

## **The Genealogy of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century South Slavonic Novel: Zofka Kveder and Julka Chlapec-Djordjević**

The paper investigates different narrative strategies of two epistolary novels: *Hanka* (1915, 1917) by the Slovene-Croatian writer Zofka Kveder, (1878-1926), who lived before the First World War in Prague, and *Jedno dopisivanje. Fragmenti romana (A Correspondence. Fragments of the Novel)*, 1932) by Julka Chlapec-Djordjević, (1882-1969), the Serbian author and feminist and ex-“monarchical” author, who was also in Prague after the First World War. Both women were feminists and writers who belonged to the Central European literary society. In addition, both of them were mediators between different cultures. Influenced by Zofka Kveder, Chlapec-Djordjević wrote her novel in a dialog with Kveder’s *Hanka*.

**Keywords:** Zofka Kveder, Julka Chlapec-Djordjević, Slavonic women writers in Prague, literature in Prague.

In my paper I focus on different narrative strategies of two epistolary novels: *Hanka* (1915, 1917) by the Slovene-Croatian writer Zofka Kveder, (1878-1926), who lived before the First World War in Prague and *Jedno dopisivanje. Fragmenti romana (A Correspondence. Fragments of the Novel)*, 1932) by Julka Chlapec-Djordjević<sup>1</sup>, (1882-1969), Serbian author and feminist and ex- “monarchical” author, who lived after the First World War in Prague. She had the possibility to explore the experiences of Serbian women writers.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the 20th century, Prague was one of the liveliest cultural cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with a rich cultural life and a lot of intercultural connections. It was the centre of Czech modernism and avant-garde, the place where Czech and German (and also Jewish) communities were, despite political conflicts, in a cultural space that communicated with each other. The Slovenian and Croatian writer Zofka Kveder (1878-1926) was a Central European intellectual, balancing between different cultures.<sup>3</sup> During her residence in Prague, Kveder explored the lively and rich atmosphere of the city and played a role in its cultural life in cafes (Union) and its student clubs (Slavia). She was a part of the “Habsburg myth”.<sup>4</sup>

Kveder was born in Ljubljana and spent most of her childhood in the countryside. In 1899 she moved to Trieste and then to Bern and Zürich, lived in Prague from 1900–1906, and

then moved to Zagreb. Kveder was known for her cultural hybridity: she changed identities and switched language codes very often. Bilingual from her childhood, she knew Slovene and German, and learned Czech later; half of her literary work is in Croatian and she also translated from other languages into Slovene and German. As a writer and journalist she also associated herself with the Czech women writers and feminists. At the beginning of the 20th century in Prague, the third generation of Czech women writers surfaced: they were also the first self-proclaimed feminists. To use the words of Libuše Hečzková – in Czech society it was the time of the birth of gender equality and the New Woman writer and critic as well.<sup>5</sup>

## II

Zofka Kveder constructed her writer and feminist identity in Prague. She was a professional prose writer and a feminist: her opus consists of three novels, several theatre plays and autobiographical short stories (in different collections). Kveder wrote mostly in Slovenian and later in Croatian, and she focused on women from different sections of society. In critical observations of the place of women in the patriarchal society Kveder depicts her different cultural roles. Her work was successfully published in Czech and well known to Czech readers till the outbreak of the First World War. Her real success in Czech culture came after 1906 – after her move to Zagreb. Her work was extensively published in Czech literary sources till the First World War, which was also partly the result of the existence of a common book market across the Austro-Hungarian Empire. She was so popular in Czech culture that after the translation of her short stories *Vesnické povídky* (Village stories, 1906), fifteen critiques were published.

Agatha Schwartz wrote about the fin –de siècle modernity in Austrian and Hungarian part of Monarchy, but we can consider that was characteristic also for other parts of Monarchy:

One major aspect of fin-de- siècle modernity in both constitutional parts of the Monarchy was the presence of a strong and organized women´s movement, as well as a whole new generation of women writers, many of whom were recognized and well established in their time.<sup>6</sup>

There were specific literary relationships between Zofka Kveder and Czech women writers and intellectuals. Kveder´s relations with Zdenka Hásková (1878-1946) were very fruitful. This poet and writer was her translator and critic. Hásková also introduced Kveder to

the literary students' club Slavia and initiated relationships with her friends – other Czech women writers such as Růžena Svobodová (1868–1920),<sup>7</sup> Helena Malířová (1877–1940) and Marie Majerová (1882–1967). She also had contacts with the Czech feminists. She dedicated her first book of plays *Ljubezen* (Love), written in Slovene language and published in the year 1902 in Prague,<sup>8</sup> to the Czech feminist Marie Woodwárková-Neureutterová.<sup>9</sup>

After the First World War the historical situation changed and she was almost forgotten in Czech culture. Her translator, critic and best friend Zdenka Hásková translated only some of her short stories in the *Česká republika* magazine.

