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Teachers of Eparchial Women's Schools in the Ukrainian Provinces of the Russian Empire, Second Half of the 19th to Early 20th Centuries: A Collective Portrait

Annotation: The article offers a collective portrait of the teachers of eparchial women's schools in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire in the second half of 19th to early 20th centuries. The main characteristics of this group are analyzed, including educational level, length of work, specializations and subjects taught, salaries, and gender makeup. The study draws on the database *Teachers of Mandatory Subjects in Eparchial Women's Schools*, compiled by the author.

Keywords: eparchial women's schools, history of education, teachers, collective portrait, education, database, women teachers.

Nauczyciele diecezjalnych szkół żeńskich w guberniach ukraińskich Imperium Rosyjskiego, drugiej połowy XIX i na początku XX wieku: portret zbiorowy

Streszczenie: Artykuł przedstawia zbiorowy portret nauczycieli diecezjalnych szkół żeńskich w guberniach ukraińskich Imperium Rosyjskiego w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku. Analizie poddano główne cechy tej grupy, w tym poziom wykształcenia, staż pracy, specjalizacje i nauczone przedmioty, wynagrodzenia oraz strukturę płci. W opracowaniu wykorzystano opracowaną przez autorkę bazę danych nauczycieli przedmiotów obowiązkowych w diecezjalnych szkołach żeńskich.

Słowa kluczowe: diecezjalne szkoły żeńskie, historia oświaty, nauczycielki, portret zbiorowy, edukacja, baza danych.

In 1843, the first school for girls of clerical rank opened in Tsarskoe Selo. It became a model for clerical institutions of women's education across the Russian Empire. In 1913, 74 such schools were in operation, with a total enrollment of about 25,000 students¹. One of the most important turning points in their history is associated with the empire-wide transformations of the 1860s and 1870s. The great reforms of these years gave a push to social modernization. Industrialization and the expansion of civil society opened up new spheres of activity for all citizens. The socio-economic conditions, demographic behavior, and attitude towards women's education were all changing, which in turn encouraged young girls to pursue secondary and higher education in order to 'earn their daily bread'. Amidst all these developments, the Church did not remain a passive observer but made efforts to keep up with the times. Institutions of clerical education began to move away from the estate principle. Eparchial schools, among others, required and underwent changes to remain competitive with other forms of women's education. Beginning in 1868, they opened their doors not only to members of the clerical estate, but also to girls from other social groups. Eparchial women's schools were an important link in the system of women's education in the Russian Empire during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, as they played a significant role in the process of women's emancipation and integration into society, which was rapidly changing throughout this period.

The following article focuses on teachers of eparchial women's schools in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire as a professional group and aims to present their collective portrait. We analyze this group based on such characteristics as level of education, gender makeup, specialization, length of work, full- or part-time employment, and more, and propose to compare it with the teaching corps of women's gymnasiums and theological seminaries.

The efficiency and success of the educational process always hinges on the cooperation of two actors – the teacher and the student. The study of eparchial school teachers can deepen our understanding of the character and operation of these institutions and their place in the history of Ukrainian education. However, this professional 'corporation' has never been the focus of specialized research, and some of the scholarly statements on this subject have been contradictory and unfounded.

Researchers of the 19th and early 20th centuries made a significant contribution to the study of eparchial women's schools in the Russian Empire. Works were published on the history of these institutions in general and on a number of individual schools. However, the accent in such studies was on indentifying the principal milestones in the history of eparchial women's schools and describing their curriculum. Works of this period are also characterized by the predominance of factual material over analysis, since most of them were written by amateur historians who taught in these institutions or served as their principals or trustees. The teaching staff of eparchial schools was studied very little at this time, save for a few press articles on the financial plight of eparchial teachers².

¹ Российский государственный исторический архив (РГИА), ф. 802, оп. 11, д. 80, О реформе епархиальных женских училищ, л. 2 об.

² *Забутые училища, „Церковные ведомости”, 1905, № 51-52, с. 1606-1607; Забутый уголок (К вопросу о положении учебно-воспитательного персонала в епархиальных женских училищах),*

Soviet historiography ignored this subject almost completely. Problems of women's education were considered mainly in connection with the participation of women in the revolutionary movement. The history of clerical women's education remained outside the sphere of interests of Soviet researchers for many decades³.

The modern historiography of eparchial women's schools is still in its infancy and is represented by a few works on the development of these educational institutions in different parts of Ukraine, most often giving a basic outline of their history or discussing the educational process⁴. Unfortunately, such works sometimes feature unverified statements about the teaching staff of eparchial schools. Thus, historian H. V. Stepanenko, in her very detailed analysis of the evolution of the educational process in eparchial schools after the introduction of the 1868 statute, noted that all eparchial teachers necessarily had undergraduate degrees⁵, which is not correct. However, there are also works that mark important first steps in the exploration of various aspects of the educational process in eparchial schools, their student body and the everyday life of eparchial girls, and other subjects⁶. They point to promising avenues for the study of teachers of eparchial women's schools and introduce new statistical data on this professional group.

