



THE IMAGE OF MATA HARI REMAINS

The representation of Mata Hari in various media in the Netherlands in relation to her regional and national characterization

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the four ways in which Mata Hari is represented in various media (research, literature, newspaper, movies and images) in the period 1880 till now, which shows the characterization she received in the media in the Netherlands and how this is connected to her representation within the national and regional canonical historical overviews.

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Introduction

Although the name Margaretha Geertruida MacLeod-Zelle (1876-1917) does not sound familiar to most Dutch people at first, MacLeod-Zelle can be listed among the most prominent characters in Dutch history.¹ She is commonly known as Mata Hari, a world-famous courtesan, belly dancer, mother, and spy. Mata Hari is a Dutch elusive character in the time before and during the First World War (WWI). She is well-known, but often not of academic interest. Moreover, she is absent in the Dutch canonical historical overview. Mata Hari, however, has been adopted in the canonical historical overview of the province of Friesland. According to those who have created the canon, she is the most famous person from Friesland in history.² At the same time Mata Hari will not receive any attention in 2018 when Leeuwarden becomes the European Capital of Culture.³ There is thus a stratification of historical knowledge between the regional and national. This striking difference in opinion about the importance of Mata Hari is the starting point of this thesis.

Mata Hari has been an inspiration for storytelling and a source of information for gaining new insights into WWI. Therefore, she is a topic of interest to the media. Although the events in Mata Hari's life have been researched, the role of the media in the establishment of her representation has hardly received any attention. Media and digital culture are of special significance to research how she was discussed and portrayed. A combination of textual and visual sources will be used to analyse Mata Hari's representation over the course of time in the following media. These are: academic research, literary books, movies and television. This research examines her representation in the media and connects it to the representation and decision-making for canons, for instance the differences between the regional and national canon.

The difference between the regional and national representation ties in with the 'problematic' relation between academic historical research and popular historical opinion. Hence, the Dutch government decided to issue a national canonical overview in 2006 to give citizens a sense of their cultural and historical past.⁴ The Mata Hari case study will be examined

¹ 11 en 30, 'De Kanon fan de Fryske Skiednis. Ken dyn fryske ferline' via <http://www.11en30.nu>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

² Ibidem.

³ The European Capital of Culture is a city designated by the European Union, which organises a series of cultural events with a European dimension for a year. The decision of choosing the city is delegated to the hosting country. In 2018 Leeuwarden and Valletta (Malta) will become the Capital of Culture. Rob Leemhuis, 'Leeuwarden 2018 dreigt zichzelf af te knippen' *Leeuwarder Courant* (28-05-2016).

⁴ Maria van der Hoeven, 'Opdrachtbrief', *Entoen.nu, De Canon van Nederland (Deel A)*, Publicatie van de Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon (Den Haag, 2006) 94-98.

by looking at the general Dutch representation and thereafter compare the regional representation to the general one.

There are four models of representing Mata Hari. The first representation is that of being one of the first female spies. This was cause for her popularity in the media and made her an interesting object of study. The second representation focuses on her role of motherhood connected to her femininity. The third representation is connected to Mata Hari as an exotic (belly)dancer. Lastly, the fourth representation displays a young girl from Friesland who remained loyal to her heritage. This last representation, which has only developed during the last fifty years, has not been explicitly researched in scholarly literature. It relied on political decision-making in Friesland and caused debate in regional newspapers, in order to receive funding to make Leeuwarden the city of Mata Hari.⁵

Although Mata Hari will only serve as an example of how representation changes over time, this case study will also show how historical female role models are created.

Consequently, the central question to this thesis is: in what way is Margaretha Geertruida MacLeod-Zelle (also known as Mata Hari) represented in research, novels, movies and images in the period 1880-2016 in relation to her position in the national and regional historical canonical overview?⁶

The first chapter is an overview of Mata Hari's life. This chapter has the purpose to contextualize the variety of representations discussed later. The first part of the second chapter examines her representation as a spy during WWI. The second part focuses on the representation of a mother and a femme fatale, and the paradoxical relation between these two. The third representation as an exotic dancer will be analysed by the notion of 'orientalism'.⁷ Her fourth representation as a girl from Friesland will be researched in chapter four by using the text by Keikes and Wagenaar.⁸ The relation between Mata Hari and Friesland within the regional and national canon will be identified and discussed. To conclude, an analysis of the role of the Dutch icon will be made and the question how she is portrayed within the media over more than a hundred years will be answered.

⁵ George (Nor) Kooijman, 'Mata Hari, de wethouder en de (vele) publiciteit' in: Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarder Gevoel, loat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se er nog* (Leeuwarden, 2007) 95.

⁶ Throughout this thesis MacLeod-Zelle will be named Mata Hari. Even in her life history she will be named Mata Hari, despite the fact that the 'name' did not exist at the time.

⁷ Edward W. Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

⁸ Henricus W. Keikes, *Het meisje Mata Hari* (Den Haag, 1974); Sam Wagenaar, *De moord op Mata Hari* (Amsterdam, 1964).

Status Quaestionis

Before analysing Mata Hari's representation, it is important to explain the relation between memory culture such as a 'Lieu de Memoire' and the creation of a canon. The canon is connected to the problem of identity that refers to the historical heritage. Lastly, the connection between icons and their sense of identity as well as their role in the canon will be analysed. This will be linked to the Mata Hari case study and how she is discussed within academic literature.

Lieux de Memoire

While looking at the representation of a historical figure over a period of time, it is necessary to understand how memory has been invested with enduring and emotional significance.⁹ In historical studies the concept of memory is mostly associated with cultural history.¹⁰ The most prominent researcher in the field is Pierre Nora. He invented the concept 'Lieux de Memoire' in the 1980s.¹¹ A Lieu de Memoire is the moment when the representation of a historical moment (historiographical memory) seems to replace the original historical event (historical memory). Historical memory changes and interacts with other and/or present memories. This will change the historical memory to a historiographical memory. Memories are constantly liable for change, whereby original memories start replacing previous memories.¹² It is also performative, since it always reflects a subjective perception of history.¹³ The performative nature is constituted in the way that memory can be changed according to the individual and his/her memories. These memories help shape the representation, but the other way around as well, since images help shape memories henceforth. The social interaction is part of the reason why recent images start to replace the original memory.¹⁴

From the 1980s onward, memory was gaining popularity in cultural historical research. Memory became of importance to nations in order to provide the citizens with information about the context of the events that passed.¹⁵ Traumas of the twentieth century were turned into

⁹ Nancy Wood, 'Memory's Remains: Les lieux de memoire' *History and Memory* 6:1 (1994) 123-149.

¹⁰ Peter Burke, 'Co-memorations Performing the Past' in: K. Tilmans, F. van Vree and J. Winter (ed.), *Performing the Past. Memory, history and the identity in modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2010) 105.

¹¹ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire' *Representations* 26 (1989) 7-24.

¹² Frederic Bartlett, 'The War of the Ghosts' *Remembering* (Cambridge, 1932) 16.

¹³ Jan Winter, Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree (ed.), *Performing the Past. Memory, history and the identity in modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2010) 12.

¹⁴ Frederic Bartlett, 'The War of the Ghosts' *Remembering* (Cambridge, 1932) 10.

¹⁵ Kerwin Lee Klein, 'On the emergence of memory in historical discourse' in: *Representations* 69 (2000) 127-150; Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Mueller, Jasper van der Steen (eds.), *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden & Boston, 2013) 1-27.

memories, such as WWI, which is reflected in representational studies. Memories on the context of passed events are used as a basis for a shared ‘consciousness’ of the nation.¹⁶ Nation was a way for the people in the nineteenth century to refer to a joined heritage and provenance.¹⁷ Memory forms the basis of identity, which would lead to people reflecting upon their actions both in an active as well as in a passive sense. This applies to the collective, but to individuals as well.¹⁸ The French sociologist Émile Durkheim was convinced that the collective could reflect on their actions in the form of a community.¹⁹

This statement is questioned by Belgian cultural sociologist Pascal Gielen who stated that shared history might provide friction since the nation will deliver only ‘one historical truth’. When one historical perception is perceived as the most valid historical perception, people will still opt for another historical perception, which can be based on their different (ethnic) backgrounds.²⁰ This means that social integration by creating a community based on one perception of history and memory will never be possible. Such a community can only be created when every memory culture is specific and individual, and accepted for that reason only by different groups of people.²¹ The national identity thus consists out of multiple memory cultures. It does not try to exclude all these different memories, but tries to connect them.

The Dutch canon

Creating a Dutch historical overview in the form of a canon was much debated in Dutch politics and relied on political decision-making. When a nation decides to choose certain moments and historical figures that are considered more influential than others, it signifies the ‘national identity’ and the politics behind such choices.

In 2005 the decision was made to create a national Dutch cultural canon.²² The minister of Education, stated that collective memory was meaningful, which is necessary for an understanding of the country and its culture. This collective memory had to be stressed in this

¹⁶ Kuijpers, *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, 1-27.

¹⁷ Hermann W. von der Dunk, *Sprekend over identiteit en geschiedenis* (Utrecht/Amsterdam, 1992) 10.

¹⁸ Pascal Gielen, ‘Herinneren in een geglobaliseerd tijdperk’ in: P. Gielen, R. Laermans, *Cultureel goed. Over het (nieuwe) erfgoedregiem* (Leuven, 2005) 115.

¹⁹ Barbara A. Misztal, ‘Durkheim on Collective Memory’ *Journal of Classical Sociology* 3:2 (July 2003) 123-139.

²⁰ Pascal Gielen, ‘Herinneren in een geglobaliseerd tijdperk’ in: P. Gielen, R. Laermans, *Cultureel goed. Over het (nieuwe) erfgoedregiem* (Leuven, 2005) 98-115.

²¹ Gielen, ‘Herinneren in een geglobaliseerd tijdperk’, 119.

²² Maria van der Hoeven, ‘Opdrachtbrief’, *Entoen.nu, De Canon van Nederland (Deel A)*, Publicatie van de Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon (Den Haag, 2006) 94-98.

national canon; cultural awareness was the goal of the canon.²³ The canon was not created as a tool for national self-satisfaction and there was no example of a typical Dutch identity, according to Maria van der Hoeven.²⁴ Instead, it should establish certain ‘national’ historical memories.²⁵ Nonetheless, the canon has been used for educational purposes and is used as an overview of our Dutch cultural heritage.²⁶

Some argued that the canon was prejudiced, because some perspectives from different cultural groups were discarded.²⁷ Another problem was that the canon only emphasized the national history and left out some of the key moments for specific regions in the Netherlands. In other words, most historians felt that there was no possibility for multiple perspectives. Moreover, differences over time between analysing historical events were also not discussed in the canon.²⁸ An example of this would be that WWII was discussed in the context of Anne Frank, but would leave out some of the perspectives of collaborators, gays and gypsies. The canon could also be regarded as an anachronism.²⁹ Another critical stance on the canon was that it was too biased since no comparisons were made or other outcomes were presented.

National and regional canons

Inspired by the creation of the national canon and in order to make a statement against the ‘national perspective’, provinces and cities started to create their own canon. These ‘countercanons’ could shape their own historical memory culture. Although the regional canons do underline that the national one does not convey multiple memory cultures. The many counterarguments against having a canon are thus not considered. The regional canon has an ambiguous state; it both disregards the national canon and at the same time reinforces it by using the same historical tool to visualize the regional past.

Frisian historian Kerst Huisman decided to send a proposition for a provincial canon to the ministry of Education and the government of the province. The minister rejected the plan, but Huisman decided to continue and develop the first regional canon. Although it is not an

²³ Van der Hoeven, ‘Opdrachtbrief’, 94-98.

²⁴ Ibidem, 111-115.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ EnToen.nu, ‘Voor Docenten, voortgezet onderwijs’ via <http://www.entoen.nu/vodocent>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

²⁷ Michiel Doorman, *Kiekertak en Klotterbooke. Gedachten over de canon* (Amsterdam, 2004).

²⁸ Doorman, *Kiekertak en Klotterbooke*, 12.

²⁹ Maria Grever (eds.) ‘Het behouden huis. Een commentaar op De Canon van Nederland’ in: M. Grever ea. *Controverses rond de Canon* (Assen, 2006) 106-116.

official tool for education, there is a Frisian canon and an associated website.³⁰

Regional identity

The term ‘identity’ is problematic, since it has a changeable definition. Identity is personal. According to some researchers, the concept of the regional identity is connected to the immediate surroundings and local circumstances (soil, landscape, environment, economy, social relations, politics, administration, religion and culture) that influence (or determine) the human actions and behaviour.³¹ The citizens living within these boundaries are able to understand the locals, the culture, the landscape and the traditions.³² The memories of these people rely on the cultural and social historical phenomena within these boundaries. A geographically local context incorporates social aspects of the history of the local community/area.³³ Usually associations have a say in shaping the history of a certain region since they document archival reports or other information deemed regionally relevant.

Regional identity relies on a process of the production of history within territorial boundaries in combination with social relations and institutions such as rituals and traditions. The basic elements are the raw materials within the structural dimension of the area.³⁴ These raw materials are the location and the area, which gives the individuals the idea that the ‘local’ collective have a set of values, beliefs and goals to make sense of their past.³⁵ Hence, residents connect on the basis of their heritage and location. Soon after, a type of identity is created which excludes newcomers. These newcomers want to become part of this shared identity, but have trouble associating because they do not share the same heritage.³⁶ This mechanism might be reinforced by emphasis on the local historical culture in order to create a sense of belonging. Due to the globalizing world, newly formed uniform identities cause identity loss for the

³⁰ Friesch Dagblad, ‘Frieze canon ongeschikt voor onderwijs’ *Friesch Dagblad* (07-04-2015); Rinze Boersma, Kerst Huisman, Gienke Arnolli, *De canon van de geschiedenis van Fryslan in 11 en 30 vensters* (Leeuwarden, 2013).

³¹ K. Häuszer, H.P. Frey, ‘Regional Identity in Regional Development and Planning’ in: G. Raagmaa, *European Planning Studies* (Stuttgart, 1987), introduction.

³² Häuszer, ‘Regional Identity in Regional Development and Planning’, introduction.

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ Joseph Pierce, Deborah Martin and James Murphy, ‘Relation place-making’ *The networked politics of place. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36:1 (2011) 54-70.

³⁵ Pierce, ‘Relation place-making’, 60.

³⁶ Garri Raagmaa, ‘Regional Identity in Regional Development and Planning’ *European Planning Studies* 10:1 (2002) 55-76.

regional and/or local.³⁷

The role of icons

In national and regional memory idols and icons play a significant role. People feel affiliated to idols and icons, sometimes because of the local or regional context but most often because of their success.³⁸ An emphasis on icons is mostly found in various arts and sports.³⁹ Most academic research is related to icons in sports, since it reflects a type of admiration and can be measured by tangible achievements.⁴⁰ Individuals in history are at times larger than life, which means that their representation could be, at times, problematic.⁴¹ Over the course of time, the representation changes when new events take place. At the same time the historical contribution of the individuals is of importance because they help shape history and the memory culture encompassing these individuals.⁴² Icons have a specific historical significance; therefore they influence certain moments in history. This causes other individuals to imagine what they would do in the same situation.⁴³ Even in Roman times, people looked up to role models (both mythological and historical) to be inspired.⁴⁴ These exemplary figures were used to imitate but to assimilate as well. In other words: role models helped to shape new identities.

This offers new possibilities. Historical processes can be analysed from the angle of a certain individual within the historical infrastructure (the progression of time).⁴⁵ The individual leads a different life, but is not detached from the historical processes visible at the time. Historical figures are able to interact and at the same time are conditioned by the historical context.⁴⁶ An example is that people are experiencing certain historical trends but do not need to be there physically.