After 1906 Kveder lived in Zagreb and she began to write texts in the Croatian language. The epistolary war novel *Hanka*<sup>10</sup> (1915) was the peak of her career in Croatian language. It was a text of an experienced writer (she wrote the novel *Njeno življenje* (Her life) – her most successful novel in Slovenian literature just one year prior to that).

The novel consists of fictional letters which the first person narrator – the Polish intellectual Hanka – writes to her male friend: Polish historian Staszyński. She begins writing in October 1914. The correspondence lasts for one year. Hanka is the alter ego of Zofka Kveder. Also the other people and the plot are very autobiographical: Staszyński is the picture of Serbian politician Dimitrij Tucović.<sup>11</sup> (In the story she depicts the never realised love to Tucović whom she met in the year 1914 and fell madly in love. He got killed in the beginning of war.)<sup>12</sup>

The main theme in the narrative is the construction of the new emancipated woman.

The Polish intellectual Hanka is not happy in her marriage with the pragmatic and rational German, with whom she has two daughters. After she discovers the infidelity of her husband, she separates from him. In the shadow of great historical changes she settles in Prague. All the time she writes to Staszyński: she remembers the deep friendship she had with the young historian and fellow patriot and their fruitful collaboration: before the war they researched together in the libraries and under his guidance they wrote together a book about Polish history. She discovers that she is deeply in love with him. It is the first year of the war, the situation is apocalyptic. She loses her younger brother, after he is injured in the battle: he dies in her hands in Prague's hospital. Her mother dies in Zakopane. Hanka moves to Poland. There she gets the news that Staszyński died in the war.

The style of writing is very expressionistic. The atmosphere of the war in the beginning of the book is depicted with the biblical motive of the great flood which will destroy the world. Old Europe is dying, it becomes the place where “reason is replaced by foolishness”.<sup>13</sup> The War brings suffering, death, chaos and a great move of nations. The main heroine – under the press of historical changes – loses her reason d'être and her essential security, she is confronted with

death. Hanka is depressed by the fillings of horror and anxiety: even more the motive of the expressionist scream appears in the distance.<sup>14</sup> The narrative reality changes into a dream-like world. Dreams also have a symbolical function in the structure of the plot.<sup>15</sup>

This roman got Bubanović's – praise, but afterwards it was accepted very politically in Croatian society: Hanka was interpreted as a symbol of a woman that strongly believed in the Yugoslav idea.<sup>16</sup>

The renaissance of her memory came in Czech society after her death in 1926. After Kveder's tragic end Hasková in Czech press praised her former friend's work with great respect. From the correspondence we know she wanted to write a book about Kveder, but unfortunately – after her husband's death she took care of his writer's legacy.

### III

The first person who wrote a profound study about Kveder's role in Czech society was Serbian writer and feminist Julka Chlapec-Djordjević (1882–1969), who in 1920s lived in Prague. Julka Chlapec-Djordjević is known as the first woman who completed a PhD in philosophy in the Habsburg monarchy – she was only 24 then. She married a Czech officer Zdeněk Chlapec. After the First World War they settled with two daughters in Czechoslovakia: first in Pardubice and later (1922) in Prague. She spoke English, German, French, Hungarian and Czech. Chlapec-Djordjević translated many Czech literary works into the Serbian language, had an informal literary and cultural salon in Prague and was an active member of Czech-Yugoslav society. In Serbia she had close contacts with the feminist Ksenija Atanasijević. After the Second World War Chlapec-Djordjević left Prague and, when she died in 1969 died in Ústí nad Labem in Czechoslovakia, she was virtually forgotten. Till now nobody researched her role in the Czech culture.<sup>17</sup> As Slapšak wrote in 2004, Julka Chlapec-Djordjević is also a “foreigner” in a Serbian culture.<sup>18</sup>

Both lived for some time in Prague but in different historical situations: Chlapec-Djordjević lived in the democratic first republic of Czechoslovakia: the era of “monstrous” Habsburg monarchy was over, but not completely forgotten. She inherited the legacy of Zofka Kveder as a writer and a feminist, living in a different (Czech) culture. Similarly to her, she was politically influenced by Tomáš G. Masaryk - also in the case of women rights.<sup>19</sup> She published two volumes on feminism in her thirties and many articles in Czech, in Serbian society and also in Slovenia.

As a feminist and an intellectual she was a part of the European feminist movement in the beginning of 20. Century, represented by Rosika Rosa Schimmer and also feminists from Serbia (Vojvodina): Zorka Hovorka and Vladislava Beba Polit. Slapšak wrote in her essay that Chlapec-Djordjević's feminism was very theoretical, interdisciplinary and analytical.<sup>20</sup> She took up subjects like abortion, women's identity, the relation to the body and sexuality, sexual ethics, new methods of birth control, women's rights, the problem of feminism and fascism, feminism and communism, feminism and pacifism.<sup>21</sup> In her theoretical remarks she was already using psychoanalysis.

In the field of feminism Chlapec-Djordjević criticized Soviet socialism and the role of the women in it as a trap: women in a socialist society should perform the traditional family and sexual role, as well as work and be active in politics. She anticipated the development after the war: the socialist society for her was a shift towards conservatism and decadence of the socialist ideas.

