intimate sexual relations;[58] in 1836 he wrote to his brother calling an archive a 'virgin' he was about to 'enter';[59] and in 1837 he notified Ludwig von Schorn, director of the Weimar art collection, that he had found 'arousing sources' ('Lust erregende Materialien').[60] This list covering a period of nearly ten years shows that Ranke's metaphors were not merely ephemeral, but formed part of his view of himself. Moreover, the elaborate expressions are striking, showing how important their content was to Ranke.

Images like those mentioned evoke an erotic relationship between men and historical sources. As regards the princesses and their mentioned curse and enchantment, to supplement Smith's persuasive interpretation of obsession and fetish,[61] behind Ranke's expression lay a significant narrative of gender and body norms derived from the German fairy-tale tradition that requires some unpacking. The Grimm brothers' well-known and influential compilation, *Children's and Household Tales*, was published in 1812–1815, followed by several early reprints at exactly the time when Ranke's letter was written. The compilation was not only widespread, but Ranke knew that his friend Arnim was in close contact with the Grimm brothers and their intellectual environment.[62]

In the fairy-tale context, Ranke's letter about his research invokes a masculine heterosexual fantasy. As the literature points out, erotic or sexual thoughts within fairy tales are almost always male fan-

[58] Ibid. 121.

[59] Ranke, *Neue Briefe*, 230.

[60] Ibid. 244.

[61] See Smith, 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History', 1165–75; and ead., *The Gender of History*, 116–29, who reads the 'princesses' and other quotations as an articulation of the astonishingly intense way in which archival study was done by obsessed professionals with a fetishistic love for their research.

[62] Note the dedication the Grimm brothers made to her. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm (eds.), *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen: Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm* (Berlin, 1812), iii.

tasies. They are produced by men and presented from a male perspective.[63] In the typical fairy-tale setting, an expectant, immature, dormant, virginal, and other-directed princess waits for a potent and sexually active, self-determined prince, described as the successful hero *par excellence*.[64] The associated body order empowered the heterosexual male body and provided sexualized perceptions of female availability and willingness; the image is of a masculine desire for penetration facing a female desire to be penetrated. This tendency was supported structurally by the fact that tales of disenchantment were geared to a marriage between prince and princess; in this sense, disenchantment, match-making, and the consummation of marriage (heterosexual penetration) were closely affiliated.[65] The idea of disenchantment, as another characteristic of the topoi of fairy tales, was related to a gender order based on the polarity of the sexes.[66] In Ranke's letter the male historian disenchanted the historical sources, identified as female; that is to say, he embodied an active-initiating role as against the passive-receptive role of the princesses, his material.

Effective archival research and the discovery of sources, which formed the core of nineteenth-century German academic historical activity,[67] were thus established as the bodily activities of heterosexual men. To hone this argument further, it could be said that saving

[63] Lutz Röhrich, 'Erotik, Sexualität', in Kurt Ranke (ed.), *Enzylopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung,* 15 vols. (Berlin, 1984), iv. 270; Wiebke Walther, 'Märchenprinzessinen in "Tausendundeiner Nacht"', in Frederick de Jong (ed.), *Verse and Fair Sex: Studies in Arabic Poetry and the Representation of Women in Arabic Literature* (Utrecht, 1993), 92–100, at 100.

[64] See Rainer Wehse, 'Prinz, Prinzessin', in Ranke (ed.), *Enzylopädie des Märchens*, (2002), x. 1311–19, for a critical collection of these general characteristics as well as their important exceptions and specifications.

[65] According to Röhrich, it would be totally out of character in a fairy tale if the prince was not interested in marrying the princess he had disenchanted. This is because the aim of disenchantment is to allow the marriage of the protagonists, who are typically depicted as being of marriageable age and to have reached sexual maturity. Lutz Röhrich, 'Erlösung', in Ranke (ed.), *Enzylopädie des Märchens*, iv. 204–5.

[66] Ibid. 204.

[67] See Friedrich Jaeger and Jörn Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus: Eine Einführung* (Munich, 1992), 19, 60; Stefan Jordan, *Geschichtstheorie in der ersten*

archival material from obscurity, which was the essence of professional historiography, was masculinized and heterosexualized by Ranke. From his point of view, it seems that he felt it was appropriate to use imagery which identified historical research with men and included the idea of sexual intercourse. Given that he used his seminar to broadcast this understanding of archival research to his disciplinary offspring,[68] as he saw them, it was quite influential. These examples thus illustrate the transfer of gender and body norms from outside the academic space into the practice of the historical discipline, and the heterosexualization of the historical realm.

