RECONSIDERING FIBICH’S ŠÁRKA: MYTH, GENDER, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NATION

Barbora Gregusova

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RECONSIDERING FIBICH’S ŠÁRKA: MYTH, GENDER, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NATION

by

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DECEMBER 2011

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Music

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July, 2015
DEDICATION

Mé babičce Míle,

jejíž lásku k opeře a českým lidovým tradicem
inspirovala mou práci.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my co-chairs, Dr. Ana Alonso-Minutti and Dr. Richard Hermann, and the committee members—Dr. David Bashwiner, Dr. Judith Mabary, and Dr. Adriana Ramirez de Arellano—for agreeing to serve on my thesis committee. Their diverse areas of expertise covered every perspective within the scope of my work and provided me with an invaluable pool of knowledge from which I was able to draw over the course of my study. Their insights and enjoyable discussions have been instrumental in the strengthening of the quality of my research.

I would especially like to thank Dr. Hermann for his continued guidance and mentorship for most of my undergraduate and graduate study at the University of New Mexico, during which I have acquired the theoretical skills necessary to undertake this investigation. His valuable suggestions and insightful opinions helped me with the development and narrowing down of my research question.

I also wish to extend my sincere gratitude to Dr. Alonso-Minutti for introducing me to frequent assumptions and pre-conceived notions in musicological narratives; thanks to her direction, I was able to anticipate reader’s questions, address them in my work, and critically examine my own arguments. Furthermore, her observant editorial eye aided me in bringing the prose to the highest possible level of polish.

I would like to thank Dr. Bashwiner for offering his expertise in rhetorics and writing and guiding me in the development of a clear, efficient, and persuasive narrative. I am also very thankful for Dr. Mabary’s extensive knowledge of Czech history, music, and culture and her unrelenting support and enthusiasm for my work. I also wish to thank
Dr. Ramirez de Arellano for helping me to get familiarized with feminist scholarship and for the many seminal discussions; she has been a unique source of inspiration for my future academic endeavors.

I am also very grateful for the support of the staff and administrators at the University of New Mexico, the College of Fine Arts, and the Department of Music—particularly Dr. Steven Block, Dr. Regina Carlow, and Dr. Kymberly Pinder—who funded the dissemination of my research at numerous graduate and regional conference venues during its early stages. Furthermore, I wish to thank the personnel at the UNM Libraries, who frequently assisted me in the acquiring of rare literature.
Reconsidering Fibich’s Šárka: Myth, Gender, and the Construction of a Nation

by

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ABSTRACT

This work reassesses the standard consensus of Zdeněk Fibich’s (1850-1900) compositional aesthetic in his most popular opera Šárka (1896). Through the use of an interdisciplinary analysis, I set out a new interpretation. I evaluate the location of the composer’s output on the nationalistic-cosmopolitan continuum through comparisons with Smetana’s and Wagner’s compositional tendencies, respectively. I correlate Fibich’s place in the Czech political and social situations as well as conceptions of folk music with the role and depiction of gender. A feminist reading of the opera in light of Fibich’s musical treatment deemphasizes the composer’s cosmopolitan side and, contrary to the popular view, illustrates his nationalistic aims.
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Introduction

Throughout his career, Zdeněk Fibich (1850-1900) was regarded as a cosmopolitan composer whose compositional techniques were often compared with the works of Richard Wagner (1813-83). These associations—when first ascribed to him by his contemporaries—signified the negative reception of his works by the Czech cultural society and positioned his musical aesthetic in polar opposite to realizations of Czech nationalistic aims at the time. The adverse comparisons of Fibich’s compositions to Wagner’s musical language were a result of the current political situation: the Czech lands were subjugated to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, consequently, all Germanic influences (Austrian and German alike) were considered a hindrance to the national revival of the Czech society. However, the incessant affiliations relating the composer with Wagner’s music did not cease even after the separation of the Czechs from the Empire and the formation of the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918). In current narratives, Czech music scholars still position Fibich within the Wagnerian dialogue—whether he is described as a follower or contrasted with the German composer.¹

My work contributes to the Fibich-Wagner discussion in that it examines the similarities between the compositional techniques employed in operas by the two figures. However, I do not limit my research to considerations of the political and social situations in the Czech lands and Fibich’s place within them and, furthermore, do not primarily focus on the composer’s use of folk elements and nationalistic topics (or lack

¹ For example, a recent comparison between the two composers and their motivic work was constructed by Fiehler, who states, “Fibich’s characteristic motifs are linked to the characters of the drama, but they have a more sophistical role than Wagnerian leitmotifs do.” See Judith Fiehler, “‘I Fear not Wave nor Wind’: Aspects of Fibich’s Journey toward Modern Music,” Musicologica Olomucensia 12 (2010): 107.
thereof) as a gauge for the extent of his patriotic or cosmopolitan tendencies, as seen in the works by Rosa Newmarch and John Tyrrell.² Instead, I argue that Fibich’s location within the nationalistic-cosmopolitan spectrum can be determined using a feminist lens as a mode of analysis. In addition to the study of the seemingly opposing aesthetics that may have shaped the musical language employed in Fibich’s operas, this work therefore also considers the role and depiction of gender.

In this work, the breadth of my research is not encompassed in a survey of Fibich’s career and, therefore, does not treat all of his operatic output; instead I limit my study to the composer’s most famous opera, Šárka (1897), set to the libretto by Anežka Schulzová (1868-1905). The plot of the opera centers on a struggle between the sexes and, consequently, represents an apotheosis for the study of Fibich’s gender portrayal. My interdisciplinary investigation of the work examines gender and feminist perspectives both in regards to the libretto and with respect to representations of the conflicting gendered roles through the musical material. The portrayal of gender in the opera is then compared and correlated with the depictions of gendered roles and Czech national identity within the political, musical, and literary circles at the time of the work’s conception. Using feminist methodology, I propose an alternate reading of the degree of Fibich’s nationalism in the opera.

Šárka is Fibich’s only mature opera that treats a Czech subject matter.³ The opera’s plot revolves around a fourteenth-century Bohemian myth of the “maidens’ war” (a battle of the sexes over conjugal rights), which represents a sequel to the story depicted

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³ The only other Fibich opera, the plot of which is based on a Czech subject, is Blaník (1877), composed to a libretto by Eliška Krásnohorská (1847-1926).
in Bedřich Smetana’s (1824-84) nationalist opera *Libuše* (1881). Fibich’s opera can therefore be understood as the composer’s attempt to counter the negative sentiments of the nineteenth-century Czech audiences against his musical aesthetics and serves as the glorification of nationalistic ideas. Consequently, my work still considers the extent of Fibich’s conforming to the nationalist and cosmopolitan tendencies and trends by simultaneously investigating his associations with Wagner and the implications of the rising nationalist ideologies and their representations in the operas of the Czech nation (specifically, in Smetana’s *Libuše*).

In Chapter 1, I explore the cultural and historical background of nineteenth-century opera in European musical centers. I specifically focus on the German-speaking regions and their influence on the music-making of other surrounding nations. I briefly discuss the rise of the Wagnerian dramatic ideology and its influence on the nationalistic tendencies in nineteenth-century Bohemia, particularly after the establishment of the Czech National Theatre (1881).  

Using primary and secondary sources by Tyrrell, Otakar Hostinský and Schulzová, I discuss Fibich and his place in Czech music, as well as his background, upbringing and influences. In my narrative of Fibich’s backdrop, I focus specifically on his position within the nationalistic-cosmopolitan dispute and the way in which it influenced the status of his works within Czech society. Finally, I conclude by providing information about the opera *Šárka* and suggest reasons for Fibich’s turn to a nationalistic plot by exploring its context within the composer’s output.

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In Chapter 2, I examine the origin of the legend that the plot of Šárka is based upon. I trace the various editions chronologically, starting with the first mention of the “maidens’ war” by Cosmas of Prague at the beginning of the thirteenth century and conclude with Schulzová’s libretto written for Fibich’s opera. In my exploration of the legend through history, I focus specifically on any alterations to the preceding versions of the story and provide notes that contextualize these modifications within the various changes in aesthetics and the cultural and social situation at the time of each version’s creation.⁶

Furthermore, I observe the transformations of Šárka’s character through the modified stories and draw connections between gender portrayal and the evolution of Czech nationalism. In my explorations of gender-national identity portrayal in the legend, I principally follow a post-colonial frame of analysis and contrast the Czech matriarchal construction of a nation—as presented in the first version of the story and echoed during the particular time of Šárka’s conception—against the Western concept of nationhood rooted in traditional patriarchy, as suggested by the social contract theorists of the Enlightenment.⁷

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Fibich’s opera is based upon—within the Czech literary output, I contextualize the nationalistic traditions of gender representation and, consequently, develop a standard against which I later compare the composer’s portrayal of the gendered sides. Furthermore, my analysis elucidates the differences between the traditional Western construction of a nation and that of the Czech lands—considering its contemporary understanding at the time of the origin of the “maidens’ war” legend. As a result, this chapter simultaneously defines the nationalistic and cosmopolitan (foreign or the ‘other’) bounds—the diametrically opposed sides of the spectrum—within which Fibich’s representations of a nation and gender may be situated in the opera.

Chapter 3 centers upon the topic of gender, its essential role in the plot of the opera and its portrayal through harmonic and metric structures. I begin by discussing Fibich’s cosmopolitan (Wagner) and nationalistic (Schulzová) influences on gender representation in the opera. Throughout history, many composers sought control over the libretto in addition to music; conversely, in this chapter I argue that Schulzová was an equal partner in her collaboration with Fibich and, furthermore, was even encouraged by the composer to take a more dominant role in the creative process. In my argument, I predominantly refer to primary and secondary sources by Fibich, Zdeněk Nejedlý and Schulzová.8 After establishing her vital part in the production of Šárka, I return to the plot of the opera and discuss specific choices made by Schulzová in her interpretation of the medieval Bohemian legend and hypothesize about the possible motives behind her creative decisions.

In addition to Schulzová’s input in the representation of the sexes in the plot of the opera, I study the portrayal of gender through musical content. I establish a correlation between changes within the harmonic language and meter and the dramatic situation contained within the libretto. In my analysis, the feminist aspects of the gender topic within nineteenth-century Czech society are primarily informed by the works of Wilma Iggers and Petra Hanáková. Gender representation via metric structures is studied through an extension of Daphne Leong’s adaptation of Richard Cohn’s meter theory. The depiction of gender is further explored through the employed harmonic language. Traditional tonal vocabulary is examined using the system of Stufentheorie as appropriated by Steven Laitz in *The Complete Musician*. In areas where traditional tonal harmonic analysis (as defined by Laitz) proves to be insufficient, I use transformational analysis to examine parsimonious voice-leading, triadic transformations with high frequency of use and pc-spaces that are mapped on Tonnetz, as modeled by Cohn. This methodology is employed due to the connection of the first angled format of a Tonnetz

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(shown in Fig. 1)—proposed in 1879 by Hostinský— with the composer.\(^\text{13}\) Due to the close friendship and collaboration between Fibich and Hostinský and their joined admiration for the works of Wagner, it is unclear who discovered and, subsequently, developed the theoretical framework contained in Hostinský’s treatise; however, it is unquestionable that—as a result of their frequent interaction—the composer was aware of this alternate mode of organization of harmonic structures and, consequently, the excerpts in the opera that do not abide by the rules of traditional tonality are analyzed using Cohn’s adaptation of this methodology.

Figure 1. Hostinský’s *Tonnetz* (*Tonschema*).

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\(^{13}\) Otakar Hostinský, *Die Lehre von den musikalischen Klägen: Ein Beitrag zur aesthetischen Begründung der Harmonielehre* (Prague: H. Dominicus, 1879), 67. Also see Cohn, *Audacious Euphony*, 113. Nora Engebretsen describes Hostinský’s *Tonnetz* as a “reconfigured version of Oettingen’s Table.” She states, “Hostinský’s *Tonschema* . . . inverts Oettingen’s Table about its central (perfect-fifth) axis and then displaces the Table’s vertical (major-third) axes, transforming them into diagonals running from lower left to upper right—which in turn brings forward another set of diagonal axes, generated by minor third, running from the upper left to lower right. This reorganization reflects the increased significance that Hostinský attributes to minor third relations.” See Nora A. Engebretsen, “The Chaos of Possibilities: Combinatorial Group Theory in Nineteenth-Century German Harmony Treatises” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2002), 181-85. Also see Arthur von Oettingen, *Harmoniesystem in duraler Entwicklung: Studien zur Theorie der Musik* (Dorpat: Gläser, 1866).
Finally, I present the conclusions derived from my analysis, which differ from the general consensus of surveyed literature that depicts Fibich in a cosmopolitan light. Fibich’s closest supporters, such as Hostinský and Schulzová, advocated for the composer’s nationalistic aesthetics; however, their viewpoint differs from the unbiased narratives on his compositional style that have been published to date.\textsuperscript{14} For example, in her discussion of Fibich, Newmarch labels the composer as “by far the least consciously influenced by national impulses and patriotic inspiration” by considering his educational background, Germanic tendencies and the lack of Czech, folk-like elements.\textsuperscript{15} Fibich’s cosmopolitan compositional techniques are also summarized in Patrick Devine’s article titled “The Fin-de-Siècle Symphonies of Zdeněk Fibich: Parallels and Contrasts with Contemporary Austro-German Models.”\textsuperscript{16} Furthermore, Tyrrell proposes Fibich’s mistreatment of Czech elements in Šárka and suggests that his use of the material “quite overshadows the nationalist trappings of the original myth.”\textsuperscript{17} If we only consider the musical language part of Fibich’s aesthetic, this methodology would emphasize the composer’s cosmopolitan side; conversely, the results from my analysis indicate that—contrary to the popular view—the same techniques may be understood as an illustration of nationalistic aims, when examined in correlation with the depiction of gender within Czech society.

\textsuperscript{14} The literature reviewed for my research included all English and the available Czech sources. While other narratives that were not examined for the purposes of this work may present Fibich as a nationalistic composer, it is highly unlikely that they would represent the majority of opinion.

\textsuperscript{15} Newmarch, 104.


\textsuperscript{17} Tyrrell, 143.
Chapter 1  The Cultural and Social Context of Zdeněk Fibich as an Austro-German/Bohemian Composer

The multicultural and primarily German-speaking educational background of later nineteenth-century Bohemian composer Zdeněk Fibich shaped his creative output. Brought about by the rise of nationalistic ideals in the Bohemian regions, a backlash towards German culture resulted in the questioning of Fibich’s artistic tendencies and credentials, which ultimately led to an attenuation of his stature when compared with his Bohemian contemporaries.

An ongoing debate exists concerning the extent to which Fibich may or may not have incorporated nationalistic ideals into the scope of his work, and whether the plots he chose for his operas were merely a vehicle for further development of his Wagnerian influences. The dispute concerning Fibich’s nationalist-Wagnerian dichotomy (in which nationalistic elements are represented by the Old Bohemian parties and Wagnerian elements by the Young Czech parties, respectively) extends across his entire body of work, not excluding his most successful opera, Šárka (1897). ¹ In order to contextualize Fibich’s place in nineteenth-century Czech cultural society and to further examine Šárka within the composer’s body of work, I first present a brief discussion of the historical situation in the Czech lands leading up to the National Revival period and its impact on Fibich’s career.²

¹ While disputes between the nationalists and the Wagnerians (and their subsequent impact on Czech musical life) concern a much larger number of Czech composers than addressed here, the present study is limited to the discussion of nationalist-Wagnerian disputes in relation to Zdeněk Fibich and, to some extent, Bedřich Smetana (1824-84). The nature of the nationalist-Wagnerian dichotomy, followed by my critique of it, is discussed in greater detail below.

² The present work discusses the history and events that took place in the regions of the present-day Czech Republic. Since my work focuses primarily on events that occurred in the regions of the Bohemian Kingdom leading up to the late nineteenth century and prior to the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic.
Historical context of nineteenth-century Bohemia: National Revival as a determinant of a romantic cultural aesthetic

Beginning in 1526, the start of the Habsburg reign over the Czech lands initiated a progressive change towards Czech loss of independence. The conflict escalated for nearly a hundred years and resulted in the Battle of the White Mountain. The defeat of the Czechs at the White Mountain in 1620 meant the end of their power to elect their own ruler, and, consequently, the end of their political, religious, social, and to a large extent, cultural freedom. Immediately following their victory, the Habsburg monarchy sought to minimize the differences between the Czechs and the Austrians in an attempt to unify the Habsburg Empire. They initiated a forced reconversion of the Czechs to the Catholic faith and appointed the Jesuits as administrators of Prague University. The second part of the ‘Germanization’ of the Czechs involved their language. In 1780 Czech was abolished in grammar schools, and in 1784 German became the administrative language of the empire. This change brought a necessary modification of the social situation of the Czechs, who were now forced to speak German at home in order to better their offspring’s social chances later in life. The Habsburg strategy was successful. As John Tyrrell observes, “by the middle of the nineteenth century the Czech middle class was almost completely Germanized. German language and habits were accepted as those of a superior society, with Czech increasingly regarded as the primitive language of peasants and servants.”

(1918), I will refer to the inhabitants that occupied the lands in question interchangeably as Bohemians and Czechs. Similarly, my use of the term German also encompasses Austria.

3 The White Mountain (Bílá Hora) is located near Prague in the present-day Czech Republic.

Beginning in the early 1770s, the Czechs started to mobilize their efforts in expressing their newly attained nationalistic ambitions. In order to clearly articulate their proposed process of National Revival, they were faced with defining the necessary components of a nation. Since the Czech language survived only thanks to the secret readings of Bible translations in this tongue (i.e., the *Kralice Bible*), and its practice was limited to the rural parts of the Czech lands, the problem of maintaining Czech in both oral and written expression appeared to be more acute than the religion query would indicate. Moving from class and language distinctions (as at the time, the lower class spoke Czech, while the middle to upper class appropriated German as their language) to differences based on race and ethnicity, “the notion of geopolitical identity was now transformed into a nationalist ideology based on racial as well as linguistic differences.”

Josef Jungmann (1773-1847), poet, linguist, and a leading figure of the Czech National Revival, defined národnost (nationality or nation) in two parts: a/the nation’s *history and language* or written history and literature, the artifacts of national life. Consequently, according to Jungmann’s description of národnost, the act of defining and defending the Czech independent literary traditions represented the preserving of the language; subsequently, the development of a linguistic cultivation provided a nurturing atmosphere for the nation.

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5 In the present study, I understand “nation” following Ernest Gellner’s definition, in which nation is defined by two primary characteristics: “[1)] Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating. . . . [2)] Two men are of the same nation only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. . . . Nations are the artefacts of men’s convictions and loyalties and solidarities.” See Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 7.
6 Published in 1579-94, the *Bible králická (Kralice Bible)* was the first complete translation of the Bible from the original languages into Czech. See Mikuláš Albert z Kamenka, Jan Eneás, and Jan Blahoslav, *Biblj české* (Kralice: Zacharias Solín, 1579).
The change in literary values, which now became a vital part of the development of the modern Czech national identity, was influenced largely by Voltaire’s “Essay on Epic Poetry.” According to Voltaire’s treatment of “classical literature as a separate national tradition,” Czech literature, in and of itself, represented the primary evidence for the historical existence of Czech national identity. According to David Cooper, Voltaire argued against forming rules for the European epic based on the epic of a nation with different customs, language, religion, and worldview. *Literary history then came to be assimilated to larger histories of civilization, of cultures or nations* (italics in the original). Literature also became the source material for these larger histories, and national historical identity could be read out of medieval literary monuments.\(^9\)

Prior to their submission to the Habsburg Empire, the Czechs could look to centuries of independence from which “the images of historical rulers and the glory of the nation, of civilization with a sophisticated literature stretching back into the distant past” reassured them of the Czech national identity.\(^11\) In the words of Alfred Thomas,

> the Czech writers of the first two phases of the National Revival (1775-1800 and 1800-30) tended to look back to the medieval and early-modern [Renaissance] periods for their inspiration and appeared to establish a congenial compromise between their personal and political selves.\(^12\)

Since for Jungmann, language was the carrier of all cultural values and the sole sign of national identity, nationalists determined that it was essential to refine the Czech language through cultural, scientific, and literary pursuits.\(^13\) The importance of refined

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\(^11\) Thomas, 3.

\(^12\) Thomas, 19.

\(^13\) For more information on the Cultural Revival, see Brian S. Locke, *Opera and Ideology in Prague* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 17.
cultural values, and subsequently, of the Czech language, stemmed from inevitable competition between German and Czech cultures in the struggle of the latter for autonomy. For Jungmann, comparable cultural values and literary efforts were the only solution, in which the middle-class Czechs would give up what had been deemed the superior German (as well as the German oppressive culture) and support his nationalistic ideals. Along with Josef Dobrovský (1753-1829) and František Palacký (1798-1876), Jungmann developed a series of steps to model and later surpass German literary achievements.

In addition to looking to past historical events for a source of inspiration, Czechs began to mimic German writers in the 1830s by translating the folkloric discourse. Germans saw translation as an essential cultural task. Antoine Berman concludes that they viewed their drive to translate, as well as the manifold receptivity of translations to other cultures, as the glory of German culture.\(^\text{14}\) In order to compete with the German process of translation “from non-literature into literature (from oral expression to written forms)” — which for the German writers represented a source of new forms, themes, and content — the Czechs added the explicit translation of German written accounts in their attempts to give their literature the values carried by the foreign folk forms.\(^\text{15}\)

In order to further bolster their national identity, the Czech intellectuals made many literary attempts to translate or transfer Greek prosody into Czech. According to their line of thinking, translations of the classics into Czech based on the properties of the Czech language would be a sign of inheritance of the Greek culture, and consequently, of cultural leadership. In addition, Dobrovský attempted to define Czech prosody and


\(^\text{15}\) Cooper, 92.
grammar in his *Bohemian Prosody (Literární a prozodická bohemika)*. His definition was based on the natural accential meter of the trochaic rhythm (rather than the number of syllables) in Old Czech poetry. In this way, even the original Czech poetry would be based on the ideal model of classical verse. Such defining of the relationship between the ancient Greek tradition and their national language and literature was designed to establish Czech literature as a viable body in its own right and consequently, to demonstrate the Czech language’s ability to compete with German.

Chronologically, the next attempt at refining Czech literary sources, notably the folk song, was directed toward the lower classes. Because classical literature did not consider the production of works for the masses—that is, the less educated part of the nation—the writers’ adoption of the high literature model necessitated enrichment by the Czech folklore tradition. This led to Jungmann’s alteration of the definition of *národnost*, which became embodied in customs, traditions, and other cultural artifacts in a given language of use. In Cooper’s paraphrases of Ján Kollár’s (1793-1852) discussion of folklore,

the folk songs are artifacts of language, and as such, they are the keys to the sanctuary of *národnost*. Language remains the primary sign of nationality. But the folk songs are more than just language; they are an aesthetic use of language and so are artifacts that reflect especially on the aesthetic particularity of the Slavic nation.