Chlapec-Djordjević also wrote on woman authors and the presentation of women in Yugoslav culture and literature. She visited Serbia in the thirties and tried to spread feminism there.

#### IV

The novel *Jedno dopisivanje, Fragmenti romana* (Some Correspondence, Fragments of the Novel)<sup>22</sup> was written in letter form in 1932 only a short time after that study.<sup>23</sup> Magdalena Koch wrote that after the text *Pisma iz Niša o haremina* by Jelena Dimitrijević – the novel in letter – but monologue letters, was the first epistolary novel in Serbian Literature.<sup>24</sup> When it was first published, the novel was well accepted in Serbia<sup>25</sup> and also seventy years after when Svetlana Slapšak wrote a profound study about her work.

In the text Chlapec-Djordjević depicts the secret love affair between a married female writer (Marija Prohaskova) living in Prague and a married doctor (Oton Šrepan) living in Ljubljana, Slovenia. In the narrative plot the influences of Kveder's novel *Hanka* is apparent, as well as fragments of Kveder's biography. The novel is also autobiographical but all the more in context corresponds with the novel *Hanka* of Zofka Kveder. In one critic statement in 1923 Chlapec-Djordjević wrote the fact, that she read this "war" novel and knew it well.<sup>26</sup>

*Jedno dopisivanje* is written in letters, as is Kveder's novel *Hanka* from 1915. *Hanka* is living in Prague during the First World War, while *Jedno dopisivanje* places itself in the new Czech society after that War at the end of the twenties. The construction of the main female

hero is the same: we have a middle-age woman intellectual, balancing between different cultures, altruistic, enthusiastic feminist, interested in gender, emancipation, world problems and cultural transfers. We also find similarities in the plot: in both novels the narrator depicts a love affair and the problems of a dysfunctional marriage.

The protagonist of the novel is Marija Prohaskova (the alter ego of J. Chlapec-Djordjević), a feminist intellectual in her forties. A Serbian from Vojvodina<sup>27</sup>, Marija settles in Prague in the twenties and moves between various cultures. She has a passionate relationship with the doctor Oton Šrepan from Slovenia. Her initial correspondence with him is a letter containing questions about the writer Z.K. (initials of Zofka Kveder).<sup>28</sup> We have a metatextual work: Marija is writing a study about Z.K. and she reflects on ideas about writers and writing. In the beginning she writes about the common position of South Slavic women writers in the beginning of 20th. Century, who were not accepted in a society bounded with prejudices and were stereotypically judged as “saints or dolls”.<sup>29</sup> Marija and Oton also correspond regarding Kveder’s best friend Zdenka Hásková, Hásková’s friend Viktor Dyk and Fran Govekar, a writer in Slovenia. The beginning of the novel provides the key, the story mirrors the reality: Chlapec-Djordjević after Kveder’s death wanted to write an article (a book?) about her and because of that she joined with Czech writer Hásková (friend of Viktor Dyk) and Slovene writer F. Govekar.

The novel is mostly autobiographical, including the aspects of the love affair which could be fictional or real: for example, it depicts the student life of Marija and Oton in Vienna (1906-1912) and the double-secret life of the main heroine in Prague in the twenties. We don’t have any information if she – as a married woman – also had a love affair, but for sure in the chronological story in letters we recognise her life in Prague in the twenties with children and separated from the husband who worked and lived in Slovakia. In this epistolary novel the love story is prominent, but there are also descriptions of the three different cultural contexts: Prague in the twenties (politics, the role of Yugoslav society there, relationships between Yugoslavs (Serbs) and Czechs); Ljubljana in the twenties and – in retrospective fragments – life in Vienna before the First World War.

The main focus of the narration is the image of Prague from the late twenties. The heroine, Marija Prohaskova, in essay-style fragments reflects the political and feminist ideas of that time and also the problem confronting feminism. The relationship ends with Oton’s suicide. In both novels the story ends with the death of the male hero.

There are great similarities in the narrative strategies, but also differences between two novels. One of the main differences is the construction of the main hero. Hanka is Polish:

Kveder chose a fictional national identity. That was a narrative solution which safely emphasised Kveder's patriotism and the ideology of the great "Yugoslav" nation in which she believed in that time. The wish of her and the goal of Staszyński is a great unified nation state.

The narrator in the novel *Hanka* judges the others by their national identity: in that context we find traces of anti-Semitism towards Jews. The intertextual story of Ester from the Old Testament which is incorporated in the beginning of the story is an example of her national ideas: this is the story of a great woman who wanted to save her nation. On the contrary Marija from the novel *Jedno dopisivanje* is a person of the world. Her national identity is not so important: she is open and critical to the multicultural world, she accepts and criticizes ideas, not people as members of one nation.

