

## Herstory of Southeast Europe 1

Editor: Tatjana Marković



*TheMA:*  
*Open Access Research Journal*  
*for Theatre, Music, Arts*

*Vol. IX/1-2, 2022*

*HERSTORY IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE 1*

*Editor:*  
*Tatjana Marković*

HOLLITZER



**Editor:**

Tatjana Marković

**Editorial board:**

Michael Hüttler

HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag

Matthias J. Pernerstorfer

Don Juan Archiv Wien

Hans Ernst Weidinger

Stvdivm Faesvlnvm

**Copy-editors:**

Gene Moore (English)

Marion Linhardt, Inge Praxl (German)

Online technical editor: Ana Matić

Layout: Nikola Stevanović

Cover: Nikola Stevanović, a photo from the family archive, Sombor 1926.

Printed and bound in the EU

Paper: Pergraphica



***TheMA-Journal***

c/o HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag

Trautsongasse 6/6, A-1080 Wien

Austria

E-Mail: [thema@hollitzer.at](mailto:thema@hollitzer.at)

[www.thema-journal.eu](http://www.thema-journal.eu)

© HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag, Wien 2022

**Publisher**

HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag

of

HOLLITZER Baustoffwerke Graz GmbH

[www.hollitzer.at](http://www.hollitzer.at)

All rights reserved.

TheMA is a peer-reviewed open-access research journal dedicated to the history of performing and visual arts. It is published biannually and specializes in the critical and trans-disciplinary historical study of artistic production and reception in various artistic genres including literature, theatre, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. While Middle, Central and Mediterranean Europe before 1900 is TheMA's principal area of focus, it welcomes contributions on other regions or periods. Responsibility for the contents of the various articles and for questions of copyright lies with the authors.

ISSN 2307-440X (print)

ISSN 2305-9672 (online)

ISBN 978-3-99094-011-2

# CONTENT

- I EDITORIAL  
HERSTORY IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE  
Tatjana Marković
- 1 FEMALE CHARACTERS IN THE THEATRICAL WORK  
OF SEPHARDIC DRAMATIST LAURA PAPO “BOHORETA”  
Nela Kovačević
- 13 “MOZART’S TRANSYLVANIAN PUPIL” JOSEPHA PALM:  
POSSIBLE CONNECTIONS AND NARRATIVES  
Emese Sófalvi
- 27 EIN HARMONIUM IM KONAK VON LEYLA [SAZ] HANIMEFENDI  
Nejla Melike Atalay
- 43 WARRIOR MEETS MOTHER.  
THE VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS  
OF FEMALE FIGURES IN THE 1990S IN CROATIA  
Klaudija Sabo

# ADVISORY BOARD

## Theatre

Ulf Birbaumer, University of Vienna  
Aysin Candan, Haliç University, Istanbul  
Wolfgang Greisenegger, University of Vienna  
Hilde Haider-Pregler, University of Vienna  
Bent Holm, University of Copenhagen  
Johann Hüttner, University of Vienna  
Francoise Lavocat, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris  
Marion Linhardt, University of Bayreuth  
Cesare Molinari, University of Florence  
Beatrix Müller-Kampel, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz  
Walter Puchner, University of Athens

## Music

Antonio Baldassarre, Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts – Music, Luzern  
Bruce Allan Brown, University of Southern California, Los Angeles  
Michele Calella, University of Vienna  
Edmund Goehring, University of Western Ontario, London /Canada  
Gernot Gruber, Austrian Academy of Sciences  
Matthew Head, Kings College London  
Thomas Hochradner, Universität Mozarteum, Salzburg  
Tatjana Marković, Austrian Academy of Sciences  
Martin Nedbal, University of Kansas  
Leon Stefanija, University of Ljubljana  
Ian Woodfield, Queens University, Belfast

## Art History

Richard Bösel, Austrian Academy of Sciences  
Maximilian Hartmuth, University of Vienna  
Zeynep İnankur, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul  
İlber Ortaylı, Galatasaray University, Istanbul  
Günsel Renda, Koç University, Istanbul

## History

Markus Köhbach, University of Vienna  
Robert Pfaller, University of Applied Arts Vienna  
Otto Pfersmann, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne /Paris  
Philipp Ther, University of Vienna  
Larry Wolff, New York University

## EDITORIAL

### HERSTORY IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE

TATJANA MARKOVIĆ

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN WIEN

After the pandemic break (2020–2021) the journal *TheMA* continues with the presentation of research results relating to the cultures, literature, theater, music, and arts of and on southeast Europe. Furthermore, the next three volumes will be dedicated to herstory in the mesoregion, with the focus on women's studies. Starting with this volume, female cultural entrepreneurs, Maecenases, authors, artists, composers, and performing artists, as well as the characters in literary, dramatic, and musical works, will be presented in papers by international scholars.

Herstory is embedded in the interdisciplinary and theoretical context of Gender and Women's Studies. "Women's Studies is the most revolutionary new field of intellectual inquiry of our current age. In the simplest form, Women's Studies brings all of women's experience under the scholarly microscope. [...] Women's Studies programs include almost every perspective – from the natural sciences to the social sciences, from law to the arts. This breadth makes Women's Studies the most wide-ranging of academic fields. Its rich diversity provides the judgments, research, and energy of a broad group of scholars and students to advance the discipline."<sup>1</sup>

Poststructuralism brought new perspectives and interpretations of identity and the discovery of subordinated feminine voices as a critique of conventional patriarchal historiography. The concept of gender identity has been discussed extensively and defined as a cultural construct (de Beauvoir), or as a result of a process of socialization (Foucault), which alternatively emerges with the ego (Freud) and is related to performativity (Butler). Furthermore, according to Judith Butler, gender is "a construction that regularly conceals its genesis; the tacit collective agreement to perform, produce, and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural fictions is obscured by the credibility of those productions and the punishments that attend not agreeing to believe in them; the construction 'compels' our belief in its necessity and naturalness. The historical possibilities materialized through various corporeal styles are nothing other than those punitively regulated cultural fictions alternately

---

1 Bonnie G. Smith, *Women's Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 1.

embodied and deflected under duress.”<sup>2</sup> It is “constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts.”<sup>3</sup>

Unlike literary studies, where the discipline of Gender and Women’s Studies was first developed, awareness of gender issues is relatively new in musicology, entering the field with the turn towards a new or cultural musicology in the 1980s, transforming the previously positivist discipline.<sup>4</sup> Herstory thus challenges the lack of gender balance in the canon and sheds light on the creative contributions of marginalized women. Taking as a point of departure Deleuze’s observation that women are always a minority regardless of their number, as a subsystem within a patriarchal system,<sup>5</sup> Anette Kreutziger-Herr concludes that herstory enriches history through sharpening the view of women in their historical context, so that the inclusion of women can lead to a different reading of history.<sup>6</sup>

On this occasion, herstory will be introduced as a part of Balkan Studies with an exploration of female perspectives in literature, theatre, and music history in southeast Europe from the eighteenth to the end of the twentieth century. The focus is on the voices and images of women who should be integrated into European cultural history: the Sephardic Jewish playwright Laura Papo (Nela Kovačević), the Maecenas Josepha Palm (Emese Sófalvi), and the composer and musician Leyla Saz (Nejla Melike Altalaz), as well as visual representations of Croatian women in the 1990s as an alternative to male warriors (Klaudija Sabo).

These four articles present herstory in the wide space from the Ottoman Empire to the post-Ottoman age of the Republic of Turkey, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Transylvania, and Croatia. They are written by four female scholars who thus make an important contribution to the herstory of southeastern Europe.

2 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 179.

3 Ibid., 178.

4 “Gender also has much to offer historiography, that sprawling category that encompasses many others. [...] gender helps to reshuffle the categories, and this itself is beneficial to the field. Of the diverse topics in historiography, one of the most important is canon formation. [...] Here gender is critical: it provides an analytical category that can expose many of the assumptions and ideologies behind seemingly value-free conditions that have promoted the Western canon (or canons). For example, gendered ideologies behind creativity and professionalism tell us a great deal about why and how women composers have been excluded from mainstream practices in art music. They also reveal many of the conventions that led to the inclusion of certain works and composers. Thus, gender is not confined to marginal groups but has the ability to probe the central tradition and how it became that way.” See Marcia J. Citron, “Gender and the Field of Musicology,” in *Current Musicology* 53 (1993): 66–75, here 69–70. Marcia J. Citron and Susan McClary are regarded as pioneers of feminist musicology.

5 Gilles Deleuze, “Philosophie et minorité,” in *Critique* 34/369 (February 1978): 154–155.

6 Annette Kreutziger-Herr, “History und Herstory: Musikgeschichte, Repräsentation und tote Winkel,” in *History / Herstory: Alternative Musikgeschichten* (Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2009), 21–46, here 35.

FEMALE CHARACTERS IN THE THEATRICAL  
WORK  
OF SEPHARDIC DRAMATIST LAURA PAPO  
“BOHORETA”

NELA KOVAČEVIĆ

**Abstract.** *Sephardic cultural heritage forms a significant part of the multicultural milieu in Bosnia. The Sephardic community in Bosnia was one of the biggest Sephardic communities in Europe until World War II. During almost three centuries under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, Bosnian Sephardic Jews lived quite isolated from the rest of the Bosnian population. That was the principal reason they managed to preserve their cultural heritage brought from their homeland Spain, from which they were expelled in 1492: oral tradition, customs, and the language known as Judeo-Spanish (medieval Spanish that accepted influences from the local languages depending on the territory where they settled down after the expulsion). This community was isolated until the Austro-Hungarian occupation, after which it started changing radically due to the inevitable process of modernization. The Sephardic population finally began adapting to the outside world in all aspects in life: education, culture, way of living, etc. All these changes are reflected in the literary work of Laura Papo (1891–1942), the only female Bosnian Sephardic author who wrote in her mother tongue, Judeo-Spanish. She wrote poems, stories, and essays, but the most important part of her work are her theater plays. Her life and work were marked by two apparently contradictory tendencies: to preserve the tradition and cultural heritage of her people, and to support modern tendencies, especially those related to women, such as emancipation and the need to break away from old patterns of life and habits that were suppressing their progress over the centuries.*

*Laura Papo's plays present two prototypes of women: a modern one, and a traditional one that represents a keeper of folklore and old customs, as well as a source of simple, popular wisdom, described by the author with tenderness and a good sense of humor.*

**Keywords:** Sephardic culture, Sephardic women emancipation, Luna Levi alias Laura Papo, literature, theatre



Laura Papo “Bohoreta”,<sup>1</sup> born as Luna Levi (1891–1942), was the most prominent figure in Bosnian Sephardic literature. She was also one of the few authors who wrote in the Judeo-Spanish language in Bosnia in the period between the two World Wars, and the only female writer among them. Although she had never aspired to be a writer, Papo left behind a prolific body of work. She wrote poems, short stories, and essays, but most importantly, theater plays, which makes her the only Sephardic female playwright in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This remarkable woman left a huge mark on the cultural life of the Bosnian Sephardic community.<sup>2</sup> Laura Papo was eager to exemplify and support female emancipation, and played an important role in the preservation of Sephardic folklore and the cultural heritage that was slowly disappearing in her time due to historical and cultural circumstances.

As a witness to the historical and cultural changes that occurred in Bosnian society after the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878, she wrote about a radical transformation in the Bosnian Sephardic community, marked by the disappearance of old habits and traditions that had been preserved among them ever since they settled down in Bosnia, principally in Sarajevo, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

## SEPHARDIC JEWS IN BOSNIA – HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Sephardic Jews resided in separate quarters, living quite isolated from the rest of the population in Bosnia, and they continued preserving the cultural heritage, language, traditions, folklore, and cuisine they brought from Spain.<sup>3</sup> Among themselves they

- 
- 1 Bohoreta was her nickname because this is the name traditionally given to the first-born daughter in Sephardic families (the first-born son was given the analogous nickname Bohor/Behor).
  - 2 About the life and work of Laura Papo see Muhamed Nezirović, *Jevrejsko-španjolska književnost* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1992); Nela Kovačević, *La mujer sefardí-Cuentos, textos y poemas, Laura Papo “Bohoreta”*, PhD thesis, Universidad de Granada 2018; ídem, “Entre la modernidad y la tradición, el feminismo y la patriarquia: Vida y obra de Laura Papo ‘Bohoreta’, primera dramaturga en lengua judeo-española”, *Neue Romania* 40 (2010): 97–117.
  - 3 Sephardi or Sephardic Jews, also known as *Sephardim*, are descendants of the Jews who lived in the Iberian Peninsula (“Sepharad”) since the second century BC until they were expelled, first from Spain, in 1492, and five years later from Portugal. In modern Hebrew “Sepharad” is identified with Spain. Over the centuries, they had very prosperous, well-established and culturally developed communities throughout Spain and Portugal, living in harmony with their Catholic and Muslim neighbors. Their centuries-old presence in “Sepharad” was brought to an end as the result of increasing antagonism against the Jewish population that gradually started from the end of the fourteenth century and culminated in the mass expulsion of all Jews from Spain in 1492. Determined to impose Catholicism as the only confession in the country, the Catholic monarchs King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, in their edict of expulsion issued on March 31, 1492, ordered the Jews either to convert to Catholicism or to leave the country within a period of four months, after which followed a series of conversions, executions, and the massive expulsion of those who refused

kept speaking Spanish<sup>4</sup> and were therefore mostly unable to communicate with other people in their new environment. The only contact the Bosnian Sephardim had with people of other cultural and religious backgrounds was related to business matters, which required some basic knowledge of the local language or Turkish.<sup>5</sup> Thanks to this isolation, they managed to preserve their language and habits.

Sephardic life under Ottoman rule was quiet, modest, and guided by religious norms that marked all aspects of social and family life. Sephardic families were large, with many children. As in any other patriarchal society, the men were in charge of sustaining the family, while women were to take care of the children and the household. Nevertheless, despite their isolation, the Sephardim could not avoid being influenced by the environment in which they lived, such as oriental customs related to food, garments, the decoration of houses, and the way of life in general.

The turning-point in the history of Bosnia and of the life of the Sephardic community was the moment when Bosnia and Herzegovina fell under Austro-Hungarian rule in 1878.<sup>6</sup> Immediately after the occupation, the new rulers stimulated the local economy, opening it to Western influences. Capitalism penetrated rapidly, ending with a guild economy in urban centers. Over the coming years,

---

to convert. After the expulsion, a great number of them fled to the Ottoman Empire, where they were well accepted and where they could freely practice their religion. See Harriet Freidenreich Pass, *The Jews of Yugoslavia* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979); Moric Levi, *Sefardi u Bosni, prilog istoriji Jevreja na Balkanskom poluostrvu* (Beograd, Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1969); Krinka Vidaković, *Kultura Španskih Jevreja na Jugoslovenskom tlu* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1986).

- 4 They called their language Spanish, but nowadays the language spoken by Sephardic Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean is called Judeo-Spanish, sometimes called "Ladino". It is a Romance language derived from old Spanish, incorporating elements from all the old Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula, but also from Hebrew and Aramaic. After the expulsion from "Sepharad", it was further influenced by Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian vocabularies, depending on where the expelled Jews had settled down. See David M. Bunis, *Sephardic Studies: A Research Bibliography. Incorporating Judezmo Language, Literature and Folklore, and Historical Background* (New York-London, Garland Publishing, 1981); Tracy K. Harris, "Reasons for the decline of Judeo-Spanish", *International Journal of Sociology of Languages* 37 (1982): 71-97.
- 5 The local language was a common language spoken by Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians with some differences, depending on the region. It was known as Serbo-Croatian and was proclaimed the official language of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians (1918-1929), later of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1943) and then of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1943-1992) until the dissolution of the country in the 1990s. Having declared independence, each republic proclaimed its own language. As a result, the official language of Serbia is now Serbian, Croatian in Croatia, and Bosnian in Bosnia, together known as BCS.
- 6 Following the Russo-Turkish War in 1878, and after a few decades of frequent uprisings against Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the Congress of Berlin these provinces were ceded to Austria-Hungary, but they officially remained under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. See Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878-1918*, (Sarajevo, Narodna štamparija, 1960).

Austria-Hungary introduced many changes to the region, such as codified laws, new political practices, and modernization.