Johann Gustav Droysen, Ranke's Berlin colleague, also displayed an obsession with the sexualization of professional history in his *Historik* of 1857. In the first section of his methodological *magnum opus* he describes the development of historical questions as 'conception through copulation' ('Empfängnis in der Begattung'),[69] that is, he describes history in terms of biological procreation and physical action. Although Droysen does not explain this phrase, it is highly instructive. It shows how ambiguous the discipline's masculinization was in this specific case, as it reintroduces the female body. As there is no further discussion, this impression cannot be repudiated at the textual level. But Droysen denied his discipline to women by defining it through activeness and creative process,[70] and by advocating an androcentric view of history.[71] Rather than making women a crucial part of history against this background, it is more likely that he merged the meaning and vocabulary of sexual reproduction and intellectual work by men, in line with a long tradition of interpreting

Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Die Schwellenzeit zwischen Pragmatismus und Klassischem Historismus (Frankfurt/M., 1999), 88–90.

[68] Smith describes this seminar as a 'centerpiece of disciplinary power'. Smith, 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History', 1175.

[69] Johann Gustav Droysen, *Historik*, vol. i: *Rekonstruktion der ersten vollständigen Fassungen der Vorlesung (1857), Grundriß der Historik in der ersten handschriftlichen (1857/1858) und der letzten gedruckten Fassung (1882)*, ed. Peter Leyh (Stuttgart, 1977), 108.

[70] For one of the rare feminist readings of Droysen see Hannelore Cyrus, *Historische Akkuratesse und soziologische Phantasie: Eine Methodologie feministischer Forschung* (Königstein/Taunus, 1997), 24.

[71] Falko Schnicke, *Prinzipien der Entindividualisierung: Theorie und Praxis biographischer Studien bei Johann Gustav Droysen* (Cologne, 2010), 72–95.

reaching back to Socrates.[72] Droysen's understanding of the historical question as a 'grain for new growth' ('Samenkorn eines neuen Wachstums'),[73] which—in a mixed and inconsistent understanding—was for him derived from an 'embryonic beginning' ('embryonische[r] Anfang')[74] is further evidence for this view.

This type of language was not novel among historians, who were familiar with it from the legal sphere.[75] We can see here that the language of conception was used to shape not only legal discourse but also the historical discipline, and thus formed a successful basis for gender and body politics. Using words such as 'conception', 'copulation', and 'embryonic' to depict his work, Droysen symbolically connected academic history with the historian's body and the semen originating from his sexual organs. This interpretation is supported by other German historians producing similar metaphors in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. In a letter of 1860 Sybel compared his correspondent's infants with his academic articles, which he called his 'intellectual children'.[76] In the late 1830s Georg Gottfried Gervinus, a leading literary and political historian, had already called a methodological error made by a (male) historian in his manual on history a 'miscarriage'.[77] History was sexualized to the exclusion of women, highlighting men's bodies and men's sexual capacities.

Practices of exclusion could also be used by one male historian against another in conflicts about power and authority. Thus Droysen criticized Ranke for his belief that a historian should discount his own political and personal convictions in his work, and argued instead that scientific history was only feasible if the historian was open about his own political beliefs. In this debate about the

[72] For more details on this see Christian Begemann, 'Der Körper des Autors: Autorschaft als Zeugung und Geburt im diskursiven Feld der Genieästhetik', in Heinrich Detering (ed.), *Autorschaft: Positionen und Revisionen* (Stuttgart, Weimar, 2002), 44–61.

[73] Droysen, *Historik*, 107.

[74] Ibid. 106.

[75] See e.g. Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

[76] Heinrich von Sybel and Eduard Zeller, *Briefwechsel (1849–1895)*, ed. Margret Lemberg (Marburg, 2004), 292–3.

[77] Georg Gottfried Gervinus, 'Grundzüge der Historik' (1837), in id., *G. G. Gervinus Leben: Von ihm selbst 1860*, ed. J[ulius] K[eller] (Leipzig, 1893), 353–96, at 360.

historian's stance (a debate which was crucial for defining what history as a scientific discipline could be, and which was by no means limited to these two men[78]) Droysen called Ranke 'a big talent and a small man'.[79] He carried this gender degradation to extremes by publicly describing his opponent's ideal of objectivity as 'worthy of a eunuch' ('eunuchisch') in his lectures.[80] This suggested that the lack of a political stance meant a lack of virility, and thus of the ability to undertake historical research. As German society in general excluded homosexual masculinities,[81] the emerging historical discipline obviously did the same. Droysen's serious attack might also have been an expression of differences within the discipline. Distinct understandings of the nature of historical research, connected with a generational conflict, were expressed by highlighting different masculinities.