The main theme in both novels is the problem of contrasting the gender identity, the relation to the body and sexuality, to the other sex and the construction of the new sexual ethics. Zofka Kveder in her philosophy follows the belief of new romantics and symbolic writers. Even though Hanka leaves her husband and her children, she is not brave enough to begin life with the new man. Staszyński is for her just an ideal, they never touch and the only not realised kiss shows that the body and carnality are the question of traumas and frustrations. He is the symbol of the never fulfilled love. His image is very much influenced by the ideal of Ivan Cankar in the last symbolist period (he developed the ideal of the symbolic love in the drama *Lepa Vida* in 1911).<sup>30</sup>

On the contrary Chlapec Djordjević incorporated in the novel all her feminist ideas and we find the essayist passages with the perspective feminist, which was the thematical innovation in the Serbian literature.<sup>31</sup> Marija is the prophet of a new life and the position of women in society. She is not afraid of sexuality, neglects formal marriage, even though she feels she is obliged to stay with the husband because of the children. She criticizes Oton, who is more conventional than her and for her is a prisoner of patriarchal conventions and the petite bourgeois society of Ljubljana. Love in the novel *Jedno dopisivanje* is presented as an equal dialog of both sexes, not a monolog (the case of Hanka!), even though it is clear, that Marija is intellectually sharper than Oton<sup>32</sup> and she is also freer of prejudices.

On the other hand the novel *Hanka* is much more "literal" than *Jedno dopisivanje*, which is more essayistic, sometimes in the persuasion of ideas more didactical. Zofka Kveder was at the peak of her creation, *Hanka* is a very modern novel with a distinctive style and very characteristic poetics. The plot is very wide structured, it depicts a complex "intimate and public" life of the main heroine. It also includes a lot of different people and their psychological portraits. There are a lot of nice descriptions of places and special moments in the inner life of



her heroes. Kveder is also a master of describing lyrical details, moments, mosaics of lives and fragments of nature. She had already developed a special impressionistic style in her short stories.

Chlapec-Djordjević as a writer is not as complex or as distinguished. She is more traditional: she follows the plot chronologically and she tries to present her ideas. She focuses mostly on the development of two people. In their case she tries to define the category of love, marriage, the relation to children and sexual politics: she tries to define the space between personal and public affairs. Her description of the world is more realistic and documentary: with sharp eyes she depicts the existential crisis of two people in the context of the society and different cultures of one period as well.

It is interesting that in the view of modernity the novel *Jedno dopisivanje* has many more intertextual codes. In the case of *Hanka* we find just two powerful metaphors from the *Bible*, in *Jedno Dopisivanje* we find a lot of literary codes and references: from modern Serbian poetry (Desanka Maksimović), Slovenian literature (Marija cites I. Cankar, O. Župančič and Slovene folk songs), Czech poetry (K. H. Macha, J. Wolker, J. Seifert) modern European literature (H. Ibsen, L. N. Tolstoj). In the text we find references to the painting of Erik Nielson and also references to historical reality in Prague: for example Marija mentions the Slovenian professor Murko at Charles University. The novel could be understood also as a documentary written essay on sexual politics and cultural history. It depicts the new world in the democratic Prague after the First World War, it shows openness in society in a question of sexual life. She writes about the new life of the middle class woman intellectual: following the wave of tourism, congresses, lectures, conferences. There are also the remains of the past Habsburgian multiculturalism and multilingual praxis in the language: in the midst of the Serbian text we find sentences and phrases in (mostly) German, Czech, Slovenian and French.

## V

Julka Chlapec-Djordjević was the first intellectual to value Kveder's work and praised her place in Czech culture and Central European literature for Yugoslav readers. She could also reflect on Kveder's life because the circumstances within Czech culture in Prague after the First World War were similar to those before it: open, multicultural, intellectually rich and very inspiring. She was an educated feminist with theoretical concepts, so she criticised Kveder regarding this. She wanted to spread Kveder's reputation of in Serbian and Yugoslav culture.



She was also inspired by Kveder's work especially by her novel *Hanka* as is clearly seen in her only novel, *Jedno dopisivanje*. In her case we find a very inspiring story of the influence of one women writer to another.

In Prague Chlapec-Djordjević followed the path of Zofka Kveder. Following the First World War she worked for a short period with Kveder in *Ženski svijet*, a revue published in Zagreb in 1918. Just four years younger than Kveder, she began late as a writer, already in her forties after settling in Prague, where she lived from 1922 till 1945. Though it appears they never met each other (she claimed that in her novel), Chlapec-Djordjević was deeply impressed with Kveder's role and literary work.

Correspondence between Z. Hásková and F. Govekar claims that, after Kveder's death, Chlapec -Djordjević wanted to write a book about Zofka Kveder.<sup>33</sup> Finally, she simply published an article in Serbian concerning Kveder's role in Czech culture: *Iz praških dana Zofke Kvederove* (From Prague's days of Zofka Kveder). It was first published in *Letopis Matice Srpske*, two years after Kveder's death in 1928 and republished the book of essays<sup>34</sup> in 1935 in Belgrade.<sup>35</sup> Chlapec-Djordjević wrote about Kveder's role in Czech culture and about her life and successful career in Prague, researching her texts and development as a writer. She discovered that the political, intellectual, cultural (feminist) and literary environment in Prague society during the early years of the 20th century "gave the young, self-educated Slovene more stimulation, influence and acceptance than was possible in any other city" and that in Prague Kveder was "surrounded by people with the same ideas, motivation and intellectual openness".<sup>36</sup> When analyzing her literary work, she criticized her feminism, which in her view was only half-committed, theoretical and not sharpened enough.