Socio-professional groups can be analyzed using a variety of methods, including with the help of prosopographic databases, the compilation of which has become very popular in recent years. However, many such databases for the early modern and modern eras mainly focus on the biographies of individuals in power. The first collective portrait of a category of teachers in Ukrainian historiography based on a prosopographic database was created by Liudmyla Posokhova, who studied the faculty of Ukraine's Orthodox collegiums in the 18th century⁷.

„Русская школа“, 1912, № 2, s. 84-97; К 30-летию существования епархиального женского училищ, „Церковные ведомости“, 1897, № 44, s. 1595-1597; К вопросу о нуждах епархиальных женских училищ, „Образование“, 1894, № 5-6, s. 512-521; К вопросу о штатных преподавателях в епархиальных женских училищах, „Церковный вестник“, 1897, № 35, s. 1105-1109.

³ *Очерки истории школы и педагогической мысли СССР (вторая половина XIX века)* / Отв. ред. А. И. Пискунов, Москва 1978; *Очерки истории школы и педагогической мысли СССР (конец XIX – начало XX века)* / Отв. ред. Э. Д. Днепров, Москва 1991.

⁴ В. А. Добровольська, *Навчання в епархіальних жіночих училищах Півдня України у другій половині XIX – на початку XX століття*, „Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка“, 2008, вип. 3, s. 54-59; К. Корнієнко, *Організація навчального процесу в епархіальних жіночих училищах (на матеріалах лівобережної України)*, „Вісник Чернігівського національного педагогічного університету: збірник. Серія: Історичні науки“, 2012, № 9, s. 165-168; К. Кияшко, *Реорганізація епархіальних жіночих училищ згідно зі Статутом 1868 року*, „Сіверянський літопис“, 2013, № 3, s. 86-90; Л. М. Моїсеєнко, *Епархіальне училище міста Маріуполя*, „Нові сторінки історії Донбасу: 36 статей“, 2003, s. 223-229; І. В. Сесак, *Жіночі духовні училища православного відомства на Поділлі у другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст.*, „Освіта, наука і культура на Поділлі. Збірник наукових праць“, 2007, s. 249-254; А. В. Святенко, *Становлення та розвиток жіночих духовних училищ на Правобережній Україні: друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.*, „Вісник Національної академії керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв“, 2013, № 3, s. 170-176.

⁵ Г. В. Степаненко, *Жіночі духовні школи в Україні у XIX – на початку XX ст.: шлях від елементарної до фахової педагогічної освіти*, „Проблеми історії України XIX – XX ст.“, 2007, вип. 13, s. 192.

⁶ С. Нижнікова, *Епархіальні жіночі училища в Україні (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)*, Харків 2018; О. Д. Попова, *В стенах конвикта... (Очерки повседневной жизни женских епархиальных училищ)*, Рязань 2006.

⁷ Л. Ю. Посохова, *На перехресті культур, традицій, епох: православні колегіуми України наприкінці XVII – на початку XIX ст.*, Харків 2011., s. 233-274.

The following prosopographic portrait of the teaching corps of eparchial women's schools in the Ukrainian lands draws on our database *Teachers of Mandatory Subjects in Eparchial Women's Schools*, which covers the teaching staff of the Volhynia, Tulchyn, and Kharkiv eparchial women's schools and the First Kyiv Women's School of the Department of Orthodox Confession. These institutions were chosen because the records of their teachers, including personal data, are the fullest available. Furthermore, they are sufficiently representative of the country as a whole, located as they were in Ukraine's western, central, and eastern eparchies. They were also different in size. The Kharkiv school had the largest number of students in the land, while the Tulchyn and Volhynia schools were among the smallest. The school in Kyiv was close to the average in this regard.

In creating the database, we employed a source-oriented approach – that is, all information about individual teachers found in various types of records was included. The most informative sources for our purposes were reports on the state of eparchial women's schools sent annually to the Committee on Education at the Holy Synod. While early reports contained only teachers' first and last names and subjects taught, in the mid-1870s such documents began to include information on the educational make-up of the teaching staff. Starting in the 1880s, reports on the state of eparchial schools featured a special section on the teachers, providing data on education, specialization, salary, workload, other jobs held, and, if available, the civilian class rank. In total, information on 375 teachers was entered into the database, of which 122 worked at the Kharkiv, 66 – Volhynia, and 71 – Tulchyn eparchial schools, and 116 – at the First Kyiv Women's School of the Department of Orthodox Confession. The catalog consists of 12 fields that contain descriptions of such attributes as educational level, duration of teaching, subjects taught, and others.