These circumstances forced the Bosnian Sephardim to come out of their closed circle, to acclimate to the environment and act according to the demands of the time in all aspects of life. Primarily, they had to accept the capitalist mode of production and a new way of doing business. In order to adapt to new trade rules and negotiate successfully, it was necessary to be able to speak fluently the language of the country (Serbo-Croatian), as well as German, the language of the new rulers. The Sephardim started sending their children to public school, where they could obtain general knowledge, taught in Serbo-Croatian and other languages such as German. The process of cultural transformation among the Bosnian Sephardim was initiated by the modern educational system. Until then, the only education was exclusively religious, which was a privilege of men, while women were mainly illiterate.

Only two decades after modern education had been introduced in the country, the first generations of Sephardic intellectuals, the majority of whom studied in the foreign universities of Vienna and Prague, returned to Bosnia with knowledge, experience, and new perspectives. They worked to incorporate them into their community.

During the Ottoman rule the only Judeo-Spanish literature that was cultivated among the Sephardim was the literature preserved in folkloric forms, such as traditional ballads, narrative poems called “romansas”, folk stories, and proverbs, principally transmitted orally by women from one generation to another, while the only form of written literature was religious literature such as translations, adaptations, and reviews of classic sacred Jewish books.

Taking into account all these factors, it is easy to comprehend why among the Bosnian Sephardim there was neither artistic creation nor literature until the beginning of the twentieth century. Eventually, after four centuries of a very conservative and patriarchal life in which there was no space for any kind of individualism, the first attempts at the creation of artistic literature appeared.

Over the years, due to radical changes in lifestyle and an extremely rapid adaptation to a new way of life, Judeo-Spanish became the language of the past, folklore and tradition, and, as such, could not adapt to the needs of contemporary literature. The only way to make it possible was to accept the language of the environment. Sephardic intellectuals realized that there was no way to re-establish the primacy of the language, but many of them continued to use it precisely with the aim to emancipate and educate people from the community who still did not know any other language. Another goal they had was to collect the oral tradition produced in the mother tongue in order to save it from oblivion as material of great historical and scientific value. One of these intellectuals was Laura Papo, whose pseudonym was “Bohoreta”.

## LAURA PAPO – LIFE AND LITERARY WORK

Laura Papo was born in Sarajevo in 1891, as the first child of Juda and Estera Levi, and she had four sisters and two brothers. During her childhood, Juda Levi, a poor merchant, decided to move his family to Istanbul to try his luck there. Laura Papo attended the school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle,<sup>7</sup> where she received modern training and learned several languages. Apart from her mother tongue, Judeo-Spanish, she spoke Serbian, French, German, Italian, English, and some Turkish. At that time in Bosnia when the education of women was not yet common, being a student of the *Alliance* was a great privilege, especially for a girl from a poor family. Besides her education, she developed a great passion for reading and learning that helped her later to become one of the first Sephardic female intellectuals in Bosnia.

When the family returned to Sarajevo after eight years, she began giving private French lessons to help support her family financially. Still, she was not the only working woman in the family. A crucial moment in the life of the Levi family was when Nina, Laura's younger sister, decided to open a ladies' hat shop, the *Chic Parisienne*, changing the trajectory of the family and improving their economic situation. In this way, the then 18-year-old Nina Levi successfully ran the hat shop with her two younger sisters and obtained a loan in 1911.<sup>8</sup>

In 1911 Laura Papo married a Jew, Daniel Levi, with whom she had two sons: Leon and Bar Kohba. Unfortunately, the marriage did not last long due to her husband being institutionalized for mental illness. Subsequently, Laura Papo became the breadwinner for her family, teaching French and Latin and doing translations. She and her four sisters were precursors of the new generation of modern, emancipated Sephardic women. Each one of them broke with tradition in her own way.

In Papo's literary work there is an abundance of examples of oral tradition, such as the traditional ballads or narrative poems called "romansas", proverbs, and refrains all with elements of folklore. She often sought inspiration in the customs

7 The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* was a political organization established in France by a group of French Jews with the aim of supporting economically poor Jews and organizing a program of the Jewish education in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. Over the years it formed a whole chain of schools that applied western methods of teaching, while the teaching language was French. These schools, which promoted French culture, had a huge impact on the Sephardic population, especially in the regions of Turkey and Greece, and existed until the First World War.

8 More about the family of Laura Papo can be found in the novel *The Scent of Rain in the Balkans* by Gordana Kuić, Laura Papo's niece and one of the well-known Serbian contemporary authors. See Gordana Kuić: *Miris kiše na Balkanu* (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1986, 1st ed.). This is one of her nine novels that been translated into various languages, among them French (2000), English (2004), and German (2015).

and daily life of the Bosnian Sephardic Jews of her time, and considered the people of her community, especially the Sephardic women. Therefore, her plays and other literary work represent a testimony to Sephardic Bosnian Jewry, as well as a very valuable source of information regarding their life and customs. The timing of her contribution is notable because during the Second World War most of the Bosnian Sephardim and their cultural heritage would be swept away.

Her first literary step into the public came in 1916 when she published her first article entitled “Die Spanolische Frau” (“The Spanish Woman”) in *Bosnischen post*,<sup>9</sup> a local newspaper published in German. Very soon she assumed a leading role in the cultural activities of the Sephardic community in Sarajevo with her teaching and literary work. Having a solid education, and aware that in Sephardic society there was still much ignorance and prejudice, Laura Papo educated the people of her community and fought some of the conservative ideas and customs rooted for centuries. Through public appearances, lectures, and literary works, “Bohoreta” contributed greatly to the emancipation of Sephardic women by encouraging education which would lead to financial independence and self-awareness. Papo considered it essential for women to receive a basic education, and with it, employability. She also taught the women of the community to read and write, since many were still illiterate.

In the 1920s she wrote and published short musical plays and stories in the Jewish periodicals in Sarajevo such as *Jevrejski život* (Jewish life) and *Jevrejski glas* (Jewish voice). Her most significant theater plays were written in the 1930s: *Avia de ser* (Once upon a time, 1930), *Esterka* (1930), *Ožos mios* (My eyes, 1931), *Shuegra ni de baro Buena* (Mother-in-law is never good, 1933), *La pasensia vale mucho* (Patience is a virtue, 1934), and *Tiempos pasados* (Old times, 1939). They were successfully performed by the amateur theatre group Matatja for Sephardic audiences in Sarajevo and Belgrade.

Laura Papo died in 1942 in a Catholic hospital in Sarajevo where she was registered under a false name, since at that time Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by Croatian fascists. Her sons were assassinated by *ustašas* while on their way to a concentration camp. Her sisters and brothers escaped from the country, except for Nina, who remained in Sarajevo. All of the siblings except Laura survived the war.

Papo’s original manuscripts, mostly dramas and poems, were preserved by her sisters Nina and Blanka. Years later, they were donated to the Historical Archive of Sarajevo. Her stories and articles were published in the aforementioned Jewish periodicals, *Jevrejski život* and *Jevrejski glas*, and are preserved in the library of the Jewish Community in Sarajevo.

---

9 Laura Papo, “Die Spaniolische Frau”, *Bosnischen Post* 287 (1916): 8.

## TRADITIONAL AND MODERN WOMEN IN LAURA PAPO'S PLAYS

All of Papo's plays are preserved in manuscript in the Archive of the city of Sarajevo, but only the *Esterka* was published.<sup>10</sup> They can be divided into two groups: those featuring predominately folkloric elements and those classified as social dramas.

Her folkloric theatrical pieces *Avia de ser* (1930), *Ožos mios* (1931), and *La pasensia vale mucho* (1934), are short plays about everyday life in a traditional Sephardic family prior to the Austrian occupation. While they include numerous folk songs and ballads, they lack any particular plot or deep story. Basically, the only aim of the author was to revive a flagging nostalgia for old times and traditional Sephardic life, while entertaining audiences with traditional songs and comical situations. Her social dramas such as *Shuegra ni de baro buena* (1933) and *Esterka* (1930) are about modern times and deal with current issues such as bankruptcy, economy crises, and the emancipation of women.

There are two types of female characters in Laura Papo's dramas, traditional and modern ones. The traditional woman appears in the form of a grandmother, mother, aunt, or older neighbor, representing a type of woman that was slowly disappearing during Laura Papo's time. The traditional female characters in Papo's plays are jovial, witty, and always ready to give prudent advice, frequently referencing proverbs or traditional songs, or they simply share their life experiences. Laura Papo had a great affection for the traditional type of woman, such as her own mother, grandmother, and many other elderly women with whom she was in contact during her charitable and educational activities within the community. She wrote of them in her stories, plays, and in a study especially dedicated to the Sephardic woman, *La mužer sefardi en Bosna* (1932),<sup>11</sup> in which she described the traditional Sephardic woman, her way of life, and her personality.

The life of a Sephardic woman in Bosnia during the Ottoman Empire was no different from the life of a woman in any other patriarchal society. From her early childhood, Papo was raised with the idea that the only purpose of life was to get married and have a large family. Therefore, she was taught to do all the house chores and prepare her dowry, an important factor for every marriage. Girls from rich families never had a problem securing marriages because their parents could afford a very generous dowry. Poor families, especially those with several daughters, had difficulties arranging marriages because each of the girls had to be provided with a dowry. At very early ages, they would be joined in matrimony arranged by their fathers to someone they did not even know. The life of the traditional woman revolved around her husband, children, home, and housework.

10 Prenz Kopušar and Ana Cecilia (eds.), *Esterka de Laura Papo Bohoreta. Drama en tres actos en judeo-español de la comunidad sefardi de Bosnia* (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2012).

11 Laura Papo, *La mužer sefardi de Bosna*, trans. Muhamed Nezirović (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2005).

Laura Papo describes her as a woman with enormous patience, coming from a deep faith in God's will and fate, which helped her to endure all difficulties in life, be they marital problems, poverty, bereavement, or other misfortunes. Despite her hard life, the traditional Sephardic woman kept up her spirits and enthusiasm and knew how to cherish the little pleasures and joys in life. She appreciated everything good she received from life while accepting misfortunes as part of her destiny, taking it all as the will of God. Due to this fatalistic attitude, she was able to maintain balance and peace in difficult times. No matter what problem she had in marriage, she had to persevere without complaining to or confronting her husband.

The traditional type of Sephardic woman began to disappear along with the patriarchal way of life, gradually giving way to a new generation of modern and emancipated women.

Political and social changes inevitably penetrated Sephardic society in Bosnia, transforming the way of life, causing the gradual disappearance of customs and traditions, as well as the decline of the patriarchal family model. Within this framework, the life of a Sephardic woman was also changed, adapting to her new lifestyle. Gradually, women abandoned the conservative customs and accepted the new laws of life brought by Western culture.

The two key factors that brought radical changes in the evolution of women were education and work. After World War I, during the economic crisis, Sephardic women increasingly began to learn various trades and worked as secretaries, teachers, hairdressers, dressmakers, and seamstresses, among others. Naturally, this process was not unique to the Sephardic community, but occurred in European society in general. The moment when the Sephardic woman started working is when her role within the family started changing. She was no longer dependent on her father's choice of husband or the dowry. Now she could choose her husband independently, or even choose not to marry. The modern woman is aware of her individuality, her right to make decisions for herself, and her ability to live in accordance with her own ideas. Gradually the old concepts related to marriage, quite often criticized by Papo, began to disappear. Also, illiteracy among Sephardic women began to be a thing of the past, now common only among elder women.

Traditional and modern types of Sephardic women are well presented in Papo's drama *Esterka* by two women from the same family: Tia Rufula (Nona) and Esterka are the best examples of this contrast. As representatives of different generations and completely different upbringings, a grandmother and granddaughter, they embody two distinct ways of life and thinking. In this play, Esterka is a young and emancipated Sephardic woman whose son becomes seriously ill. In order to send him to a hospital abroad, she decides to earn money by weaving carpets. Unlike

Esterka, her husband refuses to work; since their family business failed during the economic crisis, he finds any other work humiliating and cares about what other people would think.

Esterka accomplishes her goal of saving her son thanks to her hard work and a professional and determined attitude, but also through the enormous support of her grandmother. Her Nona, Tia Rufkula, is a traditional type of woman but very understanding of the new ways of thinking and living. Nona completely understands that times have changed, and that in this new epoch it is more important for a woman to have a job and to be independent. In the past, the priority for girls was to get married. Now, as Nona notes, it is more important to have a good job:

You are doing it well, my child. Today, unfortunately, the times are such that we should congratulate girls rather for a job, than for a husband. At your age, when I was young, we were already married and with children.<sup>12</sup>

In just a couple of Nona's sentences Laura Papo refers to the life of a traditional, married woman, who was in charge of many children, busy with housework, and her husband's and mother-in-law's wishes, which she had to endure without complaining:

How many times overburdened with children and house duties, lots of shouting of your grandfather and of my mother-in-law, I had a wish to kill myself! I cried when nobody could see me [...] who would have dared to complain!<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, we have the example of a modern woman, Esterka, openly confronting her husband Vitali and expressing her opinion in a very determined and straightforward manner.

*Vitali:* And, what if I don't allow you to work, because I lose my reputation in town?

*Esterka:* We are not in Arabia. Slavery does not exist anymore, we live in Europe, in a free country. I want to work! And you, as healthy as you are, do what your heart tells you. If you have the courage to watch how your child, a piece of your soul, is getting weaker, congratulations; but me, I am a mother, I must do my duty!<sup>14</sup>

12 “Bien azes fizika – oj bavonot vino un tiempo, ke kale agurar a las mučáčikas antes buen fečo ke novio – de vuestros anjos ya estavamos en mis mosedades kazadas i afizadas”. Laura Papo, *Esterka*, Act II, scene 9, 12.

13 “Kuantas vezes, enkargada de kriaturas i feços, mučo grito de tu nono, de mi shuegra, me vinia montas de skapar kon la vida! Jorava, alas eskondidas [...] ken se ozava akešar!” Ibid, Act I, scene 4, 3.

14 “*Vitali:* I si jo este ečo no alesensio, porke perdo el kredito en el čarši? *Esterka:* No estamos en la Arabija. Esklavas no aj mas, bivimos en Evropa, en una tieria de libertad! Jo kero lavorar! I tu sano



This example shows how the relationship between husband and wife has changed. Modern, emancipated woman is now free to express her opinion and do what she thinks she needs to do, unlike traditional woman, who was not allowed to oppose her husband or raise her voice.

In old times, during the Ottoman rule, women did not go to school or receive any formal education. A girl had to stay home and help her mother take care of household chores. Many were eager to read and write, but this privilege belonged only to males. Despite being illiterate, they possessed a natural wisdom admired by Laura Papo along with patience, faith, and the ability to accept life as is. Through the words of Nona, Laura Papo describes the eagerness of women to learn to read. She is telling her granddaughter Linda how much she longed to learn to read and how she had achieved it:

When I was young, there was a newspaper of Santo Semo in Sarajevo and there were three or four women who could read it. I just got married and I was envious of Aunt Luna de Zeky who already had three or four children. I told her: "Look Luna, if I saw you covered with gold and diamonds, I would not envy you, but the fact that you can read makes me furious. And she said: You can start too; God gave you eyes and a brain. Just get into the spirit and you will know. I listened to her, and I wasn't lazy. Without anybody's knowledge, the rabbi who was teaching my brothers-in-law showed me how to do it, and hop hop hop, I started reading.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, Esterka represents a new generation of Sephardic woman who went to school and received a regular education. She says that when she was a fourteen-year-old schoolgirl, she wanted to learn to weave, and while on holiday, she decided to go to a factory to learn without the approval of her parents, as if she knew this job would one day help her to support her family.

And not to waste my days, I went to the factory of carpets, and I started to weave! I was very happy while going there. All the girls were singing, and me too. All of them made treasures of their work, and every day I was more interested in that

---

ke estes, aze luke te parese komo te komanda tu korason! Si tu tienes koraže de ver komo te se esta afinando tu kriatura, tu pedaso de alma, en la buena ora, ama, yo, yo so madre, yo kale ke aga mi dover!" Ibid., Act I, scene 12, 20.