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16 Thomas, 15.
17 Cooper, 228-29. Cooper addresses the breach between the mass and high literature, which can be witnessed “in the Czech concerns in the 1820s with the problem of an elite literature that does not address the needs of common life. . . . [The] transformation of the imagined relationship between author and audience [became] conditioned by the new, national basis of literary values. The classicist understanding of literary value did not consider the mass market and its needs and so the separate markets and audiences for mass literature and high literature were not a problem. . . . A national literature, then, projects a unified literary marketplace and presumes that works can address that national collective en masse. Any rift between mass literature and high literature is a wound in the national body that must be healed.”
18 Ibid., 230. Ján Kollár was a writer (mainly a poet) and the main ideologist of Pan-Slavism. In his work *Slávy dcera* (1824), Kollár works out the conception of Slavic reciprocity by expressing his feelings to a
The move from the first to the second, and finally, to the third period of the National Revival (1830-48) sees a progressive change from the general themes towards the more particular topics of the Czech language (see Table 1 for an overview of the three phases). The political context—beginning with the central role that literary aesthetics plays in the articulation of the national movement’s ideology—later shapes the debate on literary values and alters the terms of discussion, and by the third period of the National Revival, “the adjustment of the national ideology [considers] the actual needs and values of the people.” For example, an important ideological change was made by articulating a new constellation of values, different from the Greek language and literature aesthetic, in order to account for other dialects/languages within the Czech-language cultural sphere. In this sense, the nation is now built on the model of an individual human (with his/her own individuality, such as dialect differentiation), with an identity that is projected as unitary.

woman. In the course of the work, his love for her transforms into his love for his homeland. The homeland/nation-woman symbolism will be explored further in later chapters.

I recognize that the dates and descriptions of the respective periods of the Czech National Revival have not been standardized in the current scholarship. While the narrative follows the schema proposed by Thomas, Table 1 also presents interpretations by Miroslav Hroch and Elisabeth Bakke to reflect the problematics and ambiguities in the labeling of the individual phases. In spite of the differences, all presented readings suggest three distinct periods that could be generalized chronologically to (1) second half of the eighteenth century, (2) first half of the nineteenth century, and (3) mid- to second half of the nineteenth century, respectively. Naturally, such generalizations result in a simplification and reduction of a rather complex political and social program into convenient divisions of the two centuries. Instead, I believe that the discrepancies of the dates among the individual authors stem from the varying emphases of their advocates and may serve as clues for the differing rates of development within several cultural and intellectual spheres (such as the political, literary, or music circles). For a thorough description of the interpretations that are opposing to the one by Thomas (discussed in this chapter), see Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 44-45; Elisabeth Bakke, “Doomed to Failure?: The Czechoslovak Nation Project and the Slovak Autonomist Reaction (1918 – 38),” (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 1998), 122-27.

Cooper, 209.
Table 1. Three phases of the Czech National Revival according to Thomas, Hroch, and Bakke.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Phases and their labeling (chronologically from left to right)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Thomas</td>
<td>I 1775-1800 II 1800-30 III 1830-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miroslav Hroch</td>
<td>A second half of 18th c. B Up to 1840s C 1848-60s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elisabeth Bakke</td>
<td>Scholarly 1770-90 Agitation 1810-20 Mass 1848-61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the “transition from ‘nationality’ to ‘personality’” in the first half of the nineteenth century—as described by Robert Pynsent—the third phase of the National Revival further defined Czech identity based on ethnic and racial differences between the Czechs and the Germans.21 Along these lines, Palacký in his *Dějiny národu českého* (History of the Czech People, 1848) determined the modern historical perception of relations between these two nations. As a consequence, the Czechs began to undermine the German cultural influences and, instead, highly emphasize the importance of French literary works as their cultural inspiration.22

As part of the National Revival, the theater-going Czech citizens in Prague began their attempts to establish a Czech theater (rather than be subject to the rules and restrictions of the German-run National Theater, later Estates Theater; hereafter German Theater), which was meant to perform operas in Czech instead of German.23 After the

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21 This distinction can be first observed in the revolutionary year of 1848. For more information see Robert B. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality* (New York: Central European University Press, 1994).

22 Thomas states, “at about the same time, Božena Němcová [1820-62, one of the most prominent Czech literary figures of this period] attempted to represent Czech folkloric themes and motifs in terms of the new democratic ideals emanating from France, including feminism.” See Thomas, 15.

23 The Estates Theater, or the Royal Theater of the Estates (Královské stavovské divadlo) was acquired in 1789, when Count Nostitz sold his father’s Nostitz Theater to the Bohemian Estates. In 1888 the Neue Deutsches Theater (the German theater, now known as Smetana theater) replaced the Estates Theater with a
1848 Revolution, Palacký was appointed chairman of the Committee of the Establishment of the Czech National Theater, and, starting in 1850, the Committee began to raise funds for the new theater’s construction. In order to continue the arts’ support of the nationalistic movement during the course of the construction, the Czechs established the Prozatímní divadlo (Provisional Theater) in 1862. The Provisional Theater was designed to house three companies—drama, opera, and ballet—and it presented works three to four times a week, with one evening per week devoted to opera (as opposed to the Estates Theater, which, starting in 1861, allowed approximately three performances of opera in Czech per month). By 1864, the number of opera performances at the Provisional Theater was increased to two to three performances a week.\(^{24}\)

Since the whole purpose of a specifically Czech theater was to be different from the German theater in Prague, where German repertory provided a central focus, operas in German were poorly represented at the Provisional Theater.\(^ {25}\) According to Tyrrell, “apart from Weber’s Der Freischütz, German operas were largely confined to the lighter ones.”\(^ {26}\) Thanks to “Mozart’s association with the city, notably with the commissioning

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\(^{24}\) For more information on the Provisional Theater, see Tyrrell, 24-38.

\(^{25}\) For the purposes of this work, only tendencies in German and Czech repertory will be considered. Performances of works by composers of other nationalities, such as Italian and French, are not pertinent, as they are beyond the scope of this research. For more information regarding Italian and French repertory tendencies at the Provisional Theater, see Tyrrell, 35-37 and 39-40.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., 36. While the Provisional Theater only sporadically performed German operas with a serious premise, and never the works by Wagner, Jan Smaczny suggests that the first performance of Wagner’s music in the Czech lands on 8 February 1863 in the hall on Žofin island (Prague) featured an orchestra comprised of instrumentalists from the German Theater and the Prague Conservatory, as well as the Provisional Theater, and was directed by Wagner himself (according to the Prague Concert Life 1850-1881 online database, the event was titled “Concert given by Richard Wagner”). “The program comprised the Faust Overture, the entrance of the Mastersingers (Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg, Act I, scene 3), Pogner’s address (Meistersinger von Nürnberg, Act I, scene 3), the prelude to Die Meistersinger, the prelude to Tristan und Isolde, ‘Winterstürme’ (Die Walküre, Act 1), overture to Tannhäuser.” See Jan Smaczny, “‘The Great Little Man’: Dvořák and Wagner,” in Wagner in Russia, Poland and the Czech
and premiere of *Don Giovanni* on 29 October 1787,” Mozart did not suffer from the same anti-German language repertory tendency.27 Tyrrell further concurs that “Prague was proud of its connection with Mozart, and the frequent performances at the Provisional Theater of *Figaro, Don Giovanni* and *Die Zauberflöte* were the continuation of the performance history in Czech [as opposed to in German] that stretched back, in the case of *Die Zauberflöte*, to 1794.”28

The cultural gap between the Czechs and the Germans, evident from the repertory choices made by officials of the Provisional Theater, continued to widen with the preparation for the National Theater’s grand opening. In 1880, Bohemian intelligentsia reacted against the symbolist movement in literature, which advocated cosmopolitanism.29 The social upheaval was resolved by the splitting of Prague University into two separate institutions based on language: German and Czech. Further support of the Czech cultural autonomy was given by a Bohemian nobleman, Count Harrach, who “announced a competition for the composition of a new Czech national opera,” which would be premiered at the opening of the National Theater.30 As a result of the competition and its connection with the celebrated upcoming event of the National

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27 Smaczny, 93.
28 Tyrrell, 36. Similarly to the literary field, the music discourse in late eighteenth-century Bohemia was greatly influenced by the German cultural traditions, especially by Mozart. The abolition of religious orders by Josef II in 1773, including the expulsion from the empire of the Jesuits, removed a vital source of musical education. After the premiere of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* in 1787, the inadequate musical training of composers and performers alike contributed to the lack of inspiration in Czech composers, who “seemed locked into pallid imitations of Mozart’s works for decades after his death.” See Smaczny, 93.
29 This period was dominated by groundbreaking translations of important literary works, such as Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and Chateaubriand’s *Atala*, both done by Josef Jungmann. Other prominent writers of this period included Ján Kollár and Karel Hynek Mácha (1810-36), whose style characteristics resembled those of German and Polish romanticism.
30 Locke, 18. The changed political and cultural situation, the promise of an upcoming National Theater, and the announcement of the national opera composition competition in 1861 were all reasons for Bedřich Smetana’s return to Prague from Göteborg, Sweden, where he resided from 1856-62.
Revival, the opening of the National Theater, “opera became the chief vehicle of Czech cultural nationalism.” Consequently, “if music and in particular opera provided the most public focus of Czech cultural aspirations, they also formed the battleground for rival interpretations of these aspirations and how best they should be realized in music.”

The official opening of the Czech National Theater took place on 11 June 1881, and in part, the celebration was further amplified by the marriage of Crown Prince Rudolph, which occurred on the same day. As a part of the celebration, the winning composition, Bedřich Smetana’s (1824-84) patriotic opera Libuše, was premiered. While the opening of the theater with a nationalistic opera was designed to emphasize the importance of patriotic and nationalist mindset and, in return, was meant to further estrange German cultural influence for the Bohemian public, the premiere of Libuše received both positive and negative responses.

Libuše’s most unfavorable critic was František Pivoda (1824-93). After Smetana’s premiere of his third opera Dalibor in 1868, Pivoda identified Smetana as “the composer . . . attempting to Germanify Czech music, [and] thereby threatening its moral ascendancy and endangering its very existence.” In his critique, Pivoda suggested that Smetana’s main character should be renamed “Dalibor Wagner,” due to Smetana’s use of

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31 Tyrrell, 8-9. The repertory trends show that “throughout the Provisional Theater period . . . Czech operas made up less than 25% of all opera performances,” but by the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century (1908), the number of performances in Prague was brought up to nearly a half. In comparison, the repertory performed at the Prague National Theater in 1908 consisted of only nine German operas, which made up 18.75% of all operatic performances produced that year. Ibid., 51-53.

32 Ibid., 9-10. Tyrrell further elaborates on the nature of the nationalist battles: “Czech writers on music, much more than the composers, threw themselves into the fray with a ferocity and partisanship that often startles the outsider. That one composer is preferred to another is natural, but among the Czechs the choice was seldom a matter of mere personal taste or artistic excellence but [as we shall see] rather one of political alignment. Because of the ideological burden that nationalist opera was forced to bear in nineteenth-century Bohemia, attitudes towards individual composers became charged with extramusical significance.”

33 After decades of waiting for its celebrated opening, the National Theater burned down shortly after (on 12 August of the same year) and did not reopen until 18 November 1883. For more information, see Tyrrell, 41-43.

34 Miloš Jůzl, Otakar Hostinský (Prague: Melantrich, 1980), 42.
thematic transformation and the occasional adopting of Wagnerian harmony. The Pivoda-Smetana conflict did not cease even after the opening of the National Theater.

According to Locke,

> For Pivoda, pan-Slavism in music was best embodied through operas that were essentially strings of folkloric quotations in a Singspiel setting. . . . Smetana, meanwhile, rejected the model, theorizing instead that the role of national opera should be to idealize folksongs through high art, rather than to quote them directly. Such idealism would free the composer to follow the most progressive musical trends in Europe without being stifled by local, parochial traditions.

Avoiding direct quotations of folk sources allowed Smetana to blend them more seamlessly with his prevailing Wagnerian language. In opposition to Smetana’s nationalistic opera *Libuše* and his Wagnerian aesthetic stance, Pivoda published a book *O hudbě Wagnerově* (About Wagner’s Music, 1881), which initiated a thread of anti-Wagnerism in the Czech lands.

However, accusations of Wagnerism as a danger to the national agenda did not succeed in eliminating all positive comments about the premiere of Smetana’s *Libuše*. Instead, a group of Wagner enthusiasts stood up to Pivoda’s complaints and became the very core of Smetana’s and Wagner’s supporters through the first half of the twentieth century. For example, Otakar Hostinský (1847-1910) in an article “Smetanova ‘Libuše’” (Smetana’s *Libuše*) stated that *Libuše* was inspired by Wagner and that “being Wagnerian . . . does not alienate any composer from the national art.”

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35 Locke, 23.
36 Ibid.
37 While Wagner’s 1863 concert on Žofín island in Prague (discussed in fn. 26 above) was received with clear signs of enthusiasm, “his operas were not performed in Czech in the Provisional Theater and only appeared in the Czech National Theater as late as 1885 with a production of Lohengrin.” See Smaczny, 106. Czech productions of Tannhäuser and Die Meistersinger followed in 1891 and 1894, respectively. For more information on performances of Wagner’s music in the Czech lands in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Tyrrell, 48-49.
attempted to dissolve the argument by providing an important distinction in the reception of Wagner in his treatise *Wagnerianismus a česká národní opera* (*Wagnerianism* and *Czech National Opera*) in 1870.\(^{39}\) According to Hostinský, Wagner could be divided into two artists: Wagner the theorist and reformer, and Wagner the musician and poet.\(^{40}\) Based on this distinction, Smetana could fall into one of the categories, and still be able to create a nationalistic work: in words of Emanuel Chvála (1851-1924), Smetana was a “healthy Wagnerian” in that he used Wagner only as an ideal in his setting of words to music.\(^{41}\) Lastly, Hynek Palla (1837-96) believed that what Wagner gained from his reform of German opera, Czech opera could gain also, but—instead—“on the basis of artistic, not German principles.”\(^{42}\)

Therefore, the outcome of this important event in Czech history saw positive comparisons between Smetana’s and Wagner’s compositional technique on one hand, and a further isolation of the Bohemian cultural tradition from German values on the other. The split between the pro-Wagnerians (the Young Czech parties, who advocated for Smetana’s nationalistic persona) and the anti-Wagnerians (the Old Czech parties, who challenged Smetana’s nationalistic aims through his association with Wagner) dictated the destiny for late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Czech composers. Prague’s reception of Smetana in the 1870s was directly tied into the compositional success of today’s prominent Czech figures, such as Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904); conversely, as

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\(^{41}\) Emanuel Chvála, “Otevření Národního divadla” (The Opening of the National Theater), *Dalibor* 3, no. 18 (1881): 140.

we shall see in the following section, it also provided a source of constant disappointment and failure for others, such as Zdeněk Fibich.43

Zdeněk Fibich as a nineteenth-century Czech(less?) composer44

Fibich was born in the rural surroundings of central Bohemia just two years after the revolutionary year of 1848.45 His lifetime, therefore, overlapped with the Czech society’s most aggressive efforts for emancipation. In spite of the Czechs’ consistent attempts for a clear separation from the German culture, Fibich began his musical training beyond the borders of the Czech lands early on thanks to his mother’s Viennese background. At the age of nine, he spent two years at a German-speaking gymnasium in Vienna, after which he returned to Prague and continued his studies at a Czech institution, Malostranské gymnázium (the Lesser Quarter Gymnasium).46

In 1865 Fibich continued his musical training at the Leipzig Conservatory where his primary studies included piano, theory, and composition. Fibich’s piano studies were completed under the direction of Bohemian composer and piano virtuoso Ignaz

43 Locke, 20-21.
44 In an article titled “In Search of Czechness in Music,” Michael Beckerman defines “Czechness” in the musical content through a set of musical characteristics and parameters (including carrying over of the historical topics legacy), which add to an indigenous Czech sound. As we shall see, Fibich’s music was severely critiqued mainly due to his openness to new techniques and to the use of complex harmonic language, and other Wagnerian ideals (i.e., leitmotifs), as well as the lack of “Czechness” in his style. As a result of few patriotic characteristics in his music, as defined by the Czech National Revivalists at the time, Fibich was perceived as less of a nationalist, or less Czech than his contemporaries. In the present study, the term “Czech(less)” is designed by the author here to represent a figure, who is lacking “Czechness” or is less Czech according to the society’s standards. The extent of “Czechness” in Fibich’s music will be explored in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 3. For a detailed definition of “Czechness”, see Michael Beckerman, “In Search of Czechness in Music,” 19th-Century Music 10, no.1 (1986): 61-73.
45 My discussion of Fibich’s biographical information is based on a variety of published sources, primarily Otakar Hostinský, Vzpomínky na Fibich a (Prague: Mojmír Urbánek, 1909) and Anežka Schulzová, Zdenko Fibich: Hrstka upomínek a intimních rysů (Prague: Orbis, 1950).
Moscheles (1794-1870), whose well-known students included Felix Mendelssohn (1809-47) and Edward Dannreuther (1844-1905). Fibich’s study of harmony was informed by the work of Leipzig pedagogue Ernst Friedrich Richter (1808-79), whose *Manual of Harmony* textbook (written for the Leipzig Conservatory) belonged to the most commonly used manuals on music even after the turn of the century.\(^{47}\) Due to his belief that the study of polyphony was an essential foundation for his art of composition, Fibich sought private counterpoint instruction from Salomon Jadassohn (1831-1902) as a supplement to his studies at the Leipzig Conservatory.\(^{48}\) During his time in Leipzig, Fibich became familiar with the music of German romantics, and specifically with the works of Schumann.\(^{49}\) Schumann quickly became one of Fibich’s early compositional influences. According to Hostinský, traces of Schumann’s work can be found throughout Fibich’s output: namely, in his attempts for improvement of the melodrama genre by turning it into a higher dramatic art form, and through his vast collection of piano miniatures, most of them created during the last few years of his life.\(^{50}\)

In 1868 Fibich made a brief visit to Paris, where he acted mostly as a piano virtuoso. Hostinský noted that while the reputation of Fibich’s piano skills spread through the Paris aristocracy very quickly, their devotion to the music of Bach bored the young

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\(^{49}\) According to the recollections of Schulzová, Fibich’s first contact with the music of Schumann occurred during his childhood years, when a young forestry official would come to the Fibich family house to practice works of Mozart, Beethoven, and Schumann. Schulzová, 42. Other influences from this period included Bach and Smetana.

\(^{50}\) Hostinský, *Vzpomínky na Fibicha*, 30.
While he was not lacking in work opportunities, he became very quickly disappointed in the conservative music aesthetics in Paris at the time. Fibich witnessed Rossini’s funeral (in September 1868), which received the grandest of celebrations, while their very own nineteenth-century composer Berlioz was not recognized until his death in 1869. During this time, Fibich’s opera idols included Gluck, Mozart, Weber, and Wagner. Since he did not find in Parisian society the kind of encouragement he had expected, he chose to return to Prague, a city that, he believed, cultivated much more favorable conditions for his artistic development. Before returning to Prague, Fibich completed his education in Mannheim (1869-70). In addition to perfecting his compositional techniques and his command of polyphony, Fibich gained access to all rehearsals of his mentor and opera conductor Vincenz Lachner (1811-93) and, consequently, was exposed to a wide variety of repertoire that aided in his study of orchestral and dramatic music. Moreover, Lachner opened Fibich’s eyes to cosmopolitan compositional practices, including those of Wagner and Liszt.

By the time of his return to Bohemia in 1871, Fibich had acquired (in a very short amount of time) considerable academic and technical training and experience, which is depicted in an account by Hostinský (when commenting on Fibich’s impressive knowledge of the repertory at a very young age): he describes Fibich’s character and abilities—upon their first encounter—as youthful, but well-rounded and ready for an

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51 At times, he would improvise on the motives of old Czech folk tunes, pretending them to be by the Baroque master. Ibid., 34.
52 Wagner’s operas had been a part of the repertory of the German Theater in Prague since the 1850s. The conservative situation in Paris did not improve until 1880, when the Paris theaters finally opened their doors to the works of Wagner. Ibid., 33, 37.
53 Ibid.
unusual compositional career.\textsuperscript{54} The description of Fibich—written by the librettist of Šárka, Anežka Schulzová—portrayed him as “a dreamer and a romantic at his core, and still, a very critical soul standing firmly on the current ground. A conservative, he possessed love and admiration for classics of the past times, was impermeable to modernist eccentricity, and at the same time, worked on the fringe, breaking new ground and striving to materialize his radical new ideas.”\textsuperscript{55} Her nearly binary interpretation of Fibich’s personality follows along the lines of his early German romantic ideals, as noted by Hostinský: on one hand, the dreamy and thoughtful music resembling ideas of Weber and Schumann, and on the other, the clear attempts and a straight road towards the goal of a Wagnerian reform.\textsuperscript{56}

Fibich’s early professional success in Prague can be largely attributed to Ludevít Procházka (1837-88), an author of significant cultural influence in Prague during the 1870s. He wrote many music-related essays and critiques, which were published in the \textit{Národní listy (National News)}. His artistic gatherings, which took place at his apartment, consisted of composers (young and old alike), who presented their newest works to a close, intimate group of musicians, critics, and intellectuals from other creative fields. All the latest pieces were not only tested in the exclusive circle of like-minded artists but also often resulted in the very first published critiques. A positive relationship with Procházka was therefore essential for Fibich’s successful place in Czech society in the 1870s. In 1873 Procházka wrote in \textit{Národní listy} after the performance of Fibich’s \textit{Othello} that the

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 5.
\textsuperscript{55} Schulzová, 15. “Snílek a romantic v základu a přece opět ostře kritický duch, stojící pevně na reálné půdě současnosti. Konservativec v láse a v obdívě pro klasiky zašlých period umění, nepřístupný všelikým výšťednostem modernosti, a zároveň sám krajní pokrokkář, provádějící bezohledně nejsmělejší důsledky nových myšlenek.” All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
\textsuperscript{56} Hostinský, \textit{Vzpomínky na Fibicha}, 6.
composer was “showing signs of an enormous talent, which will see a great future.”  

He maintained his attitude regarding Fibich’s talent as evidenced one year later when he stated, “Fibich and Dvořák are now incredibly fruitful, and they are both developing into great masters—we can expect extraordinary things from both of them!” However, the lack of recognition for Fibich’s music and his attempts to include Czech elements in his works are evident early on in his career. In spite of Fibich’s newfound international success caused by many favorable critiques abroad and Procházka’s continued support, the Czech intelligentsia appeared disinterested in his talents.