This is also one of the complications, since individuals rely on interpretation and representation. Historical individuals can only be approached by their initiations of and

³⁷ Timothy O’Riordan, *The Transition to Sustainability, the Politics of Agenda 21 in Europe* (London, 2013); Timothy O’Riordan (eds.), *Globalism, Localism and Identity: New Perspectives on the Transition of Sustainability* (London, 2010).

³⁸ Murry R. Nelson, *American Sports: A History of Icons, Idols and Ideas* (Santa Barbera, 2013) XV.

³⁹ Nelson, *American Sports*, XV.

⁴⁰ Linda K. Fuller, *Sport, Rhetoric and Gender, Historical Perspectives and Media Representations* (2006) 9.

⁴¹ Fuller, *Sport, Rhetoric and Gender*, XVI.

⁴² Benedikt Feldges, *American Icons: The Genesis of a National Visual Language* (London, 2007) 1-6.

⁴³ Lawrence R. Samuel, *The American Dream: a cultural history* (Syracuse, 2012) 13.

⁴⁴ Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen, *Role Models in the Roman World, Identity and Assimilation* (Ann Arbor, 2008) 16.

⁴⁵ Nathan Rotenstreich, *Time and Meaning in History* (Dordrecht, 1987) 94.

⁴⁶ Rotenstreich, *Time and Meaning in History*, 95.

reactions on historical actions, instead of by themselves or their social environment.⁴⁷ That is the reason why icons and role models are influential. They help shape the historical consciousness and the orientation of the past on a specific and individual level. Individuals can advocate change or might become the creators of change when analysed within collective social groups or as an individual role model.⁴⁸

Idols and icons are necessary to set an example for both the individual as well as a group. This relates to education and how it emphasizes the role of idols and their purpose in history. The future generation is perceived as the ideal recipient for understanding history and learning who to look up to.⁴⁹ That is the justification as to why a considerable amount of schoolbooks use role models and icons as historical examples.⁵⁰ This might also be said about the Dutch canon. However, because the canon is suffused with historical icons it could be hard to affiliate with some of these icons for most people. These historical figures are the embodiment of norms and values in the past; they thus receive a spot in the canon.

There is a difference between regional and national icons that might be ascribed to the fact that people associate themselves with icons or the canon when they have personal connections to something or someone. This is perhaps based on the regional identity, family history or location. This is the reason as to why both canons differ from each other.

Representation and identity

A returning keyword in this research is the concept of representation, which is connected to memories and memory culture. Representation is a likeness of someone/something. This likeness could either be an image, an account or statement (arguments, allegations, facts etcetera), a protest or a presentation (production or play). The British sociologist Stuart Hall discussed how representation is relevant for culture and its signifying practices.⁵¹ Hall analysed representation by dividing it into multiple segments such as photography, popular media, and film. Representation can thus encompass visual images, language and discourse. To understand certain codes is part of understanding how representation works. These codes are interpreted

⁴⁷ Ibidem, 94.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, 101.

⁴⁹ Jessamy Harvey, 'Domestic Queens and Warrior Wives: Imperial Role-Models for Spanish Schoolgirls during the Early Francoist Regime (1940s-50s)' *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* 37:2 (2008) 277-279.

⁵⁰ Alicia Altied Vigil, 'Education and Political Control' in: H. Graham and J. Labanyi, *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction, The Struggle for Modernity* (Oxford, 1995).

⁵¹ Stuart Hall, *Representation, Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (California, 1997).

differently and exchanged based on sender and receiver. The code involved both language and meaning, explicitly about the statement and implicitly about the meaning. The notion of a spy, for instance, can be interpreted depending on the receiver, as cool, interesting or dangerous. This can be shown explicitly by choice of words and interpretation of the time.

Representation is closely connected to the term 'identity'. Identity is a certain condition of either a person or a thing. This is set by characteristics by which this person is either recognizable or known. What others think of this person is part of the representation. For instance, all aforementioned biographers give their representation of Mata Hari, perhaps to uncover or state information about her identity.

Mata Hari case study

Numerous researchers examined Mata Hari in the period from 1925 until now. The first author was Gómez-Carrillo. He wrote a book on the life of Mata Hari, which was a combination between a novel and a biography.⁵² Carrillo stated that he had an affair with Mata Hari, so he knew her personally.⁵³

As a reaction to the work of Carrillo, Charles Heymans published his own research in 1931.⁵⁴ The conclusion was opposite of that of Carrillo: Heymans declared that Mata Hari was rightfully executed for betraying France (and the Netherlands) and that the Germans only acknowledged her status as a marketing tool.⁵⁵

After WWII, during the Cold War, the American author Kurt Singer wrote a biography in 1955.⁵⁶ There was a general sense of insecurity back then, enforced by the fear for female spies.⁵⁷ This insecurity was perceivable in the work, moreover it places Mata Hari in the context of a female spy.

Henricus Keikes was one of the first researchers who had done research on the childhood of Mata Hari and published works between 1974-1981.⁵⁸ He was an expert in the history of Friesland and Leeuwarden.

⁵² E. Gómez-Carrillo and C. Barthez, *Le mystère de la vie et de la mort de Mata Hari* (Paris, 1925).

⁵³ Gómez-Carrillo, *Le mystère de la vie*, 185.

⁵⁴ Charles S. Heymans, *De ware Mata-Hari, courtisane en spionne* (Maastricht, 1931).

⁵⁵ Heymans, *De ware Mata-Hari*, 75.

⁵⁶ Kurt Singer, *Vrouwen en spionage. Van Mata Hari tot Odette* (Baarn, 1955).

⁵⁷ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 67.

⁵⁸ Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarden gevoel. Laat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se der nog* (Leeuwarden, 2008) 95-97.

In 1975 the first official academic biography appeared written by Jan Brokken.⁵⁹ He portrayed her as an exotic dancer, who became popular by her appearance (and heritage) and was the first woman to profit from the curiosity towards the East.⁶⁰

The most acclaimed author on the topic of Mata Hari is Sam Wagenaar. As an assignment a film company, he studied her life.⁶¹ He started his research by interviewing acquaintances of Mata Hari, such as Anna Lintjes (personal assistant of Mata Hari). She had two scrapbooks which belonged to Mata Hari, which Wagenaar used. In his work, Wagenaar analysed the juridical material, and concluded that Mata Hari was innocent and was executed unlawfully.⁶² Afterwards, he received a classified report from Major Roepell, part of the German secret intelligence service during WWI. This report contained a contract that Mata Hari had signed and this made it clear that she knew that she was 'hired' as a double agent. Wagenaar later changed his opinion in his second work.⁶³

In 1992, Julie Wheelwright, a director in creative writing, wrote a book on courtesans and espionage in which Mata Hari served as the prime example for these kind of women.⁶⁴

Marijke Huisman, a historian specialized in ego-documents and life writing, wrote an elaborate biography. The book focused on Mata Hari's life in relation to the rise of exoticism.⁶⁵ Huisman also wrote a biography on Rudolph MacLeod, Mata Hari's former husband.⁶⁶ He was at times portrayed as a terrible man. MacLeod was not so bad a character, according to Huisman.

There are two other biographers worth mentioning: Pat Shipman and Russell Howe.⁶⁷ Howe mainly focused on Mata Hari's trial and Shipman on her marriage. Shipman used the book by the father of Mata Hari, Adam Zelle, as her main source and Howe the report of the trial.⁶⁸ These biographies became popular in the United States, but gained less attention in Europe.

⁵⁹ Jan C. Brokken, *Mata Hari; de waarheid achter de legende* (Amsterdam, 1975).

⁶⁰ Brokken, *Mata Hari*, 32.

⁶¹ Fries Museum, 'Mata Hari' via <http://www.friesmuseum.nl/collection/icons/mata-hari?language=en>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

⁶² Correspondent De Telegraaf, 'Mata Hari was GEEN spionne' *De Telegraaf* (29-09-1964).

⁶³ Sam Wagenaar, *Mata Hari: niet zo onschuldig...* (Amsterdam, 1981).

⁶⁴ Julie Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover. Mata Hari and the myth of women in espionage* (London, 1992).

⁶⁵ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998).

⁶⁶ Marijke Huisman, 'Rudolph MacLeod: het zwarte schaap in de levensgeschiedenis van Mata Hari' *Biografie Bulletin* 21:3 (2011).

⁶⁷ Pat Shipman, *Femme fatale: love, lies and the unknown life of Mata Hari* (London, 2008). Russell Warren Howe, *Mata Hari: the true story* (New York, 1986).

⁶⁸ Adam Zelle, *Mata-Hari, Mevr. M.G. MacLeod-Zelle: de levensgeschiedenis mijner dochter en mijne grieven tegen hare vroegeren echtgenoot* (Amsterdam, 1906).

Methodology

Selection of sources

Sources were selected on the basis of two criteria: 1) Mata Hari was prominent, either textually or visually, and 2) only Dutch media were considered. These included news articles, scientific articles, books, images, and movies.

News articles from 1880 until now (excluding the first four years of Mata Hari's life) were selected with help from the search engines Delpher and LexisNexis. Images were found online, in scientific literature or in the scrapbooks of Mata Hari.⁶⁹

General method

The tool used in the analysis focuses on understanding characters and their representations (c.f., Sharon McGee).⁷⁰ It aims to do so by describing the complete storyline in order to signalize similarities and differences between multiple narratives. Essentially, this tool is akin to a character analysis with the story as a point of departure. The character is fundamental for understanding human traits and developments in the story or in life events.⁷¹ This analytical tool thus tries to understand the representation and relate this to the narrative.

There are four ways to approach a character analysis: the hermeneutic, the psychoanalytic, the structuralist and the cognitive.⁷² The hermeneutic approach focuses on the interpretation of text. It is an in-depth analysis of the storyline. This approach was used when the story of the source was analysed. The psychoanalytic approach looks at the identity of the character and how it is perceived by others. This analysis was made at the introduction or conclusion of the source. The structuralist approach tries to place the character in a larger overarching system or structure, i.e., the historical context. This was done in the first part of each source's subchapter to provide the representation with a historical background. The last approach of cognition focuses on the mind-set and thoughts of the character and how it influences behaviour and (re)actions.⁷³ This analysis was made in the first chapter. This chapter only focused on the behaviour and (re)actions of Mata Hari.

⁶⁹ Sam Wagenaar, *De moord op Mata Hari* (Amsterdam, 1964) 62.

⁷⁰ Sharon James McGee, *Analyzing Literature: A Guide for Students* (Kansas State University-Salina, 2001).

⁷¹ Wilhelm Reich, *Character Analysis* (New York, 1980).

⁷² Jens Eder, Fotis Jannidis and Ralf Schneider, *Characters in Fictional Worlds: Understanding Imaginary Beings in Literature, Film and Other Media* (Berlin, 2011) introduction.

⁷³ Aidan Sammons, 'The cognitive approach: the basics' *Approaches to Psychology* via http://www.psychotron.org.uk/newresources/approaches/as_aqb_approaches_cognitivebasics.pdf, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

Specific method

In order to analyse newspapers, movies and images it was necessary to make a few additions to the earlier discussed analysis tool. These are described below.

Newspapers

Articles from newspapers are one of the most influential historical sources since they embody the notions and feelings of the past. They also give insight into the development of history and the media.⁷⁴ Although newspapers might have lost their acclaimed status over the last couple of years, throughout time they have proven to be an influential source for analysing history.⁷⁵ Articles did not reflect the public opinion of the time perfectly, since they were written by the press. Yet, newspapers do give information about the ‘mood’ of the past.⁷⁶ News articles were interpreted on the basis of the analytical toolkit created by Vella.⁷⁷ In comparison with that of McGee, this toolkit includes additional questions that allow for the further analysis of representations in news articles. These are listed in the first appendix.

Movies and images

For representational studies, images are meaningful and therefore should be included.⁷⁸ The content analysis of visual images is of special importance. An image should be described first, in order to understand the meaning.⁷⁹ How the image is signified is linked to the representational force of the visual source.⁸⁰ The image should therefore be linked to other similar images, appropriate historical literature, the producer of the image and the emotional involvement of the viewer.⁸¹ These questions are also listed in the first appendix to relate to visual sources. This method was employed to further scrutinize such media in this study.

⁷⁴ Huub Wijffjes, ‘Perspectief in persgeschiedenis’ *BMGN 114* (1999) 223-235.

⁷⁵ Lynn Pykett, ‘Reading the periodical press: text and context’ in: L. Brake, A. Jones and L. Madden e.d. *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (London, 1990) 3-18.

⁷⁶ D.G. Boyce, ‘Public Opinion and Historians’ *History 63:208* (1978) 214-228.

⁷⁷ Stephen Vella, ‘Newspapers’ in: Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann, *Reading Primary Sources, the interpretation of texts from the 19th and 20th century history* (New York, 2009).

⁷⁸ Frank Manchel, *Film Study: An Analytical Bibliography Volume 1* (New York, 1990) 119-122.

⁷⁹ Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (eds.), *The Handbook of Visual Analysis* (London, 2001); Philip Bell, ‘Content Analysis of Visual Images’ in: Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (eds.), *The Handbook of Visual Analysis* (London, 2001) 10-35.

⁸⁰ Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oyama, ‘Visual meaning: a social semiotic approach’ in: Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (eds.), *The Handbook of Visual Analysis* (London, 2001) 134-157.

⁸¹ Marga Altena, *Visuele Strategieën. Foto's en films van fabrieksarbeiders in Nederland (1890-1919)* (Amsterdam, 2003) 27-29.

Chapter 1: The rise and fall of Mata Hari

This first chapter describes the life of Mata Hari. This will later be used to see trends between the image she had devised for herself and the characterization she has been given by others, using the cognitive approach by McGee. Only events that are mentioned in multiple researches are taken into account.

1.1. Early history of Mata Hari in the Netherlands

Margaretha Zelle was born in Leeuwarden on the 7th of August in 1876. Her father, Adam Zelle, was the manager of a successful hat and cap store, and this gave her an entitled childhood. She had private lessons in French, German and English, was able to wear beautiful dresses and receive the best toys. Unfortunately, in 1883 the tide changed. Adam Zelle's inaccurate speculation in oil led to bankruptcy for the family and soon after, her parents separated. When Mata Hari was fourteen years old, her mother died and the children were placed among various family members.⁸²

Mata Hari was sent her to a school in Leiden to learn the practical education of a pre-primary teacher. Later she was forced to leave the school, when she was discovered half naked on the lap of the school director.⁸³ Mata Hari then decided to live in The Hague. In 1894 there was an interesting announcement in the newspaper 'Nieuws van de Dag':

*"Officer on leave dispatched from the East-Indies, is looking for a girl with a sweet character and the ambition to get married."*⁸⁴

Mata Hari, who was bored in The Hague, responded to the announcement, since she found a man in uniform intriguing and attractive.⁸⁵

1.2. Mata Hari's marriage

The announcement was written about Rudolph MacLeod, and posted by his friend who thought it was time MacLeod found a wife. MacLeod came from a succession of professional soldiers, originally from Scotland. He was a success in the military, although he was diagnosed with diabetes and rheumatism. MacLeod was not amused by the article, until he received the letter and enclosed picture of Mata Hari.⁸⁶ After a few letters back and forth, the couple decided to

⁸² Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 10.

⁸³ Wijnbrandus Haanstra continued as the school director until his retirement.

⁸⁴ Translation from Dutch. Nieuws van den Dag, 'Contactadvertenties' *Nieuws van de Dag* (1894).

⁸⁵ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 10.

⁸⁶ Correspondent De Telegraaf, 'Mata Hari was GEEN spionne' *De Telegraaf* (29-09-1964).

meet in The Hague. In March 1895 the two met and four months later they were married in Amsterdam.