- 15 "Ami tiempo salia una gazeta en Saray de Santo Semo y no avia en Saray tres o kuarto mužeres ke la entendian.- Yo estava rizin kazada tija Luna de Zeky ya tenia kriaturas-tres kuarto, le tenia un selo! Jo le dizia – mira Luna, si te via kuvrida en el oro y el diamante no te envidiava, ma esto, ke saves meldar se me va del ožo. – I me dišo ea. – Ambeza i tu, ožos i mejojo ja te dio el Dio! Date zor al alma i saveras. La eskući no hue haragana. Alas skundidas, el rubi ke ambizava a los kunjadikos, me ečava muestras i čup, čap čup te embezo jo a meldar – tenga bueno mi Luna oj en dia kuando la veo me akordo i dainda keria darle las mersedes!" Ibid., Act I, Scene 4, 4.

craft. And then, if you believe me, it was just as if my heart had told me that one day I would have to earn the bread. Today, my dear, I don't regret that I wasn't lazy, because don't forget, I had to argue with my parents to let me go to weave! At that time, I was only fourteen years old, I could not do what I wanted.<sup>16</sup>

And, indeed, years later, her knowledge of weaving helped her to save her son.

Through the female characters such as Nona (Tia Rufula) and Esterka, Laura Papo embodies two generations of Sephardic women, born and raised under different historical and cultural circumstances, and shows how Sephardic women have made great progress, stepping out of the patriarchal model of life which prevented them from developing in many aspects of life. If we compare Esterka and her grandmother, it is noticeable how much the Sephardic woman has changed from a traditional to a modern one, and how her position and role in the family have changed, as well as her attitude toward life.

Nona, as a traditional type of woman, was born during Ottoman rule in Bosnia. Her life revolved only around her home, her husband, and her children. She had to endure with patience and stoicism all the pain and suffering, but nevertheless, she maintained a richness of spirit and an ability to accept things calmly, with faith. She possessed innate wisdom and a capacity to comprehend things even though she didn't go to school; as she says: “Si no tenemos škola, ja mos kvadra” (Even if we do not have an education, we understand things).

Unlike her grandmother, Esterka is a prototype of a new Sephardic woman, born after the Austrian occupation, as the author wanted to be: emancipated, educated, determined, and aware of her abilities – such were she and her sisters. Through the character of Esterka, Laura Papo wanted to transmit a message to a new generation of Sephardic women, to inspire them to study, to learn something that would provide them with money, to work, and to be independent and determined to accomplish their aims.

In spite of huge differences in the ways they were brought up and the circumstances under which these two women lived, Laura Papo never opposes their opinions or attitudes nor insists on a generation gap. On the contrary, there is a perfect interaction between them. The older one has accepted the fact that the times and circumstances have changed, and she understands and supports her granddaughter.

16 “I por no perder los dias debaldes, me hue a la fabrika de los tapetes i ambezi a tešer! Muj kontente estuvi mientras ke ija aji – todas las mučičikas kantavan y yo kon eas – todas kitavan tesoros de lavoros – i a mi kada dia me interesava mas mučo este ofisio! I estonses si me vas a kreer, komo ke me dio al korason ke un dia me va kaler pelear por el pan! I oj no me aripiento mi kerida ke no hue haragana, porke no te ulvides, ke me kalio guerear kon los parientes para ke me den lesensia para jir a tešer! Estonses tuve apenas 14 anjos – no pudi azer loke me demanda el alma”. Ibid., Act II, scene 4, 5.

The younger seeks her grandmother's advice, admires her wisdom, and cherishes the traditional values that had been transmitted among their people for ages.

In representing these two types of women in her plays, Laura Papo wanted to demonstrate the two tendencies that were present throughout her life and work: to convey progressive ideas and encourage Sephardic women to emancipate, and to cherish the memory of the traditional type of women who was disappearing with the new epoch, while at the same time leaving valuable information about Sephardic woman for future generations.

“MOZART’S TRANSYLVANIAN PUPIL”  
JOSEPHA PALM:  
POSSIBLE CONNECTIONS AND NARRATIVES

EMESE SÓFALVI

PREGĂTIREA ÎN DOMENIUL TEOLOGIEI LA FACULTATEA DE TEOLOGIE REFORMATĂ ȘI MUZICĂ  
UNIVERSITATEA BABEȘ-BOLYAI, CLUJ-NAPOCA

**Abstract.** *The musical culture of Transylvania changed in significant ways at the turn of the nineteenth century; with the government moving to Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), the city became a cultural centre of Western standards. Theatre performances, musical academies, and Viennese-style chamber music concerts became popular among the region’s Hungarian nobility, especially among the close circle of the Governor, Count Georg Bánffy. One contemporary source indicates that his Viennese wife Josepha (née Palm, 1754, Vienna–1816, Cluj-Napoca) was a pupil of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Countess Bánffy introduced the cultural practices typical of her native town to Cluj. Josepha Palm supported German-speaking theatre groups and became a Maecenas to the local Kleinmeisters, strongly influencing the reception in Transylvania of the works of Viennese composers in general, and of Mozart in particular.*

**Keywords:** Josepha Palm, Mozart reception, maecenas, Transylvania

Scholars exploring the musical culture of early nineteenth-century Transylvania frequently refer to an outstanding but rather inexplicit topic of local historiography: the narrative about Countess Josepha Palm (1754, Vienna–1816, Cluj-Napoca) as a pupil of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791). Regional research literature on Mozart’s reception considers the composer’s presumed links to the Transylvanian aristocracy a certainty, and has perpetuated this certainty for decades without ever questioning or probing the reliability of the professional or personal relationship between the acclaimed artist and the wife of the region’s governor.

Using methods of musical historiography, this paper examines the conflicting elements in the conventional “Transylvanian pupil” narrative, while also elucidating the role and place of a truly emblematic figure, Countess Josepha Palm. It aims to correct a few of the unconfirmed references present in Romanian and Hungarian musicological literature by aligning data on premieres and public performances with

other evidence of local artistic assimilation, as well as bringing forth new information regarding the early reception of Mozart and the musical culture of Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár in Hungarian, Klausenburg in German).

## RESEARCH HISTORY

At the turn of the nineteenth century, there were important changes in the Transylvanian musical scene. Starting with the winter of 1790, the transfer of the governmental seat from Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) to Cluj-Napoca meant that the latter became a cultural centre. Theatre performances, musical events, as well as Viennese-style chamber concerts became common practice in the close circles of the governor of Transylvania. Brought up in the capital of the Habsburg Empire, Georg Bánffy married the Viennese countess Josepha Palm, a member of the Austrian aristocracy who was referred to by a contemporary source as having learned to play piano with none other than Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

This plausible hypothesis, of the countess being the only Transylvanian pupil of Mozart, has effortlessly made its way into the works of local researchers interested in the region's history and culture. Thus, István Lakatos discussed the issue in several of his articles,<sup>1</sup> Ede Sebestyén referred to it in his description of Mozart's links to Hungary,<sup>2</sup> George Breazul included the story in his monograph published at the bicentenary of Mozart's birth,<sup>3</sup> and János Fancsali cited it in his paper dedicated to Anton Polz, the Bánffy family's music-teacher.<sup>4</sup> More recently, Erich Türk also mentioned it in his thorough presentation of the musical life of Kolozsvár at the beginning of the nineteenth century,<sup>5</sup> and I have also discussed similar topics in my previous papers related to musical life in Transylvania.<sup>6</sup>

1 See István Lakatos, "Pătrunderea muzicii lui Mozart în Ardeal și Banat" [The infiltration of Mozart's works in Transylvania and Banat], *Muzica* 6/9 (1956): 26–30; idem., "Mozart művei Erdélyben és Bán-ságban" [Mozart's works in Transylvania and Banat], in *Zenatudományi tanulmányok V. W. A. Mozart emlékére*, ed. Bence Szabolcsi and Dénes Bartha (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1957), 467–471.

2 Ede Sebestyén, *Mozart és Magyarország* [Mozart and Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991, 2. Edition).

3 George Breazul, *La bicentenarul nașterii lui Mozart. 1756–1956* [At the bicentenary of Mozart's birth 1756–1956], București: Uniunea compozitorilor, 1956).

4 János Fancsali, "Polcz Antal, a kolozsvári magyar Zenekonzervatórium első igazgatója" [Anton Polcz, the first director of the Hungarian Conservatorium in Kolozsvár], in *Írások Erdély zenetörténelméhez 1* (Budaörs: Magyarörmény Kulturális Egyesület, Pro Artis Alapítvány, Budaörsi Örmény Nemzetiségi Önkormányzat, 2014), 9–17.

5 Erich Türk, "Aufschwung des Klausenburger Musiklebens in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Theologia*, 64/2 (2019): 113–130.

6 Emese Sófalvi, "Bánffy György, a kolozsvári Muzsikai Egyesület első védnöke" [Georg Bánffy, protector of the first Musical Society in Cluj], in *Aranka György és a tudomány megújuló alakzatai*,

The Transylvanian musicologist and highly esteemed Mozart expert Ferenc László repeatedly underlined the importance of the governor’s wife in the cultural history of Transylvania: “Bánffy’s wife, born Palm, was Viennese. A source dated to 1804 reveals that she might have been Mozart’s pupil,” and in László’s opinion, there are documents showing that Mozart was acquainted with members of the Palm aristocratic family. László emphasized that the frequent musical activities at Bánffy Palace in Kolozsvár might be considered local variants of those common in the Brukenthal Palace in Nagyszeben:<sup>7</sup>

The Bánffy Palace – today, the National Museum of Arts – witnessed the first Mozartian chamber music auditions documented in Cluj. The concerts’ promoter was none other than the Governor’s wife, born Josepha Palm, a Viennese aristocrat whose family knew Mozart well and who was actually a former piano student of the composer. The Viennese guests were fascinated by the city, the palace and the encounter with the living memory of one of Mozart’s students.<sup>8</sup>

Ferenc László related in one of his interviews that the Bánffy Palace, located in the main square of Kolozsvár, was home for numerous events in a Mozartian spirit. According to the late musicologist, Georg Bánffy married a Viennese aristocrat whose family may be mentioned in association with the Austrian musician, and who was “declared by a contemporary source as a former piano student of Mozart ... who brought to Cluj the Viennese custom of chamber music performances.” László states “We have unquestionable evidence of the fact that Bánffy himself knew and supported Mozart, his name appearing on the list of ‘subscribers’ to one of his concerts in Vienna.”<sup>9</sup>

---

ed. Annamária Biró (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2018), 235–251; idem, “Josepha Palm és a Mozart-kultusz kezdetei Erdélyben” [Josepha Palm or about the beginnings of the cult of Mozart in Transylvania], in *CERTAMEN VI*, ed. Emese Egyed, László Pakó, Emese Sófalvi (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2019), 123–130.

- 7 “Bánffys Frau, geb. Josepha Palm, war eine Wienerin. Einer Quelle von 1804 zufolge soll sie Mozart-Schülerin gewesen sein. In der Tat sind Mozarts persönliche Beziehungen zu mehreren adeligen Familiennamens Palm dokumentiert und siebenbürgische Quellen bestätigen sowohl Josepha Bánffys pianistische Fähigkeiten als auch sonst eine rege musikalische Tätigkeit im Bánffy-Palais – ein Klausenburger Pendant zum Hermannstädter Brukenthal-Palais.” Ferenc László, „Zur Geschichte der Mozart-Rezeption in Rumänien,” in *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, vol. 1, eds. Helmut Loos and Eberhard Möller (Leipzig, Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1997), 135.
- 8 “Palatul Bánffy – azi, Muzeul Național de Artă – fusese scena primelor audiții de cameră mozartiană la Cluj, atestate documentar. Promotorul acestora fusese însăși soția guvernatorului, născută Jozefa Palm, o aristocrată vieneză a cărei familie îl cunoștea bine pe Mozart și care chiar fusese eleva acestuia, la pian. Oaspeții venezi au fost încântați de Cluj, de palat și de întâlnirea cu amintirea vie a unei eleve a lui Mozart.” Ferenc László, “Cu Mozart în Europa,” a manuscript text written for the Romanian Broadcast Company in 2000.
- 9 “și pe Jozefa Palm, o sursă de epocă a declarat-o fostă elevă la pian a lui Mozart. Ea a adus la Cluj, cutuma de tip vienez a concertelor camerale. [...] Avem o dovadă irefutabilă [sic!] a faptului că

Research into the history of the subject reveals that plausible references to Mozart's single Transylvanian student can be traced in the local musicological literature back in the 1940s, but not earlier. The original point is the publication of a historiographical source, Richard Weiskircher's description of the musical culture in Transylvania at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The manuscript, under the title *Musikpflege in Siebenbürgen um 1800* (Music in Transylvania Around 1800) was written in 1804 in Sibiu and published by Gottlieb Brandsch, a versatile intellectual interested in the history, popular music culture, and education of the Transylvanian Saxons. The editor omitted to mention the exact provenience of his source material, rendering critical examination of the manuscript impossible. The author of the manuscript lived in Sibiu, relatively far from the inner circles of the countess Bánffy, and in this work he mostly described Saxon musical traditions in Transylvania.

The Weiskirchen–Brandsch text describes the generous and honourable wife of Count Georg Bánffy as an accomplished person fully deserving of high social status, a lady who skilfully plays the fortepiano and used to learn from the “immortal Mozart.”<sup>10</sup> The author places Josepha Palm in the same context as another symbolic figure: the chapel master Peter Schimert (1712–1785), the beloved disciple of Johann Sebastian Bach. Both the cantor and the countess are presented as personalities who enabled Transylvanian art to become aligned with Western musical traditions.

This piece of new information, published in German in a Transylvanian Saxon journal, was instantly processed by István Lakatos, a self-educated but prolific chronicler of the region's musical historical events. Without questioning or revisiting the source, he instantly and repeatedly integrated it into his articles. Thus, the appealing (and quite feasible!) presumption of her being “Mozart's Transylvanian pupil” came to be cited frequently as a fact in the literature on local music history.

#### HYPOTHESIS OF A POSSIBLE MOZART-PALM CONNECTION

Considered by Brandsch an accomplished pianoforte player, Josepha Palm had no explicit pretension to become a bridge between Western musical conventions and

---

Bánffy însuși l-a cunoscut și l-a susținut pe Mozart, numele său apărând pe lista ‘subscribenților’ la un concert al acestuia dat la Viena.” Mozart 250 ani și Transilvania. Interview with Ferenc László by Victor Eskenasy, 27 January 2006. <https://moldova.europalibera.org/a/25653601.html> (accessed: 10.10. 2022).

10 “Die Gemahlin des Ersten verbindet als eine gebohrne gräfin Palm, mit denen ihren Rang und Seelengröße eigenen erhabenen Tugenden noch die Eigenschaft, eine geschickte Fortepiano Spielerin und Schülerin des unsterblichen Mozarts zu sein.” Gottlieb Brandsch, „Musikpflege in Siebenbürgen um 1800,“ *Siebenbürgischer Vierteljahrschrift* 64/2 (1941): 138–152, 149.



Fig. 1. Unknown painter. *Portrait of Countess Josepha Palm*, before 1822, private collection

the necessities of a peripheral region. Born Countess Josephine Maria Palm on 25 August 1754, she married on 12 April 1771 at the age of 17. After the wedding, the wife of the future governor lived a life typical of Austrian or Hungarian high nobility: she gave birth to eight children, six of whom lived to adulthood. Entirely



dedicated to their instruction, she supported the publication of treatises on education, as well as works of Hungarian literature. Countess Palm was seen by her contemporaries as a role model for promoting culture, and as a respectable person whose compassionate and sensitive heart was observed and mentioned by prominent figures in the Transylvanian community. Her achievements were eventually recognised by her native country in the form of the Sternkreuz, the highest Austrian distinction.

But what of the Mozart episode? A possible early encounter between the Mozart family and the young Countess Palm's inner circles could actually have taken place. During their repeated visits to Vienna (1762, 1767/68, 1774), Leopold Mozart and his son Wolfgang might have met the Palms, but to date no documents confirm an actual connection between the two families. Such an encounter between the artist and his presumed student is more likely to have happened later, in the year 1781. By this time, during Mozart's Viennese period, the student would have been Countess Bánffy, the wife of a high Austrian state official.

The capital of the Habsburg Empire was a cultural centre, often sending theatre troupes and musicians to the peripheries of the empire and welcoming them back for the winter season, together with their aristocratic employers. The Hungarian aristocracy comes across as a tightly knit company in the testimonies of contemporary documents, often under the collective denomination "der Ungarische Adel" (a name we also find later on in a pension request written by Constanze Mozart, the widow of the composer).