The first aspect we will discuss is the educational level of eparchial school teachers in the second half of the 19th to early 20th centuries, which represents one of the key characteristics for understanding this group. Such information was available for 280 out of 375 persons in the database. Of these 280, 101 teachers (36.1 percent) had the degree of candidate of theology, 23 (8.2 percent) – a master's degree in theology, 25 (8.9 percent) – a candidate's degree from a university or institute, 3 (1.2 percent) – the degree of doctor of medicine, 21 (7.5 percent) were graduates of theological seminaries, 33 (11.8 percent) were enrolled in theological seminaries, 29 (10.3 percent) graduated from eparchial women's schools or women's schools of the Department of Orthodox Confession, 13 (4.6 percent) were graduates of women's gymnasiums, institutes for noble maidens, or private women's boarding schools, 5 (1.8 percent) completed studies at higher women's schools, and 27 (9.6 percent) can be categorized as 'sundry', including teachers designated as 'free artists' or 'learned draughtsmen', graduates of fine arts schools and trade schools, one person with a master's degree in agriculture, and one with a bachelor's degree from the Kyiv Theological Academy. The Kharkiv eparchial school boasted the highest number of teachers with university candidate's degrees – 16 out of 25. This, of course, had to do with the fact that the city was also home to Kharkiv University; however, the presence of St. Volodymyr's University in Kyiv, as we can see, did not have a similar effect on the educational level of the teaching staff of the First Kyiv Women's School of the Department of Orthodox Confession.

We can see that both teachers with higher and secondary education worked in eparchial schools. In most of the schools in our database, the majority of the teaching staff had undergraduate and graduate degrees, the latter including candidate's and master's degrees in theology, university candidate's degrees, and doctorates of medicine and agriculture.

Analysis of the records of schools for girls of clerical rank shows that all teachers in these institutions belonged to the clerical estate. The reorganization of the 1860s led to changes in the composition of the teaching staff of eparchial schools, which during the period from the 1870s to 1918 included members of both the clerical and lay estates.

We may note that the 1843 statute of schools for girls of clerical rank featured no requirements regarding the teachers' level of education. The 1868 statute of eparchial schools, on the other hand, made a secondary or higher degree mandatory⁸. According to our database, the Kharkiv Eparchial Women's School employed 49 teachers (or 53 percent) with higher education and 43 (or 47 percent) with secondary education. There were 35 teachers (73 percent) with higher education and 13 (27 percent) with secondary education working at the Volhynia Eparchial Women's School; 55 teachers (73 percent) with higher education and 20 (27 percent) with secondary education taught at the First Kyiv Women's School of the Department of Orthodox Confession. The Tulchyn Eparchial Women's School, however, employed 29 teachers with higher education (only 46 percent) and 36 (54 percent) with secondary education. Most of the teachers (207, or 74 percent) received a clerical education in theological academies, seminaries, eparchial women's schools, or women's schools of the Department of Orthodox Confession.

We have not been able to detect in the available sources the existence of any competitive hiring procedures in eparchial women's schools. School boards seem to have paid no attention to the pedagogical abilities or qualifications of candidates. Consider, for instance, an episode from the history of the Katerynoslav Eparchial Women's School. In 1891, the school board hired Anna Balash, who claimed that she had graduated from the Kyiv Higher Women's School, but did not provide a certificate of completion. Balash taught history in the upper grades, but in 1898 she was transferred to teach arithmetic in the lower grades due to the "weak knowledge of her subject". In the following years, the school board received numerous complaints from parents about the eparchial girls' low level of knowledge in arithmetic. And only in October 1907 did the local eparchial congress of the clergy decide that the post of the teacher of arithmetic should be held by a person with an undergraduate degree, and Balash was fired as a result⁹. She had, however, worked at the school for 16 years. This tendency can probably be explained by the unpopularity of work in eparchial women's schools due to the meager wages and lack of social security or career prospects. We should note here that theological seminaries were also not known for high standards when it came to the pedagogical skills of their teachers¹⁰.

The project of a new statute of eparchial women's schools drafted in 1915 raised the educational requirements for both principals and teachers. It was proposed that

⁸ Полное собрание законов Российской империи (ПСЗРИ), Собрание 2, Т. 43, Спб. 1868, № 46271, с. 257.

⁹ РГИА, ф. 802, оп. 10, д. 22, По епархиальным женским училищам, л. 233-244.