---

<sup>1</sup> There existed a confusion in writing her second name: they wrote her name also Gjergjević, Džordževićová, Hlapec, Chlapcová...

<sup>2</sup> See also Jovan Deretić, *Istorija srbske književnosti* (Nolit: Beograd, 1983); Magdalena Koch: ... *kiedy dojrzujemy jako kultura... Twórczość pisarek serbskich na początku XX wieku (kanon – genre – gender)* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2007; --: ...*kada sazremo kao kultura... Stvaralaštvo srpskih spisateljica na početku XX veka (kanon – žanr – rod)* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012); Celia Hawkesworth, *Voices in the Shadows. Women and Verbal Art in Serbia and Bosnia* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> See also several studies and books about Zofka Kveder: Minka Govekar and Marica Nadlišek Bartol, Zofka Kveder, In: *Ženski svet* 5, (Ljubljana, 1927), 1–6; 33– 40; 65– 69; 97–102; 12 –135; 161–166; 193–197; Marja Boršnik, *Študije in fragmenti* (Maribor: Založba Obzorja Maribor, 1962), 319–333; Katja Mihurko Poniž, *Drzno drugačna. Zofka Kveder in podobe ženskosti* (Ljubljana: Delta, 2003); A. Jensterle-Doležal – J. Honzak Jahič (eds), *Zofka Kveder (1876 –1926)* (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR–Slovanská knihovna, 2008); Alenka Jensterle-Doležal, *Avtor tekst, kontekst, komunikacija, Poglavja iz slovenske moderne* (Maribor: Mednarodna knjižna zbirka Zora (103), 2014), 95- 151.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Vajda, *Wien und die Literatur in der Donaumonarchie zur Kulturgeschichte Mitteleuropas 1740 – 1918* (Wien: Böhlau, 1994), 12: „[...] sind doch tausende und abertausende von Querverbindungen, Wechselbeziehungen, Ähnlichkeiten inmitten der Unterschiede vorhanden [...]“.

---

See also M. Bernard, *Praha, město evropské avantgardy 1895–1928*. Tr. Jana Vymazalová (Praha: Argo, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> Libuše Heczková. *Píšíci Minervy. Vybrané kapitoly z dějin české literární kritiky* (Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2009), 263.

<sup>6</sup> Agatha Schwartz, *Shifting voices. Feminist thought and women's writing in fin-de- siècle Austria and Hungary* (Montreal&Kongston/ London/ Itaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 3.

<sup>7</sup> See Jensterle-Doležal, Alenka: *Avtor, tekst, kontekst, komunikacija. Poglavja iz slovenske moderne* (Maribor: Mednarodna založba Zora (103), 2014), 122–134.

<sup>8</sup> Her most known book in her first period of writing *Misterij žene* (The Mystery of the Woman): the anthology of short stories about the tragic condition of women in patriarchal society, written in Slovene language and published in Prague. Kveder successfully used the possibilities of the “Habsburg's common market“ in the Central Europe of that time.

<sup>9</sup> Zofka Kveder, *Ljubezan*, 1901 (Praha: ZK, 1902).

<sup>10</sup> Zofka Kveder, *Hanka, Ratne uspomene* (Zagreb: Moderna knjižnica, Hrvatski štamparski zavod v Zagrebu, sv. 50. – 51, 1917). In 1916 she got the „Bubanović“ praise for this novel in Zagreb.

<sup>11</sup> Dimitrij Tucović (1881–1914) was a Serbian politician, who died as a soldier fighting against the Austrian army in the beginning of the First World War.

<sup>12</sup> See Alenka Jensterle-Doležal, ‘Podobe iz sanj. Roman Hanka v luči korespondence med Zofko Kveder in Zdenko Háskovo’. In Jensterle-Doležal, Alenka (ed.): *Vzájemným pohledem, V očeh drugega, Česko-slovenské a slovinsko-české styky ve 20. století* (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR–Slovanská knihovna, 2011), 125–143.

<sup>13</sup> „Kako da je čitavu Europu zahvatila užasna psihoza, ludilo, kakvog još nije svijet zapamtio.“ Z. Kveder, *Hanka*, 1917, 118.

<sup>14</sup> „Oči zure nekamo daleko, daleko; sve moje biće sluša, ne bil i začulo nešto, - grozovito neku jeku.“ Z. Kveder, *Hanka*, 1917, 5.

<sup>15</sup> See A. Jensterle-Doležal, Podobe iz sanj. Roman Hanka v luči korespondence med Zofko Kveder in Zdenko Háskovo, 2011, 125–143.