In the context of private musical assemblies of the Viennese years, the Apponyi, Bánffy, Esterházy, Pálffy, and Zichy families were the most frequently mentioned from the Hungarian aristocratic circle. From his very first years spent in Vienna, Mozart was invited to play in the salons of Count Károly Zichy (20 July 1782, 20 March 1784) and János Esterházy (nine occasions 1–29 March 1782). A certain Comte de Banffi [*sic*] paid six *gulden*s for his season ticket for the Trattnerhof concerts in March 1784, according to a list which can be found on a letter the composer sent to his father Leopold, but we should perhaps not read too much into this; a gesture of support of this kind would not necessarily have meant actual attendance at events (on the same list of season ticket holders the name of the Duke and Duchess Palm are visible).<sup>11</sup>

Mozart research literature details a continuation of relations with the Hungarian aristocracy. There were musical visits to Duke Lipót Pálffy (9 April 1784) and

11 The wife of Georg Bánffy, Josepha Palm belonged to a higher branch of the family, the counts of the Palm nobility. See János Kárpáti, *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart: Válogatott levelek és dokumentumok* [Wolfgang Amadé Mozart: Selected letters and documents] (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, Budapest, 2017).

Count Zichy (21 February 1785), and the composer developed a close relation with the Zichy family, tutoring the Count's wife Anna Mária. It also mentions another female student from the high Hungarian nobility, namely Josepha Gabriella Pálffy.

Sources concerning the involvement of the young Countess Palm in the musical life of the capital of the Habsburg Empire are scarce, as is the precise chronology of the years she spent in Vienna with her newlywed husband. She gave birth to five children in the first decade of her marriage, so her socialising possibilities might have been reduced. It is likely that Georg Bánffy, a high official of the chancellery and treasurer of the Habsburg Empire from 1782 until his nomination to the function of Governor of Transylvania in 1787, would have been more familiar with the Viennese Mozart phenomenon. And in March 1784, he could have easily joined Mozart's public in the salon of his sister Ágnes Bánffy, the wife of Count János Eszterházy.

Despite the frequent allusions to be found in the musicological literature published in Hungary and Romania, we have no documentation pointing toward the existence of a closer, personal Mozart–Bánffy meeting in Vienna, nor any evidence of Countess Palm's particular interest in the musician.

#### JOSEPHA PALM AND THE MUSICAL CULTURE IN TRANSYLVANIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Countess Josepha Palm was considered by her contemporaries a highly accomplished lady and a great benefactor of the arts. Theatre plays and musical academies honoured her, and compositions or poems were dedicated to her (such as the one entitled *Symphonia*), demonstrating her well-known affinity for music.

Josepha Palm took the presentation of events in the Habsburg capital as a model. Continuing the Saxon artistic tradition of the former chair of the Transylvanian Government, and following the precedent of the Brukenthal Palace in Sibiu, she tried to introduce these types of events from 1787 into cultural life in Kolozsvár, her new home. The Countess became protectress of local *kleinmeisters* and the resident German theatre companies, and she was well known for being supportive of migrating German and Austrian composers.

One of the earliest hints of Josepha Bánffy's affinity for music can be found in the text of the recommendation of one of the first printed "Hungarian Arias." József Rájnis's (1741–1812) verses were set to music with particular attention to the Hungarian prosody by János Schreier (1744–1811) for a tenor and an instrumental ensemble (2 violins, 2 violas, bass, 2 flutes, 2 horns in F)<sup>12</sup> and dedicated to

---

12 The composition's earlier version, preserved in a manuscript form, is written for voice and piano.

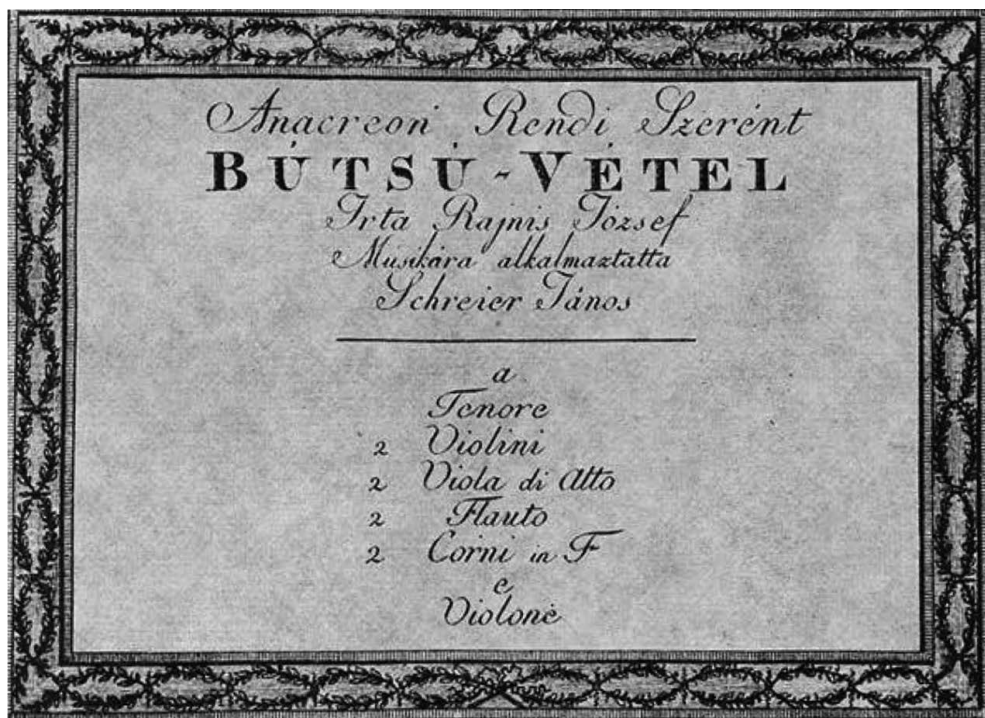


Fig. 2. József Rájnis–János Schreier; *Ankreón rendjé szerént bútsú-vétel* (Farewell in Anacreontic Style), front page; National Széchényi Library, Budapest

Josepha Palm. Scherier addresses the Countess in the preface to his 1791 *Anacreon rendjé szerént Bútsú-vétel* (Farewell in Anacreontic Style) as the person most capable to judge the artistic value of the piece, since she can understand music almost to perfection. Schreier referred to an episode already thirteen years earlier, perhaps in 1778, when Josepha Palm, while playing “the most beautiful works,” allowed him to accompany her, thus developing the Piarist musician’s taste.

At the beginning of the 1810s, the Bánffys had already employed a Viennese musician, Anton Polz, as klaviermeister. Since by this period the Count’s grown-up children were no longer resident in the palace, the music master’s tasks were more likely extended to the organisation of the artistic events of the family. Although Polz was certainly an appreciated member of the governor’s household – he attended the family meals and held a private room on the premises – no exact inscription relating to the Bánffys can be found among Polz’s compositions.

But another migrant artist from Austria did dedicate a series of piano variations to Josepha Palm: František Pöschl, the music teacher at Count Sámuel Kemény’s family. Although the score is not dated, we can deduce that it was composed before

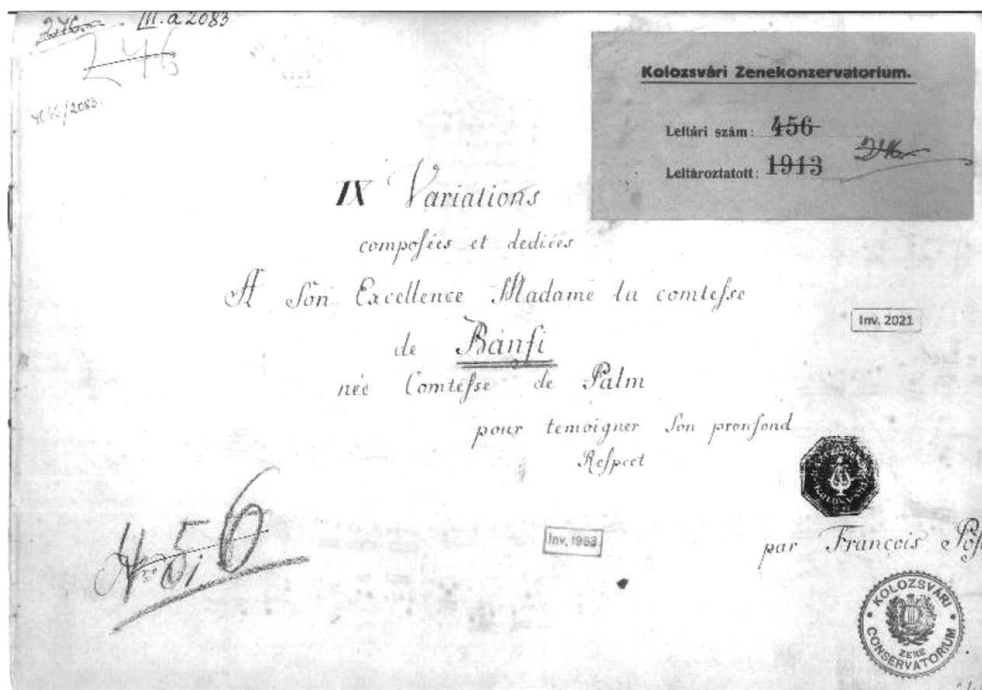


Fig. 3. František Pöschl: *IX Variations*, front page, Library of the Gheorghe Dima National Music Academy, Cluj-Napoca, III.a.

1814, most likely between 1810 and 1814, and that it was not necessarily intended specifically for the Countess to perform it on the fortepiano. The original 3/8 theme and its nine character variations (including the common types of the genre: variations for the left hand, minor variations, and a Polonaise) suggest a skilful pianist and a Vienna-trained composer.

For private gatherings, Josepha Palm used the term *Gesellschaft* (social assembly), which is a hint of her affiliation to German-speaking culture. At the sumptuous events she organised, or which were organised for her, music was always present. In 1803, for example, on the Countess' birthday her children József and Dénes played a piano and clarinet piece in her honour.

Considering that the Countess had been brought up with German culture, there was no impediment for local Hungarian theatre troupes to perform regularly in their mother tongue in honour of the first lady of Transylvania. One of the earliest performances of this kind was the play *A nemes joltevő* (The Noble Benefactress), performed in 1793 by amateur members of the gubernatorial chancellery at Rhédey Hall (a place frequently used for theatrical events in Cluj).

Abbonement Soprendó  
 A FELGŐRÖK ENGEDLMÉVEL  
 Ma Szombat Március 19-dik Napja

**NEMZETI JÁTSZÓ TÁRSASÁG**  
 (az első oszt.)  
 Az Erzsébeti Nagy Színháznak  
 Fő Kezelményezője  
 BANNFI GYÖRGY  
 Dr. G. szellemi igazgatója  
 Kedves élte Párjának  
 Születés Nappal

**PÁLM JOSEFA,**  
 Dr. Állományos  
 Ó Excellenciájának  
 Vil. Cs. és Herceg. udvari Titkárságán  
 Egy igen Mulattató Nagy Operát, a Felvonásban  
 Eszen névvel állatta

**KONTRAKTUS.**  
 1833. évi

---

Játszó Személyek:

Leányok és Fiúk	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....

---

Jelölés

A° az előzőleg vagy másfelől megvásárolt jegyeknek az a részük  
 a mely a jelenlegi előadásra alkalmas voltok megvásárolták

---

A° Bevételek ára,

Egy Nagy Logé	.....	1. 2. 3. 4.	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....
Ének és Tánc	.....	.....	.....

Kedveskedő járék Hat utolsó egy forinttal egész lefűt 5-er.

Fig. 4. Theatre bill, Kolozsvár, 19 March 1803.

Wandering theatre groups coming to Cluj-Napoca presented annual musical events to mark the name days of the Bánffy couple. Five such artistic events can be linked directly to the governor's wife, but their actual number must have been greater. On 19 March 1803 *A Kontraktus* (The Contract), the local public's beloved *singspiel*, with music by Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf was performed to honour the name day of Josepha Palm.

The playbill of a musical academy dated 8 March 1805 shows the first public performance of a Mozart composition in Cluj. The overture to the *Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute), referred to as "the opening music of the *Czauberflöte* [*sic*] opera written by Mozárt [*sic*]," was described as the work of the person "who deserves everlasting remembrance" and placed at the beginning of the theatre orchestra's programme, directed by the residing conductor Johann Seltzer. After ten days, on 18 March 1805, a new drama performance *Pruth vize mellett kötöttett békesség* (Peace Made on the Side of the River Pruth) was dedicated to the first lady of Transylvania, including musical insertions from an unidentified composer. The author of the drama remains unknown. In 1806, the Hungarian theatre group's act was a new musical presentation with festive illuminations: the comedy *Viktorina*.

A concert in 1807 marks the premiere of a Mozart chamber music composition, most likely the Quintet in E-flat major for piano and winds, K. 452. If one looks at the programme and the participants of the concert, it is clear that the protectress of artistic presentations is being celebrated. The name Anton Polz must be mentioned here again, as he was the Bánffy family's music teacher at the time. Polz was a "Musicus ex Austria" who started as an "anti-Beethovenian" but later became a fervent adept of the works of Ludwig van Beethoven. This Austrian *kleinmeister* knew well his patroness' association with the Viennese style and its prominent composers. During the festivities held in the Bánffy palace, Polz himself performed the piano part, and was joined by woodwind players from the local theatre (namely: Johann Klein, Johann Seltzer, Johann Trzka and Leopold Irch).

Although known for her artistic inclinations, the countess' personal correspondence rarely included musical subjects, one exception to this being a description of a disgraceful performance of *The Magic Flute* in Lugoj (Lugos, Lugosch) which did reach her through one of her nephews in 1811.<sup>13</sup>

Additional information concerning the means of artistic patronage can also be drawn from the family archives. In the Bánffy family's Transylvanian homes – the palaces of Kolozsvár, Gyalu (today Gilău), and Bonchida castle (today Bonțida) – a collection of musical instruments indicate they were used effectively in private musical assemblies. The governor's possessions included two basses, a dulcimer, music

13 See Ferenc László, *Mozart: Lugos 1811* (Budapest: Helikon, 1991), 11.

stands, benches for the players, a cherry plywood fortepiano, and a great number of musical clocks.

Josepha Palm died in Cluj-Napoca on 2 February 1814, aged 60. The annual musical plays organised in her honour by the residing German and Hungarian theatre groups were mostly transferred to the widowed governor himself, the remainder going to her female relatives. Thus, the public musical academies and opera performances, originally developed to honour the late Countess, were sustained.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, the integration of Viennese musical culture continued in the artistic activities conducted and promoted by the governor, who initiated the founding of the first Musical Society in Transylvania in the summer of 1819. Protector of the local Musik-Gesellschaft, Count Bánffy strongly supported the activities of the first musical educational institution of the region, appointing his employee Anton Polz as director. Secondary sources mention Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Requiem* in the same context as the governor, and the funeral mass was very likely performed by the local Musical Society's members in remembrance of Count Bánffy after his passing in 1822.<sup>15</sup>

In his testament, Georg Bánffy donated a generous sum so that musical masses in remembrance of his wife would be performed annually on the day of her death (2 February) in the church of Saint Michael in Cluj. We have no data concerning how long these musical gestures were held honouring the memory of the late Josepha Bánffy (née Palm), but the recollection of the beloved wife and mother, Maecenas of the local theatre groups and musicians, had long faded when her figure involuntarily reappeared in the middle of the twentieth century posing as Mozart's single Transylvanian pupil, and became once again an important emblematic character in local music history.

★ ★ ★

Josepha Palm's story can be perceived as an illustrative example of the reception of art and music on the peripheries of Europe around 1800. Whether she was Mozart's pupil or not remains a question for further research, but she can certainly be seen as a symbol of thriving relations between Kolozsvár and the great artistic centres of the continent, and also of ever-increasing Western influence, during and after the Enlightenment, in the cultural life of Transylvania. To conclude, the reception of

14 Completing the representations honouring the Countess, we can only hint at the annual "Bánffy-concerts" performed by the local Musical Society between 1819–1822.

15 See Ágnes Sas, "Főúri zenei intézmények, arisztokrata mecénások a 18. századi Magyarországon" [Musical institutions of the high nobility, aristocratic protectors in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Hungary], *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2001–2002* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet), 171–233.

JOZEFA PALM, “MOZART’S TRANSYLVANIAN PUPIL”

the Austrian Countess and the Viennese composer represents a solid building block in the subsequent development of local musical culture: the emerging national school in Transylvania and Hungary.