¹⁰ А. В. Сушко, *Духовные семинарии в пореформенной России (1861-1884 гг.)*, СПб. 2010, с. 165.

a principal should be a graduate of a higher educational institution for women and have a teaching experience of at least 10 years. Paragraph 117 of the draft stated that prospective teachers had to be graduates of theological academies with a degree no lower than candidate of theology, or persons with degrees from secular institutions of higher education. Teachers with secondary education were only allowed to teach 'modern languages'. The statute also asserted that women who graduated from women's gymnasiums, institutes for noble maidens, eparchial women's schools, or women's schools of the Department of Orthodox Confession could only teach the first four grades. The same provision applied to current students of theological academies and theological seminaries¹¹. However, the statute was never adopted.

A noticeable trend in the development of eparchial schools was the growing share of women teachers. Initially, the teaching staff in such schools was mostly male. At the time of the opening of the Kharkiv School for Girls of Clerical Rank, it had one female teacher – Ye. I. Kolosovska, daughter of the deacon¹². At the First Kyiv School for Girls of Clerical Rank, female teachers first appeared in the 1870s¹³. The trend towards employing more women teachers in eparchial schools becomes more marked in the 1890s. For example, at the Volhynia school in the academic year 1898-1899, 3 out of 9 teachers were women¹⁴. In the academic year 1890-1891, of the 19 teachers working at the Katerynoslav eparchial school, 7 were women¹⁵; in the academic year 1894-1895, it was 9 out of 20¹⁶. There were 19 teachers on the staff of the Odesa eparchial school in the 1892-1893 academic year, 8 of whom were women¹⁷; in the academic year 1897-1898, the respective figures were 26 and 11¹⁸. The Chernihiv school employed 15 teachers in the academic year 1890-1891, including 6 women¹⁹; in the 1896-1897 academic year, however, the number of women decreased to 5 out of 17 teachers²⁰. Most women teachers working in eparchial schools taught at the same school they graduated from. It should be noted that while women teachers came to dominate elementary education around the turn of

¹¹ РГИА, ф. 802, оп. 11, д. 80, О реформе епархиальных женских училищ, л. 82-84.

¹² *Харьковское епархиальное женское училище: Юбил. сб. (6 июня 1854 г. – 6 июня 1904 г.)*, Харьков 1904, s. 13.

¹³ П. Копецкий, *Историческая записка о состоянии 1-го Киевского женского училища, состоящего под Высочайшим покровительством Ее Императорского величества Государыни Императрицы Марии Федоровны в течении первого пятидесятилетия его существования (1861-1911)*, Киев 1911, s. 210-221.

¹⁴ *Отчет о состоянии Вольнского епархиального женского училища за 1898/99 учебный год в учебно-воспитательном отношении*, Почаев 1899, s. 1-2.

¹⁵ *Отчет о состоянии Екатеринославского епархиального женского училища за 1890-91 учебный год по учебно-воспитательной части*, „Екатеринославские епархиальные ведомости“, 1892, № 5, s. 91-93.

¹⁶ *Отчет о состоянии Екатеринославского епархиального женского училища за 1894-95 учебный год по учебно-воспитательной части*, „Екатеринославские епархиальные ведомости“, 1896, № 1, s. 12-14.

¹⁷ *Отчет о состоянии Одесского епархиального женского училища по учебно-воспитательной части за 1892/93 учебный год*, Одесса 1894, s. 5-6.

¹⁸ *Отчет о состоянии Одесского епархиального женского училища за 1896/97 учебный год по учебно-воспитательной части*, Одесса 1898, s. 6-8.

¹⁹ *Отчет о состоянии Черниговского епархиального женского училища за 1890/91 учебный год в учебно-воспитательном отношении*, Чернигов 1891, s. 3-6.

²⁰ *Отчет о состоянии Черниговского епархиального женского училища за 1896/97 учебный год в учебно-воспитательном отношении*, Чернигов 1898, s. 3-5.

the 20th century²¹, teaching in institutions of secondary and higher education remained the prerogative of men.

Our database shows that gender also affected teaching specialization. Mathematical disciplines were mostly taught by men (88 percent of teachers in this field); teachers of natural sciences were 90 percent male and 10 percent female; 88 percent of teachers in the humanities were men; divine law and drawing were taught only by men, and craftwork and gymnastics – only by women. The teaching of calligraphy was equally distributed – 50 percent men and 50 percent women. Among teachers of hygiene, 62 percent were men and 38 percent were women. The prevalence of men in the teaching of the exact and natural sciences in eparchial schools was in keeping with the overall gender distribution in the profession²².