The marriage was of great importance to Mata Hari, because it promptly brought her to a higher social circle. Unfortunately, the newlyweds soon started having fierce arguments. This was mainly due to Mata Hari's longing for a luxury life, which MacLeod could not afford.⁸⁷ Furthermore, according to multiple researchers, MacLeod had affairs with other women, was an alcoholic, and had a violent temper.⁸⁸ Despite his high level of education, he is portrayed as a jealous, poor and drunk husband.⁸⁹ On the 30th of January 1897 their first child, Norman John, was born. In May, the family migrated to the Dutch-Indies, because MacLeod was quartered to Malang. In 1898 their second child was born there; Louise Jeanne MacLeod (further known as Non).

The first performance of Mata Hari, then known as Lady MacLeod, as a dancer took place during the visit of Queen Wilhelmina, in August 1898. It was a huge success and Mata Hari was greeted enthusiastically by the public.⁹⁰ She started studying Indian traditions and culture, and joined a dance group.⁹¹ During those days, their firstborn child Norman John died under mysterious circumstances. It was most likely he died of bamboo poisoning. Some authors suggest that this was done by MacLeod as payback for their unhappy marriage.⁹² MacLeod wrote in multiple letters that he wanted to get rid of her, because she behaved similar to a beast.⁽⁹³⁾⁹⁴ This shows how troubled their marriage was. Mata Hari desperately wanted to divorce and leave MacLeod; she wanted to enjoy her life.⁹⁵ When the family moved back to the Netherlands in 1902, they finally got divorced. Although Non was assigned to live with her mother, she decided to live with her father. Non died on the 10th of August 1919 of a cerebral haemorrhage and Mata Hari would never see MacLeod or Non again after the divorce.

⁸⁷ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 10.

⁸⁸ Pat Shipman, *Femme fatale: love, lies and the unknown life of Mata Hari* (London, 2008).

⁸⁹ Sam Wagenaar, *Mata Hari: niet zo onschuldig...* (Amsterdam, 1981) 36; E. Gómez-Carrillo and C. Barthez, *Le mystère de la vie et de la mort de Mata Hari* (Paris, 1925) 22; J.C. Brokken, *Mata Hari; de waarheid achter de legende* (Amsterdam, 1975) 27; Pat Shipman, *Femme fatale: love, lies and the unknown life of Mata Hari* (London, 2008); Charles S. Heymans, *De ware Mata-Hari, courtisane en spionne* (Maastricht, 1931) 8; Marijke Huisman, 'Rudolph MacLeod: het zwarte schaap in de levensgeschiedenis van Mata Hari' *Biografie Bulletin* 21:3 (2011).

⁹⁰ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 12.

⁹¹ Sam Wagenaar, *Mata Hari: niet zo onschuldig...* (Amsterdam, 1981) 41.

⁹² J.C. Brokken, *Mata Hari; de waarheid achter de legende* (Amsterdam, 1975) 38.

⁹³ There are multiple interpretations possible, yet in general it should be read in a spiteful context. In Dutch: 'omdat ze een beest was'.

⁹⁴ J.C. Brokken, *Mata Hari; de waarheid achter de legende* (Amsterdam, 1975) 38.

⁹⁵ Brokken, *Mata Hari*, 40.

1.3. *Becoming Mata Hari*

After the divorce, Mata Hari immediately left for Paris in 1903. She was working as a courtesan at a chic brothel, when Emile Guimet saw her perform and was intrigued. He was the founder of the Museum of Eastern art and known for his collection of Orient treasures. Guimet invited her to dance in his museum, using costumes and jewellery from his collection, and together they decided she would use the name 'Mata Hari'. She performed her veil dance for the first time in the museum.⁹⁶ At the end of every dance she discarded her veil, being naked underneath besides her jewellery, and bowed for the Shiva-statue. In interviews Mata Hari explained that her performances were based on her youth, which she had spent in a temple in Java or India.⁹⁷ Her answers to questions were not similar and it appeared that Mata Hari made up answers to questions as she went along.

The performance became a great success, and it was not long before she started to perform in well-known theatres in Europe. All these acts and performances established her as an international star. When she returned in 1907 from a half year stay in Egypt, Mata Hari learned that newer and younger dancers started to perform exotic dances. In a newspaper she reacted that although she was flattered that her exotic dances were copied, they were not accurate and aesthetically sound compared to the Indonesian standards. Since Mata Hari had danced in Java in her younger years, only she understood the culture and religion.⁹⁸

Despite the new competition, Mata Hari remained popular. In 1912 she performed as the black Venus in the modern opera Bacchus and Cambrinus, which was considered the highlight of her career. When the Berlin theatre had to close its doors because of the outbreak of WWI, Mata Hari decided to accept her honorarium of eighty thousand francs. Dressed in fur coats and jewellery, she travelled to France.

1.4. *Mata Hari's war and espionage*

Mata Hari needed permission of the German office to enter France. The German consul asked her then to spy for the Germans on soldiers and officers in the Parisian social circles with the codename 'H21'.⁹⁹ For doing this, Mata Hari would receive twenty thousand francs.

In July 1916 she became part of the Parisian elite again and met Russian commanding officer Vadime de Massloff. He was hurt and blind on one eye, and therefore he stayed at a

⁹⁶ Ibidem, 41.

⁹⁷ Correspondent Leeuwarder Courant, 'Varia' *Leeuwarder Courant* (16-10-1905).

⁹⁸ Sam Wagenaar, *Mata Hari: niet zo onschuldig...* (Amsterdam, 1981) 70.

⁹⁹ Wagenaar, *Mata Hari*, 42.

rehabilitation centre and she needed a permit to visit him. This permit could only be obtained at the building of the French counterespionage office. Allegedly, she entered the wrong office and ended up at the office of commanding officer Georges Ladoux. He, knowing she was on the list of persons of interest, offered her a million francs to become a counterspy. She decided to accept this offer, because De Massloff proposed and she could not afford a wedding.¹⁰⁰

One of her first assignments as a spy was to deliver messages to the secret intelligence service in Great-Britain. She therefore boarded the SS Hollandia, but security mistook her for Clara Benedix (who was also a spy).¹⁰¹ This mistake resulted in a couple of months of imprisonment at Scotland Yard. During this detainment, Ladoux stated that she was part of the German secret intelligence service and the English forced her to travel to Spain. Mata Hari had not been in contact with Ladoux and she started creating her own missions. For the French, she tried to retrieve information about the German landing in Morocco. For the Germans, she picked up packages and delivered them to other spies. When Mata Hari wanted to travel back to the Netherlands in January 1917, her passage was refused by the French authorities. A month later, she was arrested and taken to the Saint-Lazare prison.

1.5. Prison, trial and execution of Mata Hari

Commanding officer Pierre Bouchardon, a harsh and condemnatory man, interrogated her fourteen times in the four months leading up to her trial.¹⁰² In the meantime, Mata Hari was kept in prison; a total different situation from the luxurious life she was used to. Bouchardon decided that she was probably the ultimate spy, because of her contacts and her international reputation.¹⁰³ Others state that Mata Hari mixed up dates and places in her confession, which made the blurred the truth and made fact from fiction hard to distinguish.¹⁰⁴ In May, Bouchardon received telegrams from the Germans stating that she was a German spy, and that she received five thousand francs for sharing information. The telegrams also mentioned that the French knew that she was a spy for the Germans.¹⁰⁵

It took four months before her case went to trial on the 24th of July 1917. The trial was restricted to journalists, since the information discussed might be of importance for the safety

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, 43.

¹⁰¹ Algemeen Handelsblad, 'Mata Hari.' *Algemeen Handelsblad* (30-06-1917).

¹⁰² C. Brokken, *Mata Hari; de waarheid achter de legende* (Amsterdam, 1975) 159.

¹⁰³ Sam Wagenaar, *Mata Hari: niet zo onschuldig...* (Amsterdam, 1981) 164, 127.

¹⁰⁴ Wagenaar, *Mata Hari*, 127.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, 143-147.

of the nation.¹⁰⁶ The verdict was that Mata Hari should be executed and had to repay the total costs made on her behalf. The motivation for the French was that they wanted to prove that the government was strict but just. Mata Hari was the ideal victim, because she was foreign, a courtesan and charged with eight felonies.¹⁰⁷ Her lawyer was shocked. He believed that she was not innocent, but at least not guilty enough to be executed. Mata Hari asked for a pardon from the Dutch government. Their pardon however arrived too late. It is unclear what the reason for the delay was.¹⁰⁸ It could be that the Dutch politicians disagreed on this matter.¹⁰⁹

On the 15th of October 1917, Mata Hari was tied to a pole and shot by twelve soldiers.¹¹⁰ In one of the last conversations she had with her nurse Léonide, she stated that life and death meant nothing and that everything was an illusion.¹¹¹

Till this day, a mystery remains about the counterespionage activities of Mata Hari. On the one hand, she stated that she was a spy out of love for France and she always had the intention to function as a double spy. On the other hand, Ladoux declared that he knew from the beginning that Mata Hari was a German spy and denied that she was ever a spy for the French.¹¹² According to Ladoux, she had never received any missions and did not have a spy name or code. A French general also stated that he did not receive any information.¹¹³ In October 2017, hundred years after the execution, the French documents on the interrogation will be released which will state if Mata Hari indeed was a French spy. Over the course of time, her (counter)espionage influenced her representation in the media. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, 166.

¹⁰⁷ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 55.

¹⁰⁸ Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917)*, 55.

¹⁰⁹ Binnenland, 'Binnenlandsch Nieuws' *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche courant* (17-10-1917).

¹¹⁰ Also assistant physician dr. Bralez was in the room.

¹¹¹ E. Gómez-Carrillo and C. Barthez, *Le mystère de la vie et de la mort de Mata Hari* (Paris, 1925) 185.

¹¹² Gómez-Carrillo, *Le mystère de la vie*, 185.

¹¹³ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 55.

Chapter 2: The three representations of Mata Hari

When researching Mata Hari's role within the media, four (gender) representations are visible; as a spy, as a mother, as an exotic dancer, and as a girl from Friesland. Since the last mentioned representation directly relates to the formation of canons, this representation will be discussed in chapter three. In this chapter, the other three representations are placed within their general historical context, and characterized based on the representation that is most evident in a specific medium. The various media will be discussed in the following order; research and biographies, newspapers, novels, movies, and images.

2.1. Espionage and the context of war

From 1917 onward, newspapers were filled with articles about her execution and the questions surrounding her double espionage. This certainly affected her characterization, therefore this representation will be discussed first.

Historical representation

The representation of female spies is based on the context of time. Due to the wars and the course of time the representation of female spies changed accordingly. The following analyse will be done by means of the structuralist approach created by McGee.

Helen Hanson and Catherine O'Rawe stated that in the fin-de-siècle the role of attractive females changed due to immoral activities, so that they were able to move up on social scales.¹¹⁴ These women had a type of 'mobile femininity', which they used to persuade men, especially soldiers. They could not be trusted, since they shared knowledge or passed along information from overheard conversations.¹¹⁵

After the Second World War (WWII), there was a noticeable difference in the perception of male and female spies. Male spies were seen as well-mannered and dignified, whereas women were seen as sensual and gullible. Female spies were both admired and feared. Especially the media made use of the fear to portray female spies in two ways.¹¹⁶ The first type was similar to Edith Cavell and Marthe Richard, since they were regarded as beneficial to the

¹¹⁴ Helen Hanson and Catherine O'Rawe, *The femme fatale: images, histories, contexts* (Basingstoke, 2010); Rosie White, "'You'll Be the Death of Me': Mata Hari and the Myth of the Femme Fatale' in: H. Hanson and C. O'Rawe, *The femme fatale: images, histories, contexts* (Basingstoke, 2010) 74.

¹¹⁵ White, "'You'll Be the Death of Me'", 75.

¹¹⁶ Howard Blum, and Tristan Morris, *The last goodnight: A World War II story of espionage, adventure, and betrayal* (New York, 2016).

country.¹¹⁷ (^{118/119}) The second type of female spies were more treacherous and irresponsible, such as Mata Hari.¹²⁰ Still, little research is done in the field of female spies in comparison to male spies, and the dichotomy between regarding men and women as (successful) spies remains.¹²¹

Some researchers argue that in the Netherlands, spies were regarded as beneficial to the country and therefore were admired.¹²² This is most likely because the Netherlands tried to remain neutral and did not rely heavily on espionage. If Mata Hari was also represented as a valuable and successful spy will be discussed later.

Research and biographies

The psychoanalytic approach by McGee is mostly visible in research and biographies and will therefore be discussed in this part.

The first author, Gómez-Carrillo stated that Mata Hari was part of the ‘modern fatality’: the confusion between ‘normal’ behaviour and behaviour in the war.¹²³ Some individuals were not able to cope with the changing rules and did not know how to behave accordingly. Their behaviour was seen as ‘extraordinary’ by other citizens, since ‘victims’ of modern fatality crossed the line between what was acceptable and what was not.¹²⁴ According to Carrillo, Mata Hari was one of these victims. She could not perform and thus had no other options, hence her motivation to be involved in espionage activities.

According to Heymans, the behaviour of Mata Hari was associated with the character traits of a ‘spy’. She was portrayed as an unreliable woman, who did not have a conscience and

¹¹⁷ Jan Meyers, *Esmée: een vrouw in oorlogstijd* (Soesterberg, 2011).

¹¹⁸ Edith Louisa Cavell (1865-1915) was a British nurse, who is celebrated for saving the lives of soldiers from opposites sides who fought in the trenches in Belgium. She was also a British spy and arranged secret escape routes to the Netherlands for French, Belgium, and British soldiers. Cavell was accused of treason by a German court-martial and sentenced to death. Her execution, just as Mata Hari, received worldwide attention and was extensively covered in the media. She is seen as one of the pioneers in modern nursing in Belgium, since she helped soldiers from different countries.

¹¹⁹ Marthe Richard was a prostitute and a spy. She became a politician after WWII and worked on the project of closing brothels in France. Richard had a contract as a spy with Captain Georges Ladoux and became the mistress of Von Krohn (Naval Attaché of the German navy). Despite the fact that Germans knew that she was familiar with espionage and Ladoux, she still had many personal relations with high-ranked members of the Gestapo. Her courage was admired in France but she was despised in Germany. She died in 1982 at the age of 92.

¹²⁰ Susan Hayward, ‘Diabolically Clever – Dlouzot’s French Noir Les Diaboliques (1954)’ in: H. Hanson and C. O’Rawe, *The femme fatale: images, histories, contexts* (Basingstoke, 2010) 91.

¹²¹ Michael Goodman, *World War I spies* (Mankato, 2016) 35.

¹²² Dick Engelen and Constant Hijzen, *Sporen van spionage: een speurtocht door geheim Nederland* (Rotterdam, 2014) 9.

¹²³ E. Gómez-Carrillo and C. Barthez, *Le mystère de la vie et de la mort de Mata Hari* (Paris, 1925) 185.

¹²⁴ Gómez-Carrillo, *Le mystère de la vie*, 196.

had the demonical power to persuade men into giving her information.¹²⁵ Because of her treacherous nature, she passed along this information to the Germans. This nation was Heymans' first and foremost enemy and he regarded the people fighting on behalf of Germany as felonious, especially female spies. In his eyes, she might be the worst spy to have ever existed.¹²⁶

Singer claims that there were two types of spies.¹²⁷ The first was represented by the 'fictive' Banda, the daughter of Mata Hari. She was a spy for her country, and hence an Indonesian freedom fighter. Banda of course never existed, since Mata Hari had only one daughter (Non). The second type of spy was represented by Mata Hari, who spied for her own benefit.¹²⁸ This perception associates with the historical view on female spies in two ways.