# EIN HARMONIUM IM KONAK VON LEYLA [SAZ] HANIMEFENDI

NEJLA MELIKE ATALAY  
WESTFÄLISCHE WILHELMS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNSTER

**Abstract.** *In einer Zeit, in der im Osmanischen Reich vielfältigste Reformen angestrebt und durchgeführt wurden, entstand 1834 mit der Gründung der Musikkorpsschule (,Muzika-i Hümayûn Mektebi‘) in Istanbul die erste Institution europäischer Musikausbildung. Die Einführung europäischer Musik durch solche Institutionen und die Verbreitung entsprechender Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten im Osmanischen Reich wird von einigen Forscher\*innen als ein Aspekt der ‚Osmanischen Modernisierung‘ betrachtet.*

*So wurde über das Interesse an europäischer Musik innerhalb und außerhalb des Palastes diskutiert und geforscht, während andere sich auf die Auswirkungen dieses Trends konzentrierten. Meine Forschungen erweitern diese Aspekte und widmen sich unter anderem den Werken Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendis (1850?–1936), die in jener Zeit der sogenannten Tanzimat-Reformen geboren wurde, welche als Anfänge des oben beschriebenen Übergangs gelten. Hanımefendi komponierte sowohl im osmanischen Makâm-Stil als auch im europäischen Stil, den sie selbst als „alafranga“ bezeichnete. Sie fügte diese beiden unterschiedlichen Musikkonzepte in ihren Kompositionen und im kulturellen Raum ihres Konaks (Wohnhauses) zusammen. Mit „Ein Harmonium im Konak von Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi“ möchte ich erörtern, wie ein europäisches Instrument zum Interpretieren und Komponieren ‚traditioneller‘ makâmischer Musik herangezogen und Musikkultur hybridisiert wurde.*

**Keywords:** Leyla Saz Hanımefendi, osmanische Komponistinnen, Komponistinnen der Türkei, Harmonium, Makâm, Alafranga, Verhältnis zu westlicher Kulturen, Ausbildungssysteme, informelle Ausbildung, Soziale Räume und Orte

In einer Zeit, in der im Osmanischen Reich vielfältigste Reformen angestrebt und durchgeführt wurden, entstand 1834 mit der Gründung der Musikkorpsschule (,Muzika-i Hümayûn Mektebi‘) in Maçka die erste Institution europäischer Musikausbildung. Die Einführung europäischer Musik durch solche Institutionen und die Verbreitung entsprechender Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten im Osmanischen Reich wird von einigen Forscher\*innen als ein Aspekt der ‚Osmanischen Modernisierung‘ betrachtet. So wurde über das Interesse an europäischer Musik innerhalb und

außerhalb des Palastes diskutiert und geforscht, während andere sich auf die Auswirkungen dieses Trends konzentrierten.

Meine Forschungen erweitern diese Aspekte und widmen sich unter anderem den Werken Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendis (1850?–1936), die in jener Zeit der sogenannten *Tanzimat*-Reformen geboren wurde, welche als Anfänge des oben beschriebenen Übergangs gelten. Hanımefendi komponierte sowohl im osmanischen *Makâm*-Stil als auch im europäischen Stil, den sie selbst als „alafranga“ bezeichnete. Sie fügte diese beiden unterschiedlichen Musikkonzepte in ihren Kompositionen und im kulturellen Raum ihres *Konaks* (Wohnhauses) zusammen. In meinem Text erörtere ich, wie ein europäisches Instrument zum Interpretieren und Komponieren ‚traditioneller‘ makamischer Musik herangezogen und Musikkultur hybridisiert wurde.

#### ÜBER LEYLA [SAZ] HANIMEFENDI (1850?–1936)

Dank des Familiennamengesetzes führte Leyla Hanımefendi ab 1934 den Beinamen „Saz“,<sup>1</sup> die Bezeichnung für ein türkisches Saiteninstrument, aber auch ein allgemeiner Begriff für Musikinstrument,<sup>2</sup> den sie aus Liebe zur Musik annahm.

Begibt man sich auf die Suche nach bedeutenden Schriftstellerinnen, Dichterinnen, Musikerinnen und Komponistinnen des osmanischen Reiches oder der Türkischen Republik, stößt man immer wieder auf ihren Namen, was sie als eine der bekanntesten Frauen-Figuren künstlerischen Schaffens im spätosmanischen Reich erscheinen lässt.

Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi wurde um 1850 in Istanbul als Tochter des Leibarztes von Sultan Abdülmecid I (reg. 1839–1861), Hekim İsmail Pascha (1807–1879), geboren. Ab ihrem vierten Lebensjahr wuchs sie mit den Töchtern des Sultans als deren Spielkameradin auf. Gemeinsam mit den osmanischen Prinzessinnen erhielt sie im Sultanspalast ihre musikalische Grundausbildung. Durch diese privilegierte Stellung hatte sie Gelegenheit, an allen wichtigen Festlichkeiten des osmanischen Hofes teilzunehmen. Sie reiste viel dank der beruflichen Angelegenheiten ihres Vaters sowie später ihres Mannes, Giritli Sırrı Pascha (1844–1895). Beispielsweise wurde ihr Vater im Jahr 1861 nach dem Tod des Sultans Abdülmecid mit dem Amt

1 Das Gesetz über Familiennamen wurde am 21. Juni 1934 in Kraft gesetzt. Mit der Verabschiedung des Gesetzes wurde jeder türkische Staatsbürger verpflichtet, einen Familiennamen anzunehmen. Cemal Güven, *Anayasalar, Kanunlar ve TBMM Kararları 1876–2016* [Verfassungen, Gesetze und Resolutionen der Großen Nationalversammlung 1876–2016] (Konya: Eğitim Yayınevi. 2016), 25.

2 Yılmaz Öztuna, „Saz“, in *Akademik Klasik Türk San’at Musikisinin Ansiklopedik Sözlüğü* [Enzyklopädie der akademischen klassischen türkischen Kunstmusik], 2 (Ankara: Orient Press, 2006), 265.

des Gouverneurs von Chania, Kreta betraut,<sup>3</sup> wohin er seine Tochter mitnahm. Dort genoss sie als 11-jährige Privatunterricht, lernte Altgriechisch, Französisch und Englisch,<sup>4</sup> vervollkommnete ihr Klavierspiel und vertiefte sich in die Kenntnisse der osmanischen Dichtkunst.<sup>5</sup>

Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi erlebte die Regierung von sechs verschiedenen Sultanen und die ersten 13 Jahre der türkischen Republik unter Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938).<sup>6</sup> Kurz vor dem Fall des Osmanischen Reiches publizierte sie ihre Erinnerungen 1921 unter dem Titel *Harem ve saray âdât-ı kadimesi* (Vergangene Sitten im Harem und Saray)<sup>7</sup> in den osmanischen Tageszeitungen *Vakit* und *Ileri*.<sup>8</sup> Hier schilderte sie das Leben der Frauen aus den verschiedenen Regionen (Abb. 1), die sie im Laufe ihres Lebens bereist hatte.

Sie ist eine der wenigen Persönlichkeiten, die das alltägliche Haremsleben und die Sitten des Harems im Palast beobachten und niederschreiben konnten. Sie schilderte nicht nur das Leben der Frauen im Sultanspalast sondern auch das Musikleben am Hofe Sultan Abdülmecids, die Hochzeiten der osmanischen Prinzessinnen, die damalige Mode sowie die unterschiedlichen kulturellen Aktivitäten im Palast, die sie mitgestaltete, und an denen sie teilnahm. Deshalb gelten die Memoiren von Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi bis heute als wichtige Referenz für die verschiedenen wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen, die sich mit dem Leben der Frauen im Palast beschäftigen.

Der türkischen Musikgeschichtsschreibung zufolge ist es möglich Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi als eine Pionierin unter den türkischen Komponist\*innen zu sehen, da sie im Palast westlich orientierte Musikerziehung erhielt und Märsche, Polkas und Mazurken für Klavier komponierte.<sup>9</sup>

3 Mehmet Süreyya, *Sicilli Osmani* (İstanbul: Numune Matbaacılık, 1996), 833.

4 Sie lernte Altgriechisch, Französisch und Englisch bei Elisabeth Contaksaki (c. 1818–1879). Unter den ehemaligen Professoren der Universität Athen trafen sich Elisabeth Contaxaki und Leyla Hanımefendi auf der Fregatte Keyvan, nachdem Hekim İsmail Pascha nach Kreta entsandt worden war. Aus Leyla Hanımefendis Berichten geht hervor, dass Contaxaki in Leyla Hanımefendi ein Interesse an „westlicher Literatur“ weckte.

Leila Hanoum, „Childhood Wanderings in Crete“, in *The Living Age* (15 January 1928): 163. Vgl. Neyzi, *Osmanlıktan Cumhuriyet’e Kızıltoprak Anıları* (İstanbul: İş Bankası, 2016), 46. Saz, in *Harem’in İçyüzü* [Im Harem], Hg. Sadi Borak (İstanbul: Milliyet, 1974), 281–285. İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, „Leyla“, in *Son Asır Türk Şairleri* [Türkische Dichter des letzten Jahrhunderts], 3, Hg. Hidayet Özcan (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2000), 1240–1248.

5 Neyzi: *Osmanlıktan Cumhuriyet’e Kızıltoprak Anıları*, 47.

6 Sultan I. Abdülmecid (Regierungszeit 1839–1861), Sultan Abdülaziz (Regierungszeit 1861–1876), Sultan Murad (1876), Sultan II. Abdülhamid (1876–1909), Sultan Mehmed V. Reşat (1909–1918) und Sultan Mehmed IV. Vahdettin (1918–1922).

7 Sagaster Börte, *Im Harem von Istanbul. Osmanisch türkische Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: E.B.-Verlag, 1989), 9.

8 Fahır İz, „Laylâ Khanım“, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, 5 (Leiden: E. J.Brill, 1979), 710.

9 Halil Bedi „Türk Kadını ve Garb Musikisi“ [Türkische Frauen und westliche Musik], *Hayat* 4/92



Abb. 1. Die Provinzen, die Leyla Hanımefendi bereist hatte.

Leyla Hanımefendi ist in einem osmanischen Umfeld geboren und aufgewachsen, das von der Neuorientierung der Tanzimat-Reformen geprägt war und durch die tiefgreifenden Veränderungen im Zentrum des Reiches beeinflusst wurde. Quellen lassen vermuten, dass sich die Reformen und Regulierungen der Bereiche Verwaltung, Kultur, Kunst und Bildung auf Leyla Hanımefendis Weltbild und Produktionen auswirkten.

Sie verbrachte ihre Kindheitsjahre im osmanischen Palast und hatte enge Beziehungen zu Mitgliedern der osmanischen Dynastie. Leyla Hanımefendi gehörte aber auch der neu entstandenen Klasse des osmanischen Bürgertums an. Innerhalb dieses Gesellschaftskreises etablierte sie ein weitreichendes Netzwerk an Künstler\*innen, Schriftsteller\*innen, Dichter\*innen und Komponist\*innen um sich, das auch über die Landesgrenzen hinausreichte. So bietet die Untersuchung ihres Lebens, ihrer

---

(30. August 1928): 16f; Mithat Fenmen, *Piyanistin Kitabı* [Das Buch des Pianisten] (Ankara: Akba Kitabevi, 1947), 147; Ahmet Say, *The Music and Music Makers in Turkey* (Ankara: Music Encyclopedia Publications, 1995), 55–56, 31; idem, *Müzik Tarihi* [Musikgeschichte] (Ankara: Music Encyclopedia Publications, 1997), 515, 526; Kosal, *Western Classical Music* 15; Mehmet Nazmi Özalp, *Türk Musikisi Tarihi* [Die Geschichte der türkischen Musik], 1 (Ankara: Müzik Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2000), 34; Ş. Şehvar Beşiroğlu, „The Women of Istanbul and Their Musical Identities“, in *ITU Journal Series B: Social Sciences* 3/2 (December 2006): 3–19; Kurt Reinhard und Ursula Reinhard: *Türkiye'nin Müziği* [Musik der Türkei], 1, übers. von Sinemis Sun (Ankara: Sun Yayıncılık, 2007), 43.

Kompositionen und ihrer Beziehungen die Möglichkeit, sowohl einen Blick in das Innere des Palastes zu werfen als auch ein Bild des bürgerlichen Lebens der damaligen Zeit zu erhalten.

## ZEIT, RAUM UND MUSIK ALS INTERDISZIPLINÄRE BETRACHTUNG

Um die damaligen Produktionsbedingungen, die das Schaffen von Leyla Hanımefendi charakterisieren, besser zu verstehen, können diese in drei Abschnitte im Kontext von Zeit, Raum und Musik gegliedert werden. Dabei bedient sich jedes dieser Konzepte eines eigenen interdisziplinären Ansatzes.

### ZEIT

Leyla Hanımefendis Leben kann in vier verschiedenen Regierungsperioden betrachtet werden, die auf ihre Produktionsbedingungen Einfluss nahmen.

1. Erste Phase der *Tanzimat* (1839–1876)
2. Zweite Phase der *Tanzimat*: Die Regierungszeit von Sultan Abdülhamid II. (1876–1908)
3. II. Konstitutionelle Periode (1908–1920)
4. Republik der Türkei von 1923.

Die erste Phase, namentlich *Tanzimat* (تنظيمات; Anordnungen, Neuordnungen),<sup>10</sup> wird in der Geschichtsschreibung oft als eine Reformperiode interpretiert, in der seit dem Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts viele Neustrukturierungen in der Regierung, der Verwaltung, dem Militär- und Rechtswesen sowie der Wirtschaft notgedrungen durchgeführt wurden, um den langsamen Niedergang des osmanischen Reiches zu verhindern.

Leyla Hanımefendi wurde in diese Zeit der Neuordnung hinein geboren. Anhand ihrer Erinnerungen aus dem Inneren des Palastes, können viele Details über das tägliche Leben des osmanischen Palastes nachvollzogen werden.

Die Institutionalisierung der europäischen Musik und der Musikerziehung im osmanischen Palast fällt ebenfalls in diese Zeit. Nach der Abschaffung der Janitscharen (1826) und der Gründung einer neuen Armee wurde die Musikkapelle der neu formierten Armee nach europäischem Vorbild eingerichtet. Während Leyla Hanımefendis Kindheit im Palast hatten diese Reformen der Musik bereits Früchte getragen.

---

10 Karl Sachs und Césaire Villatte, *Sach-Villatte Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch der französischen und deutschen Sprache*, 2 (Berlin-Schöneberg: Langenscheidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1869), 296.

Nicht jeder hatte Zugang zum Musikraum. Die Notablen durften außen vor der Tür zuhören. Die Prinzessinnen nahmen eine *kalfa* [ältere Dienerin] mit. [...] Manchmal waren auch meine Freundinnen dort, auch sie machten keinen Lärm. Wir hörten aufmerksam zu, liefen (dann) in (unsere) Abteilung und spielten dort auf dem Klavier, was wir behalten hatten. In den Sarays ist man so sehr an die Musik gewöhnt, daß sie dort alles beherrscht [...] Obwohl es nicht Brauch ist, in den Zimmern Klavier zu spielen, gibt es doch überall viele Klaviere.<sup>11</sup>

Als Leyla Hanımefendi 28 Jahre alt war, begann die zweite Phase, nämlich die der Regierungszeit Abdülhamids II. Aufgrund der von ihm eingeführten Zensurpraxis wird in vielen historischen Erzählungen die Ansicht vertreten, dass die liberalen Tendenzen der ersten Phase des Tanzimat mit der Machtübernahme von Sultan Abdülhamid vollständig beendet waren.<sup>12</sup> Seine Regierungszeit gilt in der Geschichtsschreibung jedoch auch als eine Zeit großer Durchbrüche, da in ihr zahlreiche Reformen, vor allem im Wirtschafts- und Finanzbereich, im Transport- und Kommunikationswesen und im Bildungswesen durchgeführt wurden und Gestalt annahmen. Die negativen Auswirkungen der Zensurmechanismen dieser Zeit auf Leyla Hanımefendi kann man in den Memoiren ihrer Großenkel und in den Interviews sehen, die sie nach der Gründung der Republik Türkei in den Zeitungen gab.

Eine der grundlegenden Veränderungen, die durch Abdülhamids Regierung herbeigeführt wurde, war die Schließung des osmanischen Parlaments (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) auf unbestimmte Zeit im Jahr 1878, wodurch das Verfassungsregime beendet wurde und er zum alleinigen Herrscher der Verwaltung wurde. Diese Schritte waren notwendig, um die militärisch-bürokratische Elite im Reich zurückzudrängen, die während der ersten Phase der Tanzimat Ära entstanden war. Seine Herrschaft endete 1908 mit der sogenannten „Revolution der Jungtürken“.