We can also see that in practice, instructors in eparchial schools often combined the teaching of several or more subjects. In men's theological seminaries before their reform in 1867, it also sometimes happened that a teacher taught two or more subjects, including those he did not specialize in. However, the 1867 statute of theological seminaries disallowed combining the teaching of subjects from different fields of knowledge²³. There were no such restrictions in eparchial women's schools, where teachers taught several subjects at the same time fairly often, sometimes in completely different fields. For example, at the First Kyiv Women's School of the Department of Orthodox Confession, 92 teachers (84 percent) taught only one subject, 15 (13 percent) taught two subjects, and 3 (3 percent) taught three subjects. Combining the teaching of four, five, and sometimes even six subjects was also not unheard of. At the Kharkiv eparchial school, 80 teachers (66 percent) taught one subject, 22 (18 percent) taught two, 15 (12 percent) taught three, and 5 (4 percent) taught four subjects. At the Tulchyn school, 29 teachers (44 percent) taught one subject, 12 (18 percent) taught two, 12 (18 percent) taught three, 7 (11 percent) taught four subjects, and 6 (9 percent) taught five. At the Volhynia Eparchial Women's School, 35 teachers (53 percent) taught one subject, 12 (18 percent) – two subjects, 7 (11 percent) – three subjects, 6 (9 percent) – four subjects, 4 (6 percent) – five subjects, and 2 (3 percent) – six subjects. Sometimes teachers drastically changed fields, for instance from mathematical disciplines to philological or vice versa.

Such practices can be explained by financial necessity. Eparchial schools relied primarily on their respective eparchies for funding, and their budgets therefore varied. In those schools that could not afford to pay their teachers much, it was common to teach several subjects at the same time in order to have more paid hours and, accordingly, earn higher salary. For instance, at the Kharkiv Eparchial Women's School teachers usually taught several related disciplines, such as arithmetic, geometry, physics, and cosmography, or calligraphy, drawing, and painting, or history, Russian literature, and history of pedagogy. The situation at the Volhynia and Tulchyn schools, on the other hand, was more complicated. Teachers there could combine subjects from very different fields. Thus, I. V. Kokhanovsky at the Tulchyn school taught divine law, arithmetic,

²¹ О. О. Драч, *Розвиток початкової освіти в Україні (1861–1917 рр.): дис...канд. іст. наук*, Харків 2001, s. 95.

²² О. Плахотнік, *Вчитель і вчителька: гендерний аналіз однієї професії*, „Studia Methodologica: альманах. Тернопіль“, 2008, вип. 25: Антропологія літератури: комунікація, мова, тілесність, s. 312.

²³ А. В., Сушко А. В. *Духовные семинарии в пореформенной России (1861–1884 гг.)*, СПб. 2010, s. 159.

geography, history, and church singing. At the Volhynia school, M. I. Yasievych lectured in the Russian language, theory of literature, arithmetic, geography, history, and didactics. Naturally, members of school boards and representatives of the eparchial clergy often demanded that this problem be dealt with²⁴. The practice certainly had a negative impact on the educational process, since teachers could not be specialists in different fields at the same time.

Length of work is another aspect of the professional experience of eparchial teachers that deserves attention. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the lack of old-age pensions, benefits, short-term financial aid, or bonuses for seniority for eparchial teachers and the fact that their salary was lower than that of the teachers of theological seminaries and schools were often discussed in the press. Many articles on this subject stressed that lack of social security led to low staff retention in eparchial schools, which negatively affected the educational process²⁵. In the Chief Procurator's reports to the Holy Synod, this problem was also often brought up as a factor affecting the quality of teaching in eparchial schools.

We found information on length of work for 366 out of 375 teachers in our database, covering the entire period of the existence of the Kharkiv, Tulchyn, and Volhynia eparchial women's schools and the First Kyiv Women's School of the Department of Orthodox Confession, which makes our sample fairly representative. Most teachers did not stay long in eparchial schools. Of the 366 persons we have the data for, 228 worked from six months to four years; 65 teachers worked from five to ten years; and only a few devoted their whole life to their school. Thus, N. I. Kahan, after graduating from the Kyiv women's school, proceeded to work there for 44 years (the record for the school), teaching arithmetic and geography. The record for the longest career at the Kharkiv Eparchial Women's School (33 years) was held by Candidate of Theology O. F. Ver-telovsky, who taught history. It is noteworthy that of the 366 teachers in our sample only 54 worked for more than 15 years, including 15 women (28 percent). Of these 54 teachers, 21 had secondary and 25 – higher education.

So, for most teachers, work in an eparchial school was not a job for life. In particular, we have reasons to suppose that it was perceived as temporary by former scholarship students of theological institutions. For each year of study, they had to spend a year and a half serving in the system of clerical education²⁶. An eparchial school often became just such a place of temporary employment; 123 out of 366 teachers (33.6 percent) worked in eparchial schools for only six months to two years.

In clerical periodicals of the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, we encounter the idea that lack of social security led to the emergence of a large group of part-time teachers who taught classes in eparchial women's schools as a form of occasional or secondary employment. This negatively affected the quality of instruction, as part-time teachers could not devote much time or attention to their eparchial students.

²⁴ РГИА, ф. 802, оп. 9, д. 11, Об устройстве епархиальных женских училищ, л. 56-70.