<sup>16</sup> Natascha Vittorelli, Verschwiegen, Verharmlost, Entschuldigt, Antisemitismus in Zofka Kveders Briefsroman *Hanka*, In: T. Kahl, E. Vyslouzil, A. Woldan (Hrsg.), *Herausforderung Osteuropa. Die Offenlegung Stereotyper Bilder* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2004), 176–193.

<sup>17</sup> Before the Second World War there were just two studies by Julka Chlapec-Djordjević translated into the Czech language: *Osudná chvíle feministického hnutí* (1933) and *Feministické úvahy* (1937).

<sup>18</sup> S. Slapšak, *Jedno dopisivanje: odgovor posle sedamdeset godina*, 2004, 153–154.

<sup>19</sup> She wrote about T. G. Masaryk in *Jedno dopisivanje*: „Njegov cilj je podizanje ljudskog života u humanije više oblike, što neminovno vodi učenju o ravnopravnosti žene sa čovjekem.“ (J. Chlapec-Djordjević, *Jedno dopisivanje*, 2004, 116.

<sup>20</sup> S. Slapšak, *Jedno dopisivanje: odgovor posle sedamdeset godina*, 2004, 155.

<sup>21</sup> See Svetlana Tomin, *Julka Hlapec Đorđević ili o feminizmu*, Beograd, 1996, 147–152; Svetlana Slapšak, *Julka Hlapec – Djordjević: iz skandalozne istorije zataškavanja feminizma medju Južnim Slovenima*, 1996, 86–89; Dubravka Djurić, *diskursi feminizma i modernizma u esejima Julke Chlapec Djordjević i Jele Spiridonović-Savić, Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne* 6 (Poznań: Publishing house Science and Innovate, 2014): 327–340 (<http://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/pss/article/view/978/898>, 14. 9. 2016); Magdalena Koch, *Majstorice mišljenja. Srpski feministički esej u međuratnom periodu, Književna istorija XLVII/ 157* (Beograd, 2015): 209–232.

<sup>22</sup> *Julka Chlapec-Djordjević, Jedno dopisivanje, Fragmenti romana* (Beograd: Geca Kon, 1932); *Julka Chlapec-Djordjević, Jedno dopisivanje, Fragmenti romana* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> Letters are marked with the concrete dates, which follow chronologically in the year 192... That could mean that Chlapec-Djordjević have written the novel at the end of twenties and published it later.

<sup>24</sup> M. Koch, ... *kiedy dojrzejemy jako kultura... Twórczość pisarek serbskich na początku XX wieku (kanon – genre – gender)*, 2007, 149.

<sup>25</sup> In 1932 literary criticism made a positive assessment of the novel: Ksenija Atanasijević, Dr. Julka Chlapec Djordjević, *Jedno dopisivanje (fragmenti romana)*, Beograd 1932. Izdavačka Knjižarnica Gece Kona, *Srbski književni glasnik, nova serija*, knjiga XXXVY, broj 2 (Beograd, 16. maj 1932): 148; Dr. Mladen A. Horvat, Dr. Julka Chlapec-Djordjević, *Jedno dopisivanje, Život i rad*, knjiga XI, sveska 67 (Beograd, 1. juni 1932): 859.

---

<sup>26</sup> J. Chlapec-Gjorgjevićová, Ž. K. Recenze, *Československo-jihoslovanská liga* 3, č. 7-8 (Praha, 1923): 84.

<sup>27</sup> Celia Hawkesworth made a mistake in writing that Marija was a Czech (Hawkesworth, *Voices in the Shadows. Women and Verbal Art in Serbia and Bosnia*, 2000, 182).

<sup>28</sup> M. Koch in her study on Djordjević's novel also mentions the fact that these are the initials of Zofka Kveder. (Koch, ... *kiedy dojrzejemy jako kultura... Twórczość pisarek serbskich na początku XX wieku (kanon – genre – gender)*, 2007, 150).

<sup>29</sup> „Meni se Z. vrlo sviđjala. Pratila sam njen razvitak sa naročitom simpatijom. Ona je imala u punoj meri ono što je meni nedostajalo: smelost sledovati svojem uverenju [...]. Sputana obavezama i predrasudama, stisnuta u kalupe, gotove za ispijene mučnice ili nacifrane lutke, njihova silna individualnost nailazi svugde na prepreke i nerazumevanja. Vide Adela Milčinović, Dr. Ksenija Atanasijević, Dr. Isidora Sekulić ...” (J. Chlapec-Djordjević, *Jedno dopisivanje*, 2004, 9).

<sup>30</sup> See Alenka Jensterle-Doležal, Problem identitete in travma telesa v prozi Zofke Kveder. In: *Zofka Kvedrová (1878-1926): Recepcje její tvorby ve 21. století*, Alenka Jensterle-Doležal and Jasna Honzak Jahić (eds) (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR– Slovanská knihovna 2008), 81–99.

<sup>31</sup> See M. Koch 2007, ... *kiedy dojrzejemy jako kultura... Twórczość pisarek serbskich na początku XX wieku (kanon – genre – gender)*, 2007, 151.