Given his multicultural background, which likely contributed to the reserved attitude towards the composer, Fibich consciously attempted to escape his primarily German musical practices. For instance, starting with his first opera, Bukovín (1874), he set all of his dramatic works to Czech texts. The plot of Bukovín stems from Fibich’s deepest desires to write on a theme reminiscent of his childhood, love for nature, and one of his early operatic ideals, Weber’s Der Freischütz. Although the music follows the form of a traditional number opera, Fibich was unable to suppress his susceptibility to Wagnerian influence, which surfaced in, for instance, the use of leitmotif technique. This first attempt at a musical drama received only three performances at the Provisional Theater, which could be in part due to his immaturity in composing for opera and in part, 

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58 Ibid., 25. “On a Dvořák vyvunují nyní úžasnou plodnost a dozrávají na velké mistry — od obou můžeme očekávat veliké věci!”
59 His E-minor piano quartet, which was finished in 1874, became a great success in Vienna, London, Copenhagen, Germany, and the Netherlands upon its publication in 1880. In his account of the piece, Hostinský mentions a letter from pianist Antonín Door, who sent a note to the publisher of the journal Dalibor (published in 1880, 258) regarding a performance of Fibich’s piece in Vienna. According to Door, Brahms was not only present, but offered to turn pages for Door. He followed along with the score and, afterwards, spoke very positively about the piece. Ibid., 24.
60 Schulzová, 44-55.
to his unsuccessful collaboration with the librettist Karel Sabina (1813-77), who provided Fibich with a libretto that was less than desirable.\textsuperscript{61}

The lack of success of his first opera was quickly followed by the traumatic experience of the death of his wife Růžena Hanušová-Fibichová (1851-74) and his son Richard in 1874, followed closely by the death of his daughter Elsa in 1876.\textsuperscript{62} A year later, Fibich married Růžena’s sister, the operatic contralto, Betty Hanušová (1846-1901).\textsuperscript{63} In 1875 he acquired the position of assistant conductor at the Provisional Theater, which did not last long. As a response to the change in administrative power (now in the hands of the Young Czech parties), the Old Czechs withdrew their support from the theater, which manifested itself mostly in print and in performance attendance trends. Fibich was afraid that the rivalry between the traditionalists and the modernists could potentially turn against him as a composer. Consequently, he gave up his post at the Provisional Theater and, in the summer of 1878, turned exclusively to private teaching.\textsuperscript{64}

Fibich’s second opera, which he composed between 1874 and 1877 to a libretto by Eliška Krásnohorská (1847-1926), was written for Harrach’s national opera competition for the opening of the National Theater. Blaník, a Czech legend full of poetic motifs (functioning as \textit{leitmotifs}) and love stories, shows more Wagnerian signs than his

\textsuperscript{61} Fibich’s sentiments about the quality of Sabina’s libretto are captured by Hostinský, who states: “Soon after the completion of the orchestral score, Fibich also began to doubt the theatrical effects of the libretto and . . . particularly its incredibly shallow diction.” See Hostinský, \textit{Vzpomínky na Fibicha}, 8. “Fibich také brzo po dokončení partitury začal nedůvěřovat divadelnímu účinku libretta a těžce nesl zejména jeho neuvěřitelně mělkou díkci.”

\textsuperscript{62} In the names of his twins Richard and Elsa, one may observe a sign of Fibich’s deep devotion to Wagner.

\textsuperscript{63} Betty Hanušová-Fibichová studied voice in Prague, and after a short appointment in Karlovy Vary and Olomouc, she worked for the Provisional Theater and National Theater from 1868-91. The unfulfilled relationship lasted until 1897, when Fibich left Betty for literary critic and his former student Anežka Schulzová (1868-1905).

\textsuperscript{64} Hostinský, \textit{Vzpomínky na Fibicha}, 43-44.
first opera *Bukovín*. It is a larger work, through-composed, with long polyphonic passages, Wagnerian text-setting practices and Fibich’s “coherent system of motifs.”\(^{65}\)

While Fibich did not want to compromise on the much more complex requirements of his new work (such as staging, and the size of the vocal and instrumental ensembles, which could be easily accommodated at the newly-opened National Theater), *Blaník* was forced on the stage of the Provisional Theater due to the fire that severely damaged the National Theater.\(^{66}\) The premiere of *Blaník* at the Provisional Theater received favorable critiques. But in spite of the positive reception and Fibich’s honorable prize, which had been awarded to him at the opening of the National Theater next to Smetana’s winning *Libuše*, *Blaník* did not become a part of the permanent Czech opera repertory at the National Theater.\(^{67}\)

The lack of *Blaník*’s long-term success can be attributed in large part to the cultural and political situation in Prague, which did not work in Fibich’s favor at the time of his second opera’s completion. *Blaník* was created “at the time of tough disputes regarding the contemporary dramatic music movement represented by Smetana.”\(^{68}\)

Smetana’s earlier innovations in *Dalibor* (1868) had not been received in a positive light. Instead, its premiere was followed by the very first formulations of anti-Wagnerianism in Prague with *Dalibor* used as an example of the negative impact of the Wagnerian tradition on Czech national music. In fact, the disputes regarding Smetana’s music resulted in such turmoil that the composer himself was astounded by the success of his


\(^{66}\) It was first premiered on 25 September 1881 but did not make it to the National Theater until 1894.

\(^{67}\) The National Theater abandoned the production of *Blaník* after just four performances. The opera received only a total of nine performances during Fibich’s lifetime.

Libuše at its premiere for the opening of the rebuilt National Theater just a few years later (18 November 1883). 69 Being an enthusiastic worshiper of Smetana and his recent Dalibor and despite the unfavorable critiques, Fibich decided to compose his opera in a similar contemporary and declamatory style, by which he hoped to follow Smetana’s path. 70 But while Smetana maintained an army of loyal friends even during the toughest times, Fibich—an introvert and an isolated daydreamer, who strongly believed in his revolutionary techniques—stood alone his entire life. 71 In the words of Locke, “Zdeněk Fibich, who studied abroad and whose Wagnerian tendencies and affiliation with Smetana were evident from the beginning of his compositional career, faced a lifetime of ostracism from the musical establishment: the political connotations of such artistic choices often prevented his music even from being heard.” 72

While the pro-Wagnerian trends in Fibich’s compositional techniques raised many questions in the late nineteenth-century Czech revivalist society, they also brought him an enthusiastic collaborator and a life-long friend, Otakar Hostinský, who was, perhaps, the one person who stood beside Fibich throughout all his political struggles. Hostinský “believed fundamentally in aesthetic experiment and also in a potential role for

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69 Ibid., 129. Hostinský states that the success of Libuše cannot be attributed to the audience’s reception of the music but rather to the celebratory atmosphere on the night of the grand opening.

70 Fibich’s intense admiration for his more experienced contemporary can be witnessed in Hostinský’s Vzpomínky, in which he notes Fibich’s setting aside of his nearly completed Bukovín in order to allow for a premiere of Smetana’s Dvě vdovy. Hostinský, Vzpomínky na Fibicha, 10. In another instance of Smetana’s and Fibich’s shared artistic interest and destiny, Hostinský recalls every occurrence of Fibich’s happiness related to Smetana’s success and, on the other hand, his fury about every attack directed at his colleague as if it was aimed at him instead. Ibid., 53-54.

71 Schulzová, 32.

72 Locke, 21. The ostracism of Fibich’s music was often coming from various sides. For instance, while Czech society criticized Fibich for his lack of Czech elements, Hanslick’s reservations towards the composer stemmed from an overly Czech presentation of his music. In the 1883 issue of Neue Freie Presse, Hanslick disapproved of Fibich’s Czech titles and the programmatic materials based on Czech history and legends, which, according to Hanslick, stood in Fibich’s way in terms of reaching an international audience. Hostinský, Vzpomínky na Fibicha, 70-71.
Wagner [and Smetana] in the Czech national revival” just as much as Fibich did. In the words of Schulzová, “Fibich agreed with Wagner in that all forms of art relate to one another and create a unified whole.” Hostinský himself stated in the Preface of his Vzpomínky (Reminiscences) that in his and Fibich’s “artistic viewpoints, there was an underlying and continuous match.”

Given their shared artistic ideals and a burning desire for a continued modernization of the operatic tradition, Hostinský and Fibich agreed upon a collaborative effort with the composer’s third opera Nevěsta Messinská (The Bride of Messina, 1884). Around the same time, Prague’s cultural life took an unexpected turn: following the announcement of Wagner’s sudden death (1883), excerpts from his various works were played for the next few weeks in order to commemorate the indisputable impact (whether positive or negative) of his music on Czech society. The extent to which the Czech public was not only familiar with, but also affected by the music of Wagner, was at that point undeniable. It may have been precisely under these pretenses that Hostinský and Fibich decided to collaborate on a musical drama. The opera was entered into the competition for a reopening of the National Theater (11 December 1883) after the fire in 1881, and while it won in the drama category next to Karel Bendl’s (1838-97) comedy Karl Škreta, it was not premiered until the following year. The libretto, based on Schiller’s tragedy Die Braut von Messina, consisted predominantly of Hostinský’s translation of Schiller’s

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73 Smaczny, 108. Hostinský noted, “on Smetana’s battlefield, Fibich and I stood in the same tier, closely next to one another.” “Samo sebou rozumí se, že na bojišti Smetanovském stáli jsme s Fibichem v jedné řádě, těsně vedle sebe.” Hostinský, Vzpomínky na Fibicha, 6.
75 “V uměleckých názorech našich byla však shoda zásadní a stálá.” Hostinský, Vzpomínky na Fibicha, i. Fibich and Hostinský’s friendship over the years amounted to so much closeness that when in 1894, Fibich asked his friend to critique his pieces in Zlaté Prahy (a journal that Hostinský refused to write for due to a political conflict since the fire in the National Theater), Hostinský could not turn down the request. For more information, see Hostinský, Z hudebních bojů let sedmdesátých a osmdesátych, 15.
lines, and consequently, it remained true to the original. Its setting, however, followed the Wagnerian reform of text-music relation very closely. In the 1870s, Czech society had looked down on Wagnerian harmonic language; now, the audience was up-to-date on the latest techniques thanks to the success of Smetana’s *Libuše*.

According to Hostinský, other prejudices also led to the opera’s quick disappearance. First, the audience was biased against a ‘real’ tragedy (*Nevěsta Messinská* lacked comic episodes) and second, it was Fibich’s ‘Wagnerism’ (his prioritizing of words over music) that appeared unusual to the Czech public. “The critics were frightened by Wagnerian and non-Czech aspects of the music”; Dvořák went so far as to compare *Nevěsta Messinská* to Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*. “The interest in the new work grew in all the ones attending [the premiere] . . . [but] rumors about the complexity of Fibich’s music, automatically correlated with its inaccessibility for the

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76 In his address on the performance of *Tannhäuser* (23 August 1852), Wagner noted the following regarding his concept of text-music relation: “As concerns the musical study with the Singers, I have the following general remarks to make. In my opera there exists no distinction between so-called ‘declaimed’ phrases and phrases ‘sung,’ but my declamation is song withal, and my song declamation. A definite arrest of ‘song’ and definite commencement of the usual ‘recitative’—whereby, in Opera, the singer's method of delivery is wont to be divided into two completely different kinds—does not take place with me.” Richard Wagner, “On the Performing of *‘Tannhäuser’,*” trans. William Ashton Ellis, *The Theater, Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*, vol. 3 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1894), 174.

77 During Fibich’s formation of *Nevěsta Messinská*, Smetana thought about creating the very same “high drama,” which would serve as a tragic pendant to his *Viola* (1874). Smetana’s views and desire were formulated in his letter to conductor Adolf Čech on 4 July 1882. See Karel Teige, *Dopisy Smetanovy: komentovaný výbor šedesátí čtyř mistrových dopisů* (Prague: F. A. Urbánek, 1896), 138-39.

78 In his Preface, Hostinský notes that the audience’s reaction was more positive during the opera’s revisit in 1909. Hostinský, *Vzpomínky na Fibicha*, iii. Hostinský notes that the opera was performed a total of eight times, five times in 1884 (including the premiere), twice in 1885, and once in 1888. See Hostinský, 93.

79 For more information, see Hostinský, *Vzpomínky na Fibicha*, 101-17. Hostinský states the view of the Czech intelligentsia regarding the place of tragedy in an operatic plot: “From a purely musical aspect, . . . considerations about the dramatic nature of *The Bride of Messina* consistently led to condemnation for its tragic plot, because it allegedly does not benefit the genre of opera but instead it fundamentally contradicts it.” Ibid., 101-2. “Avšak na čistě hudebních stránkách se nepřestalo a úvahy o dramatické povaze *Nevěsty Messinské* důsledně vedly k tomu, že odsuzována i její tragičnost, poněvadž prý opera nikterak nesvědčí, ba naopak zásadně ji odporuje.”

listener, spread as well.” According to Schulzová, “The audience’s general . . . opinion about Fibich’s music used to be, and still is [in 1902] that his music is complex, remote, unmusical, and foreign.” In his attempt to vindicate their product of collaboration, Hostinský stated that for Fibich, “a real musical declamation and melody are not opposites . . . but instead, melody develops out of a truly heartfelt declamation.” Consequently, Fibich did not simply copy the Wagnerian reform, but attempted to develop a Czech declamatory style set to the composer’s characteristic harmonic and melodic language. Based on the harsh criticisms and reviews received from music critics and composer contemporaries, Fibich gathered that he did not understand how to manage Czech opera in the 1880s. During this time (1889), the head of the Prague Conservatory made several attempts to hire Fibich as a professor of composition. Due to his “intolerable, overly progressive tendencies . . . [or] ‘Wagnerism,’” all efforts for stability in Fibich’s employment were met with disapproval. With a bruised self-esteem caused by the unsuccessful production and the lack of employment possibilities, he turned even more intensely to his private composition studio, primarily composing songs and small ensemble works.

The exception to his creative output in terms of the scope of the work during this time was his melodrama trilogy Hippodamie (1889-91). The work, written to the text by Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853-1912), was successful with both the audience and the critics,

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81 Hostinský, 93. “Rostl spíše zájem na novince u všech súčasných—s druhé strany ovšem tu i tam začaly take proskakovatí pověsti o nesnadnosti hudby Fibichovy, která sa ihned stotožňovala s nepřístupností proposlučače.”
82 Schulzová, 34. “Hormadný, frázovitý úsudek obecenstva o Fibichovi zněl a zní, že hudba jeho jest těžká, nepřístupná, nemelodická—a cizácká—”
83 Hostinský, Vzpomínky na Fibicha, 120-21. “Stejně bylo přesvědčením Fibichovým, že pravdivá hudební deklamace a melodie nikterak nejsou protivy, které se vylučují, nýbrž že naopak melodie vyvíjí se z deklamace opravdu procítěné.”
84 Ibid., 125.
85 Ibid., 212. “Závadný příliš pokrokový směr Fibichův—říkalo se tomu pořáde ještě ‘wagnerianismus!’”
despite negative criticism regarding his text-setting.\textsuperscript{86} Hostinský stated that “his [Fibich’s] Wagnerian tendencies were familiar to the public, but everyone also admitted that this artistic task could not be solved in any other way . . . [and that] his ‘Wagnerianism’ does not cause harm to his own originality and independence.”\textsuperscript{87} For example, František Adolf Šubert (1849-1915), a Czech playwright and the head of the National Theater from 1883-1900, stated that \textit{Hippodamie} “is a work, consistent with the Wagnerian musical drama, which could not go through a more organic development than to melodrama. The closest step from the pitched recitation is precisely to an unpitched reading. A Czech man Zdeněk Fibich . . . accomplished just that before anyone could have been expected to do so in Germany; [a land], which is still stuck in the cult of Wagner’s authority.”\textsuperscript{88}

Schulzová summarized Fibich’s contributions to the genre of melodrama as follows: “In the old melodrama, music and text did not fuse into one, . . . they alternated. . . . In the contemporary melodrama, as created by Fibich, the poetic text and music are presented simultaneously. . . . They are combined into an inseparable whole, in which one element supports and strengthens the other.”\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 153. Hostinský notes that similar critiques were voiced about Wagner’s works in Germany and by Pivoda, regarding Smetana’s \textit{Prodaná nevěsta} (The Bartered Bride) and \textit{Dvě vdovy} (The Two Widows). The contemporary opera opponents argued that it was impossible to follow the rich polyphony in the orchestra along with the sung text, just as the opponents of melodrama claimed that they could not follow the instrumental parts along with the spoken word. Ibid., 157.

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 162-3. “Jeho směr ‘wagnerovský’ poznali všichni, ale všichni také uznali, že právě tento umělecký úkol jinou cestou řešen být nemohl, . . . že tento jeho ‘wagnerianismus’ nikterak není na újmu vlastní jeho osobní původnosti a samostatnosti.”

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 160. “Je to důsledné vytváření Wagnerova hudebního dramatu, které nemohlo mít žádný jiný přírozený rozvoj než k melodramatu. Nejblížší krok od recitace notově byl zcela správně k recitaci bez not. Čech Zdeněk Fibich, věřen ku předu tihoucí slovanské povaze, učinil jej dříve, než mohl být očekávan v Německu, které pořád ještě hluboce vězí v kultu authority Wagnerovy.”

\textsuperscript{89} Schulzová, 48. “V starém melodramatu hudba a slovo nesplynuly v jeden celek, nespojily se, nýbrž vystupovaly střídavě . . . V melodramatu modernism, tak jak Fibich je vytvořil, plyne slovo básnické i hudba současně v nepřetržitém proudu. Spoují se v nerozlučný organický celek, v němž jeden živě podporuje a zesiluje druhý.” For more information on Fibich’s contributions to melodrama, see Judith Mabary, “Redefining Melodrama: The Czech Response to Music and Word” (PhD diss., Washington University, 1999).
Hippodamie, with its historical significance for the development of contemporary music far past the Czech borders, once again opened the doors for Fibich’s music to foreign lands. In the spring of 1892, the first part of Fibich’s Hippodamie was performed next to Smetana’s Prodaná nevěsta and Dalibor, and Dvořák’s Dimitrij at the Viennese international convention for music and theater.\(^9\) In spite of Fibich’s innovations and his international success, his name was not even mentioned in the summary of the performances in Vienna, which appeared in Národní listy the following morning, and his nationalistic and groundbreaking attempts continued to go unnoticed.\(^9\)

In 1889 the National Theater rediscovered antiquity and led anniversary celebrations and performances continuously until the end of the nineteenth century. Fibich is known to have discussed themes of antiquity with Dvořák during one of the performances of Gluck’s operas the very same year, which may have led him to look to the past for subject matter in his last four operas. After another collaboration with Vrchlický on William Shakespeare’s Tempest (Bouře, 1894-5), Fibich found sources of inspiration in various topics from ancient Czech history: Hedy (1895), Šárka (1897), and Pád Arkuna (1899), all written to libretti by Anežka Schulzová.

The unorthodox connection between Fibich and Schulzová was of great importance for Fibich’s artistic life, as she became both his source of inspiration and collaborator/librettist until his death in 1900.\(^9\) During this time, Fibich temporarily achieved his sought-after steadiness in employment when in 1899 he became the opera dramaturge at the National Theater. However, a sudden shift in the theater’s

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\(^9\) Hostinský, Vzpomínky na Fibicha, 159.
\(^9\) Ibid., 164-65.
\(^9\) Schulzová’s creative input throughout Fibich’s compositional process in the making of his operas, and more specifically Šárka, their professional collaboration, as well as their intimate relationship, are discussed in Chapter 3.
administration in the spring of 1900 changed Fibich’s circumstances and turned his position over to composer and former student Karel Kovařovic (1862-1920).

Mirroring the lack of acknowledgement during his last (and very brief) form of employment, Fibich’s career was saturated with unfulfilled dreams and continuous disappointments. During his lifetime, his nine dramatic works were performed a total of 94 times in the course of 26 years, with an average of three to four performances per year.93 Hostinský assigned the inexplicable shortcomings of his dramatic works to the prejudices against Fibich, which began to form as early as 1884. “Smetana’s battle for contemporary Czech music, accompanied by various personal attacks and disputes, can be primarily thought of as a great historical struggle for a definition of artistic aesthetics; all the adversity that Fibich faced was nothing but a logical and necessary continuation of these disputes.”94

As the reception of Smetana’s music changed with the premiere of Libuše, which subsequently influenced his move to the “correct” (or nationalist) side of the disputes, Fibich’s connection with Smetana continued. In fact, it became even more apparent in his opera Šárka, which reminded the Czech public of Smetana’s Libuše more than any other Czech opera.95 In spite of Fibich’s relentless attempts to incorporate Czech elements in

93 Ibid., 197 fn. The following list of the number of performances per work is organized from the highest to the lowest, respectively: Šárka (19), Námluvy Pelopovy (17), Bouře (14), Hedy (12), Blaník (9), Nevěsta Messinská (8), Smír Tantallův (6), Smrt Hippodamí (6), Bukovín (3). In order to illustrate Fibich’s lack of exposure, I provide here statistics for Smetana’s most frequently performed operas at the National Theater from 1883-1900, as tabulated by Tyrrell: Prodaná nevěsta (241), Dalibor (81), Hubička (69), Libuše (59). The data indicate that Smetana’s least successful opera (of the ones provided here) had more than triple the number of performances of Fibich’s most successful opera Šárka.

94 Ibid., 198-9. “Jako onen boj Smetanův o moderní českou hudbu, přes všeliké osobní útoky a srážky, které jej provázely, sluší pokládati především za veliký historiccký zápas uměleckých zásad, tak i všechno protivenství, jež potkalo Fibich, bylo jen logickým, nutným pokračováním zápasu toho a nikoliv pouhou záležitostí čistě osobní.”

95 At this point, the view of Smetana’s music gained a more positive outlook as he made the transition from Dalibor, the Wagnerian opera, to Libuše, the model for a Czech national opera.
his works throughout his lifetime, Šárka was immediately viewed as a “denial of Fibich’s existing artistic values, a sudden change in direction, and a penitent return from the wandering road of world art back to the original source of Czech music, to Smetana’s work.”

Hostinský argued against the seeming change in direction of Fibich’s values by providing examples of the composer’s nationalistic ideals and claiming that Fibich did not just discover his nationality because he had always been a nationalist. For instance, in 1875, Fibich’s advice to young Czech composers was to accept elements of Bohemian national music and to shy away from the excessive influences of Wagner and Liszt, which might diminish their own individuality. Instead, Fibich suggested following in the steps of Smetana, who successfully combined such elements with contemporary compositional techniques in his operas and symphonies.

In Dalibor (1885), Fibich further discussed his ideas on “healthy sources of national musical elements” by clearly stating that “no matter what the theme in the spirit of the Czechoslovak nation, whether decorated with contemporary harmonies, chromatic transformations or orchestral timbres, built on such a motive, it will always maintain its Slavic nature.”

In spite of Hostinský’s attempts to clear Fibich’s name of his alleged Wagnerian tendencies after his death, these trends remain in many sources devoted to Fibich’s biography and works. For example, in a discussion on Fibich’s music located in The Music of Czechoslovakia, Rosa Newmarch introduces Fibich as a composer “by far the

96 Ibid., 177-8. “Na Šárku pohlížely přímo jako na zapříčení dosavadních uměleckých zásad Fibichových, na náhlou změnu kursu, na kající návrat z bludných cest světového umění k pravému zdroji hudby české, k dílu Smetanovu.”
97 Ibid., 183-4.
98 Zdeněk Fibich, “Akademie kruhu malých hudebníků” in Dalibor (1885): 185. “Zdravého zdroje národních elementů hudebních: . . . Kdyby jakékoli, v duchu národa československého vymýšlené theme sebe moderněji, všemi nedoškákalými harmoniemi, chromatickými přeměnami a orkestrální barvivostí vyzdobil, přece zůstane skladba, na takovém motive vystavená, rázem svým vždy jen slovanskou.” The reader should note that even though Fibich used the term ‘Czechoslovak’ in 1885, the countries that made up Czechoslovakia (Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia) were not unified into a single entity until 1918.
least consciously influenced by national impulses and patriotic inspiration.”\(^9\) In this statement, she rightly compares him to his Bohemian contemporaries, Smetana and Dvořák, who hold their place in the Czech history of music as composers and advocates during the National Revival period. Specifically, when describing his opera Šárka, Newmarch again touches on her earlier statement of Fibich’s lack of nationalistic tendencies:

Fibich’s finest operatic work is Šárka, which was completed in 1896 and produced in the following year. His return to a national subject does not imply a use of the folk-song element in the style in which Smetana employs it.\(^1\) The charm of the popular melody as we find it in *Bartered Bride* and *The Kiss* is its spontaneous flow from the heart of the composer where it seems to be preserved as in some sealed and inexhaustible spring.\(^2\) Such a natural and homely effusion would have been impossible to Fibich at this mature stage of his existence after years of work in the broader fields of comprehensive, international art. The story of Šárka attracted him more by all that it offers of strong emotional contrast and picturesque setting than by the fact of its being a national saga.\(^3\)

While Newmarch’s argument on Fibich’s motivation for choosing the plot provides many notable points, her discussion of his artistic output is limited to biographical information and concise descriptions of his works, such as plots of his operas and other programmatic information and notes. Her account of the composer provides very little information on other important aspects of his life (and employed musical language) that may have contributed to his inclination to set this particular story to music.