This example indicates that defining the German historical discipline as masculine did not mean that this process took place without any conflicts among male historians. And these internal conflicts could be tough. Although there have been a few important, respected, and politically influential eunuchs in history (including rare outstanding functionaries at the courts of antiquity),[82] the use of this term with reference to Ranke discredited both his professional work and his person. The act and effect of the (symbolic) castration went far beyond a simple cultural de-masculinization; it again targeted the male scholar's body.

In his letters Ranke presented the heterosexual, active man as one who could treat (and even 'penetrate') archival sources properly, but Droysen denied him this status. Eunuchs, a topic familiar to Droysen

[78] For more context see, among others, Gunter Berg, *Leopold von Ranke als akademischer Lehrer: Studien zu seinen Vorlesungen und seinem Geschichtsdenken* (Göttingen, 1968), 104–218; Reinhart Koselleck, Wolfgang J. Mommsen, and Jörn Rüsen (eds.), *Objektivität und Parteilichkeit in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Munich, 1977).

[79] Johann Gustav Droysen, *Briefwechsel*, vol. i: *1829–1851*, ed. Rudolf Hübner (Osnabrück, 1967), 333.

[80] Droysen, *Historik*, 236.

[81] Mosse, *The Image of Men*, 45.

[82] Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge, 1980), 172–96; Dirk Schlinkert, 'Der Hofeunuch in der Spätantike: Ein gefährlicher Außenseiter?', *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*, 122/3 (1994), 342–59; Peter Guyot, 'Eunuchen', in Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, 18 vols. (Stuttgart, 1998), iv. 257–8.

from his research on Greek antiquity,[83] represented a double disparagement for men. First, they were household slaves, whose duties originally included looking after their master's bed-chamber and taking care of children.[84] Second, their effeminate and androgynous status meant that eunuchs were associated with homosexuality and same-sex intimacy because they were used as catamites (for example, by Alexander the Great).[85] In both cases, eunuchs as castrated men were no longer accepted as fully-fledged males acting out their (hetero-)sexual potency and were reduced to the status and work traditionally reserved for women.[86] Cultural differences dividing the world into separate men's and women's spheres were annihilated as the result of a male body that was, in fact, only slightly modified.

What we can learn from this example is that masculinity and sound male bodies were the standard of history, and that it was possible to carry out scientific disputes by invoking masculinity in the nineteenth century. But although science in general and scientific history in particular was a field in which men could perform their masculinity, it exposed them to some risks too. As Bourdieu said, in this sense men 'are also prisoners, and insidiously victims, of the dominant representation'.[87] Gender is a useful category for the analysis of historical power hierarchies going beyond an overt male–female division. While no women were involved (but the idea of femininity, as castrated manhood, was), images of gendered bodies were nevertheless deliberately used to promote one man over another, and to undermine the social status of one's opponent. Criticism of scholarship that was considered wrong, as in the case of Ranke, could be followed by the intentional debasement of the male scholar's body-based gender—or at least by a serious challenge to it.

In sum, the second type of body politics used in defining history as an academic discipline was to refer to male bodies directly (instrumentalizing masculinity). Male bodies continued to be the model but, unlike the instrumentalization of femininity, the first type of body

[83] See the introduction to Johann Gustav Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (Berlin, 1833).

[84] Guyot, 'Eunuchen', 257–8.

[85] Ibid. 257.

[86] For the loss of what was understood as real or proper masculinity see the discussion of countertypes in Mosse, *The Image of Men*, 56–76.

[87] Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 49.

politics described in this article, they were described in terms of both positive and negative characteristics based on accepted ideals of masculinity. Because historical methods were one of the major aspects of the emerging discipline, it is no surprise that they were used to address this. The proper accomplishment of the discipline's needs was seen to be the task of heterosexual men as an expression of masculine dominance in the academic discipline of history, and in general as a result of symbolic violence, in the words of Bourdieu.[88] The scientific body had to be purely masculine in a specific sense, that is, potent and procreative.