<sup>32</sup> M. Koch also wrote that in their dialog Marija Prochaskova is intellectually stronger than her partner (M. Koch, ... *kiedy dojrzejemy jako kultura... Twórczość pisarek serbskich na początku XX wieku (kanon – genre – gender)*, 2007, 151).

<sup>33</sup> Jaroslav Pánek, Pisma Frana Govekarja Zdenki Dykovi-Háskovi (Letters of Fran Govekar to Zdenka Dyková-Hásková), 1927–1934, *Dokumenti Slovenskega gledališkega muzeja XII (27–28)*, (Ljubljana, 1976): 58-79.

<sup>34</sup> Dr. Julka Chlapec-Djordjević, *Studije i eseji o feminizmu I*, (Beograd: Život i rad, 1935).

<sup>35</sup> She anticipated that the readers will be from Yugoslavia –in this state Kveder was already well known as a Slovene-Croat writer.

<sup>36</sup> Her period in Zagreb was not successful: there she also lost her inspiration.

## Bibliography

Atanasijević, Ksenija: Dr. Julka Chlapec Djordjević, Jedno dopisivanje (fragmenti romana), Beograd 1932. Izdavačka Knjižarnica Gece Kona, *Srbski književni glasnik, nova serija*, knjiga XXXVY, broj 2 (Beograd, 16. maj 1932): 148.

Bernard, Michel: *Praha, město evropské avantgardy 1895–1928*. Tr. Jana Vymazalová (Praha: Argo, 2010).

Csáky, Moritz: Europa im kleinen: Multiethnizität und Multikulturalität im alten Österreich. In *Die eine Welt und Europa Salzburger Hochschulwochen*. Schmidinger (ed.) (Graz – Wien – Köln, 1995).

Djurić, Dubravka: Diskursi feminizma i modernizma u esejima Julke Chlapec Djordjević i Jele Spiridonović-Savić, *Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne* 6 (Poznań: Publishing house Science and Innovate, 2014): 327–340.

(<http://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/pss/article/view/978/898>, 14. 9. 2016)

Chlapec-Gjorgjevićová, Julka, Ž. K. Recenze, *Československo-jihoslovanská liga* 3, č.7–8, (Praha, 1923): 84.

Chlapec-Djordjević, Julka: Iz praških dana Zofke Kvedrove. In Chlapec Djordjević Julka: *Eseji o feminizmu* (Beograd: Život i rad, 1935): 176–185.

--: *Studije i eseji o feminizmu I* (Beograd, 1935).

--: *Studije i eseji o feminizmu II* (Beograd, 1938).

Jensterle-Doležal, Alenka and Honzak Jahič, Jasna (eds.): *Zofka Kveder (1878–1926)* (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR–Slovanská knihovna, 2008).

Jensterle-Doležal, Alenka: Problem identitete in travma telesa v prozi Zofke Kveder. (A Problem of identity and the Trauma of the Body in the prose of Z. Kveder). In *Zofka Kvedrová*

(1878–1926): *Recepce její tvorby ve 21. století*. Alenka Jensterle-Doležal and Jasna Honzak Jahić (eds) (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR– Slovanská knihovna, 2008): 81–99.

--: Pisma Zdenki Háskovi – prostor intime Zofke Kveder. (Letters to Zdenka Hásková – the intimate Space of Z. Kveder). In *Zofka Kvedrová (1878-1926): Recepce její tvorby ve 21. století*. Alenka Jensterle-Doležal and Jasna Honzak Jahić (eds) (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR– Slovanská knihovna, 2008): 241– 245.

--: ‘Podobe iz sanj. Roman *Hanka* v luči korespondence med Zofko Kveder in Zdenko Háskovo’. (Images from Dreams. The novel *Hanka* in the Light of the Correspondence of Z. Kveder to Z. Hásková). In Jensterle-Doležal, Alenka (ed.): *Vzájemným pohledem, V očeh drugega, Česko-slovinské a slovinsko-české styky ve 20. století* (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR– Slovanská knihovna, 2011): 125–143.

--: *Avtor, tekst, kontekst, komunikacija. Poglavja iz slovenske moderne* (Maribor: Mednarodna univerzitetna založba Zora (103), 2014).

Hawkesworth, Celia: *Voices in the Shadows. Women and Verbal Art in Serbia and Bosnia* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000).

Horvat, Mladen A.: Dr. Julka Chlapec-Djordjević, Jedno dopisivanje, *Život i rad*, knjiga XI, sveska 67 (Beograd, 1. juni 1932), 859.

Korać, Stanko: *Srbski roman između dva rata 1918–1941* (Beograd, 1982).

Koch, Magdalena: ... *kiedy dojrzejemy jako kultura... Twórczość pisarek serbskich na początku XX wieku (kanon – genre – gender)* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2007).

--: ...*kada sazremo kao kultura... Stvaralaštvo srpskih spisateljica na početku XX veka (kanon – žanr – rod)* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012).