\(^1\) As I have suggested on several occasions here, there are many accounts of Fibich’s attempts to, not directly copy, but continue Smetana’s legacy. The extent to which Fibich’s use of folk-song elements, Smetana-esque techniques, and direct quotes from Smetana’s works appear in his Šárka will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.
\(^2\) Both of these nationalistically conceived works, *Prodaná nevěsta (Bartered Bride)* and *Hubička (The Kiss)*, were composed by Bedřich Smetana in 1866 and 1876, respectively.
\(^3\) Newmarch, 120.
On the contrary, Vladimír Hudec connects the story of Šárka with Fibich’s political, social, and emotional standing at the time of the opera’s conception. Reaching beyond the “strong emotional contrast and picturesque setting” suggested by Newmarch, Hudec attaches the significance of Šárka to “Fibich’s individual reaction to the process which, at the time of the decline of the national idea which marked the Czech revival movement, manifested itself in differentiation and polarization in Czech art as a whole.”103 During this time, Fibich revealed his support of the Lumír generation—among others represented by his literary colleagues Jaroslav Vrchlický and Julius Zeyer (1841-1901)—which, “in the crisis of its interest in contemporary social problems, manifested an ever greater longing to live an individual life to the full.”104 Hudec further states that Fibich’s return to the Czech myth, following Smetana’s historical romanticism, did not come by chance. Fibich’s inclination to the original legend about the Maidens’ War was initiated by Václav Vlček’s (ca 1425-1501) Vlasta, but it did not acquire his full infatuation with the story until the Lumír stream representatives transformed “the

104 Ibid. In An Anthology of Czechoslovak Literature, Paul Selver states, “The rallying-point of Vrchlický and his followers was the Lumír, a literary periodical,” which was established in 1851. The magazine’s followers and contributors were known by the same name as the weekly magazine. The writers and artists involved, or the Lumír generation, started a new direction in Czech culture, which leaned on the Neo-Romantic aesthetics and focused primarily on the perfection of form. See Paul Selver, An Anthology of Czechoslovak Literature (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1929), 13-15. In regards to the Lumír generation, Thomas states: “The 1870s mark the official beginning of a symbolist movement in Czech literature. Led by Václav Josef Sládek (1845-1912), the editor of the influential journal Lumír, the writers of this movement aspired to build on the cosmopolitan trend initiated by Mácha in the 1830s and continued by [Jan] Neruda [1834-91] in the 1870s. Lumír provided the most important forum for Czech poets and writers until the founding of the Decadent journal Moderní revue (Modern Review) in 1894. The members of the journal Lumír (lumírovci) wanted to make Czech literature less provincial and more competitive with Western Europe. The two leading exponents of this period were Julius Zeyer . . . and Jaroslav Vrchlický.” Thomas, 47. Also see Arne Novák and William Edward Harkins, Czech Literature (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1976).
originally epical and narrative legend into a subjective love tragedy.”

In addition to providing Fibich with a plot that would allow him to venture into his artistic individuality (an idea essential to the Lumiř movement), the transformed story offered an opportunity to combine Wagnerian dramatic tendencies with his beloved model of Smetana’s Libuše. It was the combination of these three vital aspects of the opera (Wagnerian techniques, Smetanian references, and the love tragedy placed in the center of the plot) that allowed Fibich to write the following to his publisher: “In my opinion, Šárka will be a real national opera that will consolidate my position as a Czech composer.”

Given the above expression of Fibich’s aims with the opera, it would be inaccurate to limit one’s reading of the composer’s motivations to the descriptions that Newmarch suggests. Alternatively, conceiving of Fibich through a purely nationalist lens would also be imprecise due to his cosmopolitan upbringing and his deep devotion to Wagnerian thought. Fibich’s situation (and the situation of his contemporaries, for that matter) is more complex due to the two primary movements, which late nineteenth-century Czech composers were unable to escape: the National Revival and the Wagnerian reform. Fibich’s artistic output therefore cannot be adequately examined by limiting the conclusions to only one of these readings, while completely excluding the other. Instead, his work should be considered based on the social and cultural situation during which he acted, and according to the place in the cultural sphere that he occupied: as a nationalist and as a Wagnerian. Consequently, the next chapters of the present study consider the nature of this Bohemian/Austro-German composer in his most successful, yet

105 Hudec, “Commentary.” Vlček’s Vlasta will be addressed as a part of the discussion on the origins of the “maidens’ war” legend.
106 In a letter addressed to F. A. Urbánek and dated 1 August 1896. Ibid. Translation by Hudec.
controversial opera Šárka, and examine the extent to which he leans on the nationalistic elements of Smetanism and the contemporary techniques of Wagnerism.
Chapter 2  The Metamorphosis of a Mythical Heroine Šárka into a Symbol of National Identity

Images of historical rulers and the past glory of the nation, of a civilization with a sophisticated literature stretching back into the distant past, or of a contented Czech countryside with its own way of life, customs and music, were carefully fostered and imprinted on the minds of a susceptible Czech community.

— John Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*

According to John Tyrrell, “most Czech operas in the nineteenth century and early twentieth were set on home soil, many of them based on events from Czech history,” and he provides two distinct reasons for this phenomenon.¹ First, he states that nineteenth-century Czech librettists and composers chose predominantly Czech subject matter because they believed that it was their patriotic duty to do so. As the second reason, Tyrrell suggests that Czech audiences themselves preferred plots that contained portions about Czech history as opposed to narratives involving non-Czech elements or scenarios.² Consequently, the audience’s preference may have provided a secondary motivation for the nineteenth-century Czech composers and librettists: to remain within the bounds of patriotic topics in order to receive positive responses from the Czech public or to maintain a secure place on the stage of the Czech National Theater. To demonstrate the prevalence of Czech history in operatic plots and its correlation with a work’s success, Tyrrell considers the operas of Zdeněk Fibich:

Their subject matter, whether chosen by him or his librettists, marks him out as an ‘internationalist’ composer, little concerned by local pressures, and, perhaps consequently, Fibich was also the least popular of the major Czech opera composers of his time, with fewer performances in the nineteenth century than lesser figures such as [Karel] Bendl [(1838-97)] and [Richard] Rozkošný [(1833-1913)]. The one opera of his that has held

² Ibid., 122.
the stage, Šárka, is his only mature opera with a Czech setting. . . . His other late operas, written during the same creative period as Šárka, two of them with the same librettist, achieved nothing like Šárka’s lasting success, despite the initially promising first runs of The Tempest [Bouře] and Hedy.³

In the case of Šárka, Tyrrell observes a deviation from the usual subject matter, which may be attributed to Fibich’s attempts to prove himself as a patriotic composer and, in the process, to create a continuation of the nationalistic tale unraveled in Bedřich Smetana’s Libuše. In order to gain insight into Fibich’s plot aberration, and his explicit desire to set the story of a mythical heroine in the midst of a medieval legend, it is necessary to examine the plot of the opera by considering the political situation during which the mythical story was crafted into the plot of Šárka as well as the folkloric roots of Šárka’s story.⁴

In order to examine correlations between the folkloric and political discourses in the plot of Šárka, I consider the notions of myth, nation, and gender in both general terms and specifically within the political and cultural situation in the Czech lands during the nineteenth century. Additionally, I present a survey of the gender-identity-myth interaction in the “maidens’ war” tale, as it appears throughout Bohemian literary history (ending with Fibich’s Šárka). In my survey of the “maidens’ war” plot-related tendencies, I focus specifically on any alterations to the original story (and their respective versions),

³ Ibid.
⁴ In the present study, I use the term ‘folklore’ according to Vladimir Propp’s definition: “By folklore, we mean only spiritual production [as opposed to the material artifacts, where together, the two categories account for all creative output of one nation], and only verbal poetical products. Since poetry is almost always connected with music, musical folklore forms an autonomous discipline within folklore.” Propp further states, “Folklore is an ideological discipline. Its methods and aims are determined by and reflect the outlook of the age.” Vladimir Propp, Theory and History of Folklore. Theory and History of Literature 5, ed. Anatoly Libermann, trans. Ariadna Y. Martin and Richard P. Martin (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 3-4.
which may have been caused by changes in the cultural or political situation at the time of the individual version’s conception.

**Myth, national identity, and gender correlation in Czech cultural and political discourses**

The ‘problematics of myth’ are studied by various disciplines. According to Eero Tarasti, “myth pertains not only to the fields of anthropology, ethnology and study of folklore but also to those of psychology, philosophy and aesthetics.” Based on the multidisciplinary treatment of a myth as a research area, Tarasti divides the theories about myth into two principal classes: the *substance* (the content of the myth, which can be further divided into three categories based on approach: anthropological, psychological, and literary) and the *structure* (the expression of the myth through a distinctive form, which is usually analyzed through a philosophical or a semiotic point of view).

When defining the term, Tarasti proposes that, “myth is like a message from the past as well as a prognosis of a better future by strengthening the society’s moral values and sustaining the mind of the individual in the crisis and conflicts of life.” Furthermore, he states that a myth incorporates (in the story) a representation of life, which manifests itself in major ceremonial forms, cult, or ritual. Essentially, (for Tarasti) the contents of a myth are therefore designed to bring the society (at which it is aimed) together by providing idealized political examples of the society’s commonalities from the past.

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6 Ibid., 17. Based on Tarasti’s division of theories about myth, the present chapter is for the most part limited to considerations of the myth’s *substance*. The *structure* of the “maidens’ war” myth (and particularly as treated in Fibich’s Šárka) will be examined in a greater detail in Chapter 3.
7 Ibid., 18. Also see Bronislaw Malinowsky, *Sex, Culture and Myth* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), 291.
8 Tarasti, 18.
interconnections between the members of the nation are further validated and bolstered through an act of ceremony or ritual, which the society can also relate to in the present. Along this line of thought, Jan de Vries refers to close connections between myths and rites in archaic societies, which find their solutions to the fundamental problems (“the crisis and conflicts of life,” as identified above by Tarasti) in the form of ritual action: “Rite represents the way these problems were resolved in ancient times—myths, on the other hand, tell about it. Thus myth is not merely a text commenting on the rite but conveys its original meaning.”

As with Tarasti, a myth for Robert Pynsent is

a normally narrative expression of concern for the society of which the mythopoet is or deems himself to be a member. Its aim is to illuminate its recipients’ awareness of the human condition or of the special situation of an individual community. . . . Myth usually has to do with creations, beginnings, matrices, models, and as it reveals permanent values in these beginnings or models, it binds a group morally and historically. . . . A myth is a primary cultural phenomenon: it may be created by a culture and may create (a) culture. A myth explains origins: of the world, of a community, of values.

I use Pynsent’s definition of myth and extrapolate it to the time of the National Revival in the Czech lands. According to his methodology, the mythopoets, who created a new myth of Slav nationalist deliverance, were Ján Kollár and Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795-1861). Like any myth, their myth of Slavdom “looked to the future as well as the past, and like any nationalist myth it had a utopia as its goal.” The problem that they sought to resolve stemmed from the diversity of languages (Slovak and Czech), which could not be

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9 Ibid., 20. Also see Jan de Vries, *Heldenlied und Heldensage* (Bern: Francke, 1961), 305. I understand de Vries’s ‘original meaning’ of rites to be consistent with the beliefs of the archaic societies at the time in which the rites were performed. The original meaning of the myth, however, can often be distorted due to unintentional consequences of the oral tradition and sometimes intentionally altered for influential purposes.


11 Ibid.
represented by only one (Czech) nation. According to Pynsent, Kollár and Šafařík “sought to obliterate this problem with the idea of a Slav nation. . . . [However,] in its use during their life-time the idea of nation . . . was itself a myth.”

In their discussion of semantics and myths, Juri Lotman and Boris Andreevich Uspensky suggest that “in some cases mythical text is considered a symbol. Such a symbol is, however, the result only of interpreting a myth from the viewpoint of an external consciousness.” Let us follow Pynsent’s idea on the interpretation of the Slav nation during the National Revival to be a myth. If a mythical text (a written account of a myth, such as the “maidens’ war”) aims to connect the present situation (the time during which the particular version of the myth was created or the National Revival) with the past conflict (the time during which the myth takes place or the Medieval era) as suggested by Tarasti and Pynsent, then based on Lotman and Uspensky’s reading of a mythical text, in and of itself, it would also represent a myth if read “from a viewpoint of an external consciousness.” Consequently, examining Šárka’s story—as incorporated in Fibich’s plot—from the standpoint of the historical and cultural situation during the National Revival suggests a reading of, what I will call, myth within a myth.

Pynsent further suggests that Kollár and Šafařík aimed to create their nation on the basis of ‘sameness’, a concept, which also appears in Ernest Gellner’s definition of a

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12 In addition, even the Czech language was (and to this day is) itself divided into Bohemian and Moravian dialects.
13 Ibid., 44.
15 I will return to the concept of myth within a myth (and its significance in Fibich’s Šárka) in the next chapter. As the term itself suggests, the word “myth” appears in the present study in the following contexts: 1) as an analytical category, and 2) as a descriptive signifier used interchangeably with other idioms, such as legend, story, tale, etc.
nation (addressed in Chapter 1). This suggests, as noted by Elie Kedourie, that “nation got its meaning from nationalism.”

In order to examine the relationship between myth and nation and the role that they play in the plot of Fibich’s Šárka, we must consider the historical context in which the opera was written. Czech nationalism—the time in which Fibich was struggling to produce (as previously discussed in Chapter 1)—dictated the dynamics of the controversies, competitions, and rivalries among the composers, and precipitated attention to the particular text of the “maidens’ war.” Fibich’s interest in the plot may have been, therefore, a result of Czech nationalism, which emerged (like any nationalism) from the nation-state ideology. Since nationalism (and, as I argue here, its relationship to gender), ultimately gave rise to Fibich’s Šárka (and the origin, connotations, and correlation between myth and nation in the plot of the opera), I must first discuss the original ideologies on the creation of the nation-state and the construction of the new civil society, as described in Carole Pateman’s work titled The Sexual Contract.

In her book, Pateman discusses the myth of origin and construction of the new civil society and challenges its traditional definition: society with equal division of power. She argues that the modern social contract is a fraternal pact, which is a contemporary form of patriarchy based on the original patriarchal contract.18

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16 The concept of ‘sameness’ can be understood in the sense of the Latin phrase “E pluribus unum” or “One out of many,” in which Bohemia, as every other nation, constructs a semblance of unity, confined within nationalist borders, in spite of exhibiting ethnic differences. For a full definition of Gellner’s nation, see fn. 5 in Chapter 1. Also see Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 7. Consequently, “Gellner perhaps accepts that nations are still fundamentally products of mythopoeia.” Pynsent, 44.
17 Ibid. Also see Elie Kedourie, Nationalism (London, Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1985), 9.
18 Carole Pateman, The Sexual Contract (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 77–78. Pateman understands the fraternal pact as originating from the word fraternité, which was used in the revolutionary slogan (1789): ‘liberté, égalité, fraternité’. The three elements, Pateman states, came into practice long before the French Revolution. She understands fraternité as a horizontal division of power, “a metaphor for
original contract is a sexual-social pact, . . . [which is grounded in the] political right as
patriarchal right or sex-right, the power that men exercise over women.”19 According to
the myth of the “conjectural histories of the state of nature in the classic texts, . . .
freedom is won by sons who cast off their natural subjection to their fathers and replace
paternal rule [which is inherent in the patriarchal right] by civil government.”20 The new
civil society is created through contract and, therefore, it appears to be anti-patriarchal. At
the same time, the mythical conjectural histories are reenacted in the social contract,
which—as a result—becomes a ritual. Fraternity in the “modern society is not structured
by kinship [unlike the men who defeated their father and are acting as brothers, as
fraternal kin or the sons of a father]. . . . [It] is seen as a free union, . . . [which] implies
the existence of communal bonds that are civil or public, not confined to assignable
persons, and that are freely chosen.”21

When considering the move to fraternity in terms of nationhood, Pateman states,

Fraternity and politics are intimately connected. Political life, exemplified
in the ancient polis, presupposes ‘an idea of justice’, or a law common to
all, which transcends blood-ties and applies alike to men of different
kinship groups.22

Similarly, Wilson McWilliams points out that the “separation of the ‘male principle’
from blood descent becomes elevated to an explicit status in the construction of the

the universal bonds of humankind, for community, solidarity or fellowship” as opposed to patriarchy,
which stands for a vertical society, or “the rule of fathers.”
19 Ibid., 1. The concept of power and sexual access to women is echoed in the “maiden’s war” myth and is
addressed in detail below.
20 Ibid., 2.
21 Ibid., 78. Conjectural histories are myths, which use kinship, blood, and body to create the image of unity
or to characterize a nation. Also see Andreas Esheté, “Fraternity,” Review of Metaphysics, 35 (1981): 27,
32-33.
22 Pateman, 80.
state.”23 For McWilliams, traditional society stands for kinship. Consequently, according to Pateman, “all men, when seen as equal subjects of law that governed them, could be brothers.”24 The reinforcement of equality through the concept of fraternity subsequently translates into the realm of freedom. All men are individuals and are, therefore, born equal to one another and free, “and thus no natural relations of subordination and superiority can exist.”25 The only exception to this rule marks the status of women, as dictated by the myth of the original contract of the patriarchal civil society.

According to Pateman, patriarchal civil society is divided into two spheres: the public sphere of social freedom and the private sphere of women’s subjection, where the two spheres are “at once separate and inseparable.”26 The original contract establishes at once both men’s freedom and women’s subjection because civil freedom is a masculine attribute that depends upon patriarchal right. Since women do not possess civil freedom acquired through patriarchal right, men receive political right over women and consequently, they also obtain access to women’s bodies.27 Therefore, men’s patriarchal right can be understood as the major structural support, which binds the two spheres into a social whole.

The retaining of women’s subjection to men through the change of social order from patriarchy to fraternity, as suggested in the myth of the original society, is revisited

24 Pateman, 80.
25 Ibid., 82, 114. In this sense, the three elements bound the fraternal members with ‘sameness’, and consequently, they create a nation according to Gellner’s definition. Pateman evokes the same relationship, but using a different element of the three as a point of departure: “Liberty, equality and fraternity form the revolutionary trilogy because liberty and equality are the attribute of the fraternity who exercise the law of male sex-right.”
26 Ibid., 3-4.
27 Ibid., 2. Men’s superiority is, therefore, the effect of women’s inferiority.
in Sigmund Freud’s version (among others) of the primal horde’s division of access to women, as summarized by Pateman:28

The primal father wanted none of his sons to take his place and have exclusive, unlimited access to all the women. When the primal horde gives way to kinship and marriage, the father’s legacy of sex-right is shared equally among all the brothers. . . . [The patriarchal sex-right] is extended through the law of exogamy (kinship). That is, the brothers make a sexual contract. They establish a law, which confirms masculine sex-right and ensures that there is an orderly access by each man to a woman. Patriarchal sex-right ceases to be the right of one man, the father, and becomes a ‘universal’ right. The law of male sex-right extends to all men, to all members of the fraternity.29

As a part of an equal division of the political right among all members of the fraternity (as opposed to one patriarchal father figure), the fraternal society separated the sex-right portion of the original contract from the civil right (or the public sphere), and privatized the women’s subjection to men through a marriage contract. This way, Pateman suggests, “women not only can but must enter into the marriage contract,” in spite of their lack of partaking in the original contract.30

In her search for the origin of the missing civil (and private) freedom for women, Pateman states, “With the exception of [Thomas] Hobbes, the classic theorists claim that women naturally lack attributes and capacities of ‘individuals’. Sexual difference is political difference; sexual difference is the difference between freedom and subjection.”31 Further, she notes that any elaboration on the superiority of the male sex is limited to “references to the man’s greater strength of body and mind, or his greater

29 Pateman, 109-10.
30 Ibid., 6, 113.
31 Ibid, 113.
strength and ability.” A more precise description, according to Pateman, is located in the works of Robert Filmer:

Women’s bodies are permeable, their contours change shape and they are subject to cyclical processes. All these differences are summed up in the natural bodily process of birth. Physical birth symbolizes everything that makes women incapable of entering the original contract and transforming themselves into the civil individuals who uphold its terms. Women lack neither strength nor ability in a general sense, but, according to the classic contract theories, they are naturally deficient in a specifically political capacity, the capacity to create and maintain political right. Similarly, the physical differentiation between the two sexes as a signifier of incompetency to exercise the political right is at the root of an argument made by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Pateman paraphrases Rousseau’s claim regarding place of women in the civil society:

Women, unlike men, cannot control their ‘unlimited desires’ by themselves, so they cannot develop the morality required in civil society. Men have passions, too, but they can use their reason to master their sexuality, and so can undertake the creation and maintenance of political society.

In this way, the classic theorists constructed a patriarchal myth of masculinity and femininity (of what it is to be men and women), in which a difference in rationality originates in sexual difference.

Jane Martin argues that in an educational and political novella titled *Emile, or On Education*, set in a traditional patriarchal society. Rousseau expands on the notion that

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32 Ibid., 94.
34 Pateman, 97.
35 Ibid., 5. The gender differentiation gave rise to a binary representation of ‘femininity’ vs. ‘masculinity’, which is addressed more clearly in fn. 91 and 103.
“sex is the determinant of a person’s nature” and social role.\textsuperscript{36} Rousseau is “concerned that Sophie [Emile’s future spouse] might become something other than the obedient wife and nurturant [sic] mother he wants her to be,” and proposes educational treatments that correspond with the societal roles in order to prevent this possibility.\textsuperscript{37} Rousseau further suggests that women’s only constraint is modesty and if they were to lack this constraint, “the result would soon be the ruin of both [sexes], and mankind would perish by the means established for preserving it . . . . Men would finally be [women’s] victims and would see themselves dragged to death without ever being able to defend themselves.”\textsuperscript{38}

This scenario, proposed by Rousseau and also a recurring theme in the “maidens’ war” tale, in which women pose a threat to men, is originally an ideology credited to St. Augustine (d. 430). “Augustine’s conversion to Christianity,” writes Uta Ranke-Heinemann, “took place by classifying women as stimulants” or “temptresses” of sexual pleasure (resulting in sin), and therefore were thought of as a form of “evil.”\textsuperscript{39} According

\textsuperscript{36} Jane Martin, \textit{Reclaiming a Conversation: TheIdeal of the Educated Woman} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 39, 43. Rousseau suggests Emile’s patriarchal right for access to a woman when he states, “It is not good for man to be alone. Emile is a man. We have promised him a companion. She is to be given to him. That companion is Sophie,” Rousseau, \textit{Emile}, or \textit{On Education}, 357. For more information on the reading of Rousseau’s \textit{Emile} as a politically oriented text see Martin, 38-69.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 41.

\textsuperscript{38} Rousseau, 360. Traces of this thought will make appearance in some versions of the “maidens’ war” surrounding the plot of Šárka and will be explored in greater detail below.

\textsuperscript{39} For the Church’s celibates, “Women have often struck them as the personification of the snares of the devil. The greatest danger in the world, as they see it, lurks in that direction.” Uta Ranke-Heinemann, \textit{Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven: Women, Sexuality and the Catholic Church}, trans. Peter Heinegg (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 82, 121. In \textit{Soliloquia}, Augustine states, “I have decided that there is nothing which I should avoid so much as sex. I feel there is nothing which throws down the masculine mind so completely from its citadel as feminine charms and the physical contact . . . .” Catherine Conybeare, \textit{The Irrational Augustine} (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 141. Also see Augustine, \textit{Soliloquia}, ed. Hörmann, CSEL 89 (1986), comm. Watson (Warminster: Manor House, 1990), 1.10.17.