What made this second type of body politics political was the increasing masculinization of the discipline. This gendering of the discipline was, like the first, binary, but was no longer based on an explicit opposition between femininity and masculinity, but on conflicts within masculinities. Of course, as we have seen in the example of Droysen's 'eunuch' jibe above, these conflicts might reference femininity in order to highlight the status of different types of masculinity, but this remained implicit. The first result of this shift was that female bodies were no longer invoked in this process, not even as negative examples. And second, the connection between masculinity and scientific history was spelled out, as some masculinities (active heterosexual masculinity) were defined as more academic than others (castrated masculinity).

III. *'Our History is Men's History' (Institutions)*

The discussion so far illustrates that history was, above all, culturally defined as body-related and masculine by the historians of the long nineteenth century. This can be demonstrated with reference to a statement made by Otto von Gierke, a professor of law, in 1897: 'Our universities are men's universities',[89] he said, just as 'our history is men's history'. This related to both knowledge production and institutional practices within history as an academic field. It is there-

[88] Ibid. 38: 'Symbolic force is a form of power that is exerted on bodies, directly and as if by magic, without any physical constraint; but this magic works only on the basis of the dispositions deposited, like springs, at the deepest level of the body.'

[89] Kirchhoff (ed.), *Die Akademische Frau*, 23.

fore not surprising that there was not a single historian in Kirchhoff's edited volume who unreservedly supported the admission of women to university. In their statements, one of the four historians was against female students, while three were undecided, which meant that they would allow women to study only in very rare, exceptional cases. In other disciplines the proportions were more in favour of the general admission of women.[90] Given the increasing acceptance of at least the idea of female students from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards,[91] this fairly limited insight illustrates the historical discipline's particularly conservative disposition by comparison with other subjects.

This was expressed in those institutions that shaped history. Apart from the the use of anthropology by historians and historical methods, the perception of these institutions was conducive to establishing the German historical discipline as a gendered and embodied academic subject. Once again, the argument concerning the admission of women to universities is an instructive source. Heinrich von Treitschke, Ranke's successor in Berlin and one of the most outspoken opponents of female students, refused to accept that the 'masculine educational institutions',[92] meaning the existing universities, should tolerate an 'invasion by the skirt'.[93] Treitschke ignored academic studies by women, which meant that they had no opportunity to become professional historians. In his opinion, this would not have been appropriate to the natural status of women. He was able to see only 'sophistry' with 'dirty consequences' in the ideas of the women's movement.[94] This position was not motivated by any scientific or intellectual interest. It was purely political, but nevertheless influential in terms of defining the institutions in which the discipline was housed, and the kinds of bodies that they could have in them.

[90] Karin Hausen, 'Warum Männer Frauen zur Wissenschaft nicht zulassen wollten', in ead. and Helga Nowotny (eds.), *Wie männlich ist die Wissenschaft?* (Frankfurt/M., 1986), 31–40, at 33.

[91] Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education* (Stanford, Calif., 2003).

[92] Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politik: Vorlesungen gehalten an der Universität zu Berlin*, ed. Max Cornicelius, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1899), i. 258.

[93] Ibid. 252.

[94] Ibid. 240.

The violation or transgressing of borders was not to be tolerated in this context, as Treitschke's disciplinary control documented. The *Berliner Tageblatt* reported one day in 1896 that he had halted his lecture when he discovered that a female student had forced her way into the room. In response not least to the wide-ranging social and economic changes taking place in German society as a whole, the women's movement, insisting on equal educational rights, confronted the historical discipline with hitherto unknown challenges, such as women appearing at lectures. Reactions were mostly defensive; Treitschke did not start speaking again until, offering her his arm, he had escorted the woman out of the lecture room,[95] accompanied, as one of the students later reported, 'by the stamping of her [male] fellow students',[96] the common way of applauding at that time. Although historians such as Hans Delbrück in Berlin and Theodor Lindner in Halle accepted women in their seminars (although only a small number of supposedly 'exceptional' women),[97] true academics (in their own view) such as Treitschke and his male students used their bodies to mark the limits of their profession physically in order to avoid what they feared would be the 'twilight of the amateurish', as Herta Nagl-Docekal puts it.[98]

Treitschke's consistency of behaviour on the one hand and the students' reactions on the other regulated the discipline's collective body. It was not only Treitschke who deployed his body to exclude other bodies from doing history; so, too, did the male students who physically supported him. Instead of metaphors, here real physical behaviour reconstituted a disciplinary homogenous collective male body disturbed by a female student. Although open to everyone in principle, lectures as the crucial method for teaching history were thus corporeally defined and secured as a masculine practice for which masculine bodies were the tools.