²⁵ *Забытые училища*, „Церковные ведомости“, 1905, № 51-52, s. 1607; К 30-летию существования епархиального женского училища, „Церковные ведомости“, 1897, № 44, s. 1597; К вопросу о штатах преподавателей в епархиальных женских училищах, „Церковный вестник“, 1897, № 35, s. 1105-1109.

²⁶ С. И. Мешковая, *Светский компонент православного духовного образования в Российской империи (1857 – 1884 гг.): дис...канд. ист. наук*, Харьков 2003, s. 129.

Some authors also claimed that such part-time employees usually did not stay long in eparchial schools²⁷. Our research disproves this view. Only 33 part-time teachers (27 percent of the staff) worked at the Kharkiv school, 44 (38 percent) at the Kyiv school, and 29 (44 percent) at the Volhynia school. On the basis of our data, we can also say that part-time teachers had the same workload as full-time teachers – from 4 to 12 hours a week. The length of their employment similarly varied between 1 and 25 years. Annual reports on the state of eparchial schools provide no evidence of a large number of missed classes by part-time teachers. On these grounds, it can be argued that part-time teachers treated their work no less conscientiously than full-time employees. Part-time teaching as a source of additional income was generally a typical practice for secondary-school teachers in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Analyzing the size of the teaching staff in eparchial women's schools, we find a trend towards its gradual increase during our period. The Kharkiv Eparchial Women's School is a clear example of this dynamic. In the first decade of its existence, between 5 and 7 teachers worked there at various times; the reorganization of the school in the aftermath of the 1868 statute and introduction of new subjects meant hiring more teachers. As the student body gradually expanded during the 1880s (with the offering of preparatory and parallel courses), so did the teaching staff. Beginning in the 1890s, when parallel courses were introduced in most eparchial schools, their teaching staff swelled. In the 1894-1895 academic year, the Kharkiv school already employed 33 teachers²⁸. It should be noted that this school offered parallel courses for all grades. For comparison, the teaching staff of the Odesa school in the 1897-1898 academic year numbered 26²⁹, the Chernihiv school in the 1898-1899 academic year had 19 teachers³⁰, and Katerynoslav school in 1900 – 17 teachers³¹.

Despite the growing demand for eparchial education during the second half of the 19th century, not all eparchial women's schools expanded their teaching staff. For example, the Poltava school employed 14 teachers in the 1891-1892 academic year³², Volhynia school in the 1898-1899 academic year – 11 teachers³³, and Tulchyn school in the 1898-1899 academic year – 10 teachers³⁴. This can be explained by the budgetary constraints suffered by many schools.

²⁷ *Забутые училища*, „Церковные ведомости“, 1905, № 51-52, s. 1606-1607; *К 30-летию существования епархиального женского училища*, „Церковные ведомости“, 1897, № 44, s. 1595-1597.

²⁸ *Отчет о состоянии Харьковского епархиального женского училища по учебной и нравственно-воспитательной частям за 1894/95 учебный год*, „Листок для Харьковской епархии“, 1896, № 1, s. 8.

²⁹ *Отчет о состоянии Одесского епархиального женского училища за 1897/1898 учебный год по учебно-воспитательной части*, Одесса 1899, s. 6-7.

³⁰ *Отчет о состоянии Черниговского епархиального женского училища за 1898/99 учебный год в учебно-воспитательном отношении*, Чернигов 1900, s. 2-5.

³¹ *Личный состав служащих в духовно-учебных заведениях на 1900/1 учебный год*, Екатеринослав 1900, s. 13-15.

³² *Отчет о состоянии Полтавского епархиального женского училища по учебной и нравственно-воспитательной части за 1891/1892 учебный год*, „Полтавские епархиальные ведомости“, 1893, № 8, s. 369.

³³ *Отчет о состоянии Вольнского епархиального женского училища за 1898/99 учебный год в учебно-воспитательном отношении*, Почаев 1899, s. 2-4.

³⁴ *Отчет о состоянии Тульчинского епархиального женского училища в учебно-воспитательном отношении за 1898/99 учебный год*, Тульчин 1900, s. 2-3.

The prestige of the teaching profession depended greatly on the size of the salary, which we will consider next. The scholarly literature of the 19th and early 20th centuries provides almost no data on salaries in eparchial women's schools. However, historians often observed that schools for girls of clerical rank, and later the reorganized eparchial women's schools, often had trouble paying their teachers, who sometimes worked all their lives virtually for free or for paltry wages³⁵.