Die Reformen, die mit der *Tanzimat* begannen, verliefen – zumindest aus Sicht der Regierung – nicht ganz entsprechend ihren Absichten. Unter den Historiographen besteht Konsens darüber, dass die überschwängliche Atmosphäre, die mit der Ausrufung der zweiten konstitutionellen Monarchie (1908) begann, nicht lange anhielt. Ebenso kann man behaupten, dass die *Osmanlılık* (Osmanismus) Ideen, die von der Fortschritts- und Unions-Bewegung entwickelt wurden, und die während der Herrschaft von Sultan

11 Sagaster, *Im Harem*, 131.

12 Dietrich Jung, „Staatsbildung und Staatszerfall – Die osmanische Moderne und der europäische Staatenbildungsprozesse“, in *Die Türkei und Europa*, Hg. Gabriele Clemens (Hamburg/Münster: LIT Verlag, 2007), 67; Fahir Armaoğlu, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi 1914–1980* [Politische Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts 1914–1980] (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1983), 58f; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi* [Osmanische Geschichte], 8: *Birinci Meşrutiyet ve İstibdat devirleri 1876–1907* [Erste konstitutionelle Monarchie und Herrschaftsperioden 1876–1907] (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 2007).

Abdülhamid II. sowohl hinsichtlich der sich verändernden Grenzen der osmanischen Länder als auch hinsichtlich der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Veränderungen in der Gesellschaft wuchsen, sich in einen türkischen Nationalismus verwandelten.

Die Bemühungen der Jungtürken, die die Verwaltung übernahmen, scheinen der Auslöser gewesen zu sein, die ethnisch und heterogene osmanische Staatsstruktur in einen „modernen“, national-türkischen Staat zu verwandeln. Obwohl das osmanische Reich im ersten Weltkrieg an der Seite der Zentralmächte kämpfte, konnten seine teilweisen militärischen Erfolge den Fall nicht verhindern. Die chaotischen Zustände und das Elend, die durch die Niederlagen verursacht wurden, ließen die Untertanen Hass und Misstrauen gegenüber dem Palast spüren.

Die nationalistische Gegenregierung unter Mustafa Kemal Pascha – später bekannt unter dem Namen „Atatürk“ – leitete die vierte und letzte Periode ein. Leyla Hanimefendi war damals 73 Jahre alt und erlebte erneut tiefgreifende Reformen. Stellt man diese verschiedenen Zeitabschnitte Leyla Hanimefendis Produktionen gegenüber, können wir vermuten, dass sie die politischen Unruhen der dritten Phase innerlich wohl am tiefsten berührten. Diese Betroffenheit transformierte sie zum Freiheitsmarsch der Jungtürkischen Revolution sowie in ein Gedicht gegen den Balkankrieg.

Die Besetzung von (damals noch) Konstantinopel zwischen 1918 und 1923 hatte ebenfalls besonderen Einfluss auf Leyla Hanimefendi. Sie traf sich zum Beispiel nicht, wie so oft zuvor, mit ihren gleichgesinnten Künstlerinnen in *Konaks* (Wohnhäusern) oder an ähnlichen Orten. Ihr künstlerischer Schaffensdrang blieb davon allerdings ungebrochen. Dieser hielt ihr ganzes Leben hinweg an und gibt uns darüber hinaus ausführlich Auskunft über ihre sozialen Beziehungen.

In Interviews sprach sie über diese Reformen und die Beteiligung von Frauen am gesellschaftlichen Leben und ihre Sichtbarkeit in sozialen Bereichen. Es scheint, dass sie bis zu ihrem Tod nicht aufgehört hat, Salons zu besuchen, diese zu organisieren, Künstlerinnen bekannt zu machen, diese zu unterstützen und zu fördern.

## RAUM

Das Konzept des Raumes und dessen Bedeutungsmuster wurde in verschiedenen sozialwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen, einschließlich der Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften, aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven erforscht und betrachtet.

Das Konzept von *Raum* und *Ort* ist in den Sozialwissenschaften ein grundlegendes Studienthema und behandelt diese in einem polysemantischen und vielschichtigen Ansatz. Die konzeptuelle Trennung von Raum (*Space*) und Ort (*Place*) stammt aus dem englischen Sprachraum, und bedingt für beide Begriffe differenzierte Ansätze zur Definition.



Die frühen Beispiele solcher Studien legen die Wirkung von *Raum* im menschlichen Leben sowie seinen unmittelbaren Einfluss auf wirtschaftliche und politische Strukturen dar. Michel de Certeau definierte den *Ort* als Ordnung und behauptete, er habe feste, stabile Eigenschaften, während der *Raum* seiner Meinung nach aus beweglichen Elementen besteht, die sich kreuzen.<sup>13</sup>

In ähnlicher Weise drückt Yi-Fu Tuan den *Ort* als „Pause“ und den *Raum* als „das, was Bewegung erlaubt“<sup>14</sup> aus; „im Vergleich zum Raum ist der Ort ein ruhiges Zentrum etablierter Werte“.<sup>15</sup> Diese Ansätze zeigen, dass ein Ort zum Raum wird, wenn er benutzt wird. Um die Transformation zwischen *Raum* und *Ort* zu beschreiben, verwendet Emre Işık das Beispiel eines leeren Hauses (*Ort*), das erst dann zu einem Raum wird, wenn es benutzt wird.<sup>16</sup>

Stephan Günzel betont, dass es in der Erforschung von Raumansätzen zwei unterschiedliche Schwerpunkte gibt, nämlich „Raumstudien“ und „Sozialraumstudien“.<sup>17</sup> Günzel behauptet, dass das Präfix „sozial“ in letzterem Begriff die Gleichzeitigkeit einer sozialen Struktur und der Mechanismen anzeigt, und dass die Beziehungen, aus denen sich die Struktur zusammensetzt, jene sind, die auf einen „Sozialraum“ verweisen.

Fuat Ercan betrachtet den Sozialraum als einen Raum, in dem die Aktivitäten der Produktion und Re-Produktion im täglichen menschlichen Leben durchgeführt und konzentriert werden. Ercan bringt auch zum Ausdruck, dass diese Räume, so wie die sozialen Beziehungen von der historischen und mehrdimensionalen Dynamik betroffen sind, und eine Reihe von Auswirkungen auf die Reproduktion der sozialen Beziehungen haben. Mit dieser Perspektive lässt sich das Konzept des sozialen Raums als eine Plattform definieren, auf der zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen, soziale Strukturen, politische Agenda und Ideologien reflektiert werden, und die Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen enthält. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es möglich das *Konak* von Leyla Hanımefendi aus räumlicher Sicht zu untersuchen.

Es wird vermutet, dass das Wort *Konak* (Herrenhaus) mit dem Verb *konmak* (sich niederlassen) im Türkischen verwandt ist und allgemein große Häuser oder Wohnungen bezeichnet. Die Struktur eines Konaks kann mit einem sozio-historischen Verständnis als Raum diskutiert werden.

13 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117.

14 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 6.

15 Ebd.

16 Emre Işık, „Mekan ve Toplum“, in Öznel, *Durumlar ve Mekanlar Toplum ve Mekan: Mekanları Kurgulamak* [Themen, Situationen und Räume Gesellschaft und Raum: Räume konstruieren], Hg. Emre Işık und Yıldırım Şentürk (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2009), 21.

17 Raum Günzel, *Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2010), 159.

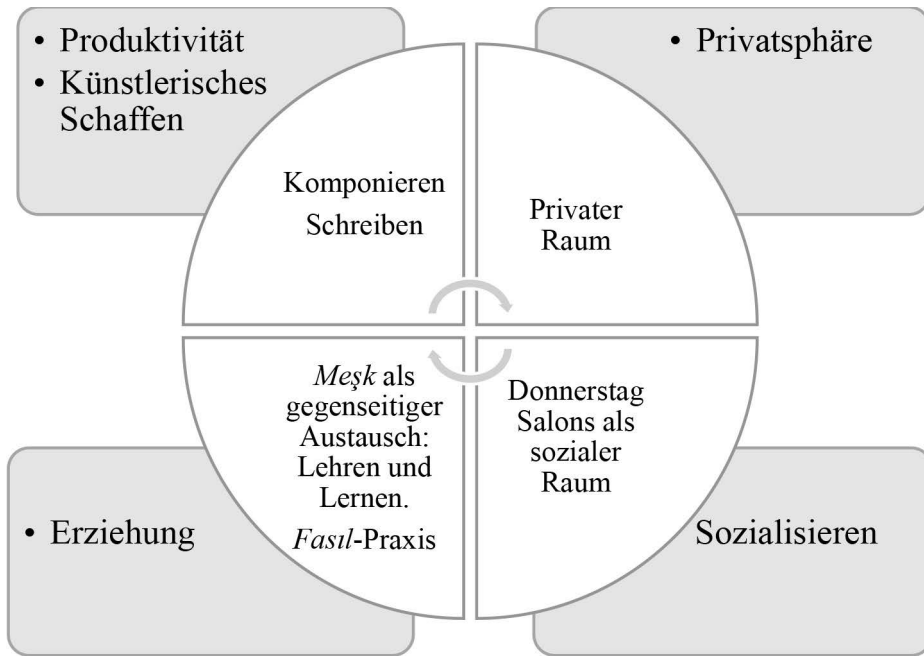


Abb. 2. Leyla Hanimefendi's *Konak* als öffentlicher und privater Raum.

Wendet man die oben genannten Perspektiven an, die die Beziehung von und die Unterscheidung zwischen Raum und Ort in den Konzepten von *Konak* veranschaulichen, kann man annehmen, dass es sich in erster Linie um stabile Strukturen und daher um „Orte“ handelt. Wenn man jedoch das Leben im *Konak* von Leyla Hanimefendi betrachtet, wird deutlich, dass diese architektonische Struktur in Bezug auf den sozialen Raum jenseits des Ortes unterschiedliche Erweiterungen hat.

Die begrenzten Möglichkeiten im öffentlichen Raum für Musikerinnen, Dichterinnen und Schriftstellerinnen, die während der *Tanzimat*-Ära aufwuchsen und lebten, verwandelten diese *Konaks* in etwas mehr als nur Wohnungen – nämlich in multifunktionale soziale Räume, in denen ihre Ausbildung und verschiedene Formen der Sozialisationspraktiken stattfanden. Harveys Definition, dass „jede soziale Aktivität ihren eigenen Raum definiert“, sollte bei der Untersuchung der Istanbuler *Konaks* des späten neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts im Auge behalten werden. Sie hilft nämlich bei der Erklärung, wie die *Konaks* nicht nur als „Häuser, in denen sie lebten und wohnten“ betrachtet werden konnten, die nur private Räume umfassen, sondern auch als Arbeitsräume, in denen produziert und erschaffen wurde; als Musik- und Übungsräume, in denen Musikaufführungen stattfanden (wie unten, in der Grafik zu sehen ist); als Raum der kulturellen

Interaktion durch die Salons/Versammlungen; und als Bildungs-/Ausbildungsraum durch Privatunterricht. Ein solcher Ansatz bezieht sich auf Sojas Vorschlag, dass „Räumlichkeit als soziales Produkt gleichzeitig Medium und Ergebnis, Voraussetzung und Verkörperung von sozialer Aktion und Beziehung ist“.

Leyla Hanımefendis *Konak* war in dieser Hinsicht nicht nur ein normales Wohnhaus, sondern diente ihr als Schaffensraum und war Treffpunkt privater und gesellschaftlicher Diskussionen und musikalischen Veranstaltungen. Mit der Reformperiode im Osmanischen Reich spielte der Salon für die intellektuelle Gesellschaftsschicht Istanbuls eine zunehmend größere Rolle. Die Dichterin Nigar Hanım (1868–1919) war eine enge Freundin Leyla Hanımefendis, und eine Pionierin der Salon Kultur in Istanbul.<sup>18</sup> Ihr *Konak* und ihr Sommerhaus waren Treffpunkte einheimischer und ausländischer Intellektueller und Künstler\*innen. Sie öffnete jeden Dienstag ihr *Konak* für einen Literaturempfang.

Diesem Beispiel folgte Leyla Hanımefendi als Mäzenatin–Gastgeberin. Sie lud jeden Donnerstag die Künstler\*innen ein und es wurde über Politik, Literatur und Musik diskutiert. Tagebücher, Fotos und Erinnerungen gewähren einen ausführlichen Einblick über das Geschehen dieses Kulturzentrums.

## MUSIK

In der Geschichtsschreibung werden die Institutionalisierungsprozesse der europäischen Musik im osmanischen Reich parallel zur Abschaffung der Janitscharen durch Sultan Mahmud II. (reg. 1808–1839) betrachtet.

Die Janitscharenmusik, die für lange Zeit die Militärmusik des Osmanischen Reiches repräsentierte, wurde im Jahre 1826 im Zuge einer Reform abgeschafft und durch Kapellen mit europäischem Instrumentarium ersetzt. Sultan Mahmud II. bat den sardischen Botschafter in Istanbul einen Kapellmeister zur Verfügung zu stellen, der eine Blaskapelle ausbilden und dirigieren sollte. In Folge wurde Guiseppe Donizetti (1788–1856) nach Istanbul eingeladen. Er wurde zum Begründer und Direktor der ersten europäischen Musikschule und agierte gleichzeitig als Kapellmeister. Er etablierte europäische Musikinstrumente und das europäische Notensystem im Musikleben des Osmanischen Reiches ein. Durch die Reformmaßnahmen wandte sich der Osmanische Hof in weiterer Folge immer mehr der westlichen Musik zu und förderte diese besonders.

Verschiedene europäische Besucher\*innen berichteten im 19. Jahrhundert über Instrumente aus Europa, Kapellen und europäische Musik in den Palästen Istanbuls. Die osmanischen Sultane zeigten großes Interesse an europäischer Musik, einige

18 Leila Hudson, „Patronage, Civic Associations, and Reform“, in *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures: Family, Law and Politics*, 2, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), 530.

spielten selbst Klavier und luden berühmte europäische Musiker\*innen wie Elias Parish Alvars (1832), Leopold de Meyer (1842), Franz Liszt (1847), Henry Vieuxtemps (1848), Angelo Mariani (1850), Eugene Leon Vivier (1852), August D'Adelburg (1861), Martha Remmert (1883), Anna Grosser-Rilke (1888–1918) oder Cecile Chaminade (1901) zu Gastspielen in ihren Palast ein.

Als besonders wichtige Folge für die Musikgeschichte der Türkei gilt der Wandel des Musikgeschmacks der städtischen Oberschicht.

### DAS HARMONIUM ALS FASIL-INSTRUMENT

Das Ergebnis dieser Begegnungen waren Einflüsse auf die Makam-Musiktradition, die ein wesentlicher Teil der osmanischen Musikkultur ist. Mit der Verbreitung des Klavierinstruments wurde dieses auch bei Aufführungen lokaler Musik in die Instrumentenensembles eingebunden, obwohl die Zwischentöne, die den Charakter der Makam-Musiktradition ausmachen, auf dem Klavier unmöglich zu hören sind.. Die *Fasil*<sup>19</sup>-Repertoires, die Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in Istanbul für Klavier veröffentlicht wurden, sind ein wichtiger Hinweis darauf.

Dieses Gebiet zu untersuchen, erfordert jedoch sowohl ein fundiertes Wissen über die westliche Harmonielehre als auch profunde Kenntnisse der Makam-Musik. Anstatt diese Werke einfach als synthetische (*sentez*) Musik zu bewerten, können mittels den Ansätzen Bhabhas, der sich auf das Konzept des dritten Raums bezieht, diesen und ähnlichen Produktionen neue Perspektiven geben werden.

Betrachten wir Leyla Hanımefendis Schriften, Fotografien und Interviews bemerken wir, dass Leyla Saz Hanımefendi das Klavier und/oder Harmonium den traditionellen Instrumenten, die bei der Aufführung der Makam-Musik verwendet werden, vorzog.<sup>20</sup> Sie setzte bei ihrer Makam-Musikaufführung Klavier und Harmonium-Instrumente ein. Häufig zog sie das Harmonium dem Klavier vor.<sup>21</sup> Gründe dafür könnten die Tragbarkeit und relative Eignung des Harmoniums sein, was uns zu anderen Interpretationsansätzen führt. Dies geschah, obwohl sie die traditionellen Instrumente wie Oud und Tanbur spielen konnte.<sup>22</sup> Darüber hinaus sind die meisten ihrer Werke Vokal-Kompositionen (*şarkı*) im Makam-Musiksystem.