[95] Richard Wulckow, 'Die Erschwerung des Frauenstudiums an der Berliner Universität', *Berliner Tageblatt: Montagsausgabe*, 6 June 1896.

[96] Theodor Spitta, *Aus meinem Leben: Bürger und Bürgermeister in Bremen* (Munich, 1969), 151–2.

[97] Kirchhoff (ed.), *Die Akademische Frau*, 187–8.

[98] Herta Nagl-Docekal, 'Für eine geschlechtergeschichtliche Perspektivierung der Historiographiegeschichte', in Wolfgang Küttler, Jörn Rüsen, and Ernst Schulin (eds.), *Geschichtsdiskurs*, vol. i: *Grundlagen und Methoden der Historiographiegeschichte* (Frankfurt/M., 1993), 233–56, at 249.

Treitschke was prepared to act this way since the female student who attended his lecture was neither the first nor the only woman to whom he actively denied excess to academic schooling. Other students, such as Helene Stöcker and Hildegard Wegscheider, had also applied to attend his courses in the 1890s. Treitschke refused them personally; these are only two of the women who wrote autobiographies outlining their experiences.[99] At the time, such practice was in line with the law; in 1886 the Prussian education secretary had issued a statement confirming that women were forbidden from attending university lectures.[100] And a law introduced ten years later, allowing women access to universities as guest students, gave (male) academic teachers the final decision as to who could attend.[101] Treitschke obviously regularly acted as a gatekeeper, as did many other professors throughout Prussia.[102] While this way of handling the situation was effective in the sense that the male collective body was maintained, it exposed the discipline's reactionary orientation as Treitschke tried to restore a *status quo ante* that was about to change. The change announced itself loudly in the presence of the female intruder.

Treitschke, however, continued to express his understanding of the historical discipline by invoking the traditional social structure of the university. Sustaining cultural othering, that is, the banishing of women into a separate sphere, Treitschke asserted that the admission of women would adulterate the character of universities. In his view, universities were not merely institutions of higher education but places of comradeship, which he held to be extremely important for

[99] Helene Stöcker, '[Lebenslauf. 1939]', *Ariadne: Almanach des Archivs der Deutschen Frauenbewegung*, 5 (1986), [1]–[6], at [3]; Hildegard Wegscheider, *Weite Welt im engen Spiegel: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1953), 31.

[100] 'Nichtzulassung von Personen weiblichen Geschlechts zu den Vorlesungen an den Universitäten', *Centralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung in Preußen*, 28 (1886), 620–1.

[101] 'Zulassung von Frauen zum gastweisen Besuche von Universitätsvorlesungen', *Centralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung in Preußen,* 38 (1896), 567.

[102] Ilse Costas, 'Von der Gasthörerin zur voll immatrikulierten Studentin: Die Zulassung von Frauen in den deutschen Bundesstaaten 1900–1909', in Traude Maurer (ed.), *Der Weg an die Universität: Höhere Frauenstudien vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2010), 191–210, at 209.

the development of young men.[103] Treitschke's serious interest in maintaining this situation was documented in the argument he used against Stöcker. In her memoir, she reported his comment that 'German universities have been exclusively for men for half a millennium and I will not help to destroy them'.[104] Thus Treitschke kept the masculine culture of his discipline stable. But it was the same pattern again, because at the same time he emphasized how unstable he felt this culture was. His comment offered an insight into the anxiety and insecurity he felt about any challenge to the discipline's status. He reacted in the way he did, not because he saw the male discipline as sacrosanct, but rather because he perceived it to be under threat.

Other—more liberal—colleagues shared his views. The opinion that history should be reserved for men was widely held among professional German historians during the nineteenth century. Delbrück, for example, explained how the social and and scientific character of universities would change if women were to be admitted. As he was not in favour of female students attending universities in future he, along with others such as Treitschke,[105] suggested physically separate universities for women, so that men's universities would not be affected.[106] Obviously, suggesting women-only universities was not the same as excluding women from the historical discipline. Yet the positions were closely connected. This was paradoxical as, if realized, this new type of university would have meant a substantial step forward for women's higher education, with the support of conservative historians. This idea was raised during the modernization of Imperial Germany, an era of rapid transitions in terms of how people lived, worked, and saw the world.[107] It was also part of the late nineteenth-century cultural criticism popular among historians who claimed that modernity would cause the downfall of German culture.[108] Their support was intended to express that at

[103] Treitschke, *Politik*, 252.