In his concern for the male sex, Chrysostom in his \textit{On Priesthood} states, “the superior may not forget the females, who need greater care precisely because of their ready inclination to sin. . . . For the eye of woman touches and disturbs the soul, and not only the eye of the unbridled woman, but that of the decent one as well, . . . hence the ‘eye of woman’ was a continual danger.” Ranke-Heinemann, 121. An example of a dangerous ‘eye of woman’ can be witnessed (among others) in Greek mythology. According to the Greeks’ depiction of Medusa, “With the curse of Athene upon her, she turned into stone whomsoever she gazed upon, till at last, after a life of nameless misery, deliverance came to her in the shape of death, at
to Jane Caputi, the trivialization and demonization of the female sex was a result of the emergence of Hebrew monotheism, in which God is portrayed as a “heavenly, de-sexed father.” In order to prove God’s credibility, the social practices of “the rival sex-mother-grandmother Goddess(es) . . . [were denied, and] understood as something dangerous to men” because of the Goddesses’ cunctipotence (or female potency).40 “These Goddesses were maternal and sexual, young and old, and sometimes understood as gynandrous, containing both the female and the male,” the passive and active potency.41

According to Caputi, “the Genesis myth demonizes the original Sex/Earth Goddess, . . . [Eve, and] it reverses the biological fact that it is women who give birth to men by having Eve come out of Adam; and it goes on to identify the woman as second to man and a weaker vessel at that,” providing us with the origin of patriarchy, rather than the origin of the world.42 The de-emphasis of women in the Genesis account of the creation of Eve (the origin of the ‘first mother’ of all mankind) and the geographical location of the rib serve as further support for Augustine’s patriarchal religious ideology: “God, as we know, created woman as a help for man, according to the biblical, male-

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41 The descriptions of Goddesses, as possessing both female- and male-potency, contain parallels with the upcoming discussion of Amazons. Caputi, “Re-Creating Patriarchy,” 300. For a discussion on active and passive potency, see Mary Daly, Pure Lust: Elemental Feminist Philosophy (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1984), 167-69.

42 Caputi, “Re-Creating Patriarchy,” 305. In The Second Sex, Simone de Beauvoir discusses Eve’s role of a sinner according to the Christian Church: “And, of course, since woman remains always the Other, it is not held that reciprocally male and female are both flesh; the flesh that is for the Christian the hostile Other is precisely woman. In her the Christian finds incarnated the temptations of the world, the flesh and the devil. All the Fathers of the Church insist on the idea that she led Adam into sin.” Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953), 167.
conceived account of Creation.” In this way, explains Caputi, women’s inferiority to men results from their Church-ascribed sinful nature (rooted in religion-based patriarchy).

Pateman, on the other hand, discusses Filmer’s reliance upon Genesis, in which women’s inferiority is determined through Adam’s ability to generate political right (nation-state-based patriarchy). Filmer, citing Genesis 3:16, argues for Adam’s political (patriarchal) right and extends it to a paternal right because “Eve is not only under the dominion of Adam, but he is (with God’s help) the ‘principal agent’ in her generation”; consequently, Adam represents not just one of two parents—“he is the parent, and the being able to generate political right.” This distinction, which acquired “the procreative power of a father who is complete in himself, who embodies the creative power of both female and male,” de-emphasizes the woman’s part in the creation process. In turn, men’s generative power is bolstered in two aspects: first, “men are the ‘principal agents in generation’ . . . [because the] patriarchal argument refuses any acknowledgement of the capacity and creativity that is unique to women,” and secondly, men “transmute what they have appropriated into another form of generation, [they have] the ability to create new political life, or to give birth to political right.” In this way, “men give birth to an ‘artificial’ body, the body politic of civil society.”

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43 Ranke-Heinemann, 88. Also see Augustine, De genesi ad litteram 9, 5-9.
44 Rousseau’s need to educate Sophie can serve as an example here, since her potential to become a disobedient wife is reminiscent of Eve’s and, by extension, every woman’s disposition to sin.
45 Pateman, 87-88. Also see Filmer, 241, 283. “God gave to Adam . . . the dominion over the woman.”
46 Pateman, 87.
47 Ibid., 88.
48 Ibid., 102. According to Pateman, the artificial body is a “construct of the mind, not the creation of a political community by real people. The birth of a human child can produce a new male or female, whereas the creation of civil society produces a social body fashioned after the image of only one of the two bodies of humankind, or, more exactly, after the image of the civil individual, who is constituted through the
In summary, Pateman’s theory, discussed in *The Sexual Contract*, provides pertinent information about the shift of monarchical (pre-nation-state) paternal, patriarchal power to a modern-state fraternal society, in which the myths of original contracts “begin with a father who is, already, a father. The arguments about ‘original’ political right all begin after the physical genesis, after the birth of the son that makes a man (a husband) a father.” Consequently, the common original contract theories based on the myth of equal male superiority over women begin in normative patriarchy, which is not consistent with the ‘nation-state’ representation in the plot of Fibich’s Šárka.

An example of a slight deviation from the ‘norm’ of a traditional social-contract theory is Freud’s revisit of the primal horde myth, in which the sons rebel against patriarchy and kill their father in order to gain sexual access to women. After the overthrow of patriarchy, Pateman states,

Freud places [Johann Jakob] Bachofen’s epoch of mother-right between the murder and the original contract. However, mother-right is merely an interlude in ‘primeval history’ before the ‘great progress’ that occurs with the restitution of patriarchy in the new fraternal form of the brother clan. The overthrow of mother-right . . . comes about because the sons’ hatred of the father coexisted with admiration of his power.  

Freud’s interpretation of the transition from patriarchal to fraternal society, therefore, features matriarchy but only in its most transitory form.

The most radical divergence from the established story of the patriarchy’s origin was presented in Gregory Zilboorg’s history of humankind. As summarized by Pateman,

original construct. . . . They create [Thomas] Hobbes’s ‘Artificial Man, we call a Commonwealth’, Rousseau’s ‘artificial and collective body’, or the ‘one Body’ of [John] Locke’s Body Politic.”

49 Ibid., 104. As we will see, Pateman’s discussion of the shift of power at the time of the creation of the nation-state is analogous to the plot of Fibich’s Šárka.

50 Ibid., 103. In my research here, ‘mother-right’ represents the female counterpart to the paternal right, which is inherent in a patriarchal society. Consequently, mother-right suggests a female-dominated division of power or matriarchy. Also see Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, 107-9.
Zilboorg “argues, against Freud, that the earliest stage of human life was a ‘gynaecocentric period’, or a matriarchy.”

Further, according to Pateman, Zilboorg believes that mother-right was overthrown when a man “became sufficiently conscious and sure of his strength to overpower the woman, to rape her.” Consequently, the individual act of a woman’s subjugation provided the needed example, which “enabled men to extend their possession and mastery beyond their immediate needs.”

While matriarchy, as an origin of modern society, was often ignored by the social contract theorists, as previously discussed, literary topics with matriarchal society at its core, driven by the shift in the cultural and political aesthetic, became a very popular source of inspiration for the Czech writers during the time of the National Revival. Consequently, Bohemian folklore allowed for the possibility of matriarchy as an origin of the Slav nation.

According to Thomas, the emergence of the first phase of the National Revival (at the end of the eighteenth century) marked the beginning of a new definition of identity. The innovative construct of identity (the move from ‘nationality’ to ‘personality’) posed novel questions in the discourse of human rights, emphasized the “dignity of a man as an individual,” and supported endeavors in socialism, feminism, homosexual movements, and other areas.

According to Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk’s (1850-1937) political ideal of national collectivism and democratic individualism, “nothing could be more subjective

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52 Pateman, 107.
53 Ibid.
54 For the purposes of the present work, it is irrelevant whether Bohemian society was rooted in matriarchy or patriarchy. However, it is important to note the possibility of a matriarchal society, as, at some point, this myth was understood as the history of the Slavs.
55 Alfred Thomas, The Bohemian Body: Gender and Sexuality in Modern Czech Culture (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 5. Also see Pynsent, 118-25.
than nationalism.” In the nineteenth-century Czech cultural discourse, this local version of nationalism is often portrayed through the use of familial, gendered, and sexual motives. In the contemporaneous Bohemian literature, women are represented as protective mothers or vulnerable virgins, while men take on the role of rapacious male invaders. Therefore, femininity is characterized through traditional values, while masculinity suggests a threat, a change or a move away from customary ways.

The overlap between nationalism and individualism was further exemplified in the representation of gender and sexual relations. Since “sexuality and nationality shared the same essentialist assumptions,” ethnic relationships were considered natural (or comparable to familial kinships between a mother and a child or a husband and wife). Thomas further suggests that the continuity between the national, gender, and sexual identity is elucidated by Benedict Anderson, for whom nationalism was “deeply

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56 Thomas, 6. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk was a Czech politician, sociologist and philosopher, who later became the founder and first president of Czechoslovakia (1918).

57 A similar gender-based division has been examined in works by Partha Chatterjee, and by Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez. According to Chatterjee, this is “the typical conception of gender roles in any traditional patriarchy.” In her discussion of the colonial situation in nineteenth-century India, Chatterjee notes a gender-based division of social space in the home and the world: “The world is a treacherous terrain of the pursuit of material interests, where practical considerations reign supreme. It is also typically the domain of the male. The home in its essence must remain unaffected by the profane activities of the material world—and woman is its representation.” Partha Chatterjee, “Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India,” American Anthropologist 16, no. 4 (1989): 624.

Likewise, the placement of women into the traditional social space (or home) during the British colonialism has been observed by Fruzzetti and Perez. They state that according to Ghandi’s ideology, “women represented, to a large extent, the symbol of the nation, of which the core was Hinduism, that is, India’s tradition, therefore the nationalist project made women effective repositories of tradition.” Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez, “The Gender of the Nation: Allegoric Femininity and Women’s Status in Bengal and Goa,” Etnográfica 6, no. 1 (2002): 41-42.

Based on the similarities between gender portrayal in Czech literary works and the social-space division during British colonial rule in India, the ideological response to the Westernization of India can be, to a certain extent, extrapolated to an experience of the Czech-speaking lands as a part of the Austro-German Empire. As we shall see, women as a gender will also represent the Slav nation (for example, in Kollár’s Slávy dcera). However, while the nineteenth-century gendering of nations parallels the gender ascription in the “maiden’s war” myth, the gendering within the plot itself precedes the nationalist ‘feminization’ of Bohemia.

58 Thomas, 20.
implicated in the relations between men and women." Based on this ideal, the categories of sexual and national identity are interchangeable and interdependent, and thus they mutually reinforce one another. For example, the nineteenth-century writers often gendered European nations as ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ depending on their political strength. 

According to Moira Gatens, the masculine-feminine nation differentiation based on its political sovereignty may be traced back to Hobbes’s myth of the ‘artificial man’ and the unified body politic. Gatens states,

Hobbes claims that the motivation behind the creation of the artificial man is the ‘protection’ or ‘defense’ of natural man. . . . The artificial man . . . renders itself free from the necessary but difficult dealings with both women and nature. This masculine image of unity and independence from women and nature has strong resonances in psychoanalytic accounts of . . . the infantile wish for independence from the maternal body.

Gatens further states that a similar fantasy can be found as a rhetorical tool in the nationalist mythology about the ‘city-states’ in antiquity. For example, she suggests that the first true body politic can be found in classical Athens because the city is named after Zeus’s daughter Athena, “who was born not ‘of woman’ but ‘of man.’” According to the myth, Zeus ‘gave birth’ to Athena after he had swallowed the body of his pregnant wife. Based on this act, the woman has “serviced the internal organs and needs of this artificial body, preserving its viability, its unity and integrity, without ever being seen to do so”; therefore, the act of unifying the male and female bodily functions de-emphasized

\[^{59}\text{Ibid.}^{60}\text{Ibid.}^{61}\text{Moira Gatens, “Corporeal representation in/and the body politic,” in Cartographies: Poststructuralism and the Mapping of Bodies and Spaces, ed. Rosalyn Diprose and Robyn Ferrell (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), 80.}^{62}\text{Ibid., 81. Gatens suggests, “Athens is named after Athena as a tribute to her for ridding that city of its ‘uncivilized’ divinities. When she [Athena] relegates the feminine Furies to the subterranean regions of Athens, she confirms the masculinity of the Athenian political body.”}\]
the woman’s part in the creation of the political body, as previously examined in detail. Consequently, Athena is “the product of man’s reason; she has no mother.”

Modern political theory borrowed this concept from its classical articulation in Greek philosophy, stating that “only a body deemed capable of reason and sacrifice can be admitted into the political body as an active member. Such admission always involves forfeiture.” Gatens further argues, “Those who are not capable of the appropriate political forfeiture are excluded from political and ethical relations. . . . [And further,] constructing women as incapable of performing military service and so incapable of defending the political body from attack could serve as an example here.” According to Alfred Thomas, “‘female’ was an ambiguous signifier that designated weakness and strength, humiliation and pride, virginity and motherhood. In the case of small and politically weak nations, such as nineteenth-century Ireland and Bohemia, these opposite connotations could even coexist.” Consequently, Bohemia was generally personified as female due to its continued struggles for emancipation, financial stability, and independence.

Czech patriots and writers outside of the Czech lands, alike, employed this symbolism. In this sense, Thomas discusses “the male symbolization of women as representatives of the national awakening . . . [and examines] the inclination to equate

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63 Ibid.
64 Ibid. In the present study, I understand ‘forfeit’ according to Gatens’s definition. Gatens provides an example of “the original covenant between God and Abraham, which involved forfeit of his very flesh, his foreskin.” Moira Gatens, Imaginary Bodies: Ethics, Power and Corporeality (New York: Routledge, 1996), 23.
65 Ibid., 82.
66 Thomas, 20-21.
67 In the 1890s, Bohemian lands were still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until Czechoslovakia achieved its independence after World War I. In fact, Gatens specifically states, “Slaves, foreigners, women, the conquered, children, the working classes, have all been excluded from political participation, at one time or another, by their bodily specificity.” See Gatens, “Corporeal representation in/and the body politic;” 82.
women with the national struggle.” For example, in Slávy dcera, the most notable Czech poem of the National Revival, Kollár depicted Czech nationalism as “romantic subjectivity that insisted on gendering Slavdom as female.” This popular categorization may have contributed to the continuous undertaking of the “maidens’ war” myth by various Czech figures in the cultural discourse during the period of the National Revival, and gradually, Libuše, the mythical queen and the legendary founder of Prague, became a true symbol of Czech “national aspirancy.”

Tyrrell succinctly describes the founding legend of queen Libuše as follows:

Czech legends tell of a mythical founder, Čech, who gave his name to his people and, Moses-like, brought them to a land flowing with milk and honey, establishing a successful settlement under the shadow of the sacred hill Říp, some forty miles north of Prague. Čech was followed by another ruler, Krok, and on his death Krok was succeeded by the youngest and wisest of his three daughters, the prophetess Libuše. At first Libuše was accepted as a ruler, but on one occasion her judgment in a boundary dispute was contested. . . . Women have long hair but short understanding, the loser declared, and it is an outrage that the Czechs are ruled by one. Angered and humiliated, Libuše offers to marry in order to give her people a male ruler. . . . She gives instructions on how her future husband is to be found. . . . His name is Přemysl, . . . he marries Libuše and together they found the first Czech princely dynasty, the Přemyslids.

As suggested by Tyrrell’s summary, Libuše’s nation-building tale shares elements with social contracts—containing a myth at the heart—that served as axiomatic, conventional principles and descriptions of an ‘individual’ with political rights, as defined by the

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68 Thomas, 11.
69 Ibid., 7.
70 Ibid., 24. Female figures, including Libuše, were however not always synonymous with Czech nationalism. Libuše’s character was particularly attractive to German writers from the seventeenth century onwards. In 1787, a Czech translation of an earlier play Libussa, Herzoginn in Böhmen by Guolfinger von Steinsberg (1757-1806) introduced the subject to the Czech stage. Johann-Gottfried Herder published three works dedicated to this topic in 1779, 1791, and 1792. Clemens Brentano published an epic poem titled “The Foundation of Prague” (1814) and Franz Grillparzer finished his tragic drama Libussa in 1847. Unlike the works by Czech nationalists, Grillparzer’s Libuše represents the eternal spirit of Czech history rather than the personification of Czech national identity.
71 For more details on the founding legend, see Tyrrell, 135-40.
Enlightenment theorists. Libuše lacks the necessary qualities to acquire political rights, and is therefore forced to marry. As such, a division of social space based on gender is created in medieval Czech society: on one hand, Libuše, the mother of the nation, and on the other, Přemysl, the essential political body that will create future generations. As Tyrrell notes, the founding legend (and later also the “maidens’ war” legend) can be viewed as a “metaphor for the transition from a matriarchal to a patriarchal society.”

Consequently, the medieval Czech society deviates from the ‘norm’ suggested by the contract theorists: it does not originate in traditional patriarchy; it is grounded in matriarchy, as suggested by Zilboorg. At the same time, it is important to note that the veracity of the tale, its portrayal and role of gender, as well as the concept of matriarchy as a point of origin for the modern Czech society has been questioned on several occasions.

In Christianus’s life of St. Václav and St. Ludmila (account dating to the late tenth century), “Christianus mentions Přemysl (as Premizl) and his previous occupation as a ploughman, [while] Libuše’s name does not appear, nor [do] any . . . details of her life—the judgment and her marriage. Přemysl is merely said to be called to the throne on the advice of a ‘prophetess’, whom he then marries.” Some 130 years later, these details were added in the work of Cosmas, “a high-ranking church diplomat and dean of the Prague chapter, who wrote his Chronica Boemorum at the end of his long life.” Tyrrell suggests that “the vivid details of the Libuše legend [may have been] the work of Cosmas

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72 Ibid., 141.
73 The veracity of the founding legend within the matriarchal construct is extensively questioned by Vladimír Karbusický, Nejstarší pověsti české (The Oldest Czech Legends) (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1966), 32-40, 69-77.
74 Tyrrell, 141.
75 Ibid., 140. According to Tyrrell, Cosmas died in 1125 at the age of about 80. The work of Cosmas will be discussed in greater detail in the next section of the present chapter.
himself. Libuše could have been based, it has been suggested, . . . on the matriarchal Matilda of Tuscany (1046-1115) . . . and on elements from contemporary Minnesinger ballads.”76 Similarly, Cosmas is the first to offer information about the “maidens’ war” myth and, once again, Tyrrell states, “it has been suggested that [the ‘maidens’ war’ was] a reflection of his [Cosmas’s] classical knowledge of Penthesilea, of the Amazon warriors of Scythia, . . . and that the maidens’ fortress was merely another elaboration of a favorite medieval myth found elsewhere in Europe, such as Magdeburg (= the maiden’s castle).”77 But in spite of the debated origin of matriarchal references to the plot and of Libuše’s tale, her name has now for centuries been connected with the personage representing the mother of the Czech nation.78

The symbol of Libuše as a personification of Czech nationalism saw its largest growth in popularity during the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Karel Krejčí, the stories of old legends and myths centered around the ancient Vyšehrad castle were extremely active during the 1860s-80s, [it was these stories] that the myth of the Czech history was built upon; it was supported by the firm belief in the authenticity of the Queen’s Court Manuscript (Královédvorský rukopis) and the Green Mountain manuscript (Zelenohorský rukopis), in which some of these myths and legends were treated artistically.79

77 Tyrrell, 141. Also see Karbusický, Nejstarší pověsti české, 69-77.
78 I would like to remind the reader that historical accuracy is not in question here. Instead, we examine the national identity of Slavs during the National Revival. Consequently, the frequently personified image of Libuše as the mother of the nation suggests that the Slavs identified themselves with the nineteenth-century female gendering, whether their society was originally rooted in matriarchy or not.
79 “Tento cyklus [starých pověstí soustředěných kolem dávnověkého Vyšehradu] byl právě v letech šedesátých až osmdesátých neobyčejně živý, na něm byl převážně vybudován mytus o české minulosti, živený pevnou vírou v provost rukopisu Královédvorského a Zelenohorského, v nichž některé z těchto pověstí byly umělečky zpracovány.” Karel Krejčí, Jaroslav Vrchlický, afterword to Myty, Selské balady, Mů vlast, ed. Josef Moravec (Prague: Zlatoroh, 1973), 517-18. The Green Mountain manuscript (Zelenohorský rukopis) and the Queen’s Court Manuscript (Královédvorský rukopis) were first ‘discovered’ in 1818 and were said to be written in the ninth to tenth century and the thirteenth century, respectively. The first consisted of four leaves of parchment containing two fragments, one of them concerning Libuše’s
Krejčí further suggests that the symbol of Libuše and the “maidens’ war” themes were occurring among the Czech public at every opportunity: “They were brought up during every celebratory address, they were used not only in literary, but also in musical works (Smetana’s Libuše and Má vlast), they formed a vital part in the art decoration of the National Theater and, in addition, they were used for beautification of the new Czech Prague.”

In the Central European classical music discourse, this myth was taken up numerous times even prior to the National Revival. In the seventeenth century, “the first operas on the subject [included] La Libussa (Wolfenbüttel, 1692), and Albinoni’s Primislao primo rè di Bohemia (Venice, San Cassiano, 1697).” But the first opera “clearly based on Cosmas-related source . . . was Praga nascente da Libussa e Primislao, staged by Count Sporck’s company in Prague in 1734.” In the nineteenth century, first starting with an opera by František Škroup (Libuše’s Marriage, 1835), the topic of Libuše was also used by Josef Václav Frič in The Judgement of Libuše (1861) and it was
culminated later in Smetana’s *Libuše* (1881), which was premiered at the opening of the National Theater in Prague.\(^83\)

The topics of the founding legend and of the “maidens’ war” were not limited to works centering on Libuše. Tyrrell states, “In fact Dvořák, Smetana and Fibich all showed some interest in Vlasta,” the central figure of the war (first noted as the leader of the warrior maidens in the chronicle of Dalimil, the earliest Czech chronicle dating to the fourteenth century).\(^84\) “Smetana inquired about [Eliška] Krásnohorská’s Vlasta libretto,” but it was already promised to the librettist’s brother-in-law Hynek Palla (1837-96).\(^85\) Both Smetana and Fibich were also offered a libretto titled *The Death of Vlasta* by Karel Pippich, but they both turned it down.\(^86\) The answer to the question as to why Fibich would refuse a libretto on a topic so close to the one he chose to set just a few years later (*Šárka*, 1897) can be found in Otakar Hostinský’s account: it was due to the “inhibiting similarity of Vlasta to Brünnhilde.”\(^87\) Hostinský’s account of Fibich’s sentiments regarding Pippich’s libretto and his ultimate reason for rejecting it are as follows:

While the subject matter itself was more than agreeable to Fibich, the similarity . . . between the Czech Amazon warrior and the German valkyrie brought him some uncertainty. In no way was it due to similarities in their physical features, which would be definitely easy to fix thanks to Pippich’s friendly readiness, especially since the entire mythical background of the plot pointed obviously to his attempted highlighting Czech elements; but a passionate heroine with a sword in her hand, even if shown in a more Czech-like way, would tempt one to use musical

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\(^83\) According to Tyrrell, “Smetana’s opera was based largely on two sources: Cosmas’s chronicle and the Green Mountain Manuscript.” Tyrrell, 140.