--: Majstorice mišljenja. Srpski feministički esej u međuratnom periodu, *Književna istorija* XLVII/ 157 (Beograd, 2015): 209-232.

Literarna zapuščina Zofke Kveder (Literary inheritance of Zofka Kveder), fond Ms 1113, D 81, št. 14. Rokopisni oddelek NUK-a in Ljubljana, Slovenia, Literary archive in Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Literarna zapuščina Zofke Kveder (Literary inheritance of Zofka Kveder ) in Arhiv Inštituta za hrvaško književnost v Zagrebu, Literary archive in The Institute of Croatian literature, Zagreb, Croatia.

Literarna zapuščina Zofke Kveder (Literary inheritance of Zofka Kveder) in Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví (LA PNP), Literary Archive on Strahov. Prague, Czech republic.

Literary inheritance of Julka Chlapec-Djordjević, Private collection of Mrs. Pavla Frydlová in Prague (Czech Republic).

Mihurko Poniž, Katja: *Zapisano z njenim peresom. Prelomi zgodnjih slovenskih književnic s paradigma nacionalne literature* (Nova Gorica: Založba Univerze v Novi Gorici, 2014).

---

Pánek, Jaroslav: Pisma Frana Govekarja Zdenki Dykovi-Háskovi (The Letters of Fran Govekar to Zdenka Dyková-Hásková), 1927–1934, *Dokumenti Slovenskega gledališkega muzeja* XII (27–28), (Ljubljana, 1976), 58–79.

Schwartz, Agatha: *Shifting voices. Feminist thought and women's writing in fin-de-siècle Austria and Hungary* (Montreal&Kongston/ London/ Itaca. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

Slapšak, Svetlana: Julka Hlapec – Djordjević: iz skandalozne istorije zataškavanja feminizma medju Južnim Slovenima, *Profemina br. 5 – 6*, zima – proleče (Beograd, 1996): 86–89.

--: Jedno dopisivanje: odgovor posle sedamdeset godina. In Chlapec-Djordjević, Julka: *Jedno dopisivanje, Fragmenti romana* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2004): 153–170.



Showalter, Elaine: *A literature of their own. British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999 (1977)).

Tomin, Svetlana: Julka Hlapec Đorđević ili o feminizmu, *Profemina br. 5 – 6*, zima – proleće (Beograd, 1996): 147–152.

Vajda, G. M: *Wien und die Literatur in der Donaumonarchie zur Kulturgeschichte Mitteleuropas 1740 – 1918* (Wien: Böhlau, 1994).

Vittorelli, Natascha: Verschwiegen, Verharmlost, Entschuldigt: Antisemitismus in Zofka Kveders Briefsroman Hanka. In *Herausforderung Osteuropa. Die Offenlegung Stereotyper Bilder*. T. Kahl, E. Vyslouzil, A. Woldan (Hrsg.) (München: Oldenrourg Verlag, 2004): 176–193.

### **Primary Sources:**

Kveder, Zofka: *Hanka, Ratne uspomene*, Moderna knjižnica, sv. 50. – 51 (Zagreb: Hrvatski štamparski zavod u Zagrebu, 1917).

--: *Zbrano delo I-VI, VIII*. Marja Borštnik and Eleonora Kernc (eds.) (Ljubljana: Ženska založba. Belo-modra knjižnica, 1938 – 1940).

-- : *Zbrano delo, Prva knjiga*. Urednik K. Mihurko-Poniž (Maribor: Študentska založba Litera, 2005).

-- : *Zbrano delo, Druga knjiga*. Urednik K. Mihurko-Poniž (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2010).

--: *Zbrano delo. Tretja knjiga*. Urednik K. Mihurko-Poniž (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2013).

Chlapec-Djordjević, Julka: *Jedno dopisivanje, Fragmenti romana* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2004).



**Аленка ЈЕНСТЕРЛЕ-ДОЛЕЖАЛ**  
Катедра за јужнословенске и балканске  
студије  
Филозофски факултет, Универзитет у  
Прагу

<https://doi.org/10.18485/knjiz.2016.1.10>

УДК: 821.163.6.09-31 Кведер З.  
821.163.41.09-31 Хлапец-Ђорђевић Ј.  
Оригинални научни чланак

## **Генеалогича у јужнословенском роману 20. века: Зофка Кведер и Јулка Хлапец-Ђорђевић**

Рад се бави наративним стратегијама у два епистоларна романа: *Ханка* (1915 и 1917) Зофке Кведер (1878- 1926), словеначко-хрватске списатељице и *Једно дописивање. Фрагменти романа* (1932) Јулке Хлапец-Ђорђевић (1882-1969), српске списатељице и феминисткиње која је после Првог светског рата живела у Прагу. Анализиран је утицај једне списатељице на другу – наиме, обе су биле феминисткиње које су припадале цен- тралноевропском књижевном свету и обе су радиле као културни посредници и неко време живеле у Прагу.

**Кључне речи:** Зофка Кведер, Јулка Хлапец-Ђорђевић, списатељке, књижевност у Прагу