[104] Helene Stöcker, cited in Christl Wickert, *Helene Stöcker 1869–1943: Frauenrechtlerin, Sexualreformerin und Pazifistin. Eine Biographie* (Bonn, 1991), 27.

[105] Treitschke, *Politik*, 257.

[106] Kirchhoff (ed.), *Die Akademische Frau*, 187.

[107] For an overview of Germany around 1900 see Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2014), 25–67.

[108] Johannes Heinßen, *Historismus und Kulturkritik: Studien zur deutschen Geschichtskultur im späten 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2003).

times of change, the education sector also had to change in order to secure the historical discipline's msculine character. This again demonstrated how vulnerable this male status was perceived to be by the historians themselves.

To gain a deeper understanding of the body politics which formed the discipline's way of conceptualizing itself through institutions, it is necessary to take the practices of historical seminars into consideration. They were a crucial element in this context because they were a place for developing masculinity as well as collective identities and academic comradeship, as we have seen.[109] Responsible for gendering the historian's anthropology and historical methods paradigmatically, as described above, these aspects of 'male citizenship'[110] were extremely important from the second third of the nineteenth century onwards, the time when the historical seminars emerged.

With regard to body politics, two points are crucial. First, these seminars were institutions for practising historical methods within a group of male peers under a master's guidance. These groups came about selectively, as they were strictly limited to young men only,[111] chosen by an entrance test consisting of an informal interview, as in the case of Ranke. For those students who survived this gatekeeping ritual, the male network to which they gained access was extremely helpful and supportive. They familiarized themselves with specific historical approaches by way of personal advice and theoretical and practical training, comprising regular exercises evaluated by the group and Ranke himself. One student, none other than Jacob Burckhardt, noted that only the seminar could clarify for him what historical criticism meant.[112] Members used the seminars to prepare publications based on document-related work and the interrogation

[109] Smith, 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History', 1153–64; ead., *The Gender of History*, 105–16.

[110] Smith, 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History', 1163.

[111] According to Berg, *Leopold von Ranke als akademischer Lehrer*, 54, on average five to ten students attended, sometimes even just three and, only once, eighteen.

[112] Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe: Vollständige und kritisch bearbeitete Ausgabe*, vol. i: *Jugend und Schulzeit, erste Reisen nach Italien, Studium in Neuenburg, Basel, Berlin und Bonn 1818 bis Mai 1843*, ed. Max Burckhardt (Wiesbaden, 1949), 157–8.

of sources on a wide range of themes.[113] The very first words of Sybel's book on the First Crusade, for example, were devoted to the source criticism practised in Ranke's seminar, where the major sources had been studied by Sybel and his group in 1837.[114] Others, too, benefited in the same way, and published joint articles in journals.[115] Since these benefits resulted from the physical presence of the male students at the seminar, the statements quoted here about the historian's qualities and masculine methods were institutionalized through the inclusion of certain bodies and neglect of others. Like the archives and libraries that denied access to women, these seminars set up a connection between proper scientific tools and male bodies, disqualifying females and those masculine bodies that were not able to attend the seminars (for example, working-class men).

The historical seminar was also a quantitatively significant factor. Out of the total of 481 students Berg was able to identify in his study on Ranke as an academic teacher, 279 were participants in his seminar. Many came from abroad, but there was not a single woman among them (as far as this can be deduced from the partly abbreviated form in which first names were given).[116] Among the participants were many outstanding historians who later became famous, including Burckhardt, Wilhelm Dilthey, Alfred Dove, Maximilan Duncker, Sybel, and Georg Waitz. This list shows how successful the training within a male peer group was. Ranke's seminar was the model for the seminars which his former students established when they had earned their own professorships. This was the case with Waitz and Sybel,[117] who borrowed the practice of teaching in the mas-

[113] For a selection of dated topics discussed in Ranke's seminars see Berg, *Leopold von Ranke als akademischer Lehrer*, 53.

[114] Heinrich von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. iii–iv.

[115] Smith, 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History', 1156.

[116] For the whole list, which as the author states may display only a third of the real number, see Berg, *Leopold von Ranke als akademischer Lehrer*, 222–42.