Newspapers

In 1917, articles in Dutch newspapers stated that Mata Hari was arrested for espionage.¹²⁹ The newspapers concentrated on the pardon-request from Mata Hari to the Dutch government and the unclear motivation of the government for not giving this pardon.¹³⁰ The well-known newspapers hardly gave any attention to the entire trial process, which is remarkable compared to newspapers from other countries.¹³¹ Furthermore, the news about Mata Hari was of little importance, since it was issued rather late and did not appear on the front page.

In most news articles, her activities as a spy were only named as the reason why Mata Hari was arrested by the authorities in Paris.¹³² Her counterespionage, or the fact that she had betrayed the French government, was not further mentioned. This changed in the period between 1920 and 1930, when the Dutch media tried to retrieve more information about Mata Hari's involvement.¹³³

This changed the way she was discussed in the news, which can be found when using the psychoanalytic approach. From now on, news articles represented her as a spy and double agent, instead of emphasizing her days as an exotic dancer. An example of a title from a news

¹²⁵ Charles S. Heymans, *De ware Mata-Hari, courtisane en spionne* (Maastricht, 1931) 170.

¹²⁶ Heymans, *De ware Mata-Hari*, 170.

¹²⁷ Kurt Singer, *Vrouwen en spionage. Van Mata Hari tot Odette* (Baarn, 1955) 147-149.

¹²⁸ Singer, *Vrouwen en spionage*, 147-149.

¹²⁹ De Telegraaf, 'Mata Hari' *De Telegraaf* (28-07-1917).

¹³⁰ Leeuwarder Courant, 'Mata Hari' *Leeuwarder Courant* (27-07-1917).

¹³¹ De Tijd, 'Snippernieuws' *De Tijd: godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad* (28-07-1917).

¹³² Buitenland, 'Mata-Hari gearresteerd.' *De Tribune. Soc. Dem. Weekblad* (26-06-1917).

¹³³ Delftsche Courant, 'Was Mata Hari onschuldig?' *Delftsche Courant* (11-02-1929).

article title was: 'Mata Hari. Spy.'. ¹³⁴

In practically all Dutch newspapers, Mata Hari was, however, described as a heroine who led an interesting life. She was perhaps involved in questionable cases, but she prevailed as 'our' Mata Hari and therefore she was mostly perceived as innocent.¹³⁵ According to the newspapers, she was probably the most famous spy to ever live and almost every article written about spies mentioned the name 'Mata Hari'.¹³⁶ The representation of Mata Hari as a spy is thus evident in news articles.

Novels

One of the books that looks into the espionage of Mata Hari within the context of war is 'The Tears of Mata Hari' by Tomas Ross, published in 2007.¹³⁷ It is a popular story about the relation between Mata Hari and the Dutch secret intelligence service.¹³⁸ When analysing the in-depth storyline, following the hermeneutic approach, the story tries to unravel the mysteries in her life. It is therefore written in the perspective of Mata Hari, who is reflecting on her life during an interrogation. In the story, she decided to spy on both France and Germany in order to pass along information to ensure that the Netherlands could maintain their neutral status.¹³⁹ This makes it seem as though Mata Hari had a specific fondness for the Netherlands and thus helped the country with her espionage.

Movies

In 1927 three movies regarding Mata Hari were released. The first one was a German silent movie titled 'Mata Hari: the Red Dancer'.¹⁴⁰ It puts her in the light of a 'playful' spy: in most scenes she wears stylish black dresses and tries to obtain information from men in a teasing way. This shows her mobile femininity, and therefore follows the structuralist approach of female spies.

¹³⁴ Van onzen H. correspondent, 'Mata Hari.' *Delftsche Courant* (24-12-1921).

¹³⁵ Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland, 'Groninger Museum' *Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland* (24-12-1965).

¹³⁶ Ernest Dudley, 'Mata Hari: Duits Spionne. De Fatale Vraag' *De Telegraaf* (08-10-1956); De Tijd, 'De Laatste James Bond' *De Tijd: dagblad voor Nederland* (22-12-1967). Interesting fact, in the 1966 movie 'Casino Royale', Mata Hari was one of the women in the life of James Bond and also mother to his daughter, Mata Bond. Mata Hari is not represented in the movie but only mentioned.

¹³⁷ Tomas Ross, *De Tranen van Mata Hari* (Amsterdam, 2007).

¹³⁸ 'Tomas Ross: De tranen van Mata Hari. Bekender dan Madonna' via http://lezentv.nl/articles/144/Tomas_Ross_De_tranen_van_Mata_Hari, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

¹³⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁰ Mata Hari: The Red Dancer/Die rote Tänzerin (1927) directed by Friedrich Feher starring Magda Sonja.

The second movie, 'A Woman Redeemed', tells the story of a girl from the elite who lost her social status during the war.¹⁴¹ It shows not only 'good' female spies, such as Cavell, but also the bad examples, like Mata Hari. In the movie she is portrayed as the cause for the external conflict and is contextualized towards nationalism in Europe.¹⁴² Since the context of the war is more significant than her character, the structuralist approach is of importance.

The same can be said about the third movie 'Notorious' by Alfred Hitchcock.¹⁴³ The movie is connected to the mythology of Mata Hari as a sex-spy, although there are no erotic scenes or any other association with her life events.¹⁴⁴ Mata Hari was represented within mobile femininity, because the movie was about untrustworthiness of women and the sadistic cruelty of male authority.¹⁴⁵ In other words, Mata Hari was a perverse combination between romance and heroism, within a heteronormative setting.¹⁴⁶

In 1931 the movie 'Dishonored' released and showed an obvious resemblance with the life of Mata Hari.¹⁴⁷ The movie is about a courtesan from Vienna with code name X27. She has a romantic relationship with a German and Russian colonel.¹⁴⁸ These events took place against the background of WWI, which brought strong tension between the countries in Europe. The movie implicitly warned for female spies.¹⁴⁹ The movie used the psychoanalytic approach of by not having Mata Hari as the main character. The movie thus capitalize on her story, but not her iconic status.

The last movie, 'Mata Hari, la vraie histoire' from 2003, is a French movie about the interrogations of Mata Hari and the attempt of the interrogators to retrieve her spy activities.¹⁵⁰ The film focuses on her military activities and the consequences it had for the different countries involved. It distinguishes itself from the other movies, because it is the only movie that is not filmed in the period of the inter-war. This results in another perspective: that of Mata Hari, the female spy.

¹⁴¹ A Woman Redeemed (1927) directed by Sinclair Hill, starring Joan Lockton; Amy Sargeant, 'The Return of Mata Hari: A Woman Redeemed (Sinclair Hill, 1927)' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 30:1(2010) 38.

¹⁴² Sargeant, 'The Return of Mata Hari', 49.

¹⁴³ Notorious (1927), directed by Alfred Hitchcock, starring Ingrid Bergman and Cary Grant.

¹⁴⁴ Nora Gilbert, "'She makes love for the papers': Love, sex, and exploitation in Hitchcock's Mata Hari Films" *Film & History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies* 41:2(2011) 6.

¹⁴⁵ Gilbert, "'She makes love for the papers'", 7.

¹⁴⁶ Ibidem, 17.

¹⁴⁷ Dishonored (1931), directed by Josef von Sternberg, starring Marlene Dietrich.

¹⁴⁸ The Film Sufi, "'Dishonored" – Josef von Sternberg 1931' via <http://www.filmsufi.com/2008/10/dishonored-josef-von-sternberg-1931.html>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁰ Mata Hari, la vraie histoire (2003) directed by Alain Tasma, starring Maruschka Detmers.

Images

Although the focus in the abovementioned media was on her espionage activities, Mata Hari is hardly portrayed as a spy in photographs. Image two is the only picture of her in pants and a military costume. This is due to her contact with a sizeable amount of military men and her fascination for the power that uniforms had.¹⁵¹

Furthermore, there are two photographs (image one and three) in which she looks serious. They were taken when she was on trial and show Mata Hari in dark clothes, which did not signify her life- and clothing style. The fur on her jacket, the leather suitcase and the pearl earrings do show some of her luxurious belongings. These images contrast with the following images in chapter two, in which she is portrayed as exotic and playfully.



Image 1: Mata Hari on the day of her execution



Image 2: Mata Hari in uniform in Paris



Image 3: Mata Hari on the day of her trial

¹⁵¹ Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 'Schedel moet uit Frankrijk komen. Restauranthouder werkt hard aan Mata Hari-museum' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (21-02-1973).

2.2. Motherhood and femininity

Another important gender perspective in the representation of Mata Hari is that of motherhood and femininity. After all, Mata Hari was a mother and was portrayed as a femme fatale. This type of representation is visible mostly in textual media. Of course, discussing Mata Hari in the context of femininity and motherhood is connected to her representation as an exotic dancer or spy.

Historical representation

During the fin-de-siècle, motherhood was more or less required of women in order to ensure the continuation of the nation.¹⁵² However, according to Schwegman and Withuis, especially after WWII, women were starting to receive a new societal role which slowly but surely dissolved the relation between the nation, motherhood and femininity.¹⁵³ The period between WWI and WWII created the right mood for these changes to occur.¹⁵⁴ Although motherhood was of importance to women in this period, they were starting to receive more freedom to decide for themselves.¹⁵⁵ Nonetheless, as motherhood still held a significant position in the context of society, nation and the relation between the sexes, the majority of women still had children at a relatively young age.

In determining how the mother figure is represented in society, there seem to be three pivotal factors: the influence of the father, the temperament of the father and socioeconomic influences.¹⁵⁶ These elements are taken into account when one tries to understand how the mother is represented and is at times 'blamed' for being dissatisfactory.¹⁵⁷ Especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth century there was a connection between womanhood and

¹⁵² Pranee Liamputtong, *Reproduction, childbearing and motherhood: a cross-cultural perspective* (New York, 2007) 6; Marjan Schwegman and Jolande Withuis, 'Moederschap: van sprinkplank tot obstakel. Vrouwen natie en burgerschap in twintigste-eeuws Nederland' in: Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot ed, *Geschiedenis van de vrouw, V: de twintigste eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1993) 557-585.

¹⁵³ Schwegman and Withuis, 'Moederschap', 557-585.

¹⁵⁴ Marjan Schwegman, 'Tussen traditie en moderniteit: Nederlandse vrouwen tijdens het interbellum' *Bericht uit 1929. Het veelzijdige gezicht van de Nederlandse samenleving ten tijde van de oprichting van het PTT Museum* ('S-Gravenhage, 1990) 32-46.

¹⁵⁵ Roos Vermeij and Remco Raben, 'De eigen waarde van de vrouw Mej. mr. Marie Anne Tellegen en het Nederlandse Vrouwen Comité' in: P. Luykx and Pim Slot, *Een stille revolutie? cultuur en mentaliteit in de lange jaren vijftig* (Hilversum, 1997) 108.

¹⁵⁶ Beverly Birns and Dale Hay, *The Different Faces of Motherhood* (Dordrecht, 2013) 64-68.

¹⁵⁷ Birns and Hay, *The Different Faces of Motherhood*, 58-60.

femininity in relation to domesticity and motherhood.¹⁵⁸ Motherhood was seen as the highest calling and when a woman decided to move away from that ideal, she was perceived as a sexual woman with no noble character.¹⁵⁹ In other words: femininity was the major cultural metaphor for motherhood.¹⁶⁰ Besides entering marriage, these women usually had a lack of options due to this social control. A social choice which was reflected in the life of Mata Hari in her marriage with MacLeod.

Women who had a different notion of femininity instead of motherhood, for instance through exploration of their sexuality, were regarded as threatening.¹⁶¹ For example, attractive and unmarried women were usually represented this way. This however did depend on the role of the father and socioeconomic influences. At the same time, there was something alluring about these women who did not have children. Some argued that they were protecting the institution of the family, since they would offer their services to taken men and made sure that the wife would not be bothered with the husband's desires.¹⁶² Simultaneously however, this was also a cause for resistance in society, as such women could be viewed as being threatening due to them caring for someone else's husband while not making use of their motherly instincts.¹⁶³ Despite the fact that these courtesans usually were mothers themselves, they still maintained such a negative image.

Research and biographies

Heymans questioned the role of motherhood and femininity.¹⁶⁴ Because of her vulgarity and childishness Mata Hari was not feminine and did not know how to behave. MacLeod eventually wanted to divorce her on those grounds. Mata Hari was after money, happiness, and fame.¹⁶⁵ She subverted every notion that was connected with women's behavioural norms.¹⁶⁶ For instance, Mata Hari only used her femininity to persuade men, which made her dangerous to society.¹⁶⁷ Heymans also stated that this was one of the reasons why she failed as a mother.

¹⁵⁸ Nancy M. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters in the Nineteenth-Century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity* (Lexington, 2015) 114.

¹⁵⁹ Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters in the Nineteenth-Century America*, 114-115.

¹⁶⁰ Ibidem, 77.

¹⁶¹ Ibidem, 109.

¹⁶² Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge, 2011) 14.

¹⁶³ Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe*, 14.

¹⁶⁴ Charles S. Heymans, *De ware Mata-Hari, courtisane en spionne* (Maastricht, 1931) 17.

¹⁶⁵ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 65.

¹⁶⁶ Charles S. Heymans, *De ware Mata-Hari, courtisane en spionne* (Maastricht, 1931) 77.

¹⁶⁷ Sam Wagenaar, *Mata Hari: niet zo onschuldig...* (Amsterdam, 1981) 166.

Shipman stated that Mata Hari was a good mother but was constantly oppressed by her husband. She received custody over Non, however, MacLeod decided that they would never meet. Yet, in Mata Hari's heart of hearts, she wanted to take care of Non.¹⁶⁸ Shipman paid attention to the role of Mata Hari as both a mother and a sensual woman.

Huisman mentioned that it was a disappointment that she never saw her daughter again.¹⁶⁹ Other researchers addressed her femininity and motherhood qualities, but overall Mata Hari was perceived as a sexual and threatening woman. Considering the cognitive approach, she did not have a specific interest in fulfilling the role of mother.

Newspapers

During Mata Hari's lifetime, she was not mentioned in newspapers as a female (besides her courtesan activities) or as a mother. Most articles discussed the movie from 1931 starring Great Garbo or Mata Hari's execution in 1917.

In 1907 the 'Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad' published a fictional story about Mata Hari's life every week. One story comprised that Mata Hari was pregnant with a soldier's child.¹⁷⁰ Nonetheless, Mata Hari's children are not mentioned in any Dutch newspapers. Only years later the gender perspective and the role of motherhood was discussed in news articles. In 1931, Vera Ostropoff stated that she had received a letter declaring that she was the daughter of Mata Hari.¹⁷¹ Of course this was a fabricated letter, but it illustrated that people capitalized on the fame of Mata Hari and used her motherhood to gain attention.

The marriage between MacLeod and Mata Hari was discussed in Dutch newspapers in the period after 1930. Usually MacLeod was depicted as a husband who inflicted his wife with emotional and physical pain. When a book by Mata Hari's father was released about her marriage, newspapers covered the topic.¹⁷² Adam Zelle later admitted that he only wrote the book to make money from of the fame of his daughter.¹⁷³

Some newspapers portrayed her as a femme fatale, able to persuade any man into sleeping with her, although this was not discussed as immoral.¹⁷⁴ News articles after 1960

¹⁶⁸ Pat Shipman, *Femme fatale: love, lies and the unknown life of Mata Hari* (London, 2008) prologue.

¹⁶⁹ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 14.

¹⁷⁰ Men schrijft ons, 'Die fatsoenlijke Hollanders!' *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (08-04-1907).

¹⁷¹ Soerabaijasch handelsblad, 'Mata Hari' *Soerabaijasch handelsblad* (23-09-1931).

¹⁷² Adam Zelle, *Mata-Hari, Mevr. M.G. MacLeod-Zelle: de levensgeschiedenis mijner dochter en mijne grieven tegen hare vroegeren echtgenoot* (Amsterdam, 1906).