19 *Fasil* kann als ein Konzertzyklus definiert werden, in dem einige Lieder und Instrumentalwerke der traditionellen osmanischen Musik eingerahmt sind.

20 Nejla Melike Atalay, *Women Composers Creative Conditions Before and During the Turkish Republic* (Wien: Hollitzer Verlag, 2021), 239; Ali Neyzi, „Yuşa Tepesi“, in *Tarih ve Toplum* [Geschichte und Gesellschaft] 10 (October 1984): 46; Reşid Halid Gönç, „Nadir Yetişen Bir Ses Sanatkarı: Nasip Hanım“ [Ein außergewöhnlicher Sänger: Nasip Hanım], *Vakit* [Zeit] (11 Dezember 1944), 5.

21 Neyzi, „Yuşa Tepesi“, 46.

22 Atalay, *Women Composers*, 221; Hikmet Feridun Es, *Tanımadığımız Meşhurlar* [Berühmte Leute, die wir nicht kennen] (Istanbul, Ötügen Yayınları, 2009), 500–501.

NEJLA MELIKE ATALAY

HEDJAZ TAQSIM

مجلد نقسیم  
N° 1  
جزء 1

TRANSCRIT ET ARRANGÉ POUR LE PIANO

par



Op. 1

Prix: P<sup>res</sup> 15

Dépôt chez **F. ADAM**  
N° 25. & 26. Passage Hazzopoulo N° 25. & 26.

**CONSTANTINOPLE.**

Impr. L. Kieffer, Paris.

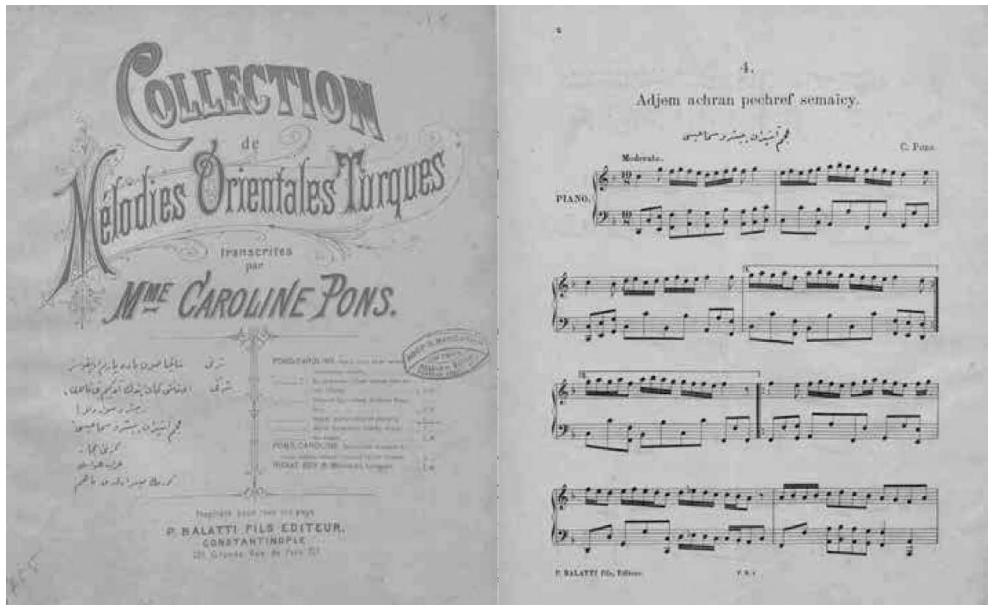


Abb. 3. Die *Fasil*-Repertoires, die Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in Istanbul für Klavier veröffentlicht wurden.

An dieser Stelle kann die Hybridisierungstheorie von Homi Bhabha von Interesse sein. Bhabha spricht von einem Third Space/dritten Raum, in dem produktive Schwellenüberschreitungen stattfinden.<sup>23</sup> Dieser dritte Raum, der „eben nicht zwischen zwei Kulturen liegt, sondern in dem jede kulturelle Äußerung immer das Eine-im-Anderen verkörpert“.<sup>24</sup>

Dementsprechend betont Bhabha, dass der Begriff Hybridität der dritten Figur „nicht einen Zustand der Vermischung bezeichnet, sondern [...] in einem Raum der kulturellen Aussage“ zu verorten ist. Bhabha selbst kommentiert dies:

Für mich besteht die Bedeutung von Hybridität allerdings nicht darin, zwei ursprüngliche Momente auszumachen, aus denen ein dritter hervorgeht; Hybridität ist für mich vielmehr der ‚dritte Raum‘, der die Entstehung anderer Positionen erst ermöglicht.<sup>25</sup>

23 Maria-Theresia Leuker, „Wissenstransfer und Dritter Raum“, in *Wissenstransfer und Auctoritas in der früneuzeitlichen niederländischsprachigen Literatur*, Hg. Bettina Noak (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2014), 76.

24 Andreas Hepp und Rainer Winter, *Kultur – Medien – Macht: Cultural Studies und Medienanalyse*, 4. Aufl. (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 322.

25 Homi Bhabha zit. nach Gudrun Rath, „Hybridität‘ und ‚Dritter Raum‘. Displacements postkolonialer Modelle“, in EBlinger, *Die Figur des Dritten. Ein kulturwissenschaftliches Paradigma* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2010), 141.



Abb. 4 Kemani [Geiger] İhsan Bey, Hanende [Sänger] İbrahim Bey und Leyla Hanımefendi. 1926, İstanbul. Tek Family Archive, Süha Özkan-Pelin Derviş Kolleksiyonu.



Abb. 5 Leyla Hanımefendi spielt ihr Harmonium auf dem Boot. İstanbul. Datum unbekannt. (Hanende İbrahim Bey, Leyla Hanımefendi, Hanende Hikmet Hanım und İhsane Hanım.) Ali Neyzi, "Yuşa Tepesi", Tarih ve Toplum, No. 10, Oktober 1984, 46.

Nach Bhabha erfolgen in diesem dritten Raum Übersetzungen von Kultur, die dennoch nicht als Kopie eines vermeintlichen Originals gesehen werden können, sondern als Quell ständiger (Um)wandlung/Transformation. Die Gestalt des Dritten ist meist auch mit der Idee von Zwischenidentitäten verbunden. Angewandt auf die Musikdebatte bedeutet dies, dass es sich nicht um „die Kopie von Europäischer“ oder von „Makam- Musik“ handelt, sondern beispielsweise musikalische Mehrsprachigkeit als weitere, als dritte Musik beschrieben wird.

Dieser dritte Raum ermöglicht uns eine neue Sichtweise und eröffnet einen alternativen Horizont.





# WARRIOR MEETS MOTHER. THE VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF FEMALE FIGURES IN THE 1990S IN CROATIA

KLAUDIJA SABO  
UNIVERSITÄT KLAGENFURT

**Abstract:** *This paper deals primarily with visual representations of women, and in particular the representation of the mother and the female warrior during the 1990s in Croatia. To what extent do these representations stand in the tradition of representations of women during the Second World War? What is the purpose of the representations, and how do these figures change in different political and temporal contexts? To address these questions, various visual sources are consulted, ranging from posters to film.*

**Keywords:** women representation, propaganda, female partisans, Croatia, allegory

## THE MINOR ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE NATION-BUILDING PROCESS

The collapse of Yugoslavia led to a political rethinking. The former socialist aesthetic traditions and symbols no longer sufficed after the collapse of national aspirations. New national symbolic images were needed to replace the picture of the former heroic partisan and political leader Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980, president 1953–1980). A large number of male visual representations of new heroic figures were to assume an identity-forming function – whereas female figures, however, were less present.<sup>1</sup> Cynthia Enloe points out that in nationalist movements and conflicts “(w)omen are relegated to minor, often symbolic roles. In doing so they appear either as icons of nationhood to be elevated and defended, or as the booty or spoils of war, to be denigrated and disgraced.”<sup>2</sup> During the 1990s two dominant female figures appeared in Croatia in visual artistic productions: the mother and

---

1 Klaudija Sabo, *Ikonen der Nationen. Heldendarstellungen im post-sozialistischen Kroatien und Serbien* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017).

2 Joane Nagel, “Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21/2 (1998): 244. Nagel refers in her investigation to the essay of Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 45.

the warrior. Those two female figures are on the one hand a national icon, and on the other, the woman as a victim of abuse by the enemy.

The use of the woman as a national icon in the form of a mother or a warrior in artistic productions is not something extraordinary in the history of the region and in Europe. In Yugoslavia after the Second World War the female partisan was often portrayed as both a warrior and a mother. She played a crucial role in the resistance movement during the attack of the National Socialists, making it possible for state authorities to employ her figure for propaganda purposes as a national icon. The women's figures in the 1990s differ significantly from those of the World War II period. Within the visual and narrative design, ancient as well as religious representations are drawn upon. In contrast to the female partisan figures, the woman is pushed into the role of a victim rather than one of self-defensive agency. On the basis of the case studies selected, in this paper I examine the developments the female figures underwent in the 1990s and how these figures differ from those of partisan female portrayals.

#### ALLEGORICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NATIONAL WARRIOR WOMAN

During the so-called Homeland War (*Domovinski rat*, 1991-1995) and also afterwards, there were several instances in which the woman was represented as a warrior. These female figures were linked to the attributes of the country and thus became a specifically *national* warrior. This amalgam of national symbols and femininity often has the function of allegorical representations of the state – especially in times of war or crisis. Silke Wenk declared that in modernity allegories had been discredited and considered outdated. Nevertheless, according to Wenk, they are still present in image production and image politics, especially in the form of female allegories.<sup>3</sup> On the official Medal for Bravery (*Spomenica Domovinskog rata*) introduced shortly after the war in 1995, for example, one can find such an allegorical depiction. It was awarded to the members of the Croatian Army for special deeds. A woman in Greek garb is stamped on the medal. In her right hand she holds a sword pointing towards the ground; in her raised left hand she holds the Croatian coat of arms. Olive and oak leaves frame the image on the coin like a wreath. Such leaves are often associated with victory but also with peace. The ancient custom of placing a crown of green olive branches on the head of the winner comes for example from Greece. In the Bible the olive tree was considered a sign of hope and of life. The

3 Silke Wenk, *Versteinerte Weiblichkeit. Allegorien in der Skulptur der Moderne* (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 1996), 3.



Illustration 1: *Spomenica Domovinskog Rata*, 1995

white dove that Noah sent out from the ark eventually brought back an olive branch as a sign of hope that the flood waters were receding. The military use of the oak to symbolize victory, courage, and heroism remains in use today.

Similar iconographic attributes can be found in the female figure drawn by Zlatko Prica entitled *Hrvatska – za mir i slobodu* (Croatia – for Peace and Freedom), painted during the war for the exhibition *Za obranu i obnovu* (For Defense and Renewal). The exhibition took place at the beginning of the war in September 1991 and was financed by the Commission for Fine Arts of the Municipal Fund for Culture in Zagreb. What is remarkable in the drawing by Zlatko Prica is the clothing of the female figure. The garment is inspired by Greek robes and alludes to Roman and Greek goddesses. Both figures can be traced back to representations of the goddesses Victoria and Minerva and form a hybrid figure of these two. In the image of Prica, just as on the medal, the Croatian flag with the coat of arms, the sword, and the olive leaves are used, communicating the idea of defense and victory but also of hope and life.



Illustration 2: Zlatko Prica Croatia – for Peace and and Freedom, Zagreb 1991, 100×70 cm



Illustration 3: Medal of the House of Habsburg

The nation is depicted as a female figure holding out the branch of peace, while holding a sword in the other hand. The weapon symbolizes not only the ability to defend oneself, but also in a broader sense, the entire nation. These depictions of women go back to other models in Europe. The House of Habsburg also produced medals with Roman goddesses in order to emphasize their continuity with the Roman Empire. In 1758 medals were awarded to mark the victory of Austrian troops over the Prussians at Hochkirchen in Saxony. The figure of Victoria (the goddess of victory) is shown on the medal, with a laurel wreath as a symbol of victory in her right hand and an olive branch in her left. On the other side of the medal is the profile of Maria Theresa. Another medal motif is Minerva (medal from 1767): the ancient Italian goddess Minerva is often equated with the Greek Athena (the goddess of tactical warfare). The appropriation of traditional (Western) European symbolism communicates the desire to be part of the imagined “western countries” and an attempt to distance themselves from the Balkans.

A more playful form of the presentation of iconic figures can be found in the caricature by the graphic artist Nenad Orešković. The French Marianne of the famous painting *La Liberté guidant le peuple* (Liberty Leading the People, 1830) by Eugène Delacroix is misappropriated and shown as a modern armed Croatian freedom fighter.<sup>4</sup> She is holding the Croatian flag with her right hand, expressing thereby her ethnic belonging. Next to her, the male fighter with beret walks in the direction of the observer. He in turn executes the V-sign, which was a very important symbol among Croatian soldiers as well as in the media for national

4 Alojz Ševčik, ed., *Warikatura Croatica* (Zagreb: Hrvatski informativni centar, 1992), 45.



Illustration 4: Nenad Orešković: The French Marianne as a Croatian Freedom Fighter, Zagreb, 1992.

identity purposes.<sup>5</sup> Due to the cropping, one cannot discern whether he carries a weapon. Instead of a bayonet, in her left hand the Croatian version of the French Marianne carries a Kalashnikov, which was still in use during the conflict in the 1990s in Yugoslavia.

---

5 Sabo, *Ikonen der Nationen*, 146.

PARTISAN WOMAN AS WARRIOR

The essential difference between the representations of the partisan woman and the fighting women of the 1990s is that the former were not exclusively allegorical representations. They represented woman of flesh and blood who were politically active and sacrificed their lives for the antifascist struggle.<sup>6</sup> Since women played a decisive role in the antifascist struggle, they could be used as an emancipatory “symbol of socialist Yugoslavia.” Statues and films as well as factories were named after them, some of which are still present in Croatian cityscapes.<sup>7</sup> But this female role was very controversial in matters of everyday life. Women who took part in the armed resistance broke with the traditional gender and social order. Their social gender was seen as incompatible with military functions. This order had been weakened during the war, but was still present among the partisans and in pre-World War II society, as Barbara Wiesinger argues.<sup>8</sup> Traditionally the use of weapons and violence was and is linked to male gender identity. Most female combatants were confronted with this problem. Either they were rejected by the partisan units or were not given weapons, or had poorer chances of advancement in the army. The propaganda images tried to cover up this conflict, stylizing the female fighters of the People’s Liberation Army as recognized heroines who are ready to sacrifice their lives for freedom and fatherland.<sup>9</sup> The representation of the female warriors created in the 1990s have little in common with the female partisan. They are based on ancient models as well as biblical figures and their attributes. In addition, the female figures remained an artistic execution, not based on any real female figures.

REPRESENTATION OF THE MOTHER IN THE 1990S: *VRIJEME ZA...*  
FROM OJA KODAR

Besides the allegorical figure of the warrior, the motif of motherhood is also found in artistic productions. Especially the early Croatian films such as *Vrijeme za...* or *Bogorodica*, which will be the focus in the following, separately emphasize the role

6 Barbara N. Wiesinger, *Partisaninnen. Widerstand in Jugoslawien (1941–1945)*. L’homme Schriften 17. Reihe zur feministischen Geschichtswissenschaft (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2008); Miranda Jakiša and Nikica Gilić, *Partisans in Yugoslavia. Literature, Film and Visual Culture* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2015).

7 In the small thoroughfare “Prolaz Sestre Baković” for example you can still find the bust of the Baković sisters. Rajka and Zdenka Baković used their family newsstand at Nikolićeva Street No. 7 in Zagreb as a central exchange location for the connection of members of the resistance at the beginning of World War II. They were later declared Yugoslav heroines.