As already noted, salaries were contingent on each particular school's resources. It was the congress of the local eparchial clergy that determined an eparchial school's salary range, and sometimes the fate of many teachers depended on the mood of its participants. With the approval in 1868 of the staff structure for the eparchial women's schools, the Holy Synod's Committee on Education set the standard salary for teachers at 420 rubles per year for a load of 12 teaching hours per week – that is, 35 rubles for a so-called 'annual period'. This salary applied to all teachers, except those teaching calligraphy and singing, who were to receive 120 rubles a year regardless of the workload. Teachers who taught first grade were granted 20 rubles per one class period a week³⁶. Faculty salaries in theological seminaries, on the other hand, went up considerably with the introduction of the 1867 statute of institutions of theological education. Thus, a Bible teacher earned 1,140 rubles a year for 16 periods per week, and a teacher of basic, dogmatic, and moral theology – 900 rubles for 11 periods per week³⁷.

In the observation of one commentator, the Committee on Education had two objectives when defining the staff structure for eparchial women's schools in 1868: first, to keep the salaries of school employees at a level where they would not become an unbearable burden on the eparchial clergy, limiting eparchies' ability to set up women's schools under the new statute; and second, not to reduce the salaries so much that it would be difficult to find qualified applicants³⁸.

In 1872, the Holy Synod allowed the Committee on Education to raise the suggested salary levels if eparchial schools were able to find the money for it³⁹. However, our research shows that even the existing officially suggested salaries were too high for most schools in Ukraine, which did not have the means for a reorganization based on the new statute of 1868. The Kharkiv Eparchial Women's School was the only exception – its administration could afford to slightly increase the school's salary budget above the suggested levels.

Teachers were paid per year depending on the workload and their level of education. Specialization did not affect the pay, except for calligraphy and church singing – for teachers of these subjects, the salary was usually fixed. From 1854 to 1893, church singing was taught at the Kharkiv Eparchial Women's School by the priest S. Petrovsky, who, starting in 1871, received 250 rubles a year for 8 class periods per week⁴⁰. His successor I. V. Petrovsky, a graduate of the Kharkiv Theological Seminary,

³⁵ Киевское училище девиц духовного звания, „Киевские епархиальные ведомости“, 1864, № 5, s. 145.

³⁶ Проект штата епархиального женского училища, „Харьковские епархиальные ведомости“, 1869, № 8, s. 481.

³⁷ А. В. Сушко, *Духовные семинарии в пореформенной России (1861-1884 гг.)*, СПб. 2010, s. 183.

³⁸ А. Кузнецов, *Епархиальные женские училища (по поводу исполнившегося сорокалетия устава этих училищ)*, „Церковные ведомости“, 1909, № 10, s. 460.

³⁹ Циркулярные указы Святейшего Правительствующего Синода (1867-1900 гг.), СПб. 1901., s. 124.

⁴⁰ Отчет о состоянии Харьковского епархиального женского училища по учебной и нравственно-

who taught at the school from 1893 to 1918, earned 800 rubles a year for 20 periods per week⁴¹. At the turn of the 20th century, the teacher of church singing at the Odesa eparchial school received a salary of 480 rubles a year⁴². At the Volhynia eparchial school during the 1880s, however, the teacher of church singing I. M. Mikhalevych earned only 120 rubles a year, and the salary of his successor S. P. Chervinsky was increased to 150 rubles a year⁴³.

Teachers with the degree of candidate of theology or university (institute) candidate received from 50 to 75 rubles for an 'annual period', which amounted to 500 to 750 rubles a year for 10 class sessions per week. Note that in the 19th century, teachers' workload and pay were calculated on the basis of 'annual' class periods. Thus, for instance, '900 rubles for 12 annual periods' meant that the teacher taught 12 sessions a week during the entire academic year and received a yearly salary of 900 rubles. Women teachers with higher education, who began to appear in eparchial schools only in the second decade of the 20th century, had the same salary levels as men – they received 60 to 70 rubles per annual period.

Graduates of secondary-level institutions (theological seminaries, gymnasiums, schools) were paid 40 to 50 rubles per annual period. Depending on the teaching load, they earned on average between 250 and 800 rubles a year. This salary level for the eparchial schools was generally established in the 1870s after the approval of the model staff structure and did not change until 1918. However, the situation on the ground varied. For example, at the Tulchyn Eparchial Women's School the teachers began to earn salaries matching the officially suggested levels only in 1872. In 1884, they were paid 45 rubles per annual period – that is, with a workload of 10 periods per week a teacher received only 450 rubles a year⁴⁴. The pay was no better at the Tavria eparchial school, where teachers, irrespective of their educational level, earned 400 to 500 rubles a year. As documented in the dissertation of K. V. Shumsky, full-time teachers, especially those with higher education, were very few at the Tavria women's school, and they came and went quickly⁴⁵. The salaries at both the Tavria and Tulchyn eparchial schools were lower than, for example, at the Kharkiv school, despite the fact that their tuition fees were higher. This is something of a paradox, since tuition was one of the main sources of income for eparchial schools.