¹⁷³ Sneon en Snein, 'Armoede?' *Leeuwarder courant: hoofdblad van Friesland* (10-09-1960).

¹⁷⁴ Peter Liefhebber, 'Geen vlam in de pan' *De Telegraaf* (19-11-1990).

illustrate that this character trait eventually made her famous.

Although gender and femininity helped shape her identity, it was not something that was discussed in newspapers.

Novels

Dutch actress Josine van Dalsum who was once casted as Mata Hari, wrote the first literary novel on the femininity of her character. Van Dalsum presented Mata Hari as a conscious, almost emancipated woman. The main goal for Mata Hari was to get married, based on her choices and independence, and become a mother.¹⁷⁵ The plot of the novel was a search for happiness and true love, which she does not find. Mata Hari was abused often. For instance, the affair with the headmaster at pre-primary school was recounted as though the headmaster had raped Mata Hari.¹⁷⁶ Van Dalsum has a hypnagogic writing style that made it difficult to distinguish dreams from actual situations. Mata Hari encompassed in the novel both the perception of the ideal woman by embracing her femininity and combining it with motherly character traits.

Diane Samuels wrote a play about Mata Hari's life to inform children about the role of women in WWI.¹⁷⁷ In the play, two Frenchmen interrogated Mata Hari. The novel tried the cognitive approach when discussing Mata Hari by describing the situation from her viewpoint. It appeared throughout the play that her only motive was that she behaved in such a way because being a mother was essentially what she desired. She had therefore accepted the offer to become a spy. The story concluded with a false accusation of Mata Hari and she was executed on the ground of being a double spy.¹⁷⁸

In 2007, the literary work 'The Perfume of Mata Hari' by Geertje Gort was published. Using the hermeneutic approach, the story is about Non, who received a letter from her mother who wants to meet her. The cognitive perspective is about a child who longed to meet her mother, while knowing that they did not have the time to fully (re)connect.¹⁷⁹ When using the psychoanalytic approach, Mata Hari was known by the reader on the basis of news articles, postcards and a letter. The emphasis, however, lay on motherhood and Mata Hari. Non was too

¹⁷⁵ Van Dalsum, *Ik, Mata Hari*, 26.

¹⁷⁶ Ibidem, 29.

¹⁷⁷ Diane Samuels, *The True Life of Fiction of Mata Hari* (London, 2002).

¹⁷⁸ Julie Wheelwright, 'Foreword' via <http://www.dramaonlinelibrary.com/books/the-true-life-fiction-of-mata-hari-iid-136101/do-9781784601850-div-00000004>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

¹⁷⁹ Geertje Gort, *Het Parfum Mata Hari* (Amsterdam, 2002).

late to contact her mother before she was executed.

The second work is from 2007 and is written by Cécile Linssen, titled 'Duet'. The story focussed on the nun who took care of Mata Hari in prison.¹⁸⁰ Over the last months of Mata Hari's life, they learned to appreciate each other despite their different backgrounds. In the story Mata Hari became interested in Christianity. In Mata Hari's real life, she only had an affinity with Hinduism or Buddhism.¹⁸¹ The novel used a psychoanalytic approach, whereby Mata Hari 'told' her life story. The cognitive approach was that of the nun. The focus in the novel was on Mata Hari's femininity and sensuality, which she eventually perceived as erroneous when she becomes a Christian.¹⁸² The novel applied the cognitive approach, stating that Mata Hari thought she was behaving immorally.

'Signed, Mata Hari', written by Yannick Murphy, especially considered Mata Hari's time in Indonesia from her own perspective.¹⁸³ A main aspect in the storyline was that she wanted to secure Non and Norman-John by divorcing MacLeod.¹⁸⁴ However, when she returned to retrieve her children Non was gone and Norman was dead. In order to reclaim Non she turned to desperate acts, such as counterespionage. Most of the storyline took place in the Netherlands and Indonesia. Mata Hari in Murphy's novel was still encountering the events, it is therefore written from a cognitive approach. Every chapter tried to recreate a story arching moment in Mata Hari's life.¹⁸⁵ In each segment a part of her character was being described: the girl from Friesland, who travelled to The Hague, the mother, the exotic dancer etcetera. Nevertheless, motherhood was a principal quality that was assigned to Mata Hari.

In novels especially there was a representation noticeable that perceived Mata Hari as a sensual woman, moreover as a motherly figure. Sensuality was perceived as immoral behaviour that needed to be altered or otherwise she would be punished. Stories about motherhood are of special interest in novels, since it would give more meaning to her behaviour.

¹⁸⁰ Céline Linssen, *Duet* (Amsterdam, 2007).

¹⁸¹ In fact, in many interviews she confused the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism. Yet, she never stated that the Christian faith was of importance to her. De Grondwet, 'Een andere Mata-Hari,' *De Grondwet* (05-11-1932); Hepkema's Courant, 'Mata Hari' *Hepkema's Courant* (19-10-1917).

¹⁸² Céline Linssen, *Duet* (Amsterdam, 2007).

¹⁸³ Yannick Murphy, *Signed, Mata Hari* (Amsterdam, 2007).

¹⁸⁴ Rebecca Meacham, 'Review: Signed, Mata Hari by Y. Murphy' *Women's review of books* 25:4 (2008) 27.

¹⁸⁵ Meacham, 'Review', 26.

Movies

The role of motherhood is not expressed in movies. However, two movies emphasized the notion of femininity. One of these was the silent movie ‘Mata Hari’, also known in Germany as ‘Die Spionin’, from 1921 starring Asta Nielsen as Mata Hari.¹⁸⁶ Nielsen played Mata Hari but the emphasis was on the general ‘sensuality’ of the character. Nielsen also wore black most scenes and conversed and danced, although non-exotic, with men in uniform. It was the first of many movies to portray Mata Hari as a courtesan who was highly stylized with heavy make-up.¹⁸⁷



Image 4: Movie still from ‘Die Spionin’ (1921)

The other movie that represented Mata Hari as sensual woman with little context of her espionage or exoticism, was the movie ‘Up the Front’ from 1972.¹⁸⁸ Zsa Zsa Gábor was casted as Mata Hari and was only a minor character in the movie. Mata Hari is depicted remarkably because of her style; glitter, pink and boa’s.¹⁸⁹ Her character was based on her role as a sensuous untrustworthy spy because of her schemes to relieve characters from information.

Images

Mata Hari was generally presented as an exotic looking woman with erotic qualities. There are, however, a couple of photographs taken in which she wore luxurious dresses or posed with her husband.

The dresses showed the wealth and luxury she enjoyed and shed new light on Mata Hari. Even her everyday dresses were always extravagant. For instance, on image six she wears a large feather hat, which was the trend of the time.¹⁹⁰ This was not worn by most women, since they found it ostentatious.¹⁹¹ Mata Hari was known for her style that was frequently displayed

¹⁸⁶ Mata Hari/Die Spionin (1921) directed by Ludwig Wolff, starring Asta Nielsen.

¹⁸⁷ Aranka Muller-Matis, *Glamor and gloom: the female-white collar worker in mainstream cinema and popular fiction of the late Weimar Republic* (New York, 2007) 88.

¹⁸⁸ Up the Front (1974) directed by Bob Kellet, starring Frankie Howerd and Bill Fraser.

¹⁸⁹ An example would be the clip: ‘Magda, Mata Hari’s Maid’ via <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gNne9-Y8Bb0>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

¹⁹⁰ Martine van Rooijen, *Hooggehakt & kortgerokt. Honderd jaar met de mode mee* (Rotterdam, 2012) 26.

¹⁹¹ Van Rooijen, *Hooggehakt & kortgerokt*, 24.

on images.¹⁹² Especially after 1910, more of these pictures appeared.

Furthermore, there are photographs that presented her with MacLeod. There are no pictures left of her and her children. These images did not display any affection and portrayed her as a typical average wife. For instance, on image nine, her husband stands behind her while the women are seated in front of the men. Photo shoots were relatively expensive.¹⁹³ The couple thus invested in being portrayed together.

Looking from the gender perspective of motherhood and femininity, Mata Hari's representation in research and biographies was connected to historical reception: women who did not take care of their children or pursue other career goals were viewed as immoral.¹⁹⁴ In novels she was most often represented within the context of motherhood. It served as an argument for her behaviour.



Image 5: Mata Hari at l'Odeon in 1915.



Image 6: Mata Hari Longchamp Racing, Paris 1914



Image 7: Mata Hari 'Fotostudie Merkelbach' 1915

¹⁹² Don Hollway, 'Dancer, stripper, courtesan, spy Mata Hari. Did she cause the deaths of 50,000 soldiers in WWI?' in: *History Magazine* (December/January 2016) via <http://donhollway.com/matahari/>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

¹⁹³ Julia Hirsch, *Family Photographs: Content, Meaning, and Effect* (New York, 1981) 16.

¹⁹⁴ Nancy M. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters in the Nineteenth-Century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity* (Lexington, 2015) 114.



Image 8: Wedding picture
MacLeod and Mata Hari,
11th July 1895



Image 9: Mata Hari (front row left)
followed by her husband (back row left) on
the SS Hollandia



Image 10: Rudolph MacLeod
and Mata Hari in Indonesia

2.3. *Orientalism and exotic curiosity*

The third representation gave Mata Hari her iconic status as an Indonesian exotic dancer. This image made her popular in the media before the war. The structuralist approach shall be used to discuss the role of orientalism and exoticism.

Historical representation

The word 'orientalism' stemmed from the early nineteenth century, but the definition of the term was coined by Edward Saïd in 1978. He described orientalism as the patronizing Western attitude towards Eastern societies in order to justify Western imperialism.¹⁹⁵ This definition was political-based and turned the representation of the East into the moral negative of the West.¹⁹⁶ Orientalism thus became a subject for study and helped change and create new forms of art, music, architecture and theatre.¹⁹⁷ This fascination for the Orient was caused by the different interpretation and aesthetic in, for instance, femininity, eroticism and exoticism.¹⁹⁸ Artists decided to visualize the Orient and often travelled East to draw inspiration. The display of these artworks made 'orientalism' a topic of interest for the socialites, who wanted to bring the East

¹⁹⁵ Edward W. Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

¹⁹⁶ Saïd does concentrate on the British imperialism and the connection between Orientalism and the East. Other European countries were also involved with imperialism, but the work of Saïd is catered to the role of the British.

¹⁹⁷ John MacKenzie, *Orientalism; History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester, 1995) xii.

¹⁹⁸ MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, xiii.

into their own home.¹⁹⁹

Travel guides informed the public about various dances from the East and Mata Hari made use of the emerging curiosity.²⁰⁰ With her veil- and belly dancing, she was portrayed as the embodiment of the East. She combined all elements to emphasis the exotic: her body, the scenery, the clothing, the accessories and the music.²⁰¹ At the end of the nineteenth century, the fascination for the Orient was a serious industry which Mata Hari made use of.²⁰²

Research and biographies

According to Carrillo, her use of exoticism is essential for understanding the character of Mata Hari.²⁰³ Carrillo was of the opinion that her sensuality was equal to that of people from the far East and therefore she undoubtedly was from the East.²⁰⁴ Wagenaar wrote that Mata Hari thought of herself as a sensual and exotic dancer from Indonesia and that it was imperative to her that the public identified her in this way.²⁰⁵

Brokken stated that Mata Hari was the best role model for promoting the East.²⁰⁶ This was especially visible in the 1970s and 1980s, when Mata Hari was depicted on multiple objects. For instance, image twelve on page thirty-nine. He also found that Mata Hari was able to profit from the new fascination for the East.²⁰⁷ She combined double espionage, femininity and an extravagant lifestyle with the exotic and became an emblem for her time.²⁰⁸ The lesson he deduced from her life was that one should not betray their original identity. At heart, she was an exotic dancer and when she deviated from this image, she lost her popularity.

Wheelwright investigated and compared the perception of women after the war.²⁰⁹ She found that 'national' spies were represented as patriotic and submissive, whereas 'foreign' spies were seen as defiant, immoral and dangerous.²¹⁰ Their foreign identity meant that they had little or no affinity with the European foundation; the connection between the state, family and

¹⁹⁹ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 31.

²⁰⁰ Kathleen W. Fraser, *Before they were belly dancers. European Accounts of Female Entertainers in Egypt, 1760-1870* (Jefferson, 2015) 26.

²⁰¹ Fraser, *Before they were belly dancers*, 30.

²⁰² Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 31.

²⁰³ E. Gómez-Carrillo and C. Barthez, *Le mystère de la vie et de la mort de Mata Hari* (Paris, 1925) 97, 161.

²⁰⁴ Gómez-Carrillo, *Le mystère de la vie*, 161.

²⁰⁵ Sam Wagenaar, *Mata Hari: niet zo onschuldig...* (Amsterdam, 1981) 62.

²⁰⁶ Wagenaar, *Mata Hari*, 31.

²⁰⁷ Jan C. Brokken, *Mata Hari; de waarheid achter de legende* (Amsterdam, 1975) 29.

²⁰⁸ Ibidem, 33.

²⁰⁹ Julie Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover. Mata Hari and the myth of women in espionage* (London, 1992) 153.

²¹⁰ Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover*, 158.

church.²¹¹ These foreign spies often worked as exotic dancers, and thus these women could be considered as the personification of the demimonde. This led to the degeneration of exotic women into racist notions, such as savage or negress.²¹² Mata Hari was one of these examples.

Newspapers

In Dutch newspapers the 'exotic' is irreversibly associated with Mata Hari. Although she told the press she was a daughter of a Javanese plantation owner, articles did mention that she was born in Leeuwarden.²¹³ This lie was stressed in newspapers and raised questions about her exotic heritage.²¹⁴ Other journalists argued they did not want to resolve the mystery that Mata Hari had created. The 'exotic' became part of her identity and she wanted to be perceived in that way.²¹⁵ Besides her performances, no further consideration was given to the context of the East.²¹⁶ The characterization as a courtesan was also not often made, although she was known for her affaires with men.

Novels

There are no specific novels on Mata Hari within the context of exoticism, but a few novels use her exotic heritage and dancing qualities as a background story or as an addition to the main storyline.

Movies

The movie 'Mata Hari' from 1931, starring Greta Garbo, gained quite a reputation for being a sensuous movie.²¹⁷ The storyline, according to the hermeneutic approach, predominantly stressed the role of exoticism in the context of war.²¹⁸ In this movie Mata Hari shares secret information from her lover General Shubin with the German military. Shubin starts to suspect this and tells the colonel Dubois. When Dubois arrests her, her new lover Lieutenant Rosanoff has to testify against her. He has fallen in love with her after a performance. Because she does

²¹¹ Lodewijk Brunt, 'Slachtoffer van de angst voor vrouwen' *NRC Handelsblad* (10-10-1992).

²¹² Julie Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover. Mata Hari and the myth of women in espionage* (London, 1992) 159.

²¹³ O.D.S., 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' *Algemeen Handelsblad* (25-09-1917).

²¹⁴ Ibidem; *Nieuwsblad van Friesland*; Hepkema's *Courant*, 'Mata-Hari.' *Nieuwsblad van Friesland*; Hepkema's *Courant* (28-09-1917).

²¹⁵ Ab Visser, 'Mata Hari' *De Telegraaf* (16-10-1964).

²¹⁶ A. Walthaus, 'Bijna-bloote tempeldans' *Leeuwarder Courant* (22-05-2015).

²¹⁷ *Mata Hari* (1931) directed by George Fitzmaurice, starring Greta Garbo.