[117] Alfred Dove, 'Ranke: Leopold v. R.', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Commission bei der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (reprint Berlin, 1970), xxvii., 259; Volker Dotterweich, *Heinrich von Sybel: Geschichtswissenschaft in politischer Absicht (1817–1861)* (Göttingen, 1978), 255–8.

ter's home as well as his preference for a limited number of attendees.[118]

In his own view, their success gave Ranke the idea that, in addition to his real family, he had created a new, academic one in the form of his seminar, which he called his 'great historical family'.[119] The word seminar is etymologically linked to breeding but, in addition, this idea is body-related in that Ranke directly referred to the image of his intellectual pupils as his sexually conceived children similar to biological ones. As early as 1840 he had written to tell Sybel, one of the first members of his seminar, how happy he was that the 'semen' ('Same') he, Ranke, had 'supplied' had had such a successful result, meaning Sybel.[120] Family used as a metaphor in this context evokes the picture of a male society reproducing itself without any women, which fits Droysen's approach to his discipline as a mixture of intellectual and reproductive work. In this sense, having no daughters was not a problem or a symptom of a dysfunctional family; on the contrary, it was in line with the notion of a naturally male discipline and the idea of symbolic male parthenogenesis that historians believed in. Ranke's highly influential 'family', as he imagined his seminar, produced not only individual historians, but to some extent the whole discipline, which is why it was called the 'nursery of German historiography'.[121]

Thus the German historical discipline consisted of male bodies constituting the core of the discipline (training methods, discussion of sources, an interconnection between individual and group work, preparation of publications). And, what is more, the discipline owed its future existence to these bodies; its institutionalization and organization depended on them. Historical seminars must therefore be acknowledged as a crucial instrument in the embodiment of masculine domination in historical theory and practice. Their institutional status was accomplished and guaranteed by a certain kind of body politics—the third type of body politics investigated here—that was

[118] Ibid. 257, 264.

[119] Leopold von Ranke, 'Beim funfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum. 20. Februar 1867', in Alfred Dove and Theodor Wiedemann (eds.), *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. li/lii: *Anhandlungen und Versuche* (Leipzig, 1888), 587–91, at 587.

[120] Ranke, *Briefwerk*, 305.

[121] Otto von Heinemann, *Aus vergangenen Tagen: Lebenserinnerungen in Umrissen und Ausführungen* (Wolfenbüttel, 1902), 111.

enmeshed with a transformation into practice (implementation). Unlike the previously mentioned types of body politics (instrumentalizing femininity and instrumentalizing masculinity), this did not remain in the rhetorical and symbolic realm, but transferred the masculine definition of the discipline into a physical application. The political dimension of this bodily habitus was that it created a space exclusively for certain masculinities and tried to secure it from gender equality, or at least competition. The body politics implemented here was based on the first two forms of body politics discussed above, but unlike them, it produced its own reality of a gendered discipline by physical and corporeal actions. Male bodies were used to mark borders, as in the case of Treitschke and his students, or established an institutional tradition based on a patriarchal logic and the exclusion of women, as in the case of the seminars. Body politics of this kind was realized by the presence of real bodies at the same time and at the same place, and by the common activities that they were involved in, and established the 'masculine marketplace of knowledge'.[122] This third type of body politics could thus be described as the embodiment and physical realization of masculine dominance within the discipline, not as the necessary result of the body politics previously explored, but as their plausible consequence.

IV. *Conclusion: A Resistant Masculine Realm*

The aim of this article has been to deepen our understanding of how the German historical discipline was defined as masculine and what role the body played as a medium for this process. The article has offered insights into the complexity and contradictions of the process, focusing not on the simple fact that the German historical discipline was established as a male enterprise, but rather on the specific way in which this was achieved.

First, I showed that the subject's masculinization was a complex occurrence, involving different disciplinary elements. The three investigated here are the ideas of anthropology, historical methods, and institutional practices; the discipline was gendered in more ways than

[122] Smith, 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History', 1160.

the basic fact that most historians were men. Second, the article reveals the body as the vehicle of the discipline's masculinization. Late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians addressed different types of bodies. To define academic history as masculine, they referred to sources which were metaphorically described (and therefore gendered) as female bodies—passive, available objects of which the male historian could take possession. By contrast, masculine and collective bodies were seen as reflecting the discipline's scientific approach, yet were at the same time perceived to be endangered and vulnerable, as the examples of Möser and Treitschke show. In addition, the case of the gendered rivalry between Droysen and Ranke about what historical scholarship meant in a scientific context highlights the potential of gendered body images even for male-only conflicts.