\(^84\) Ibid., 142.

\(^85\) Ibid. Also see Mirko Očadlík, ed., *Eliška Krásnohorská—Bedřich Smetana: Vzájemná korespondence* (Prague: Topicova edice, 1940), 26.

\(^86\) Tyrrell suggests that the libretto was offered to Fibich upon Smetana’s refusal and in 1885, it was published with a dedication to him. In spite of the gesture, Fibich ultimately turned the libretto down. Tyrrell, 142. Also see Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Otakar Ostrčil: Vzrůst a uzrání* (Prague: O. Girgala, 1935), 115-16. According to Thomas, “Other works of German literature dealing with this mythic material were Egon Ebert’s patriotic epic poem ‘Vlasta,’ [and] Adolf Meissner’s ‘Vlasta.’” Thomas, 24.

\(^87\) Tyrrell, 142.
techniques, even if not the same, still very similar to the ones, with which Wagner so skillfully depicted his Brünnhilde. Fibich . . . was too enthusiastic of an admirer of just this Wagnerian opera character that he could not easily commit himself to solving a task, which would constantly make him intentionally deviate from what . . . he acknowledged to be the most flawless and the insurmountable ideal. 88

Opposite to Pippich’s *The Death of Vlasta*, the dramatic crisis of the opera Šárka

“focuses on the erotic conflict between Šárka and Ctirad, which removed [Fibich’s] reasons for the previously mentioned worries regarding the unwelcome influence of *Die Walküre*, . . . [and instead, Šárka’s plot offered Fibich] an opportunity to create a dramatic work based on a Czech myth and to comply in this way not only to the insistent wishes of the public but also to his own affections.” 89 Otakar Ostrčil (1879-1935), Fibich’s pupil, eventually set Pippich’s text in 1904.

Tyrrell states that the story of Šárka (one of Vlaster’s warriors) attracted perhaps more attention than Vlasta’s character itself. Šárka first appeared as the third of six tone poems in Smetana’s *Má vlast* (1874-79), and later, it was set in operas by two other prominent Czech composers: Fibich and Leoš Janáček (1887, 1888, rev. 1918, libretto by Julius Zeyer). 90 By setting the “maidens’ war” legend with the heroine Šárka at its core, Fibich conformed to the general trends in the depiction of nationality previously

88 Otakar Hostinský, *Vzpomínky na Fibicha* (Prague: Mojmír Urbánek, 1909), 139. “Mohu dosvědčit, že látká samotna Fibichovi byla sice nadmíru sympathická, ale podobnost—ostatně docela přirozená—mezi českou bojovnou mužatkou a německou Walkürou budila v něm jakési pochybnosti. Neběželo nikterak o drobné zevnější rysy, jež by se při Pippichově přátelské ochotě byly zajisté dali napravit tím snadněji, poněvadž celé mythické pozadí děje ukazovalo zřejmou snahu po českosti; ale vášnívá bohatyrka s mečem v ruce, třeba sebe češtější, sváděla k užívání ne-li těchže, přece velmi podobných prostředků hudební charakteristiky, jako byly ty, jimiž Wagner tak mistrovsky vyličil svou Brunnhildu. Fibich však byl příliš nadšený obdivovatel právě této Wagnerovy postavy, než aby se byl mohl tak snadně odhodlát k řešení úkolu, který by ho byl stale nutil odchylovat se úmyselně od toho, co dle svého nejlepšího přesvědčení musil uznávat za nejlepší, nepřekonatelný vzor.” For more information, see Hostinský, 138-40.

89 Ibid., 175. “V té arci celé ozvučiš bylo jiné, zejména těžiště děje spadalo jinam, do erotickeho sopru Šárky a Ctirada, zmizely tudíž důvody oněch shora dotčených obav před nevítaným vlivem Walküry, přímým nebo nepřímým, . . . [a] poskytoval mu příležitost, aby vytvořil dramatické dílo čerpané z českého mythu a vyhověl tak nejen náležavému obecnému přání, ale i své vlastní náklonnosti.”

90 The story of Šárka can be also “found in Karel Hlaváček’s (1874-98) dramatic short poem *Ctirad and Šárka* (1895).” Thomas, 51.
completed by his contemporaries and, as a result, entered the field of competitions and rivalries over the supreme version of the text. But what attributes does Šárka possess that make her a superior candidate for the depiction of Czech national identity over the brave Vlasta? And what role does gendered national identity play in the plot of Fibich’s opera Šárka?

In order to adequately observe Šárka’s role within the “maidens’ war” legend and to examine changes in the gender-national identity portrayal, we begin the examination with Cosmas’s account of the founding legend and the “maidens’ war” battles—with Šárka (rather than Vlasta) cast as the female lead character—, and progress chronologically through all subsequent influential versions, ending with Anežka Schulzová’s libretto set by Fibich in 1897. Focusing on the prominent changes to the written accounts of the legend and the cultural and political situation during each version’s conception, I will draw connections between gender portrayal and the evolution of Czech nationalism.

**Traces of Šárka’s origins and transformations towards Fibich’s opera**

Written in the first half of the twelfth century, Cosmas’s monograph, the *Latin Chronicle of the Czechs (Chronica Boëmorum)* is the very first account of the “maidens’ war” legend.91 It tells a story of a fertility rite, a failure of the women’s rebellion, and a

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91 Cosmas, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, ed. Lisa Wolverton (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009). As previously mentioned, Cosmas, a man of significant rank within the church, was later questioned for the verity of his account. As Tyrrell points out, it has been suggested that Cosmas’s version combined stories from the Czech history with other well-known tales and, consequently, he distorted the factual information about the Czechs’ past. See Tyrrell, 140-41.
subsequent transition from a matriarchal to a patriarchal society. Cosmas’s portrayal of gender is quite generalized and limited to a plain distinction between men and women. In the legend, women are portrayed in an Amazonian way—they exhibit manners and behaviors traditionally associated with masculinity according to Western measures—but socially, they identify themselves as females, which can be discerned from the legend based on descriptions of their attire. All the characters are essentialized and presented in a collectivist sense as two conflicting sides (men and women) without any sign of individuality. The legend further describes a women’s castle, which can be viewed as a medieval motif of a ‘women’s city’. The story then takes a turn and describes the interaction between men and women as a set of games (rather than a bloody struggle), which concludes with reconciliation and a feast between the two sexes.

By referring to this volume as containing “the first account of the ‘maidens’ war’ I intend the first written version of the tale, treated separately from the founding legend. In the present study, “maiden’s war” represents a tale, in which, as Tyrrell states, “Women’s power [was] in decline after Libuše’s marriage, diminished further at her death. . . . In protest the girls took themselves off [sic], built a fortress called Dévin (etymologically associated with the word for girl [deval] in Czech), and there trained an army of warrior women which, to the men’s surprise and consternation, turned out to be invincible.” Ibid., 141. This plot represents the core of the “maidens’ war” legend and is compared with all subsequent versions for any modifications of the original.

92 The motif of a classical Amazon warrior originates in Homer’s warrior queen Penthesilea. The Amazon warrior typology was revived in the Renaissance by Edmund Spenser in his Faerie Queene and then again during neo-classicism by Heinrich von Kleist in a tragedy titled Penthesilea (1806). Painter Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) used the Amazon motif in 1830 as a “female personification of the bare-breasted Liberty bestriding the barricades.” Thomas, 22. This revolutionary motif was later appropriated for the Czech political conditions during the 1848 resurrection, in which Macura’s armed Amazon represented Slovanka (Slavic Woman).

93 Mary Whisner discusses gender differentiation based on appearance and, specifically, based on attire, as follows: “Appearance regulation is an obvious means of enforcing gender differentiation. Requiring women and only women to wear skirts and men and only men to keep their hair short, for example, forces people to ‘wear’ their gender for all to see, setting the stage for differential treatment, and reinforcing the belief that ‘the sexes’ are ‘opposite’. And, because differentiation takes place in the context of patriarchy, it works to the detriment of women as a class.” Mary Whisner, “Gender-Specific Clothing Regulations: A Study in Patriarchy,” Harvard Women’s Law Journal 73 (1982): 76-77.

93 Recall previously discussed possible connections with the medieval myth of Magdeburg, the maidens’ castle, which is addressed in detail in Karbusický, 69-77.
The earliest complete treatment of the legend, as it appears in Fibich’s Šárka, can be traced to the *Dalimil Chronicle*, which dates back to the early fourteenth century. The believed aim of the document was to systematize the Bohemian history in Czech (rather than Latin or German) in order “to construct a collective sense of identity based on the linguistic and cultural differences from the German norm.” According to Thomas, “The subordination of random events to a uniformly patriarchal ideology is consistent with the author’s insistence that the Czech language . . . and the Czech-speaking nobility provide the sole key to the meaning of Bohemian history.” Consequently, Dalimil’s account of the legend was refashioned from the preexisting version in order to fit his representation of Bohemian identity as the Czech-speaking gentry.

In order to emphasize the importance of Czech identity, Dalimil expands on Cosmas’s *Chronicle* by inserting specific elements, such as love stories and characters’ exact names (Vlasta, Mlada, Svatava, and most importantly, Šárka). These details, such as the story of Šárka’s entrapment of Ctirad, serve an essential purpose of providing an impression of a real flow of historical events and consequently, they aid in making a transition from mythology to Czech history. In addition, the act of providing the reader with a set of short stories—subordinate to the underlying “maidens’ war” tale—initiates a shift from general to particular ideology (i.e., ‘men vs. women’ to ‘Ctirad vs. Šárka’); moreover, in the political discourse, it serves as a transition from the ideal of national

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95 Thomas, 14.
96 Ibid., 21.
97 Ibid., 20-21.
collectivism towards the concept of national identity on the level of a right-bearing individual.

Dalimil’s account of the story introduces another important change. The ‘innocent game’ of the sexes, as presented in Cosmas’s Chronicle, turns into a bloody fight and a real war, and suggests that “the female rebellion was an aberration from a patriarchal norm rather than an organic and sequential process” from matriarchy to patriarchy.98 In other words, Cosmas states that the rebellion marked the beginning of the absolute rule of men, while Dalimil presents patriarchy as normative. The two readings of the myth can also be explained as two opposing views on the origin and meaning of patriarchy: on one hand, as a social structure imposed by the foreign and artificial attempt for the restitution of patriarchy as described in Dalimil, or, on the other hand, as Cosmas’s natural, organic, and inevitable way, or a linear progress towards a more developed society with a proper civilized government.

The Czech Chronicle (1541) by Václav Hájek z Libočan maintains Dalimil’s version, but presents it in a slightly extended form.99 Despite frequent questioning of the historical accuracy of Hájek’s version, the source became influential for the revivalists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.100 This may be in part due to Hájek’s personification of Libuše as the “mother” of her people, which could have contributed to the later designation of Bohemia as female. In addition, Hájek’s version also became very

98 Ibid., 21.
99 Václav Hájek z Libočan, Kronika česká, ed. V. Flajšhans (Prague: Náklad české akademie císař Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1541; 1918).
100 For example, Hájek’s “historical inaccountability” is critiqued by Ivan Olbrecht, who particularly calls out the uncertainty in the centuries, suggested by the historian, such as the arrival of the Czechs in 644, Libuše’s coronation in 710, Libuše’s request for Přemysl in 722, etc. See Ivan Olbrecht, Ze starých letopisů: Nejstarší pověsti české, ed. Karl Zeman (Prague: Melantrich, 1940), 37, 39. “Nespolehlivé jsou zejména letopočty Hájkovy, o nichž nevím, odkud je vzal. Také nikdo před ním ani nikdo po něm se neodvážil klásti je tak určité. Pro zajímavost je uvádíme: Příchod Čechů v r. 644, Libuše nastupuje na knížetství v r. 710, Libuše povolává Přemysla v r. 722 . . .”
popular outside of Bohemia and was widely available with several reprints in German (1595); consequently, it may have served as an origin of German accounts of Libuše (such as in Grillparzer’s Libussa).101

In his account, Hájek dates the “maidens’ war” to 736-44 and elaborates on the reasons behind the war between men and women.102 He states that Libuše sets an example of women’s rights by choosing her husband. Owing to their failed attempts to maintain this right after Libuše’s death (the leader of the maidens, Vlasta, tries to replace Libuše by the side of King Přemysl), women decide to fight for their power. Hájek’s reasoning for the war between men and women operates as the female counterpart of the primal horde episode as an allegory of Rousseau’s, and later Freud’s, interpretation of the social contract, and illuminating the sexual contract (as discussed by Pateman), in which brothers overthrow their father (i.e., the king) in order to re-negotiate the sexual access to women equally among all men. In the “maidens’ war” tale, the women come together after the death of Libuše (the queen) in order to regain their right to choose their spouse. In other words, the story remains the same, but the respective genders are ‘cast’ in the opposite roles.

Hájek describes the building process of the Děvín castle in great detail. Women are divided based on their abilities into a highly organized work force: they hew wood, burn lime, quarry and carve stone, etc., in order to build a castle without men’s help. He further elaborates on their abandonment of the normative ‘passive’ femininity, and emphasizes the transformation of their feminine traits into masculinity by describing their military practice in preparation for battle: they ride horses, throw spears, shoot with bow

101 Tyrrell, 140. As previously mentioned, the story of Libuše became widely popular as a source of inspiration in Germany beginning in the seventeenth century.
102 Ibid., 141.
and arrow, practice fencing techniques, etc. Finally, Hájek’s climax of this transformation lies in a comparison between men and women, featuring qualities as defined by the Western European ‘norm’ of gender roles, but in a mirror-image form:

“Truly, the fight appears to be unchanged, since men behave as if they had female hearts and women are armed with masculine bravery.” While Hájek’s portrayal of gender obeys the rigid essentialized binary categorization of ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity’ according to the ‘norm’ as emotional-rational and timid-brave ordered pairs, respectively (he pairs ‘female hearts’ and ‘masculine bravery’), the gender attributes maintained within their traditional categories are now ascribed to the opposite gender; women show masculine lack of remorse, closely resembling the masculine Amazon warrior.

The masculine portrayal of the maidens, led by the fearless Vlasta, is suddenly juxtaposed with the character of Šárka, a noble woman of a beautiful face with feminine features and womanly behavior. The contrary natures of the two characters can be, in Hájek’s version, understood as yet another layer of binary pairs: the male-female essence dichotomy is now complicated and employed on a spectrum of female-sex ‘femininity’, where the masculinity does not define a female, but discerns the two poles of femininity.

103 Hájek’s description of and distinction between sexes and gender roles of individual characters is based on the Western European construction of gender, in which the binary qualities (such as rational-emotional and brave-timid) are assigned to men and women, respectively, and are believed to represent the true and original essence of each sex. Carolyn Korsmeyer discusses Plato’s “hierarchy of values that rank the eternal, abstract, intellectual world of ideal forms over the transient, particular, sensuous world of physical objects. This hierarchy supports the dualism between mind and body that is deeply correlated with gender asymmetry, . . . [and] certain concepts . . . appear in ‘binary’ combinations: mind-body; universal-particular; reason-emotion; . . . male-female. These are not merely correlative pairs, they are ranked pairs in which the first item is taken to be naturally superior to the second.” Korsmeyer further states, “‘male’ and ‘female’ (sometimes conflated with ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’, though the terms are not synonymous) are root members of the pairs of opposites.” Carolyn Korsmeyer, “Feminist Aesthetic,” The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 4 (2012), ed. Edward N. Zalta, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2012/entries/feminism-aesthetics/>. Also see Moira Gatens, Feminism and Philosophy: Perspectives on Difference and Equality (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 92.

104 “Věru, nejinak se tu bojuje, leč jako by muži ženská srdce měli a ženy se v mužskou statečnosti oblékly.” Hájek, 48.
On this spectrum, Vlasta and Šárka represent the two opposing male-female poles, respectively. In addition, Šárka’s ‘femininity’ is not used merely as an essence or as a natural condition of a woman. In fact, it is strategic and presented as a tool or a weapon that can be wielded against men. Her seemingly genuine cry for help and her beautiful features are meant to deceive Ctirad and lure him into the maidens’ trap. In addition to her ‘femininity’, Šárka manipulates Ctirad by exploiting his rationality, a traditionally masculine quality, and fabricates a story, in which she declares herself to be the daughter of Mnohoslav from Oskořín, whom Ctirad knows very well. She claims to have been captured and tied up by the maidens. Ctirad justifies his decision to free Šárka using his reason. She then persuades him (and his men) to drink Vlasta’s spellbound potion and to play the hunting horn. With Šárka’s help, the maidens are able to capture the enchanted men. Ctirad is taken to Děvín, where he is tortured, and placed across from Vyšehrad, the king’s castle, forcing Přemysl to witness the female victory. Subsequently, Hájek’s version (unlike Cosmas’s) “ends bloodily, with the defeat of the women on the battlefield.” However, he completely fails to mention Šárka’s end; unlike Dalimil, whose Šárka is captured and buried alive after the women’s defeat by Ctirad’s son.

In his version, Hájek takes liberties with various magical and supernatural symbols and, in this way, he pushes the story’s form from a historically-based myth closer to a legend, or maybe even a fairytale. For example, in Přemysl’s prophetic dream, one of Vlasta’s girls is handing him a glass full of blood. In addition to the vampire reference, the story contains symbolism of inevitable death personified by a crow, which sways on a branch above the place where Ctirad first finds Šárka. This and other fantastic

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105 Tyrrell, 141-42.
elements and supernatural forces, such as the evil spirits laughing in the forest, and
Vlasta’s enchanted mead, become recurrent features in the subsequent versions of the
legend.

Both Hájek’s *Czech Chronicle* and *The Dalimil Chronicle* were revived at the end
of the eighteenth century. During the first phase of the National Revival, the legend of the
Czech Amazons was reprinted and the mythical function of the characters of Libuše and
Vlasta served to fit the Enlightenment principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality. For
example, in Šebastián Hněvkovský’s poem *Děvín* (1804), the maidens were personified
as “the spirit of liberty and defiance of absolutist tyranny,” and were meant to represent
an “Enlightenment fantasy of brotherhood and freedom realized in the final
rapprochement between the sexes.” The rediscovery served to embody the Bohemian
human struggles that were conveyed through its very own saga, the Bohemian conjectural
history.

In her discussion on the necessary sacrifice (or forfeit) as a sign of capacity to
participate in the political body and, consequently, as a sign of masculinity, Gatens states,
“Even the Amazons, the only female body politic that we ‘know’ of, practiced ritual
mastectomy.” A reading, using Gatens’s theory of sacrifice as a signifier of political-
body capability, adds a possible explanation for the popularity of the “maidens’ war”
legend during the National Revival. If the Slavic nation is represented as female due to its
political weakness (suggesting that weak nations and women, alike, are incapable of
defending the political body) then Gatens’s depiction of the Amazons—who possess

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106 Thomas, 23.
107 Ibid., 23-24. Other works on this topic during the Enlightenment period included Václav Thám’s play
“Šárka or The Maidens’ Battle near Prague” (1786), and Prokop Šedivý’s *The Czech Amazons or the
Maidens’ War under the Rule of the Heroine Vlasta* (1792).
108 Gatens, “Corporeal representation in/and the body politic,” 82.
masculine physique and “practice ritual mastectomy” (and are therefore capable of such sacrifice)—suggests that the Slavic nation already was, is (through a developing process, such as women achieving masculinity and reclaiming their military power in Hájek’s legend), and once again will be sovereign. Consequently, the metaphor contained within the plot of the “maidens’ war” could be used during the National Revival to reinforce the Czech nation’s belief in their right to inevitable success in reclaiming their autonomy.

During the time of the greatest influence on the conception of Fibich and Anežka Schulzová’s libretto, the story of Šárka was used in three separate accounts written by prominent contemporary literary figures, Julius Zeyer (1841-1901), Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853-1912), and Alois Jirásek (1851-1930). Zeyer created the first work of the three, which—at the request of Antonín Dvořák—also resulted in the first libretto written specifically on the story of Šárka (1879). Zeyer’s poem “Ctirad” was published as a part of a collection of four poems titled Vyšehrad (1878). In “Ctirad,” Zeyer presents a very different version of the story. The poem tells about the hero’s journey to Přemysl’s castle to guard the tomb of the deceased Libuše from the attacks of the Maidens. Thanks to the invincible hammer (according to Thomas, “a Slavic equivalent to King Arthur’s

109 Gatens further suggests that the importance of a masculine body lies in its representation of the neutral body, which is assumed by the liberal state. “Man is the model and it is his body which is taken for the human body; his reason which is taken for Reason; his morality which is formalized into a system of ethics.” Ibid. 82-83. Also see Pateman, 77-115.
111 Julius Zeyer, “Ctirad,” Vyšehrad (Prague: Náklad české grafické akademické společnosti “Unie,” 1878; 1917). The libretti on the “maidens’ war” topic were written by Julius Zeyer, Karel Pippich, and Anežka Schulzová, respectively. Zeyer’s libretto was not set to music until 1887, when it was used by Janáček for his opera Šárka.
Excalibur”), Ctirad is able to foil Šárka’s attempt to steal Libuše’s magical crown for the new leader Vlasta and, as a consequence, Šárka seeks revenge.\textsuperscript{112}

Zeyer’s poem contains many novel elements, such as the story of Ctirad’s mother and her predictions (in replacement of the king’s prophecy), objects with magical powers, Slavic proverbs, and retellings of the founding legend (including Libuše’s judgment day).\textsuperscript{113} Zeyer tells a story of the forefather Čech, who was first brought to a stone at Vyšehrad castle by a gold bird, which sang about the ‘gold glory’ of the Czech nation.\textsuperscript{114} At his death, Čech was buried under the stone with a gold feather in his hand, and his tomb sprouted into a tall tree. Krok, Čech’s successor, turned this place into a lime-tree (linden tree) park, which was maintained as a sacred place even during Libuše’s reign. On the day of her judgment, Libuše took off her magical crown and sat at a gold table under the lime tree, waiting for her death.\textsuperscript{115} By tying the various founding legends and their respective Czech rulers with one symbol, Zeyer reinforces the arborescent metaphor of a lime tree, a motif of Czechness inherited from Kollár’s Slávy dcera.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{112} Thomas, 49.
\textsuperscript{113} According to the prophecy of Héla (Ctirad’s mother), Ctirad’s destiny is to follow in the steps of his father and to lose to the beauty of a woman, rather than due to a lack of his own strength.
\textsuperscript{114} “Já tvého lidu zlatá sláva jsem, a proto srđce moje krvácí!” Zeyer, 15.
\textsuperscript{115} “Teď kázala Libuše dívkám svým, by zlatokutý stolec přinesly do lipového háj pod hvězdy.” Ibid., 10.

In Act 2 of Smetana’s Libuše (1881), when the Czech princess is discovered under a lime tree, “Přemysl . . . addresses his invocation to the lime trees ‘Ó, vy lípy.’” Tyrrell further states, “a Czech audience by the 1880s knew that a lime tree was ‘Slavonic’ (as opposed to the ‘German’ oak) and that by singing about lime trees Přemysl was both invoking a now well-established nationalist symbol, and at the same time reinforcing it.” Tyrrell, 4. This concept was later adapted in Karel Václav Mašek’s painting \textit{The Prophetess of Libuše} (1893). Also see Thomas, 49 and Vladimír Macura, \textit{Znamení zrodu: České obrození jako kulturní typ} (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1983), 93-107.
Consequently, when Ctirad discovers Šárka tied to a ‘German’ oak tree, rather than the ‘traditional’ Slavic symbol, it reinforces negative connotations of the upcoming fulfillment of the catastrophic prophecy.\(^\text{117}\) The blond-haired, blue-eyed Šárka, clothed in long, dark garments and sitting under a flock of ravens, “explains that she is the victim of Vlasta’s envy.”\(^\text{118}\) As before, Ctirad is unable to use his judgment because he is blinded by Šárka’s beauty. She professes her love for him but once untied, she summons the waiting maidens with a horn call (she takes Ctirad’s fate in her own hands while, in the previous versions, Ctirad was tricked into blowing the horn himself) and Ctirad is subsequently murdered and taken to Děvín as a prize, where his body finally becomes the prey of the ravens.