8 Barbara N. Wiesinger, *Partisaninnen*, 91.

9 Ibid.,84



of specifically Catholic motherhood, the symbolic function of which is particularly strong in nation-building processes. “The best known and most widespread image of the nation represents itself as an allegorical female figure, generally a mother which has its basis in animistic notions of Mother Earth (Terra Mater).”<sup>10</sup> She not only represents the nation, but is also in its service by sacrificing her children for the war or giving birth to a new generation of border guardians. The sculpture in Slavonski Brod “Monument to the Fallen Soldiers in the Homeland War” (*Spomenik poginulim braniteljima u Domovinskom ratu*) by Ante Brkić from 2004 represents this aspect quite clearly. The bronze figure of a woman holds her child with outstretched arms towards the Croatian coat of arms. She kneels before the coat of arms and sacrifices her most precious possession: her child. With this gesture she puts not only herself at the service of the nation, but also her offspring.

The film *Vrijeme za...* deals with a similar subject in which the child goes to war to defend the nation. But the child in this case is hardly grown up and decided on its own to go to war. The director Oja Kodar depicts the mother, Maria, living with her son Darko in a Croatian village which was attacked by Serbian četniks.<sup>11</sup> The two manage to escape and find a hideout in a nearby town. Maria finds a job in a laundry, while Darko joins the Croatian Defenders. After discovering that her son was killed in a military attack, Maria sets off to the front so she can bury his body in the region where he grew up and the site of his former home. Darko’s mother, who keeps the lifeless and disfigured body in a coffin, wants to bury it at any cost in the village cemetery, which at that time is in the enemy zone or no man’s land. Even the Croatian war profiteer, who earlier had agreed to drive her there in return for a television as payment, turns back before they even enter the enemy zone. The mother is left with the choice of continuing alone by foot, pulling the coffin behind her on a cart, or giving up and turning back.

She chooses to continue with her task. According to Mate Ćurić’s review of the film, “[the mother] resembles an Antigone. She wants to bury her son at all costs and regardless of the circumstances. A Mother Courage dragging the fate of the homeland behind her on her wooden cart.”<sup>12</sup> On the way to the cemetery, this modern-day Mother Courage meets the Serbian deserter Nikola, who has found

10 Ivan Čolović, *Politics of Symbol in Serbia. Essays in Political Anthropology*, transl. Celia Hawkesworth (London: Hurst & Company, 2002; 1<sup>st</sup> edition in Serbian as *Politika simbola*, 1997), 32.

11 Četniks were in favor of the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during World War II and the re-establishment of Greater Yugoslavia with an ethnically pure Serbia. (Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens: 19.-20. Jahrhundert*, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 321) The term *četnik* was used in Croatia in the 1990s often generally for Serbs; it can designate Serbian nationalists.

12 Mate Ćurić, “Oprostite ali ne zaboravite,” *Novi List*, 26 Juli 1993: “Ona je istovremeno Antigona, pokopat će sina bez obzira na sve i usprkos svemu. Majka Courage koja na svojim kolicima vuče sudbinu domovine.”



Illustration 5: Ante Brkić: Monument to the fallen soldiers in the Homeland War, Slavonski Brod, 2004.

shelter in the mother's family grave. When local Serb soldiers intend to rape her, the Serb deserter Nikola intervenes and shoots the soldiers, allowing the mother to escape. He himself is shot in action. Nikola is the only Serb here who is depicted positively or humanely, switching sides in the ethnic community to save the Croatian mother. At the same time, he has a negative image as a drunkard and a day laborer. The mother, in turn, pushes the cart, with the wounded Nikola in it, out of the enemy territory. On the way she meets her son Darko, alive after all, and looking for his mother to tell her that he did not perish and that there is someone else in the coffin which she has been carrying the entire time.

At the end of the film, an extra-diegetic narrator's voice speaks from off-screen, reading an excerpt from Ecclesiastes: "To everything there is a season, a time to every purpose under the heaven," which refers to the title of the film: "The Time For." In the end there are no male hero figures. Even though Darko is portrayed as a charismatic young boy with ideological activism, and Nikola aids Darko's mother in her greatest need, both lack the necessary initiative to become active on their own. Darko is basically excluded from any "active" action in the film. He

is a victim of circumstances and at the end of the film, when he tries to rescue his mother from the hostile region, he reaches his goal too late. As a result, the women – or rather Darko's mother, Maria – fulfills the central role of the film. Her only epic effort, however, is not motivated by resisting the enemy, but by burying her son in her home village and in her family grave.

#### BOGORODICA (MADONNA) BY NEVEN HITREC

Unlike in *Vrijeme za...*, the figure of the mother in the 1999 film *Bogorodica* (Madonna) by Neven Hitrec takes on the status of a saint. She is declared to be the Mother of God herself, and thus symbolizes Christianity or in this special case, Catholicism. The film was made at the end of the Tuđman era, and was made in cooperation with Maxima Film, Croatian television HRTV, and the film production company Jadran Film. Alongside the motif of motherhood it puts self-victimization in the center of the narrative. Biblical stories serve as the basis for the film, as is also the case in *Vrijeme za...*

Kuzma, a Croatian-born sculptor and carpenter, is to carve a wooden holy virgin for the Roman Catholic church in an ethnically mixed village. He models the Madonna figure after his wife, as she was shortly before she gave birth to his first child. This image of the canonized mother goes hand-in-hand with the social development that the country underwent in the 1990s and which, in the period of post-socialist Croatia, provided national identity and the concepts of motherhood and masculinity with new foundations of meaning. The concept of motherhood was an important theme in the national discourse of the time, because the mother was seen as underpinning the ethnic Croatian community through the birth of her children, who in turn would be responsible for defending the country in the future. The social scientist Dubravka Žarković examined the representation of Croatian and Serbian bodies in the media. She concludes that in dramatic times of violent conflicts and wars, when the nation is perceived as threatened and its existence seems endangered, the female body as well as the fertility of a mother undergo a rewriting of meaning.<sup>13</sup> According to Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias, in such times of crisis the nation, like its territories, is seen as something feminine which, according to Davis and Anthias, goes hand-in-hand with the territorialization of the female body. Further, they posit that the female body ultimately becomes a social territory through the burden of reproduction.<sup>14</sup> According to Robert

13 Dubravka Žarković, *The Body of War. Media Ethnicity and Gender in Break-up of Yugoslavia* (London: Duke University Press, 2007), 69.

14 Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias, *Racialized Boundaries. Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class*

Hayden, the bodies of women at peril during the war are construed as “[...] ethnic territories themselves.”<sup>15</sup> Dubravka Žarković summarizes the amalgamation of the female body with the nation accordingly: “In other words, the maternal body is not only the symbol of national territory through the gendered images of fertility or gentle landscapes: the maternal body is the marker, as well as the maker, of national territory. As new, maternal cartographies of the nation are delivered, motherhood ceases to be merely a metaphor, and becomes a site of discursive struggle as well as identity politics.”<sup>16</sup>

In the film the hostile tendencies escalate and turn into the first warlike confrontations. The accountant Rade, a Serb and a temporary worker for Kuzma, rapes the latter’s wife, Ana. The rape of women becomes a central theme in the violent conflict, not only because of the violence itself, but also because of its symbolic value. It represents a symbolic attack on the Croatian community and thus also on the body of the people. At the same time, it thus enables the regulation of the community.<sup>17</sup> When the national community and its soil are embodied in the figures of mother, sister, or sweetheart, then the problem of national integrity and the problem of defending or altering borders becomes extremely traumatic, acquiring the sense of defending one’s mother’s honor and the honor of women in general, as explained by Ivan Čolović.<sup>18</sup> Rade ties up Kuzma’s wife after the act of rape together with her child on the altar of the Catholic village church for which Rade made the Madonna figure. He binds Ana and her child in such a way that they assume the role of the wooden figure of Mary and her baby Jesus; he equips the figure group with a bomb. They become a living sacred figure group, thus the living Madonna with her child is not only killed but destroyed entirely. The Serb Rade becomes not only a murderer of the Virgin Mary but also a danger to the Catholic faith. In both cases, the Madonna and Mother Ana are figures representing the Catholic community and the Croatian people.<sup>19</sup> The violent act is a figurative attack on the Catholic faith and on the country itself. At the same time, the film touches the sensitive issue of the destruction of numerous churches during the war. These churches were directly linked to their respective ethnic groups due to

---

*and the Anti-Racist Struggle* (London: Routledge, 1989), 45.

15 Robert M. Hayden, “Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized States,” *American Anthropologist* 10/1 (2000): 27–41, 32.

16 Žarković, *The Body of War*, 69

17 Anette Dietrich, *Weisse Weiblichkeiten. Konstruktion von Rasse und Geschlecht im deutschen Kolonialismus* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007), 77.

18 Čolović, *Politics of Symbol in Serbia*, 33.

19 Kathrin Hoffmann Curtius, “Opfermodelle am Altar des Vaterlandes seit der französischen Revolution,” in: *Schrift der Flammen. Opfermythen und Weiblichkeitsentwürfe*, ed. Gudrun Kohn-Waechter (Berlin: Orlanda-Frauenverlag, 1991), 60–71.

the religious heterogeneity in the region. Afterwards, Kuzma decides to go back to Serbia, hoping to find the accountant Rade and take revenge on him for what he did to his wife, his child, and ultimately to him. After finding Rade he binds him and intends to saw him to pieces on the former workbench. At the last second he lets him go and pardons him, as a good Christian should do according to the New Testament. He acts according to the Biblical dogma: if someone slaps you on one cheek, offer the other cheek also.<sup>20</sup> Kuzma adheres to prescribed Christian virtues in an exemplary manner: He does not take revenge and thus does not let the situation escalate further.

As in *Vrijeme za...* the characters are drawn in black and white. The film critic Nenad Polimac criticizes *Bogorodica* for failing to show a multi-faceted picture of the Homeland War.<sup>21</sup> In the film Croats are portrayed as gentle, tolerant, good-natured and forgiving of their enemies. Even the only problematic Croat, a violent drunk named Duka, experiences a moral catharsis and fraternizes with his previous enemy Kuzma, whose wife had previously been Duka's girlfriend. Their enmity transformed into friendship represents the state's desire to unite all Croats. Tuđman's agenda was to bring about the fraternization of all ethnic Croats in order to unify them.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the Serbs are portrayed as the ethnic and religious Other and therefore evil. Only the significant dramaturgical moments in the film determine when their malice is revealed. Thus, Rade is a loyal worker in the beginning, and later a rapist and murderer of the wife of his employer. When analyzing the film *Bogorodica*, it also becomes clear that the content of the film does not differ significantly from the notorious productions of folk art of the early nineties. All the ideologically filled motifs of Kodarice, Žižića, and Radića are present here: "The Serbs are usually all bad. There are those who seem good and collegial at first glance, but when things get dicey, they ally with their own and even become the worst of their ethnic community," according to Jurica Pavičić.<sup>23</sup> He also claims that "the Serbs are depicted, on the one hand, as fat, unkempt, unshaven and with bloodshot eyes, much like in *Vrijeme za*. The Croats, on the other hand, are cultured and [...] dressed as if they were going to mass."<sup>24</sup> This black and white representation is all the more surprising because *Bogorodica* was filmed after the end of the war, when the question of the propaganda effect no longer played such

20 Bible, Matthew 5:39.

21 Nenad Polimac, "Kako je počeo rat u mom selu: Nije točno da je *Bogorodica* prvi hrvatski ratni film bez crno-bijelih junaka: i u očajnom *Vrijeme za...* likovi Srba su slojevitiji," in: *Nacional*, 17 March 1999, 35.

22 From the interview I had with Tihomir Cipek, Zagreb University, 15 April 2013.

23 Jurica Pavičić, "Kao figa u džepu," in *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 26 March 1999, 23.

24 Ibid.

a major role. Only the necessity of positioning or clarifying the perpetrators of the war is less strongly emphasized in the center of the film, as compared to, for example, films by Oja Kodar (*Vrijeme za...*) or Tomislav Radić (*Anđele moj dragi*).

### PARTISAN WOMEN AS MOTHERS AND WARRIORS

There are also representations of the mother in the Yugoslav struggle for freedom; some of them are even related to the warrior, and in this specific case, the partisan. Here, a unification of warrior with mother is suggested. The cover of the first issue of the Croatian AFŽ-Antifašističke Fronte Žena Hrvatske (the women's anti-fascist front in Croatia)<sup>25</sup> magazine *Žena u borbi* (A woman in the war, est. 1942) shows an armed civilian woman. She wears a worn dress and no shoes. In her right hand she holds a gun and her left arm bears a little girl. The girl turns her face away from the observer. The woman has a determined look, gazing out of the frame. She can be considered as "any woman," since she cannot be assigned to any group due to the lack of military symbols. According to Wiesinger, the extreme situation of war forces women to make an unusual step and take up arms in order to protect their children. By depicting combativeness as a component of the mother's role, the illustration constructs alleged evidence of female armed resistance. The second female partisan image shows a woman from the magazine *Makedonka* (A Macedonian Woman). In contrast to the other woman, she is clothed in a military suit and is equipped with an ammunition belt and a weapon. She also carries a child, who wraps its legs around the woman's waist. This child's face is also turned away from the observer and represents all children threatened during the war by violence and devastation. Both women / mothers protect their children with military weapons. The following text, reproduced in the magazine *Makedonka* published in North Macedonia, explicitly states this interpretation: "The woman rises to defend the life of her children [...] in the concentration camps, with the rifle in her hand, in the Macedonian mountains, as a hinterland activist, with a feverish gaze the Macedonian mother fights; for a beautiful, light and pure life the young women fly to their deaths."<sup>26</sup> Here, on a visual and textual level, the warrior and the mother merge; and rather than a contradiction, quite the opposite is suggested – indeed, the message is used for propaganda purposes. Women are not presented here as

25 Antifašistička Fronta Žena (The Women's Antifascist Front) was a Yugoslav feminist and anti-fascist organization. It was involved in organizing and training the partisans, the communist and multi-ethnic resistance to Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia during the World War II. It was formed by volunteers on the 6 December 1942 in Bosanski Petrovac at the First National Conference of Women.

26 Veselinka Malinska, ed., *Makedonka* 1/1 (1944): 4.



Illustration 6: Hubert Kruljac: A woman in the war, 1943

producers of warriors, but as protectors of their offspring. They are not shown as victims but as actors with agency – from the simply dressed woman to the one in uniform.

### SECOND-CLASS HEROINES

In the 1990s, two female figures can be found within visual culture in Croatia: the figure of the mother and that of the warrior woman. The depiction of the heroic warriors remains within the realm of allegorical representations. They are static and not included in any narrative. In her publication Silke Wenk poses the question of whether these women still function as women at all, or merely take on a shell in order to attain symbolic significance.<sup>27</sup> These representations of female figures rather symbolize an idea – the idea of an independent Croatia. Aesthetically, these depictions of women borrow from ancient figures or imitate religious models. The former socialist depictions of partisan women are no longer recognizable here. The other dominant female figure is to be found in the portrayal of the mother. She is primarily placed in the 1990s in religious contexts and stylized as a person who must be defended or cannot achieve her goals without the help of men. Moreover, she must sacrifice her children in order to uphold the nation.

The figures can be called second-class heroines, since they are deprived of agency by remaining in the corset of a very traditional world view. They stand in contrast to the visual testimonies of the Partisans, which combined the role of the heroic warrior with the figure of the mother. The narrative of the mother taking up arms in order to defend her offspring was well embedded in the state ideology of the time. Representations of the partisan were actively involved in the nation-building process and were employed in negotiations to establish a state ideology. The role of women in the so-called Homeland War however was strictly divided between a Catholic mother and fighter and did not allow any form of intermingling. Women in the Homeland War were accorded only a subordinate role, listed as supporting actors with the responsibility of providing offspring rather than being actively involved. Although they can take an active role in the narrative, they are always shown as dependent on the man.

---

27 Wenk, *Versteinerte Weiblichkeit*, 10.



TheMA is a peer-reviewed open-access research journal dedicated to the history of performing and visual arts. It is published biannually and specializes in the critical and trans-disciplinary historical study of artistic production and reception in various artistic genres including literature, theatre, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture.

## CONTENT

### EDITORIAL

Tatjana Marković: Herstory in Southeast Europe

### ARTICLES

Nela Kovačević: Female characters in the theatrical work of Sephardic dramatist Laura Papo “Bohoreta”

Emese Sófalvi: “Mozart’s Transylvanian Pupil” Josepha Palm: Possible connections and narratives

Nejla Melike Atalay: Ein Harmonium im Konak von Leyla (Saz) Hanimefendi

Klaudija Sabo: Warrior meets mother. The visual representations of female figures in the 1990s in Croatia