Each of the disciplinary elements (anthropology, methods, institutions) discussed explains the connection between society and scholarship and demonstrates how gendered bodies carried cultural and disciplinary meanings. At the same time it becomes clear that the historians' claim that history must be masculine in order to be scientific did not always reflect a position of strength. It was sometimes a defensive reaction to certain aspects of modernization, such as liberalization in general, or the women's movement in particular.

In the material investigated, I have demonstrated different body politics which shaped the discipline: first, the anthropological disdain for female bodies and the exaltation of male ones by defining them *ex negativo* as academic (instrumentalizing femininity); second, the designation of heterosexual male bodies as the only adequate ones for historical practice, including the challenging of others perceived to be less virile or masculine (instrumentalizing masculinity); and third, the transformation of this language into physical practices (implementation).

Accordingly, the scientization of the German historical discipline from the late eighteenth century on, sustained through disciplinary changes, perpetuated the professionalization and inclusion of modern gender norms and related body politics. Gender norms and related body politics became an essential part of the discipline and achieved a fundamental impact on its definition so that scientific positions within history were 'themselves . . . sexually characterized, and characterizing',[123] relying both on language and body actions.

[123] Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 96.

Because this language and these actions were repeated time and again, it is possible to read the passages and behaviour discussed as an expression of a certain habitus. With minor innovations over the years, they formed a mind-set which has been reproduced not only in the works of the cited historians but also by all groups of historians within the German historical discipline—even opposing ones, as the confrontation between Droysen and Ranke indicates. What is more, this was passed down from one (academic) generation to another, as this article's broad timescale shows.

Referring to the habitus asserts the central importance of gender and body knowledge within the discipline clearly in three ways. It is, first, possible to dissolve the paradox by which unconsidered, implicit knowledge is established as canonical disciplinary knowledge. Second, the habitus helps us to understand that the quotations included in this essay were neither spontaneous nor accidental statements. And third, it is possible to discern a widespread consistency among nineteenth-century German historians.

The almost homogenous social background of professional historians in this period,[124] corresponds to an almost homogenous habitus, which Bourdieu explains as habitual orchestration affecting almost constant perceptions, appreciations, and actions: 'The objective homogenizing of group . . . habitus, resulting from the homogeneity of the conditions of existence, is what enables practices to be objectively harmonized without any intentional calculation . . . and mutually adjusted "in the absence of any direct interaction".'[125] In addition to the similar social background, an (almost) homogenous habitus became more and more likely as the assimilating power of academia, generated by the progressive professionalization of scientific history,

[124] As prosopographical research has shown, historians tended to be recruited from the Protestant, educated middle classes, and were socialized in an urban environment. They had a father employed as a (senior) officer, clergyman, teacher, or professor, were educated at humanistic secondary schools, studied at Protestant Prussian universities, and pursued a career path comprising assistantships, *Habilitation*, assistant professorship, and, eventually, full professorship. Wolfgang Weber, *Priester der Klio: Historisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Studien zur Herkunft und Karriere deutscher Historiker und zur Geschichte der Geschichtswissenschaft 1800–1970* (Frankfurt/M., 1987), 59–187.
[125] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 80.

increased.[126] The body order we have observed, affecting the German historical discipline's very core, was, therefore, part of a general repertoire of knowledge covering gender and body hierarchies within the subject. As a 'structured structure', the habitus of historians of the long nineteenth century also functioned as a 'structuring structure', thereby reproducing itself.[127] In this respect, the language and actions developing and ensuring the primacy of masculinity in the German historical discipline's self-description were based not on spontaneity but on systematic rules. In sum, at a time when changing family lives, increased mobility, expanded urbanization, technology, and, of course, the movement for women's independence were causing former securities to be lost, German historians tried to create their discipline as a resistant masculine realm. The body played its part in this, supposedly offering stability on the basis that nature was, allegedly, unchangeable.

[126] Sebastian Manhart, *In den Feldern des Wissens: Studiengang, Fach und disziplinäre Semantik in den Geschichts- und Staatswissenschaften (1780–1869)* (Würzburg, 2011).

[127] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 54: 'Through the economic and social necessity that they bring to bear on the relatively autonomous world of the domestic economy and family relations, or more precisely, through the specifically familial manifestations of this external necessity (forms of the division of labour between the sexes, household objects, modes of consumptions, parent–child relations, etc.), the structures characterizing a determinate class of conditions of existence produce the structure of the "habitus", which in their turn are the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences.'

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