Zeyer is the first to radically change the end of the story. In his libretto, Šárka falls in love with Ctirad, and—after seeing him die at the hand of her maidens—she offers her life voluntarily by stabbing herself.\(^\text{119}\) Therefore, Zeyer presents the death of

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\(^{117}\) The new detail of Šárka tied to a tree, rather than sitting under it, may be a reflection of Zeyer’s internationalism and his German-Jewish background, which seems to betray, in this instance, the fate of his nation. Thomas, 49. I would also like to alert the reader to a differing meaning of lime trees in German literary tradition. In Nibelungenlied, an epic poem in Middle High German (dating back to oral traditions of Germanic tribes in the fifth and sixth centuries), Siegfried achieves invulnerability by bathing in the blood of a dragon. During this ritual, a single lime leaf lands on his body, forever marking Siegfried’s only spot of vulnerability. The Nibelungenlied was later adapted in Wagner’s Der Ring des Nibelungen, which was undoubtedly familiar to nineteenth-century Wagner enthusiasts, such as Fibich and Hostinský. In German folk tradition, the lime tree also represents the “tree of lovers.” For example, Walther von der Vogelweide’s (c1170-c1230) love poem begins under the lime tree. Consequently, one would not be surprised if the lovers (Šárka and Ctirad) exposed their vulnerability under a lime tree in a German-based narrative. Conforming to the traditional German meaning of this symbol in a Czech narrative would, however, further emphasize the extent of German influence on the Czech nation: its literary tradition and, by extension, its political situation. H.M. Mustard, trans., “The Nibelungenlied,” in Medieval Epics (New York: Modern Library, 1963); Richard Wagner, “Der Ring des Nibelungen” in Sämtliche Werke, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Mainz: Schott, 1970); Walther von der Vogelweide, “Unter der Linde” in Gedichte und Sprüche in Auswahl, Reprint of the 1922 Leipzig: Im Insel-Verlag Edition, Gutenberg Project, 2010. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/35795/35795-h/35795-h.htm.

\(^{118}\) Thomas, 50.

\(^{119}\) The ending of the poem “Ctirad” differs from the libretto: Ctirad’s body is retrieved by the men and placed beneath the lime tree at Vyšehrad. Šárka, under the spell of a magical veil, appears at his grave and performs a ritual (the killing of Ctirad’s horse by his invincible sword), which is followed by a Slavic funeral ceremony. She then takes Ctirad’s ashes and prays to the moon until she turns into a stone.
Ctirad as Šárka’s “hollow triumph [that] is less a victory of female sexual guile than a reaffirmation of Czech heroism.”\textsuperscript{120} The maidens no longer appear heroic, but rather satanic and in possession of supernatural powers driven by their female sexuality.\textsuperscript{121} They “lure him to his doom by the supernatural power invested in them by the malevolent force of Nature . . . [and] Ctirad’s death becomes a foregone conclusion, a futile act of sacrifice that has undeniably sadomasochistic overtones.”\textsuperscript{122} Through Šárka’s fatal love, Zeyer reattributes Ctirad’s death to natural causes, stripping away her power to kill, and consequently, she no longer poses as a sexual threat to men. This sanitization of female mortal power over men is reminiscent of the previously discussed Judeo-Christian appropriation of women’s reproductive power by the male in \textit{Genesis} (i.e., Adam is endowed with birthing powers, and Eve is “taken out of man,” \textit{Gen.} 2:23).

In a letter to Jan Voborník, Zeyer describes the instigation for his literary efforts on the “maidens’ war” legend:

Once I went for a walk with [Jaroslav] Vrchlický and we talked about Šárka. We concurred that we would both write Šárka, we would not talk about it any more, would not disclose anything about the conception and we would surprise each other with the completed work. So it happened. Vrchlický wrote ‘Šárka’ and I wrote ‘Ctirad’.\textsuperscript{123}

While Zeyer’s letter provides information regarding their agreement, Krejčí mentions that according to some documents, “Vrchlický considered this topic prior” to his agreement

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 50.
\textsuperscript{121} The defamation of the ‘feminine’, starting with Zeyer’s version of the “maidens’ war” and moving forward, follows the Western European Catholic tradition, in which sex is sinful and women come to represent sex itself.
\textsuperscript{122} Recall that according to Rousseau, the female sexuality is uncontrollable and therefore destined to ruin both sexes. According to Pynsent, “One of the most common expressions of the Decadent doubting of the existence of the stable identity lay . . . in sadomasochistic fantasies. In Czech Decadent literature one thinks particularly of Zeyer.” Pynsent, ix.
\textsuperscript{123} Jan Voborník, \textit{Julius Zeyer} (Prague: Náklad české grafické akademické společnosti “Unie,” 1919), 81. Also see Zahrádka, 265.
with Zeyer. Part of the reason for finally settling on the topic may have been the continued battles between the ‘Young’ and the ‘Old’ Czechs, or between the Lumír generation and their opponents respectively. The ‘Old’ Czechs’ views were often represented by the librettist Eliška Krásnohorská, who disagreed with the Lumír generation (particularly with Zeyer and Vrchlický) in terms of the proper place and representation of “nationalism and cosmopolitanism in [Czech] literature.” As a consequence, Vrchlický chose a topic that was, at the time, “understood as eminently nationalistic and closely related to the Czech National Revival.” His collection of epic poems titled *Mythy*, created in 1874-78, includes works limited exclusively to Czech materials, including the poem “Šárka.” According to Krejčí, Vrchlický used the traditional myth as an “opportunity to turn the [‘maidens’ war’], as portrayed in the antique chronicles, into a passionate, dramatic erotica, similar to the old medieval legends, which tell the story of battles between the Greek hero Achilles and the leader of [the] Amazons Penthesilea with erogenous undertones.

Vrchlický’s story of the female heroine differs radically from Zeyer’s depiction, including her physical features. Šárka is found genuinely resting under an oak tree. She is taken off guard; and Ctirad, admonishing her for the past rejection of his love, ties her to the tree, preparing to dishonor her. He rips off her clothes and ‘feeds his eyes’. In addition to presenting Šárka as an object of male desire, Vrchlický begins the traditional

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124 Krejčí, 517.
125 Ibid. “...mezi lumírovci a jejich odpůrci, zvláště Eliška Krásnohorská, o národnost a kosmopolitanismus v literature.”
126 Ibid., 518. “Vrchlický sáhl tu tedy skutečně k látce, která v jeho době byla cítěna jako eminentně národní a úzce souvisela s českým národním bojem.”
128 Krejčí, 518.
129 Vrchlický, 13. “Pás dlouho Ctirad lačné svoje zraky.”
story with two important changes. First, he introduces the conflict of sex-right, in which Šárka is presented as the instigator (rather than Vlasta), as she refuses Ctirad for another man. Secondly, while in all other versions Šárka is tied to the tree by her own free will, Vrchlický opens his poem with a reversed situation: she is the one who is trapped and ends up tied by Ctirad to an oak tree.

Vrchlický’s temporary plot reversal could be subject to an arboreal metaphor, in which Šárka’s submission to Ctirad’s offensive attack (by means of an oak tree) could symbolize the temporary oppression of the Slavs (embodied in feminized Šárka) by the German-speaking populace (associated with the oak tree)—the plot is later resolved by the traditional scene (as the reader may expect and as the Czech nation may hope). Šárka is saved by Vrchlický’s newly introduced character Bivoj, whose temperament resembles a “wise, noble old man, mitigating the tension of unnatural passions [between Ctirad and Šárka] and conveying the natural human feeling and negotiations.”³¹ In addition, Bivoj’s character embodies the “modern crisis of religion skepticism, [as he] transforms from a primitive [pre-Christian] pagan, who believes in gods, into a philosopher, who seeks interpretations of the surrounding nature’s phenomena.”³²

The threat of dishonor instigates Šárka’s desire for revenge, as she later undresses herself and summons the maidens to tie her to the very same tree that she was first strapped to against her will. While the rest of Šárka’s guile conforms to the original version of the myth with only minor alterations, the very first ‘reversed’ meeting of the two characters offers a new meaning to the same plot. At the beginning of the poem, Šárka is portrayed in a traditional way: she represents the ‘standard’ passive participant

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³⁰ Krejčí, “Afterword,” 519.
³¹ Ibid.
(signifying femininity)—the object of male desire.132 As Ctirad approaches Šárka the second time, his loss of reality— informed by male fantasy, passions and dreams—strips him of his “masculine” rationality. In actuality, the roles are reversed. This time, the seemingly passive object of desire is actively turning Ctirad into an object of threat, posed by the feminine sexuality; now, he is the passive participant watched by the maidens, who are active—they observe the situation and wait for the right time to attack.

The opening rape scene (Vrchlický’s poetic choice) obeys the oldest, traditional portrayals of evolution of the state in which the origin of nation-state is not complete without women’s subjugation and the act of rape. This scene can be also understood as an ascription of evil to female sex that must be subdued to eliminate the threat of men’s emasculation. In addition, Vrchlický re-appropriates Šárka’s political military strategy of tree-tying (portrayed in the previous versions of the myth) and attributes it to the intended victim Ctirad as a prelude to Šárka’s imitative tying. The second tree-tying scene, however, is deprived of all macro-political military strategies and is diminished into a micro-, hetero-normative, and interpersonal vignette of jealousy, honor, and revenge. In the process, women are stripped of their military powers, their sophisticated strategic thought, and even their ability to defend themselves (a central nationalist thought realized in the previous myths through female-gender embodiment). In this way, Vrchlický

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132 In her discussion on object interpretation in art, Korsmeyer states that “females depicted in art are standardly placed as objects of attraction . . . and that the more active role of looking assumes a counterpart masculine position. . . . Women are assigned the passive status of being looked at, whereas men are the active subjects who look.” Korsmeyer, 9. Also see Laura Mulvey, Visual and Other Pleasures (London: Macmillan, 1989).
recreates the scene, and turns it into matters of men, and between men (Ctirad and Bivoj), following closely the spirit of patriarchal right of men over women.\textsuperscript{133}

In addition, Vrchlický complicates the plot by providing the warrior Vlasta with the malicious passions of a tyrant.\textsuperscript{134} Vlasta’s past love interest in Ctirad comes to the surface, as she demands to spend the night in his cell before his execution. Šárka pleads with Vlasta to spare him, but is unsuccessful. She opts to betray the maidens and attempts to rescue Ctirad by asking Přemysl’s army for help. However, they are too late to save him and Šárka passes out from exhaustion deep in the forest. Consequently, Vrchlický not only promoted Ctirad, the intended victim, to the role of the original offender of the tree-tying event, but he also recast the lead female warrior Vlasta as a tyrant, and defamed and reduced Šárka to a traitor to all other women. Thus, the women’s military solidarity—a sisterhood not essentialized, but organized based on a sophisticated division of military capabilities—was dissolved into petty jealousy amongst themselves. In this way, what was once matriarchal victory is reduced to a mere one-night stand between Ctirad and Vlasta.

At the time of the third reprint of Vrchlický’s \textit{Mythy} (1894), Alois Jirásek (1851-1930) published a new version of the \textit{Old Czech Legends}.\textsuperscript{135} This version trended back toward Hájek’s version, and while it has been critiqued for its overly dramatic retelling of the events, it has become a “canonic text and staple reading for Czech schoolchildren.”\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{133} While in \textit{Genesis}, it was the female reproductive power that was re-appropriated, it is the female military power of destruction that is denied and moved to the second place in Vrchlický’s version of the “maidens’ war” legend.

\textsuperscript{134} Krejčí, 518.


\textsuperscript{136} Thomas, 48. Consequently, Jirásek’s work maintained the purpose of nation-building, which became standardized into school curricula. The act of cultivation of Jirásek’s myth in Czech children’s upbringing contributed to the collective imagination of nation, which can be understood as an example of the \textit{myth within a myth} concept.
Jirásek maintains the symbols connected with the king's prophetic dream, the black raven, and the oak connotation, but elaborates on them in several imaginative ways. The king’s dream (most likely about Vlasta) exhibits traits of expressionism:

The air was full of thick smoke in the night, and then, in the light of a fire I saw a woman in full armor, her long hair flowing. She held a sword in one hand and a goblet in the other. All around her lay men, dead or dying, wounded and bleeding. She ran about, stepping on their bodies, and filled her cup with their blood, which she drank.  

This vampire concept (possibly in reference to Vlasta) is reinterpreted from Hájek’s account and, as Thomas suggests, “If Libuše is the female embodiment of the nation, her successor, Vlasta, is presented in Decadent terms as a long-haired vampire who drinks men’s blood from a goblet. This split between the virtuous mother figure [Libuše] and the dangerous ‘femme fatale’ corresponds to the nationalist-Decadent tension in the author’s own artistic identity,” which is undeniably present in Czech literature at the time of the Czech Legends’ completion.  

Jirásek is even less mysterious about the significance of the raven when he describes Ctirad’s meeting with Šárka: “As the young men went off the trail to investigate, a black raven circled over their heads, but they paid no attention to this omen of disaster.”

Jirásek’s version of the “maidens’ war” tale focuses on a hetero-conjugal couple of Ctirad and Šárka in the midst of a patriarchal society—bearing certain similarities to Rousseau’s Emile and Sophie—, and thus it removes the ‘primal horde-like’ episode of the women’s attempt for the sexual contract re-negotiation, as suggested by Hájek. Jirásek does not mention reasons behind the war (such as the women’s rebellion over

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137 Jirásek, 18.
138 Thomas, 48.
139 Jirásek, 20.
choosing their mate, as presented by Hájek) or the details about the building process of Děvín, but instead, pays more attention to the interaction between the two sexes. Jirásek first comments on the men’s reaction to the maidens’ attempts, which are greeted with nothing but laughter. He further elaborates on Vlasta’s division of power into her advisors, guards, warriors, and deceivers (such as Šárka), and illustrates how the power dynamic between men and women switches as a result of Vlasta’s effective leadership. In order to highlight the change of roles between men and women, Ctirad’s men are first heavily armed with swords, bows, quivers of arrows, and even lances, only to find out that none of these weapons can save them from Šárka’s guile: “the knights stopped in astonishment, for they heard a woman crying and calling for help. . . . Moved by her beauty and her sad plight, Ctirad forgot to be careful.”\textsuperscript{140} In this instance, Ctirad is unaware that Šárka is, in fact, set up as a decoy by Vlasta, who is mindful and takes advantage of the traditional categorization of the ‘feminine’. Jirásek, therefore, opts for two characters with the femme fatale-like behavior, Vlasta and Šárka. The contrast between Libuše, the mother, and Šárka, the femme fatale, offers another example of a binary pair of women’s gender; the mother vs. femme fatale is rooted in the Judeo-Christian church and can serve as a metaphor for the virgin/Mary vs. whore/Magdalene dichotomy.

After the women’s successful attack, Ctirad is taken prisoner to Děvín, paradoxically bound by the same cords from which he had freed Šárka. Furthermore, Jirásek stays within the traditional ending and does not mention the erotic interpersonal

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
drama between Šárka and Ctirad. On the contrary, he states that it is “she [who] only laughed at him.”

Richard Händl’s contemporary chapter on the “maidens’ war,” titled “Dívčí válka proběhlajinak!” [The Maidens’ War took place a bit differently!], problematizes Jirásek’s telling of the legend. He instead turns to Cosmas as a plausible basis for his satiric account of the Czech history titled Historie trochu jinak (2003). Händl compares Jirásek’s “maidens’ war” to an American-made film as “even the true Medieval times present the story in a more peaceful light.” Instead, he agrees with the original story presented by Cosmos, where women are portrayed in a traditional Western way through feminine passivity (a notion that became widespread at the beginning of the twentieth century): “Although much of the twentieth-century Czech criticism would appear to be progressive and democratic, this body of writing has to be read alongside an equally important tradition of imaginative works (opera, drama, poetry, fiction) in which women are represented in a far more conservative fashion.”

As our survey of the various versions of the “maidens’ war” tale has shown, Pateman’s theories in The Sexual Contract are of theoretical pertinence to the analysis of the legend in that they identify the shift of power from the monarchical rule to the nation-state model of the Enlightenment. In the “maidens’ war,” the shift of matriarchal power occurs between the death of Libuše and the women’s battles for autonomy and their sexual access to men (i.e., Vlasta’s attempt to take Libuše’s place next to Přemysl in Hájek’s account). In Zeyer’s version, the rendition of women as evil and the power of

141 Ibid.
143 Ibid., 24. “Skutečný středověk ovšem tuto pověst popisuje daleko mírumilovněji.”
144 Thomas, 11.
death are toned down, as Šárka’s ‘femme fatale’ character takes her own life voluntarily at the sight of Ctirad’s death. And lastly, the traditional central role of sexual access (autonomy) of women is scripted out of the battles in the plot of Vrchlický’s text and, instead, it is replaced by a narrative concentrated on the hetero-conjugal, sexual relationship between Šárka and Ctirad.

The traditional critiques of patriarchal power in the context of European thought (Enlightenment and the development of social contract theories) essentialize the shift of power over women (particularly in terms of sexual access) from a monarchical, Judeo-Christian, and vertical form of patriarchy to a republican (from the Latin res publica, meaning ‘public affair’), secular, and horizontal type of patriarchy (i.e., fraternity). Consequently, the history of transition from European monarchies to states becomes the history of all Europe, and it leaves no space for the possibility of a matriarchal past: it overshadows histories of individual European cultures, who were neither imperial monarchies taking over others, nor Christian in the sense of patriarchal Judeo-Christian genealogy.

The analysis of Bohemian mythology as pre-Austro-Hungarian, pre-nationalist, pre-Christianized monarchical rule of sexual autonomy reveals Bohemia as a European colony located within continental Europe rather than essentializing the study of European imperialism into a binary construct with non-western, non-European post-colonial critique as the traditional counterpart. Consequently, the present analysis proposes post-colonial critique from within the European borders and, simultaneously, it complicates textures and defies the formulaic universalized linear evolution from Judeo-Christian monarchical paternal patriarchy to the secular patriarchal right of the Enlightenment
era.\footnote{In this sense, \textit{Emile} describes a spontaneous shift to secular rise of power that is less close to the Bohemian social construct presented in the “maidens’ war” than the post-colonial practice discussed by Chatterjee. See fn. 57.} It achieves this aim by suggesting an interruption in the transition of power from monarchs to male citizens (the bearers of individual right, the ‘Lockian’ possessors of political power, the heads of households), which one can bring back by rescuing the memory, the mythically-stored history, and the voice of sexually autonomous Bohemian women and their Bohemian counterparts before their subjugation to the Austro-German Empire.

According to Pynsent, “At . . . the end of the National Revival . . . major Czech writers have frequently been outspoken critics of the ‘Czech character’, and during the National Revival itself innate Czech quarrelsomeness was repeatedly blamed for the people’s having been subjugated to the Germans.”\footnote{Pynsent, ix.} The argumentative trend, that Pynsent alludes to, can be witnessed even in the presented examination of the differing versions of the “maidens’ war” legend. As I previously signaled, the Czech literary figures have continuously questioned and tailored various ideologies—Judeo-Christian, proto-Freudian, foreign nationalist, etc.—throughout history, as they struggled to demonstrate, compete, and ultimately, to outdo one another in their attempts to capture the quintessence of ‘Czechness’ and to contribute to the nationalist project.

Fibich’s decision to set the story of Šárka at the turn of the twentieth century was preceded by years of developments and transformations of the “maidens’ war” original tale. By this point, the highly politically-charged legend had accumulated various connotations, and the meaning of individual symbols, generated over the years, had been changed multiple times. While a return to such a famous topic was most likely to receive
extensive attention from both the literary and the music critics upon its completion, and
was consequently a dangerous move on the composer’s part, Šárka became Fibich’s most
successful opera in spite of this risk.

Before I examine Fibich’s Šárka and inquire about the reasons behind its
immense success, I provide a summary of the opera’s plot as abridged by Rosa
Newmarch:

Libuše, the foundress of Prague, surrounded herself with a council
of virgins who were the guardians of the tables of the law and the
sacred fire and water used for sacrificial purposes. After Libuše’s
death Prince Přemysl thought it expedient to keep the government
in male hands and banished the women — a survival of his wife’s
first years of spinster rule — from the precincts of the Vyšehrad.
This gave rise to a fierce conflict between the sexes, and Šárka
became one of the leaders of the Bohemian women warriors. . . .

The first act brings out the contrast between the two leading
women — Vlasta, grave and sweet, and the fierce, untamable
Šárka — but both are equally determined to uphold feminine
power. After their mourning for Libuše in the sacred grove, and the
invocation of the gods to help their cause, a group of masculine
warriors is seen approaching, headed by Přemysl, to offer
sacrifices on behalf of his army. Šárka, in a fury, forbids them, and
scatters their offerings far and wide. The soldiers seek to kill her
for this sacrilege, but Vlasta intercedes, and the magnanimous
Přemysl pardons Šárka, but insists that in future the country shall
be governed by men. Šárka will not compromise; she challenges
the hero Ctirad to meet her in single combat and let the gods
decide the issue. When he scornfully refuses, she attacks him with
drawn sword. Vlasta again intervenes, and declares that the quarrel
must be settled by fair and open war.

In the second act, Vlasta and her warriors are assembled in
a glade, and she sings an epic ballad celebrating the exploits of
fighting women and lamenting their dead. Radka, a ruthless and
savage Amazon type, now enters, bearing in triumph the head of a
male victim. She is followed by a group leading a woman in
chains, and telling how they stormed the wedding feast of Ctirad’s
friend and carried off the bride. But Ctirad is behind them in hot
pursuit. Šárka cries out that ‘the hour of vengeance is come,’ and
begs Vlasta to put his fate in her hands and leave her alone in the
forest with only one or two faithful women at her side. . . . Šárka
asks the women whether she is really as beautiful as men say.
Šarka then makes her resolve: Ctirad shall be lost through her beauty. She lets her dark hair fall over her shoulders, loosens her girdle, and bids her maidens tie her to an oak-tree and leave her alone. Ctirad enters singing an old Bohemian folk-song, but when he sees her bound to a tree, the climax of the opera begins. Moved by pity, he approaches, and she implores him to slay her, as she would rather die than to fall into the hands of the one to whom she is an object of contempt and scorn. Ctirad breaks into a passionate recantation of his scorn, and warms by degrees into a glowing confession of love. With a triumphant cry Šarka tells him to release her, and overcome, half by fatigue, half by unwilling love, she sinks into his arms. Soon, however, the Amazon flames up once more in Šarka, when in a moment of reaction she snatches a dagger from the folds of her dress and tries to kill Ctirad. But the power of love unnerves her hand. Šarka suddenly realizes Ctirad’s danger and bids him escape before the wild women return. The hero refuses to run away from the female warriors. They rush in, led by the implacable Radka, who succeeds in wounding Ctirad. But Šarka saves his life by claiming him as her special prize.