Thus, teachers' salaries in Ukraine's eparchial schools did not change significantly during the period from 1868, when the new statute was put into effect, to the

воспитательной частям за 1880/81 учебный год, „Харьковские епархиальные ведомости“, 1882, № 3, с. 70.

⁴¹ *Отчет о состоянии Харьковского епархиального женского училища по учебной и нравственно-воспитательной частям за 1909/10 учебный год*, „Известия и заметки по Харьковской епархии“, 1911, № 3, с. 390.

⁴² *Отчет о состоянии Одесского епархиального женского училища за 1897/1898 учебный год по учебно-воспитательной части*, Одесса 1899, с. 7.

⁴³ А. Шафранский, *Волынское епархиальное женское училище в г. Кременце. За первые 25 лет своего существования (1881–1906 гг.)*, Почаев 1906, с. 31.

⁴⁴ І. В. Сесак, *Тулчинське епархіальне училище: сторінки історії (1867–1917 рр.)*, „Освіта, наука і культура на Поділлі. Збірник наукових праць“, Кам'янець Подільський, 2006, Т. 8, с. 335.

⁴⁵ К. В. Шумський, *Духовно-навчальні заклади Таврійської єпархії (1859 – 1920 рр.): дис... канд. іст. наук*, Сімферополь 2004, с. 98.

beginning of World War I. Teachers received only the base-line salary; there were neither overtime pay nor bonuses for academic degrees. In some cases, teachers were paid 'housing money', ranging between 60 and 120 rubles. Teachers of theological seminaries were provided with in-school accommodation. Those who lived away from school due to lack of room were granted 'housing money' as well⁴⁶. Generally, few eparchial school teachers could boast a decent salary.

In the early years of the 20th century, the economic situation of the majority of the population of the Russian Empire deteriorated as a result of high inflation, affecting the prices of food, other consumer goods, and services. With the start of World War I, the material condition of the teachers and other employees of eparchial women's schools eroded even further. This caused a wave of complaints from school administrations to the Holy Synod about insufficient funding⁴⁷. The issues of low salaries, lack of pensions, and high staff turnover in eparchial schools were repeatedly raised in the press⁴⁸. Discussions on this subject intensified in the spring and summer of 1917, in the aftermath of the revolutionary events of February of that year⁴⁹. However, by 1918 nothing was resolved.

To sum up, the prosopographic portrait of the teachers of eparchial women's schools in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th to early 20th centuries exhibits several characteristic features. Before the reorganization of eparchial women's schools in 1868, all teachers came from the clergy, but already in the 1870s the share of teachers belonging to the secular estate equaled that of the clergy. Analysis of the educational makeup of the teaching corps shows the predominance of persons with higher education who graduated from secular or clerical institutions. For many teachers, eparchial schools were not the main place of work. An important development in the evolution of the teaching corps of eparchial women's schools was the appearance and growing share of female teachers. The data presented in our database allows us to distinguish between three groups of eparchial school teachers. The first group included students of institutions of theological education who taught while still pursuing their studies, as well as graduates of theological institutions who continued teaching in eparchial schools for some time after graduation because they were obligated to work in the system of clerical education in lieu of tuition. The second group consisted of former students of eparchial schools who went into teaching immediately after graduation. The third group included graduates of universities, colleges, theological academies, women's gymnasiums, and higher women's schools. Overall, the professional group of eparchial school teachers began to take shape only in the late 19th to early 20th centuries and was structurally more similar to the teaching corps of wom-

⁴⁶ *Постановление Комиссии Духовных Училищ о квартирном пособии наставникам духовно-учебных заведений, 9 февраля 1818 г., „Харьковские епархиальные ведомости“*, 1867, № 2, с. 41.

⁴⁷ РГИА, ф. 802, оп. 10, д. 351, О проекте штата епархиальных женских училищ, л. 156-168; оп. 11, д. 21, По епархиальным женским училищам, л. 44-47, 64-65.

⁴⁸ *Забитые училища, „Церковные ведомости“*, 1905, № 51-52, с. 1607; *Забитый уголок (К вопросу о положении учебно-воспитательного персонала в епархиальных женских училищах), „Русская школа“*, 1912, № 2, с. 96-97.

⁴⁹ *Всероссийский съезд педагогов духовно-учебных заведений, „Всероссийский церковно-общественный вестник“*, 1917, № 40, 3 июня, с. 2-3; *От учебного комитета при Св. Синоде, „Всероссийский церковно-общественный вестник“*, 1917, № 79, 28 июля, с. 3-4.

en's gymnasiums than that of theological seminaries. Prospects for further research in this sphere lie in comparing the teachers of eparchial women's schools in the empire's Ukrainian provinces with similar groups in other regions of the Russian Empire, about which we currently do not know enough.

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