²¹⁸ Mordaunt Hall, 'Movie Review: Greta Garbo gives a brilliant portrayal as Mata Hari, the alluring dancer and spy' *The New York Times* (01-01-1932).

not want him to lie for her, she does not tell him he has to testify. She is sentenced to death and leaves Rosanoff behind in disillusionment.²¹⁹

The emphasis in the movie was thus on her romantic relationships and her performances. It was one of the first large cinematic productions about Mata Hari. After the movie was released in the Netherlands in 1932, approximately one third of the news articles discussed 'Mata Hari' in light of this movie. It was also controversial since the Zelle family sued the movie company.²²⁰ The family stated that the movie might damage the family name, because of the depiction of the erotic and the sensual. Eventually their claim was rejected. The movie had thus made a large impact on the Dutch media.



Image 11: Greta Garbo as Mata Hari (1931)

In 1981 a television show was made on the topic of Mata Hari, starring Van Dalsum. The series included scenes in Friesland, Indonesia, and Paris.²²¹ Especially the first years of her life and her exotic looks were of importance. The war provided the context and the setting, but was not elaborately discussed. The approaches by McGee are of less importance in the series, since it depicted the life story of Mata Hari similar to the first chapter.

One of the latest movies about Mata Hari was from 1985 and focused mostly on her activities as a courtesan in an exotic setting.²²² It emphasized orientalism, in combination with her sexuality, but also depicted the war and her activities as a spy on the background.²²³ Again, her sexuality was stressed in this movie. The movie analysed Mata Hari in a psychoanalytic approach, but it was not similar to her cognitive approach mentioned in the first chapter.

Images

On images, Mata Hari is mostly dressed in exotic looking costumes. This was her signature look, since she wore these type of outfits on stage and this was reflected in her promotional

²¹⁹ Hall, 'Movie Review'.

²²⁰ Delftsche courant, 'Rechtszaken. De Film Mata Hari.' *Delftsche Courant* (22-10-1932).

²²¹ Mata Hari (1981) television series, directed by John van de Rest, starring Josine van Dalsum.

²²² Mata Hari (1985) directed by Curtis Harrington, starring Sylvia Kristel.

²²³ 'Mata Hari (Silvia Kristel) 1984 – Trailer en Ingles – DVD' via <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ftKQph6isvs> accessed on the 1st of August 2016; 'Mata Hari (1985) – best scene' via <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w4vPUoDkcFQ>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

material. She continuously used Eastern influences in her style, off and on stage, which gave her worldwide popularity and an iconic status.²²⁴

The role of exotic costumes and accessories are clearly recognisable. On all images she wears a headdress, and she is usually adorned with jewellery, flowers or diamonds. Mata Hari created her own look for every picture. For example, she wore an Indian-like headdress, but using headdresses in the attire is something typically done in Friesland as well.²²⁵ See for instance image thirteen. The setting, background and interior was usually affiliated with the East and the exotic. For example, image fifteen and sixteen with Shiva and Oriental East depicted in the background.²²⁶ Her image as an exotic dancer was also noticeable on objects or locations which carried her name. This applies to a bar in Amsterdam, which used the connotation of the 'exotic' Mata Hari.

2.4. The general representation of Mata Hari in Dutch media

When examining the three representations in the Dutch media, it shows that they are all connected to Mata Hari's femininity and portray her as a type of outsider during WWI. In the form of a spy, a woman without morals and a 'foreigner'. Although every representation was evident in the Dutch media, it was notable to see that each representation was mainly visible within one type of media, either visually or textually. Mata Hari, the spy, was mostly noticeable in movies and research. Mata Hari, the mother was most apparent in novels. Mata Hari, as the exotic dancer, was prominent in images. Newspapers helped to contextualize the modes of representation, yet never specifically emphasized one representation. Since all the representations were linked and the media used antecedent media for inspiration, it helped to create a three-dimensional character of Mata Hari. Every medium was thus a building block for the next, therefore the representations slowly changed over the course of time. The fourth representation stemmed from the regional context and will be discussed next.

²²⁴ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 70; Kathleen W. Fraser, *Before they were belly dancers. European Accounts of Female Entertainers in Egypt, 1760-1870* (Jefferson, 2015) 30.

²²⁵ Martine van Rooijen, *Hooggehakt & kortgerokt. Honderd jaar met de mode mee* (Rotterdam, 2012) 22.

²²⁶ Image seventeen is a coloured image, something which was not possible in the period this image was taken. Due to modern technologies, it was possible to reconstruct the original colours. That is noticeable in the image, for more information look at the section 'accountability images'. The process is mentioned on the website.



Image 12: Alcoholic beverage named after Mata Hari



Image 13: Mata Hari wearing an Indian headdress inspired by the headdress fashion from Friesland



Image 16: Mata Hari's booking ID



Image 14: Mata Hari on the 13th of March 1905 at Museum Guimet



Image 15: Mata Hari on stage



Image 17 and 18: Bar Mata Hari in Amsterdam

Chapter 3: The ‘Frisian’ Mata Hari

The last representation which will be discussed is the one that connects the ‘national’ Dutch historical overview with that of Friesland’s ‘regional’ historical overview. It does not place Mata Hari as an ‘outsider’, but as an ‘insider’ in the representation of the local and rural woman.

3.1. Representation of Mata Hari in Friesland

Due to Wagenaar’s donation of personal scrapbooks to the Fries Museum in 1964, Mata Hari has ever since been labelled as a girl from Friesland. Eventually, this donation even led to the construction of a statue for Mata Hari in 1976, which triggered a boost in media attention.

Research and biographies

Some researchers pointed at Mata Hari’s youth when analysing her behaviour during the war. For instance, Brokken stated that Mata Hari did not know how to cope with the ongoing events in a metropolitan city such as Paris, as she herself grew up on the countryside.²²⁷

The first researcher that exclusively scrutinized the relationship between Friesland (specifically Leeuwarden) and Mata Hari, was Keikes.²²⁸ Considering everything which occurred in Mata Hari’s life, Keikes stated that she remained a true Frisian girl by heart.²²⁹ Keikes affirmed Brokken’s statement in the sense that Mata Hari could not understand the dynamic city life.²³⁰ He portrayed her as a heroine who did not strive for honour or glory, but solely longed to shield Friesland from the war, while proving that she could make it anywhere in the world.²³¹

Keikes was also one of the initiators to ask the local council in Leeuwarden for special attention for Mata Hari in the Fries Museum.²³² He helped to establish a new mode of representation for her character within the Frisian context, which other researchers such as

²²⁷ Jan C. Brokken, *Mata Hari; de waarheid achter de legende* (Amsterdam, 1975) 29.

²²⁸ Henricus W. Keikes, *Het meisje Mata Hari* (Den Haag, 1974); Henricus W. Keikes, *Mata Hari* (Den Haag, 1981); Henricus W. Keikes, *Stad van Mata Hari: foto’s en tekeningen van Mata Hari en haar geboortestad: historische routebeschrijving van een wandeling door Leeuwarden langs Mata Hari-herinneringen en voor wie de stad eenmaal kent, het topografisch detectiveverhaal “Moord in het huis van Mata Hari”* (Leeuwarden, 1976).

²²⁹ Henricus W. Keikes, *Mata Hari* (Den Haag, 1981) 67.

²³⁰ Henricus W. Keikes, *Het meisje Mata Hari* (Den Haag, 1974) 33.

²³¹ Henricus W. Keikes, *Mata Hari* (Den Haag, 1981) 73.

²³² Friese Koerier: onafhankelijk dagblad voor Friesland en aangrenzende gebieden, ‘Biograaf Sam Wagenaar Amsterdam: Mata Hari onschuldig..., Als enige ter wereld had ik toegang tot dossier’ *Friese Koerier: onafhankelijk dagblad voor Friesland en aangrenzende gebieden* (06-10-1964).

Wagenaar followed up on.²³³

Newspapers

During Mata Hari's life, her popularity was noticeable in regional newspapers from both Friesland and (especially) Indonesia.²³⁴ This was probably due to the close proximity these audiences experienced in relation to her. Coverage on her 'rural' identity aided in the establishment of her iconic status.²³⁵ However, after her execution, news articles started to shift their focus on the subject whether she was executed lawfully instead. This changed again in the 1960's with Wagenaar's donation, after which articles started to emphasize this charitable act.²³⁶ From that time onward, Leeuwarden would be unofficially dubbed as the city of Mata Hari.²³⁷

Ten years later this was emphasized even more, when Wagenaar and Keikes started the plea in local Frisian newspapers for Mata Hari to become the preeminent icon of Leeuwarden.²³⁸ To generate media attention, Keikes donated his personal (and the so far largest) collection of Mata Hari memorabilia to the Fries Museum, in order to set the image that he was willing to invest in the bond between Mata Hari and Leeuwarden.²³⁹ Indeed, in 1975, Leeuwarden became the official home-town of Mata Hari, which was covered in numerous newspapers.²⁴⁰

The 'Nieuwsblad van het Noorden' and the 'Leeuwarder Courant' were definitely of importance in shaping the bond between Mata Hari and Friesland. News articles even discussed her, as 'our Mata Hari'.²⁴¹ Though Delpher does not take all newspapers into account, the differences in reporting styles between the Frisian and the national newspapers are still rather

²³³ Sam Wagenaar, *Mata Hari: niet zo onschuldig...* (Amsterdam, 1981) 78.

²³⁴ N. R. Ct., 'Mata Hari' *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (27-06-1905).

²³⁵ Murry R. Nelson, *American Sports: A History of Icons, Idols and Ideas* (Santa Barbera, 2013) XV.

²³⁶ Friese medewerker, 'Opmerkelijk boek over in Leeuwarden geboren danseres. Mata Hari in 1917 onschuldig ter dood gebracht' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (14-10-1964).

²³⁷ Van onzen Parijse correspondent, 'Onverholen sympathie voor roemruchte spionne' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (24-04-1965).

²³⁸ Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 'Leeuwarden krijgt beeld Mata Hari' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (10-05-1975); P.v.G., '„De Moord op Mata Hari”' twijfel aan de jury, maar onvoldoende bewijs voor onschuld' *De Waarheid* (23-10-1964).

²³⁹ Karin de Mik, 'Mata Hari terug in Leeuwarden' *NRC Handelsblad* (03-01-1992).

²⁴⁰ Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland, 'Leeuwarden haalt verloren dochter thuis: beeld, boeken, bitter en muziek voor Mata Hari' *Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland* (15-03-1976).

²⁴¹ Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland, 'Groninger Museum' *Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland* (24-12-1965).

obvious. For example, the connection between Mata Hari and Leeuwarden was noticeable in regional newspapers after 1960, but only in national newspapers after 1975.²⁴²

Novels

There were two novels which emphasized the relation between Mata Hari and Friesland, the novels by Josine van Dalsum and Yannick Murphy. Van Dalsum stated that during her childhood Mata Hari learned that she wanted more than what the city had to offer.²⁴³ Mata Hari needed to escape from the rural life. Her escapism formed her life, from that time on she led a dynamic life.

Murphy also emphasized Mata Hari's life in Friesland.²⁴⁴ Using the hermeneutic approach, the novel begins with Mata Hari on the Dutch island Ameland. A large part of the storyline accentuated Mata Hari's time in Friesland. For example, the bankruptcy of her father and him leaving the family. In the novel, this served as a motivation for Mata Hari to create her own success. The novel was written from a cognitive perspective, which thus discussed how the childhood of Mata Hari affected her later life.

Movies

No scenes in movies were shot in Friesland before 1960, Leeuwarden was only depicted after 1976.²⁴⁵ Although emphasis was not on these scenes particularly, they were shown at the beginning of the movie. A television show and a movie in particular display the childhood of Mata Hari. These were the television show 'Mata Hari' from 1981 and the movie 'Mata Hari, la vraie histoire' from 2003. The last one noticeably used the childhood of Mata Hari as an argument as to why Mata Hari acted the way she did, the cognitive approach according to McGee.²⁴⁶ One of the interpretations could be that it is thus of importance for analysing and contextualizing Mata Hari. The formation of the regional representation had worked.

In 1981, the series starring Van Dalsum had one episode about the childhood of Mata Hari in Leeuwarden.²⁴⁷ It was filmed a couple of years after Leeuwarden decided that Mata

²⁴² Wilma Nanninga, 'Franse historicus wil herziening van proces. „Mata Hari is in Franse val gelopen”' *De Telegraaf* (05-11-1994).

²⁴³ Josine van Dalsum, *Ik, Mata Hari* (Antwerpen, 1981).

²⁴⁴ Yannick Murphy, *Signed, Mata Hari* (Amsterdam, 2007).

²⁴⁵ George (Nor) Kooijman, 'Mata Hari, de wethouder en de (vele) publiciteit' in: Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarder Gevoel, loat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se er nog* (Leeuwarden, 2007) 95.

²⁴⁶ *Mata Hari, la vraie histoire* (2003) directed by Alain Tasma, starring Maruschka Detmers.

²⁴⁷ *Mata Hari* (1981) television series, directed by John van de Rest, starring Josine van Dalsum.

Hari received her own statue.²⁴⁸ The regional continued to signify Mata Hari's life throughout the show.

Images

There were a few images available which depicted Mata Hari's childhood. Three images were known and used in Keikes his research. One of them was of Mata Hari as a young girl with her father in the city centre. It showed the wealth they had, for instance by the luxurious carriage of Mata Hari. On image twenty she was around the age of nine, thus she was able to wear a sumptuous dress. The last image characterized Mata Hari when she was around the age of fifteen, still wearing expensive clothing. These images did not show Leeuwarden explicitly, but did show a type of prosperity which the family, especially Mata Hari, enjoyed.

In general, Mata Hari was recognized and described by newspapers as a regional heroine. This trend became apparent after the work was published by Wagenaar and Keikes. Yet, what was the impact of growing up in Leeuwarden on Mata Hari's life? This will be discussed in the next section.

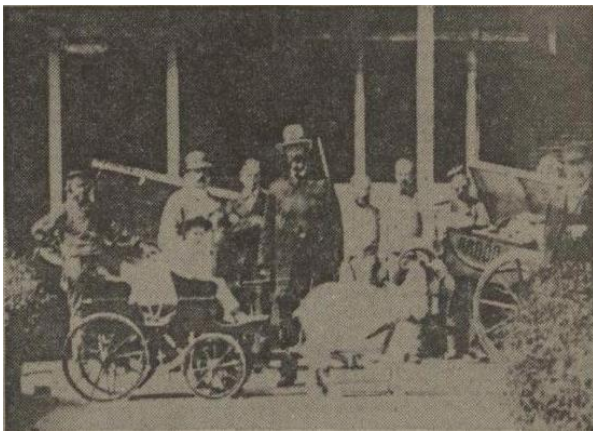


Image 19: Mata Hari in the carriage on the left with her father in the center of the image.



Image 20: Mata Hari as a young girl in Leeuwarden



Image 21: Mata Hari before she left Leeuwarden

²⁴⁸ George (Nor) Kooijman, 'Mata Hari, de wethouder en de (vele) publiciteit' in: Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarder Gevoel, loat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se er nog* (Leeuwarden, 2007) 95.

3.2. *Leeuwarden: the city of Mata Hari*

How did the policy of Leeuwarden and Friesland helped to establish Mata Hari as a regional icon? This question will be answered in the following section.

The beginning of Mata Hari and Leeuwarden

When Wagenaar donated the scrapbooks to the Fries Museum in 1964, it was the starting point for Leeuwarden to associate the city with Mata Hari.²⁴⁹ Due to this gift, the council of Leeuwarden had to contemplate the role of Mata Hari in Frisian history.²⁵⁰ The ownership of the scrapbooks and other memorabilia gave the city a financial advantage. Leeuwarden needed to decide if Mata Hari would be meaningful for their cultural history and viable for the city in terms of profit and acknowledgements. The preliminary analysis looked grim, since the city was hesitant to connect the history and character of Mata Hari to their city as well as their cultural heritage.²⁵¹

This changed when George Kooijman became the manager of the tourist office in Leeuwarden in 1966. Kooijman and Keikes wanted to connect Mata Hari to Friesland, so they initiated the idea of a statue and a special exhibition room. Their plan was to test if the world associated Mata Hari with Leeuwarden, therefore they sent postcards from different places in the world and only wrote as the address: 'the city of Mata Hari'. All the postcards arrived in Leeuwarden. They could now prove that Leeuwarden and Mata Hari were irreversibly connected on a worldly scale.

This was enough evidence for Keikes and Kooijman to apply for a cultural subsidy at the local council of Leeuwarden. The council, however, was of the opinion that a statue for a courtesan and a spy was not a positive adjustment.²⁵² A counterargument was that film crews would use the city in their movies, which would lead to financial gain. This argument was confirmed when the television show 'Mata Hari' was shot in Leeuwarden and the city received a considerable amount of money.²⁵³ The council, however, remained hesitant. Wagenaar heard

²⁴⁹ Friese medewerker, 'Opmerkelijk boek over in Leeuwarden geboren danseres. Mata Hari in 1917 onschuldig ter dood gebracht' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (14-10-1964).

²⁵⁰ Ibidem.

²⁵¹ George (Nor) Kooijman, 'Mata Hari, de wethouder en de (vele) publiciteit' in: Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarder Gevoel, loat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se er nog* (Leeuwarden, 2007) 93.

²⁵² Kooijman, 'Mata Hari', 95.

²⁵³ Ibidem, 96.

of the discussion and also pleaded for a statue of Mata Hari.²⁵⁴ Moreover, he wanted an exhibition room dedicated to her.²⁵⁵ Eventually the council agreed and granted ten thousand guildens for these initiatives. Unfortunately, this was not enough money to fund the statue, whereby Keikes and Kooijman decided to contribute to the statue with their own resources. They decided that the statue would be placed in front of the city theatre.²⁵⁶ The statue was unveiled in 1976, hundred years after the day that Mata Hari was born in Leeuwarden.²⁵⁷ This caused media attention and therefore the museum was granted resources to collect other memorabilia of Mata Hari. With help of the museum, council and individuals, a special exhibition room was created in the Fries Museum dedicated to Mata Hari.

Current view on Leeuwarden and Mata Hari

In 2003 multiple political parties from the local council of Leeuwarden decided to research the possibilities for a museum fully dedicated to Mata Hari.²⁵⁸ Approximately 115.000 euro was gathered to finance the research. The investment would pay itself back if visitors paid extra fees to enter the museum. Visitors travelled especially to Leeuwarden to see Mata Hari in the Fries Museum, which served as the cause for this research.²⁵⁹ In 2004 the result was that the best option was to have a special simulator with screens, which presented Mata Hari's life.²⁶⁰ This simulator would be incorporated in the exhibition room of Mata Hari which would be expanded.

In the same year, more tumult was caused when the mayor of Leeuwarden, Geert Dales, stated that three statues needed to be removed from the city.²⁶¹ These were the statues of Us Heit, Us Mem and Mata Hari.²⁶² According to Dales, these statues were dull and signified the folklore of Friesland. The Frisian folklore was not the carrier of the Frisian culture.²⁶³ Dales wanted to stress the modernity of the city, in which the vigour of tourism and education was

²⁵⁴ Friese medewerker, 'Opmerkelijk boek over in Leeuwarden geboren danseres. Mata Hari in 1917 onschuldig ter dood gebracht' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (14-10-1964).

²⁵⁵ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 71.

²⁵⁶ Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917)*, 71-72.

²⁵⁷ *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 'Leeuwarden krijgt beeld Mata Hari' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (10-05-1975).

²⁵⁸ Pieter de Groot, 'Mata Hari-museum: van mythe tot kater' *Leeuwarder Courant* (01-02-2003).

²⁵⁹ Ibidem.

²⁶⁰ De Stentor/Deventer Dagblad, 'Geen eigen museum voor Mata Hari in Leeuwarden' *De Stentor/Deventer Dagblad* (18-02-2004).

²⁶¹ Door onze correspondent, 'Leeuwarden wil af van Mata Hari' *NRC Handelsblad* (08-09-2004).

²⁶² Us Heit, translated: our father, is a statue representing one of the early regents of Friesland, namely Willem Lodewijk van Nassau-Dillenburg. Us Mem, translated: our mother, signifies the agriculture of Friesland. It is a piebald cow, which is typical for the farming industry in Friesland.

²⁶³ *Leeuwarder Courant*, 'Hbo-student zegt toerist niet, Mata Hari wel' *Leeuwarder Courant* (07-09-2004).

emphasized. Dales wanted to focus on the colleges in the city and not Mata Hari who held a problematic position in history.²⁶⁴ Moreover, he wanted to remove the collection of Mata Hari in the Fries Museum and change the exposition to a presentation about the progress of Friesland in the twenty-first century. The removal led to an interest from other cities to adopt the Mata Hari-collection. This will be discussed in the next part.

People active in the heritage and culture section of Leeuwarden reacted to Dales' statement. They were of the opinion that Mata Hari was significant to the city since it helped create a positive image for visiting tourists.²⁶⁵ Dales came from Amsterdam, therefore he did not understand the historical 'identity' of Friesland.²⁶⁶ Eventually the statues and the collection remained where they were and Dales stated that he would be more careful in the future on his statements concerning the history and identity of Friesland.²⁶⁷

In 2018, Leeuwarden will be the cultural capital of Europe. In the original plans attention was given to Mata Hari, however there were two setbacks. The first setback was that the opera about Mata Hari's life did not receive enough funding because the subsidies were lacking.²⁶⁸ The subsidies that they did receive, would not guarantee a qualitative production.²⁶⁹ The second setback was the 'Mata Hari experience', the simulator, located in her former house, would not be finished on time.²⁷⁰ This was also because of lacking subsidies. Losing Mata Hari as one of the signifiers for the historical heritage and culture of Leeuwarden in 2018 caused debate in the local newspapers and this debate proved the disappointment in the local council for not funding the projects. This was 'the' moment to associate Mata Hari with the city for a large European audience. Unfortunately for them, the local council was of another opinion.

Nonetheless, the Fries Museum is the host of the great exhibition on Mata Hari in 2017.²⁷¹ The first exhibition when the documents are released and which includes information and memorabilia from France, Great-Britain, Germany and the Netherlands. Already it is internationally recognized and up until now the largest exposition about her life so far, since it offers a range of new material which include both documents as personal belongings of Mata Hari.²⁷²

²⁶⁴ Door onze correspondent, 'Leeuwarden wil af van Mata Hari' *NRC Handelsblad* (08-09-2004).

²⁶⁵ Leeuwarder Courant, 'Hbo-student zegt toerist niet, Mata Hari wel' *Leeuwarder Courant* (07-09-2004).

²⁶⁶ Leeuwarder Courant, 'Geert Dales heeft spijt van 'oubolligheid'' *Leeuwarder Courant* (23-09-2004).

²⁶⁷ Ibidem.

²⁶⁸ Rob Leemhuis, 'Leeuwarden 2018 dreigt zichzelf af te knippen' *Leeuwarder Courant* (28-05-2016).

²⁶⁹ Rob Leemhuis, 'Culturele Hoofdstad verliest een van zijn pijlers' *Leeuwarder Courant* (27-05-2016).

²⁷⁰ Leeuwarder Courant, 'Mata Hari-centrum' maanden vertraagd' *Leeuwarder Courant* (21-07-2016).

²⁷¹ Leeuwarder Courant, 'Fries Museum: 2017 wordt het jaar van Mata Hari' *Leeuwarder Courant* (17-05-2014).

²⁷² Ibidem.

The last couple of years, and in the future, the relation between Mata Hari and Leeuwarden have not been accentuated. Moreover, it seemed as though Mata Hari is regarded as a by-product of Leeuwarden. There was even a debate to remove the statue and the collection of Mata Hari in the Fries Museum. The relation between Leeuwarden and Mata Hari was only emphasized after 1970. It was relatively new, but at the same time has always been regarded as problematic.

Mata Hari's view on Leeuwarden

Leeuwarden thus became the 'city of Mata Hari', it was the city in which Mata Hari spent her childhood and she had positive memories about the city. Researchers did discuss the time of Mata Hari in Leeuwarden, the extensity however varied. In general, her years in Friesland helped shape her character and are reflected in her life. When she was a child, Mata Hari always wanted to have the most precious and new items.²⁷³ Her father gave this to her in her youth, and these years she was considered to be the (child)star of the city, always wearing the most beautiful and elegant dresses and having the newest toys.²⁷⁴ When her father went bankrupt, Mata Hari left Leeuwarden relatively young.²⁷⁵ This would later serve as an example for Mata Hari's life; she was always moving to new places in times of hardship.²⁷⁶ It might signify that Mata Hari was afraid of poverty, an example was that she was disappointed when MacLeod was not able to offer her all the things she had desired.²⁷⁷ Nonetheless, of the forty-one years she was alive, Mata Hari spent fifteen of them in Leeuwarden. Which was a considerable amount of time, regarding all the other places she had visited.²⁷⁸

Interestingly enough, the relation between the national or the regional identity was not a point of discussion while Mata Hari was alive. No one asked Mata Hari about her childhood, and if so, she would reply that she was a daughter of a plantation owner in Indonesia. Most likely, her favourite city would be Paris, since it served as a place of refuge for her.²⁷⁹

Leeuwarden remained as a best option to become the city of Mata Hari, because she

²⁷³ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 9.

²⁷⁴ Arnold Wielenga, 'Hoofdrolspeelster Josine van Dalsum: 'Zij was een fantastische vrouw' Mata Hari voor tv verfilmd' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (09-07-1980).

²⁷⁵ Friese medewerker, 'Opmerkelijk boek over in Leeuwarden geboren danseres. Mata Hari in 1917 onschuldig ter dood gebracht' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (14-10-1964).

²⁷⁶ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 10-11.

²⁷⁷ Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917)*, 10.

²⁷⁸ Noorderblik, 'Standbeeld voor Mata Hari-Zelle' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (02-06-1975).

²⁷⁹ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 68.

lived there the longest and had a decent childhood.²⁸⁰

Possible other (Dutch) cities associated with Mata Hari

Leeuwarden and Friesland were able to claim Mata Hari's iconic status for the cultural heritage of the city on the grounds of her childhood.²⁸¹ Mata Hari did spend a long period of time in Paris as well.²⁸² Yet, because Mata Hari frequently moved around, multiple cities had the option to claim Mata Hari for their historical heritage.

Besides Leeuwarden, the best option was Paris. Since Paris itself has a rich history of WWI and the Moulin Rouge, she was not frequently discussed within that specific context and history.²⁸³ Another problem regarding France was that they gave the order for her execution, claiming her to their city might lead to controversy.

Other cities in the Netherlands, such as Amsterdam and The Hague, were also able to give Mata Hari a significant place in their history. Mata Hari however did not stay long in these cities. Moreover, when she stayed in these cities, she usually stayed with one of her love affairs. She did not stay there longer than a year or had her own accommodation.

An advantage for choosing Amsterdam as the city of Mata Hari was that both her father (Adam Zelle), Rudolph MacLeod and her daughter had lived there. That meant that prominent figures in her life could receive specific attention in relation to Mata Hari's life.²⁸⁴

The Hague was another option: the city which she left Leeuwarden for. After the statement made by Dales, it became a point of discussion in 2004. Titia Lont, a member of the civil council in The Hague, wanted to give Mata Hari a permanent exhibition in the municipal museum of The Hague.²⁸⁵ The museum was being rebuilt and a new gallery was constructed. This new gallery might incorporate the exhibition of Mata Hari, for instance the items the Fries Museum possessed. The director of the municipality museum of The Hague, Van Krimpen, also stated that to add Mata Hari to the museum would both give a new impulse to her representation as well as the city.²⁸⁶ Eventually Dales retracted his statement so the plans of Lont and Van Krimpen were not realized.

²⁸⁰ Noorderblik, 'Standbeeld voor Mata Hari-Zelle' *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* (02-06-1975).

²⁸¹ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 72.

²⁸² Huisman, *Mata Hari*, 30-31.

²⁸³ Graham Robb, *Parisians, an adventure history of Paris* (Oxford, 2010) 163.

²⁸⁴ Marijke Huisman, *Mata Hari (1876-1917): de levende legende* (Hilversum, 1998) 38-39.

²⁸⁵ HGL2 (katern Haaglanden), 'Voorstel: Mata Hari in Den Haag' *Haagsche Courant* (14-09-2004).

²⁸⁶ Ibidem.

Mata Hari used for city marketing

As mentioned above, the regional representation was more or less produced by the local council of Leeuwarden. The city had the same motivation as for most media: to attract a large audience. They used city marketing tools in order to gain revenue from the investment in Mata Hari.²⁸⁷ The regional identity of Mata Hari was thus stressed and used as a marketing tool.

In order for Mata Hari to become popular as a regional icon, she was first distinguished as such in popular culture.²⁸⁸ The media gave her a historical identity and Leeuwarden used her representation by emphasizing her role in the city, for instance in the museum, by city walks and the statue.²⁸⁹ The creation of this regional icon influenced the memory culture and eventually, she became part of the cultural heritage of the city.²⁹⁰ The iconic status of Mata Hari gave the city another historical dimension by connecting her image to the city.

Since her childhood was not often mentioned in the media, the city needed to invest in research before they could emphasize her days as an adolescent. This history could be used to inform the public on her historical heritage and at the same time, gain new media recognition. This motivation convinced the council of Leeuwarden into an investment in Mata Hari, although the official reply was that they wanted to create a sense of familiarity with Mata Hari's life for the residents of Friesland.²⁹¹

Results of Mata Hari's regional identity

Regarding the life of Mata Hari, it cannot be stated that she had a special affinity with Leeuwarden. The city had an advantage, since they had a relatively large collection of possessions of Mata Hari and acquaintances lived there. The museum also received donations from others, so the museum had the international representation of being the city of Mata Hari.²⁹²

Experts from Friesland on the topic of Mata Hari are respected internationally and nationally, which helped to reinforce the link between Mata Hari and Leeuwarden. It also

²⁸⁷ George (Nor) Kooijman, 'Mata Hari, de wethouder en de (vele) publiciteit' in: Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarder Gevoel, loat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se er nog* (Leeuwarden, 2007) 93.

²⁸⁸ Lawrence R. Samuel, *The American Dream: a cultural history* (Syracuse, 2012) 13.

²⁸⁹ Alastair Harper, 'A popular history of history' *The Guardian* (26-08-2008).

²⁹⁰ Linda K. Fuller, *Sport, Rhetoric and Gender, Historical Perspectives and Media Representations* (London, 2006) XVI; Hermann W. von der Dunk, *Sprekend over identiteit en geschiedenis* (Utrecht/Amsterdam, 1992) 10.

²⁹¹ George (Nor) Kooijman, 'Mata Hari, de wethouder en de (vele) publiciteit' in: Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarder Gevoel, loat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se er nog* (Leeuwarden, 2007) 93.

²⁹² Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland, 'Hagenaar schonk parfumflesje voor Mata Hari-vitrine' *Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland* (25-07-1987).

constituted the image that the experts on Mata Hari lived in Leeuwarden. Keikes for instance had been rewarded with multiple awards for emphasizing the cultural heritage of Leeuwarden.²⁹³ Another determinant was that conservators of the Fries Museum were asked to write a foreword in foreign contemporary research on the topic of Mata Hari, for example the work of Wheelwright.²⁹⁴ Wagenaar was also of importance in doing the research on Mata Hari, in further research he was often mentioned as the most acclaimed author.

The identity of Mata Hari was thus formed by her childhood in Friesland and her Frisian heritage. Her representation as such had been endorsed by individuals who were able to make an association with the regional identity of Mata Hari.²⁹⁵ She had received the iconic status because these individuals were able to convince the collective, for instance the local council.²⁹⁶ This helped shape the representation of Mata Hari as an icon from Leeuwarden, but researchers on this topic were also seen as experts. The association between Leeuwarden and Mata Hari was also reinforced by the regional newspapers. It can however be questioned if Mata Hari herself had any affinity with Leeuwarden.²⁹⁷

3.3. The regional and national Mata Hari in relation to the canon

Although Mata Hari was internationally regarded as a Dutch icon, the media helped to establish a more direct association with Leeuwarden. One of the reasons why Leeuwarden was interested in becoming the city of Mata Hari, was the international recognition she received. This is also the motivation for her place in the regional canon of Friesland. The canon will be connected to historical heritage in light of identity and the different memory cultures.²⁹⁸

Comparison of representations

The representations of Mata Hari in the media were able to create a set of characteristics, which signified her identity. While the regional representation stressed her role as an insider, the other

²⁹³ Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland, 'VVV-waarderingsbokaal 1973 voor Leeuwarden-kenner Keikes' *Leeuwarder Courant: hoofdblad van Friesland* (05-11-1973).

²⁹⁴ Gerk Koopmans, 'Foreword' via <http://www.dramaonlinelibrary.com/books/the-true-lifefiction-of-mata-hari-iid-136101/do-9781784601850-div-00000004>, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

²⁹⁵ George (Nor) Kooijman, 'Mata Hari, de wethouder en de (vele) publiciteit' in: Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarder Gevoel, loat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se er nog* (Leeuwarden, 2007) 93.

²⁹⁶ Stuart Hall, *Representation, Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (California, 1997).

²⁹⁷ Haarlems Dagblad, 'Een exotische danseres en spionne uit Friesland' *Haarlems Dagblad* (30-01-2016).

²⁹⁸ Maria van der Hoeven, 'Opdrachtbrief', *Entoen.nu, De Canon van Nederland (Deel A)*, Publicatie van de Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon (Den Haag, 2006) 94-98.

three representations depicted her as an outsider. This regional identity was based on a location and not her character traits.²⁹⁹ The representation was thus constructed.

Certain representations are dominant in a specific medium; this means that one medium was able to enforce, or at times create, a certain representation. Other media, however, did help with establishing this. An example is the case study of Friesland, which showed how two individuals with help from a medium, in this case regional newspapers, were able to give a new meaning to Mata Hari.³⁰⁰ With new developments and transitions over time, the memories surrounding the character changed and shed a new light on her identity.³⁰¹ The notion of Mata Hari as a spy for example, has seen multiple transitions. Moreover, at times, certain representations were stressed, while at other times being disregarded. Every medium was a building block for the next. In other words: every medium thus used the previous representation and slightly adjusted it their own purposes or to fit a story. These changes in the representations are remarkable, since it influenced her iconic status in general.

Although every representation stressed a different element of her character, there were also similarities. The first similarity is that every representation was created by individuals and one media source. Another similarity is that over the course of time, representations changed slightly or considerably. These historical transitions have to be taken into account. The characterization by the changing notions and perceptions is of importance, this had an effect in the media.

Problems regarding canons

Not every resident of Leeuwarden thought of Mata Hari as the foremost icon for the city. In 2014, the residents voted Maurits Escher as the best-known individual from Leeuwarden.³⁰² Some judges of this election were of the opinion that Mata Hari was definitely influential, due to her international reputation, while other judges perceived her as a mediocre dancer and an inferior spy.³⁰³ One of the opinions was from Gerk Koopmans, the director of the Fries

²⁹⁹ Jens Eder, Fotis Jannidis and Ralf Schneider, *Characters in Fictional Worlds: Understanding Imaginary Beings in Literature, Film and Other Media* (Berlin, 2011) 1-11.

³⁰⁰ George (Nor) Kooijman, 'Mata Hari, de wethouder en de (vele) publiciteit' in: Gitte Brugman, *Het Leeuwarder Gevoel, loat se maar lekker seure, dan binne se er nog* (Leeuwarden, 2007) 93.

³⁰¹ Frederic Bartlett, 'The War of the Ghosts' in: *Remembering* (Cambridge, 1932).

³⁰² Hans van der Knallen, mostly known as Havank, the writer of detective novels was elected in second place. The third place belonged to politician and poet Piter Jelles Troelstra. Leeuwarder Courant, 'Eerste peiling: Escher is 'grootste Leeuwarder' *Leeuwarder Courant* (09-09-2014).

³⁰³ Ibidem.

Museum. He found her the most overestimated character in Leeuwarden.³⁰⁴ Although she ended up on the fourth place, the local council were still of the opinion that she was the most well-known historical figure from Leeuwarden.

The historical characters who were ranked higher in the ‘competition’, are in contrast to Mata Hari, not mentioned in the canon of Friesland. This means that the residents of Leeuwarden had a different take on the historical overview. It shows that even the regional canon does not serve the entire collective remembrance and therefore cannot be used as a tool to shape cultural identity. There will always be historical figures or moments, which some consider important and left out of the canon.³⁰⁵ This is also due to the fact that the canon is not dynamic; it cannot comprehend the entire history.³⁰⁶ For instance, the canon of Friesland discussed Mata Hari's life events in Friesland, but did not mention what type of impact her espionage activities had on the war.

At the same time, this puts the regional identity into question. If there is not one fixed memory culture, then not only one memory culture can be deemed as true, especially not on historical grounds. When regional identity only combines the locals, landscape, culture and traditions, it means the identity is not fixed on historical heritage.³⁰⁷ Cultural awareness and historical heritage are of course important, but not in the form of a few signifying events or individuals.³⁰⁸ It can enrich the historical memory culture of a region, but does not denote or establish it.

This, in turn, relates to political decision-making. When a canon is established, it tries to produce a form of collective knowledge about ‘our’ heritage. Memories of the past are, however, always performative.³⁰⁹ Memories are thus liable to change and the only part that remains is the social context, which surrounds memories. In order for a canon to be representative for the entire historical heritage, the signifiers should be catered in multiple and

³⁰⁴ Ibidem.

³⁰⁵ Michiel Doorman, *Kiekertak en Klotterbooke. Gedachten over de canon* (Amsterdam, 2004).

³⁰⁶ Maria Grever (eds.) ‘Het behouden huis. Een commentaar op De Canon van Nederland’ in: M. Grever ea. *Controverses rond de Canon* (Assen, 2006) 106-116.

³⁰⁷ Garri Raagmaa, ‘Regional Identity in Regional Development and Planning’ in: *European Planning Studies* 10:1 (2002) 55-76; K. Häuszer, H.P. Frey, ‘Regional Identity in Regional Development and Planning’ In: G. Raagmaa, *European Planning Studies* (Stuttgart, 1987).

³⁰⁸ Michiel Doorman, *Kiekertak en Klotterbooke. Gedachten over de canon* (Amsterdam, 2004).

³⁰⁹ Jan Winter, Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree (ed.), *Performing the Past. Memory, history and the identity in modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2010) 12.

diverse way so that different groups can associate with the one (dynamic) historical overview.³¹⁰ This relies on political decision-making, in which regional canons try to reform certain choices but at the same time enforce the general notion that a canon can represent a collective group.

Mata Hari, an example of national/regional history

As previously stated, due to her media coverage Mata Hari has been assigned a prominent role within regional history. To national history, however, Mata Hari is of little importance, since she does not embody the entire WWI.³¹¹ Mata Hari, in combination with her representation as a regional heroine, made her interesting to include in a canon of Friesland. Her representation which has become international can hence be translated to a more local context.

The memory culture surrounding her childhood in Friesland made her a role model to the province. Nonetheless, this memory culture did not relate to every citizen. Mata Hari might be of more impact to tourists visiting Friesland than the residents itself.³¹² It can thus be concluded, by looking at the case study of Mata Hari, that the canons are only created to help establish an identity towards others. It specifies the knowledge of the Dutch (cultural) history and heritage, for example in the embodiment of a historical figure. Mata Hari cannot be used as an icon for the Netherlands, since it has more world-famous historical icons. Mata Hari has been described in popular historical publications and represented in the media, but so have other Dutch historical figures.

Ultimately, these canons did not help establish or form a Dutch identity although the insinuation was there.³¹³ The windows on the canon are a type of showpiece, that illustrate the relevant historical heritage to visitors. Mata Hari is to a degree interesting for tourists, but is diminutive for the regional identity.

To conclude, historical heritage is personal and canons are inherently misleading, but could serve as a guide for the cultural historical heritage. Canons helped to set an agenda for politicians, they could (and still can) decide which historical heritage was perceived as more influential in comparison to others. This historical heritage ties in with tourism and city marketing.

³¹⁰ Maria van der Hoeven, 'Opdrachtbrief', *Entoen.nu, De Canon van Nederland (Deel A)*, Publicatie van de Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon (Den Haag, 2006) 111-115 (Deel B).

³¹¹ Maria van der Hoeven, 'Opdrachtbrief', in: *Entoen.nu, De Canon van Nederland (Deel A)*, Publicatie van de Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon (Den Haag, 2006) 94-98

³¹² Pieter de Groot, 'Mata Hari-museum: van mythe tot kater' *Leeuwarder Courant* (01-02-2003).

³¹³ Frits Bolkestein, 'Integratie van minderheden moet met lef worden aangepakt' *De Volkskrant* (12-09-1991).

Conclusion

In what way is Margaretha Geertruida MacLeod-Zelle (also known as Mata Hari) represented in research, novels, movies and images in the period 1880-2016 in relation to her position in the national and regional historical canonical overview?

In 2006, the Dutch national canon presented the highlights of the Dutch history, based on the national historical heritage. It was deemed necessary for understanding the country and its culture.³¹⁴ Since not every province could associate their historical heritage to the national historical overview, they started to create their own canons. An example is the regional canon of Friesland. They aimed to give 'local' students more historical background about the area they lived in. These historical overviews related to memory culture. The memory culture is based on representations, but also helps shape representations henceforth. This is noticeable in the case study of Mata Hari.

Mata Hari was a character larger than life. She was a courtesan and one of the first exotic dancers in Europe. After WWI, Mata Hari was accused of being a spy for France as well as Germany and this resulted in her execution. The debate about her counterespionage lingered. Her espionage and execution caused media attention, therefore she became frequently discussed in the media and an elusive character of WWI.

In Dutch media in the period from 1880 till 2016, Mata Hari has been represented in four ways. Firstly, she was represented as a spy in the context of WWI. Secondly, she was represented in the context of her femininity and the role of motherhood. Thirdly, there was the representation of Mata Hari as an exotic dancer. The fourth representation occurred after the 1960s, which was the representation of Mata Hari as a girl from Friesland.

Although the representations overlap, every mode of representation relied on a particular medium; they function as an enforcer of that representation of Mata Hari. An example is that the representation of Mata Hari as an exotic belly dancer was frequently noticeable in visual sources. The representations also changed over time, by emphasizing different elements of her character. For example, she was either presented as a beneficial spy or as a traitor. Her representation also changed due to the historical context and the progression of media over time.

The fourth representation was different, since it was partially created by the city of

³¹⁴ Maria van der Hoeven, 'Opdrachtbrief', *Entoen.nu, De Canon van Nederland (Deel A)*, Publicatie van de Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon (Den Haag, 2006) 94-98.

Leeuwarden. Researchers, with support of the local council and the newspapers from the province, initiated and established her representation in multiple media. This image of Mata Hari focused on her childhood and her connection to Friesland, and was used for city marketing. Furthermore, it probably served as the reason why Mata Hari was mentioned in the canonical historical overview of the province.

Despite her iconic status, both international and nationally, she was not mentioned in the Dutch canon. This was due to political decision-making, on which the canon relied, and the debate on how the Dutch identity was related to the historical heritage. The question remains how somebody can decide on the importance of forms of ‘national’ heritage, and therefore include or exclude them from the Dutch canon. Every group or individual has their own memories and therefore deems other elements in historical heritage as important. When looking at the case study of Mata Hari, this divergence made it difficult to reunite the national and the regional memory culture. In the historical overview of Friesland, she was consigned a position because her connection to Leeuwarden attracted visitors to the city.

In the near future however, when Leeuwarden becomes the cultural capital of Europe in 2018, there will be no activities revolving around the topic of Mata Hari. The local council did not grant subsidies to the initiatives represent Mata Hari. This exemplifies the stratification of historical knowledge, already noticeable within the regional history and accompanying policies. These policies become more apparent in the form of canons.

Canons do not shape the identity and the significance of historical (memory) culture. Every individual creates his own memory culture, for instance with the images they receive in the media. The canon is a tool, based on political decision-making, which gives insights and preferences to certain historical moments and figures. It is difficult to use the canon for education, since it gives an unclear and misleading vision of the national or regional historical heritage. It can, however, serve as a guideline. This could also be said about Mata Hari. The national representations characterized her as an icon and outsider, but her representation in the canonical overview of Friesland emphasized her childhood and defined her as an insider. The Frisian canon therefore gives a different image of Mata Hari.

Further research could be done on the role of icons within the national canon and how they are represented over time. It would be interesting to examine how these icons were selected. The differences and similarities between historical events and figures in all the regional canons in comparison to the national canon, could also be discussed. In this research, the legitimization of historical overviews has briefly been discussed, but no recommendations have been given. Further research could provide recommendations and solutions for how

historical heritage can best be translated into an overview. The case study of Mata Hari was thus the tip of the iceberg in the study on national and regional historical overviews.

Mata Hari has become a character larger than life. During her life, she was versatile (mother, spy, courtesan, dancer) and this reflected in her representations in the Dutch media. In the period from 1880 till 2016, it is noticeable how her regional identity has been reinforced and after 1964, she was represented in the context of a regional icon. This was also used by the local council of Leeuwarden as tool for city marketing, which could be the explanation as to why she was mentioned in the Frisian canonical historical overview, but not in the national one. Her portrayal as a modest girl from the province could be questioned, since it is not in line with her other characterizations. These representations in the Dutch media are what eventually remains of the elusive Mata Hari.

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Cover image top left: via

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mata_Hari#/media/File:Mata_Hari_on_the_day_of_her_arrest_13-2-1917.jpg, accessed on the 1st of August 2016.

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Appendix 1: Question model

Qualitatively analysing articles in newspapers and visual sources

General questions

1. What is the title of the article/image?
2. What was the date of publication?
3. Where can the article/image be found, for instance on what page?
4. Who is the author of the article/made the image?
5. What type of article? (advertisement, background information, review etc.) Or what kind of image (promotional, personal etc.)?
6. Where was it published or shown, a newspaper or magazine for instance?
7. From what country does the newspaper/image come from?
8. Does the newspaper/maker have a political persuasion or a religious identity?
9. What does the image depict or does the article make use of an image?

Representation of Mata Hari

10. What is the scope of the newspaper/magazine/image? Choose: national, regional, city and other. If it is a city, what city and what kind of city?
11. Does the regional identity play a role in the newspaper article/image? If so, with what kinds of words and terminology or is it visualized?
12. What was the assignment behind either writing the article or making the image?
13. Is there made use of a moral tone or is Mata Hari described in terms of morality? If so, with what kind of words?
14. What is described in the article about Mata Hari? If so, with what kind of words?
15. Does the article give information about the reaction of others when seeing Mata Hari, for instance her audience? If so, what kinds of words are used to describe the reaction?
16. Is she described/depicted in either Dutch terms/standards or is it more focused on her 'exoticism'?
17. Does Mata Hari herself (in case of an interview) refer to her life? If so, how is it portrayed in the article/image?
18. Does the photograph support the representation of Mata Hari? If so, how?
19. Remarks