In . . . Act III, . . . Šarka . . . enters leading Přemysl and his army to the narrow rocky pass where they can intercept the women as they march through. She bewails her role of traitress, undertaken as the sole method by which she can save her lover’s life. The men hide in the woods. Now the women warriors arrive leading Ctirad a prisoner, and after a dignified and pathetic monologue from Vlasta, he is condemned to death. The hero’s farewell to life and love is a touching episode. The women, in a strange and sinister chorus, . . . evoke Morana, the Slavonic goddess of death. Vlasta has just raised her sword with the words, ‘Morana, accept thine offering,’ when Šarka throws herself as a shield in front of Ctirad. Vlasta, filled with horror and indignation, expels Šarka from the ranks of the women heroes with a solemn curse. Šarka signals to Přemysl’s soldiers, who emerge from their ambush to the rescue of Ctirad. In the fierce fight which follows, the women are forced into the narrow pass and massacred. In the closing scene of the opera Vlasta’s curse begins to take effect. We see Šarka rapt in a terrible vision in which the spirits of her dead comrades alternately pursue her and call her to join them. Her remorse and horror are depicted in powerful music. Ctirad tries in vain to comfort her with his protestations of love. Šarka cannot escape Vlasta’s imprecation, or the stabs of a guilty conscience. Breaking away from her lover’s arms, she mounts a high rock and hurls herself into the abyss below.¹⁴⁷

As previously discussed, Fibich had found the “maidens’ war” story immensely attractive since Václav Vlček’s *Vlasta* (1884). In the case of Pippich’s *Death of Vlasta*, Fibich was unable to live up to his promise that he had made to the librettist due to Vlasta’s enormous resemblance to Wagner’s Brünnhilde. However, Vladimír Hudec states, “he was attracted by the form which the story of Šárka and Ctirad . . . acquired in the works of his poetic colleagues and representatives of the *Lumír* stream, Julius Zeyer and Jaroslav Vrchlický. . . . [They] transposed the originally epical and narrative legend (still presented in this way in 1894 by Alois Jirásek in his *Old Czech Legends*) into a subjective love tragedy.”148 He further states, “it was on the basis of her inspiration from Jaroslav Vrchlický’s *Šárka* (from his *Myth* cycle) that Anežka Schulzová [the librettist of Fibich’s *Šárka*] developed the core of the future love tragedy.”149  

On the other hand, “Zeyer monumentalized the epical impulse of Hájek’s *Czech Chronicle* into an essentially undramatic myth whose symbols were unacceptable to Fibich, even though they were clearly not direct Wagnerian reminiscence.”150 Consequently, only a few elements from the plot of Zeyer’s *Šárka* can be found in Fibich and Schulzová’s libretto: Šárka’s inner struggle against her growing love, her betrayal, and her voluntary death. “In Zeyer’s version (set by Janáček) Ctirad is killed then and there. In Schulzová and Fibich’s version, Ctirad is led off by the women and later Šárka helps the men rescue him, after which she remorsefully throws herself off a cliff” (as

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149 Ibid. The extent to which Schulzová followed or transformed Zeyer’s and Vrchlický’s interpretations of the “maidens’ war” myth is discussed further in Chapter 3.
150 Ibid.
opposed to Zeyer’s Šárka, who leaps onto Ctirad’s funeral pyre.\textsuperscript{151} Furthermore, in Schulzová’s version, Šárka jumps off the cliff that Děvín was built on (the same rock that displayed Ctirad’s body in some of the previous versions of the story in order for the king to see the maidens’ victory) and is the only one to die.\textsuperscript{152}

In order to go beyond the most obvious deviations from the above presented versions of the “maidens’ war” tale, and so as not only to note, but also to analyze the changes, as narrated in the plot of Fibich’s Šárka, it is necessary to consider the librettist’s creative input throughout the compositional process. In the next chapter I explore the collaborative procedures involved in the making of Šárka by studying the interaction between Fibich and Schulzová. Through a discussion of their respective sources of inspiration it is possible to arrive at the motivations behind the composer and librettist’s artistic choices.

\textsuperscript{151} Tyrrell, 142.
\textsuperscript{152} The potential symbolism of this act will be further explored in Chapter 3.
Chapter 3  Gender Portrayal: Dramatic and Character Development through Harmony and Meter

The wild Šárka interrupts the ceremony which Přemysl and his first adviser, Ctirad, have staged to pay homage to the deceased Libuše, and claims her rights. She is refused again and swears to revenge on all men, and particularly Ctirad whom she regards as her archenemy.

— Karel Mlejnek

In the synopsis of the plot of Fibich’s Šárka, included in the liner notes of the opera’s recording, Karel Mlejnek uses the war between the sexes as a lead into the particular conflict and love story between the main characters representative of the two gendered sides, Šárka and Ctirad. As I have signaled in Chapter 2, the story of the “maidens’ war” and consequently, of the opera, is a thoroughly gendered tale, in which the content—often linked with gender representation—has changed numerous times throughout history in order to depict current social and political conditions in the Bohemian lands. Subsequently, a consideration of Fibich’s depiction of gender within the opera reveals his position within the late nineteenth-century Czech National Revival.

In the present chapter, I consider Fibich’s gender representation in Šárka in two parts: first, I discuss his potential international and local influences, namely those of Richard Wagner and Anežka Schulzová (representing the cosmopolitan and nationalistic stimuli, respectively), and contextualize them within the general trends and the specific situation with respect to the status of women in the German-speaking and Bohemian

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lands; second, I provide analyses of selected musical excerpts from Šárka, focusing specifically on how Fibich uses various harmonic and metric devices to determine his techniques of gender portrayal, and suggest a feminist reading of the opera’s musical material. With the gathered results, I finally draw connections between the musical representations of gender in the work and the contemporary political and social situation in Bohemia at the time of the opera’s conception.

Influences on Fibich’s representation of gender

My discussion of the potential influences on Fibich’s gender depiction is limited to considerations of his professional and personal contacts and relationships. While Fibich undoubtedly encountered numerous influential figures throughout his lifetime that would fall into either category, the scope of my discussion is limited to two notable characters that undeniably played a role in Fibich’s later works: Richard Wagner and Anežka Schulzová. These two figures are at once representative of two different criteria: 1) they signify the dichotomy of Fibich’s public personality, in which Wagner represents Fibich’s cosmopolitanism and Schulzová characterizes his home-based nationalistic side, and, 2) they denote opposing types of relationships with the composer (a professional and a private one, respectively). While Fibich’s professional connections to Wagner can be understood clearly from the standpoint of two figures practicing within the same field, his associations with Schulzová are more ambiguous; her commitment to the composer was

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2 At this point, the reader may question the extent of Wagner’s influence on Fibich’s musical language and, more specifically, on his portrayal of gendered roles; the stance is likely to depend on the reader’s perception of the composer as either a Wagnerian or a nationalist, the controversial dichotomy addressed previously in Chapter 1. Wagner’s impact on Fibich is marked here as ‘undeniable’ due to the historical evidence that, according to some, points to Fibich as a Wagner enthusiast. The evidence and the extent of Schulzová’s impact on Fibich’s creative output will be addressed later in this chapter. Other figures of important influence on Fibich’s music, which go beyond the scope of this work, include Otakar Hostinský, Jaroslav Vrchlický, and Robert Schumann, among others.
both collaborative and intimate and, consequently, I describe their ‘private relationship’ as personal and intimate (suggesting their romantic involvement), but also immediate (implying a direct, face-to-face interaction as a part of their close collaboration). Using the same principles, Wagner’s ‘professional’ influence on Fibich could in turn be described as indirect.³

During the time of Wagner’s conception of the Ring, the discussions of women’s status principally followed the gender narratives constructed by the social contract theorists of the Enlightenment (see discussion in Chapter 2). Women were regarded as inferior to men, which was understood to be a result of innate biological factors. The female subordination was expected and “every sensible woman must thus voluntarily submit to the man, because by being absorbed into him she would be able to share in his superiority.”⁴ The German late nineteenth-century gender construction was therefore based on a patriarchal scheme.

According to Nila Parly, Wagner’s descriptions of womankind “do not diverge radically from those of his contemporaries.”⁵ In Oper und Drama, Wagner considers the feminine organism of music, as follows:

The nature of woman is love; but this love is one of conceiving and of unreserved devotion in conception. Woman only attains to full individuality at the moment of this devotion. She is the Undine; gliding soulless through the waves of her element, and only receiving her soul through love of a man.⁶

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³ To my knowledge there is no correspondence between Fibich and Wagner nor can I find a record of the two meeting.
⁵ Parly, 149.
⁶ Richard Wagner, Opera and Drama (Oper und Drama), trans. Edwin Evans (London: W. Reeves, 1913), 186.
While in this text Wagner’s gendered hierarchy conforms to the patriarchal ideal of societal construction, Jean-Jacques Nattiez argues in *Wagner Androgyne* that his view on the balance of power between the sex roles began to change in the early 1850s. According to Nattiez, Wagner’s shift to a “woman as a dominant active force” took place in the short period of time between his completion of *Oper und Drama* (1850-51) and *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde* (1851), and was exemplified in his text-music relation.

According to Parly, beginning with *Oper und Drama*, “Wagner refers to the text as man(ly) and the music as woman(ly). . . . [and suggests that] the male poetry’s fecundation of the female music . . . results in the unique music drama.” As Parly and Nattiez point out, Wagner’s text/male-dominated drama is later transformed into a novel music drama, in which text becomes secondary to the female-led material and the music “gives birth to” the new work. Consequently, “the passive recipient of the poet-man’s fertilizing seed” is altered to represent a “dominant active party” endowed with birthing powers and creating a new art form “in relation to the word (man).” The idea of music’s higher status over text is also supported by both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, according to which music is superior to other art forms because it is “capable of directly expressing

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8 Parly, 151.
9 Ibid., 382.
10 Ibid.; Nattiez, 158-62.
11 Parly, 151. According to Parly, “Wagner [in *Oper und Drama*] described the music as a feminine organism that could give birth but was not procreative, and was therefore not in a position to determine the aim of the drama.” This idea is reminiscent of the patriarchal bearer of political rights and the unified body politics (discussed in Chapter 2), which deemphasize women’s role in the reproductive processes and ascribe the political birthing powers to men.
the ‘inexpressible’” and “controls the audience in the direction of specific [italics in the original] feelings.”

Wagner’s contemplations about whether the text and music should be given greater importance are not anomalous in any way within the general trends of the changing opera aesthetics throughout history; in fact, Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker open their book *A History of Opera* by stating, “it is often said that opera, being in essence sung theatre, involves a battle between words and music.” Wagner solved his deliberations on this matter increasingly adding more emphasis on the ‘feminine’ music. He provided the ‘music-women’ (representing both musical material itself and the female characters) with “the essence of his work” in such a way that “the majority of them are also artistic creators of music” and, since they possess this power, “their status in the music-dramatic community is raised considerably.”

According to Parly, Wagner’s idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (opera as an all-embracing genre) “stems from the classical drama’s combination of art forms,” which structure their stories around timeless, universal mythology. Furthermore, she states, “myth has an implicit psychological significance . . . [an interpretation of which] would provide an overall picture of the whole history of humankind.” Consequently, one may understand Wagner’s women-centric operas as an indication of a female-based (matriarchal) social hierarchy. For example, his proposed new feminine social order is

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12 Ibid., 383, 156.
13 Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *A History of Opera* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2012), 2. At this point, the reader may note that Abbate’s and Parker’s word-music battle—in connection with Wagner’s gendered correlation of the two elements of a music drama—display peculiar similarities with the plot of Fibich’s opera, a battle of the sexes. I will return to this point later in the chapter.
14 Parly, 383.
15 Ibid., 120.
16 Ibid. Also see Parly, 130-34. Wagner’s understanding of the myth as a representation of the history of mankind resembles Fibich’s potential attempt to symbolize the history of the Czechs through the myth of the “maidens’ war.”
reflected in the depiction of Brünnhilde, “the most influential woman in the entire Ring cycle,” as a strong, independent female type.\textsuperscript{17} Throughout the work, she “embodies the sum of all experience, . . . [because she] undergoes a far-reaching development, . . . becomes emancipated and achieves control of her surrounding environment on every level.”\textsuperscript{18} Her “expression of woman’s inner resistance to man’s attempt at subjugation” is, according to Parly, embodied in the Valkyrie motif.\textsuperscript{19} Furthermore, Brünnhilde’s elevated status is portrayed in the mixed love and death final scene of Siegfried, in which—counter to the misogynistic expectation—“the will to sacrifice oneself and die for the sake of the beloved is not demanded of Brünnhilde alone; it is also demanded of her male counterpart [Siegfried], . . . who accepts his ‘feminine’ sacrificial role.”\textsuperscript{20}

The interpretation of the Ring as a female-centric cycle is not generally accepted. For example, Carl Gustav Jung understands Brünnhilde as solely representative of a number of psychological features in men and according to Catherine Clément “mothers [and, by extension, all women] in the Ring cycle . . . [are] the ultimate victims in the story . . . [because] as soon as they have given birth, they die, as if the men’s divine seed has cost women their lives.”\textsuperscript{21} Conversely, Parly interprets the death of the mothers and the de-emphasis of their reproductive powers as Wagner’s conscious critique of “the dominant patriarchal society’s oppression of women.”\textsuperscript{22} Similarly, Nattiez and Leopold

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 119.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 120.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 150.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 129. The misogynistic expectation, according to Catherine Clément, is that the leading female character is usually raped, murdered, or has committed suicide by the end of the opera. See Catherine Clément, \textit{Opera, or the Undoing of Women}, trans. Betsy Wing (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1997). Also see Parly, 16-17.
\textsuperscript{22} Parly, 206.
both agree that the growing emancipation of the music-woman is not only present in Wagner’s writings but also through the music, which undermines the aspects of text oppressive of women.\

In summary, the interpretations of Wagner’s treatment of female characters in his operas are not unanimously in agreement; some scholars (such as Jung and Clément) believe that Wagner’s operas conformed to patriarchal ideals prevalent in Germany during the second half of the nineteenth century, while others (including Nattiez, Leopold, and Parly) argue for his attempt to improve women’s standing. Wagner described his unambiguous stance on the status of women in society in the last month of his life (February 1883) in an essay titled Über das Weibliche im Menschlichen (On the Womanly in the Human Race), as summarized by Parly: “he protests against society’s encouragement to loveless marriage . . . and recommends that the rigid, unequal division of the sexes be removed in the interests of art and culture.” Consequently, even though Fibich may not have understood Wagner’s female characters in a feminist light, his later gender portrayal could have been influenced by Wagner’s progressive views on social hierarchy.

Contrary to the German patriarchal order, which Wagner seemed to have been fighting, “Czech lands have a long tradition of dealing with women’s issues, especially in

23 Leopold, 62; Nattiez, 162.
24 Parly, 20. According to Wagner, “in the woman alone, the mother, does that instinct seem to retain its sovereignty; and thus, although transfigured by his ideal love towards her individuality, she preserves a greater kinship to that nature-force than the man, whose passion now mates the fettered mother-love by turning to fidelity. . . . It is here that the Woman herself is raised above the natural law of sex (das natürliche Gattungsgesetz), to which, in the belief of even the wisest lawgivers, she remained so bound that the Buddha himself thought needful to exclude her from the possibility of saint-hood. It is a beautiful feature in the legend, that shews the Perfect Overcomer prompted to admit the Woman.” See Richard Wagner, “On the Womanly in the Human Race,” in Richard Wagner’s Prose Works 6: Religion and Art, trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, 1897), 335-37.
the sphere of education.” As Petra Hanáková points out, “women participated very actively in major events throughout the history of the Czech lands, but . . . two major historical periods . . . provide token examples of the position of women in society at the time: the Hussites movement and the Czech National Revival.” During both events, equality for men and women was stressed because education was viewed as “the necessity for the good of the nation” and “the whole nation can only progress when women are not left behind.” The position of female nation building was taken up by Czech women themselves, who “felt that they had a vital role to play in this society, one that was different and in part separate from that of the men: to cultivate, in that highly Germanized environment, the Czech language, especially to teach it to their children, and to devote themselves to Czech cultural affairs.”

In the nineteenth century, Czech women often expressed their patriotism, connected with the cultivation of their cultural heritage, in writing. For example, Božena Němcová’s book Babička (The Grandmother) portrays the main character as a woman, who “represents the folk wisdom and the healthy heart of the nation,” and raises her granddaughter “to become aware of the Czech traditions, to respect knowledge and be proud of [her] own country and the wisdom passed over by generations.”

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26 Ibid.
28 Iggers, 8. In some respect, the role of Czech women as the nurturers of cultural traditions bears resemblances to the gender roles in patriarchal India, in which women serve as the repositories of tradition, as described by Partha Chatterjee and Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez. Partha Chatterjee, “Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonized Women: The Contest in India,” American Ethnologist 16, no. 4 (1989): 624, 626-27; Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez, “The Gender of the Nation: Allegoric Femininity and Women’s Status in Bengal and Goa,” Etnográfica 6, no. 1 (2002): 41-42. Also see discussion in Chapter 1.
29 Hanáková, “The Viscitudes [sic] of Czech Feminism.”
Němcová represents here only a model of a female literary figure during the Czech National Revival that experienced “less discrimination against women in Czech culture because women played an important role as writers and as symbols of the nation’s struggle for survival.”\(^{30}\) According to Alfred Thomas, men welcomed their female contemporaries into literary circles as representatives of the Czech nation’s awakening and equated them with the national struggle.\(^{31}\) Consequently, “the history of the emancipation of Czech women is closely linked with the history of [the] national awakening . . . [and] Czech women were fighting on two fronts—the feminist and the patriotic.”\(^{32}\)

The situation did not change even in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, when the national revival was already accomplished and, as Iggers points out, “women remained highly motivated and active as writers and in various other areas of cultural life.”\(^{33}\) One such figure was Anežka Schulzová, who was especially known for her literary activities, which included ground-breaking translations from German, French, and Danish, literary studies and profiles, and most of all her theatre articles, published between the end of the 1880s and mid-1890s.\(^{34}\) A daughter of a literary critic and

\(^{30}\) Alfred Thomas, *The Bohemian Body: Gender and Sexuality in Modern Czech Culture* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 10. Other examples of the female cultivation of Czech folklore during the National Revival include those of Karolína Světlá (1830-1899) and Eliška Krášnohorská (1847-1926).

\(^{31}\) Ibid., 11. As Thomas points out, men often supported women’s aspirations, and as we will see, Fibich was definitely one of them. For more figures involved in the advancements of women, see Iggers, 10-11, 16-20.

\(^{32}\) Iggers, 8.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., 22. The tradition of Czech feminism continued and, in fact, increased in intensity in the twentieth century. For example, as Hanáková points out, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, “emphasized the importance of education for women and his essays may be considered as the actual beginnings of Czech feminist political writings.” Hanáková, “The Viscitudes [sic] of Czech Feminism.”

historian, Professor Ferdinand Schulz, Schulzová spoke Latin, German, and French, and began working towards her career at a very young age while studying with Jaroslav Vrchlický, Zdeněk Fibich’s close friend and librettist.  

From 1888, Schulzová’s theatre critiques were published in the weekly Zlatá Praha (Golden Prague) edited by her father, Ferdinand Schulz, and beginning a year later her works also appeared in a monthly periodical Květy (Flowers) under the section ‘Z Národního divadla’ (From the National Theatre). She was “an extraordinarily educated personality with a broad cultural horizon, . . . [who stressed] national aspects, originality, and modernity in Czech drama.” In other words, she represented “the ‘emancipated woman’ of the day” and, according to Zdeněk Nejedlý, “the modern woman at the end of the nineteenth century in the best and the fullest meaning of the word.”

Schulzová first became acquainted with Fibich in 1886 as his piano pupil and returned in 1892 for composition lessons, which throughout her lifetime yielded several published piano reductions of Fibich’s orchestral and instrumental works, including a four-hand arrangement of his Quintet. Their student-master dynamic soon transformed into a close collaboration that eventually grew into a romantic relationship and Fibich

36 Fránek, 327. For a comprehensive list of Schulzová’s literary criticism works, see Fránek, 333-41.
37 Ibid., 332-33. Tyrrell describes Schulzová as “better educated and more widely read than many Czechs of her time” due to the “extensive invocation to ‘Svaroh’”—a Slavic god of sun and fire that has appeared in the works of Karel Jaromír Erben (1811-70), and Jan Hanuš Mácha (1855-1939), “in the first act of Šárka.” Tyrrell, 148.
39 Abraham, 72; Tyrrell, 116.
finally left his wife for Anežka in 1897. Schulzová provided him with libretti for his last three operas, _Hedy, Šárka_, and _Pád Arkuna_ (The Fall of Arkona), but never wrote libretti for any other composer. In fact, “her intense involvement with Fibich [was] clear from the biography of him [which] she published in 1900, the year of his death, under the male pseudonym Carl Ludwig Richter, and the more personal memoire of 1902.” According to Tyrrell, Schulzová’s psychological reliance on Fibich was fully exhibited in 1905, when she committed suicide at the age of thirty-seven, only five years after the composer’s death.

Tyrrell further points out that the extent of the influence they had on one another during their collaboration is ambiguous due to “the special nature of the relationship.”

While labeling their professional partnership as “very close,” Tyrrell emphasizes “Fibich’s own considerable experience as an opera composer,” consequently diminishing Schulzová’s potential influence. Similarly, Karel Mlejnek describes the librettist as “the composer’s friend” suggesting a merely professional relationship, in which Schulzová dramatically developed the old Czech legend about the “maidens’ war.”

Hostinský in _Vzpomínky na Fibicha_ (Memories of Fibich) states, “I knew that it wasn’t

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40 Tyrrell, 116.
41 Ibid.
43 Tyrrell, 116.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Mlejnek, 12.
only a friendship towards the librettist, who was his collaborator for two large dramatic works, but that she is the only source of his inspiration, beginning with his Symphony in E-flat.” Vladimir Hudec and Vladimír Helfert also agree that the main source of inspiration was Fibich’s love towards Schulzová, which lasted from 1892 until his death in 1900, and Zdeněk Nejedlý suggests, “Anežka Schulzová soon ignited in him also other feelings, . . . awoke in him a completely new and powerful emotional urge, . . . [and] was more, much more to him than just a companion and helper.” Furthermore, Nejedlý argues that Schulzová represented Fibich’s support system (much like Hostinský in the previous decades, as discussed in Chapter 2) for his explorations of musical modernism, a new direction in which Fibich walked alone and away from the Czech world at the time.

Her educated background provided him with a direct contact with international art and cosmopolitan literature. While authors, such as Hostinský, Hudec, Helfert, and Nejedlý consider Schulzová to have played a major role in Fibich’s creative process, they assign

47 Otakar Hostinský, Vzpomínky na Fibicha (Prague: Mojmír Urbánek, 1909), 223. “I poznal jsem, že nebéží zde pouze o přátelství k libretistce, která byla jeho spolupracovnicí na dvou velkých dramatických dílech, nýbrž že ona je jediným pramenem inspirace v jeho tvorění již symfoní Es-dur počínaje.”


49 Nejedlý, 87-88. “Fibich stál tu tedy tehdy v českém světě se svým novým směrem vlastně docela sám, a tu bylo pro něho jistě velkou oporou, nalezl-li v Anežce Schulzové toho, kdo mu stále prostředkoval živý styk s podobnými proudy ve světovém umění, ve světové literatuře, z níž všechen tento modernismus vlastně vycházel. Tak Anežka Schulzová se stává v tomto třetím období Fibichovou drúžkou stejně přirozeně jako byl jeho druhem ve druhém období Otakar Hostinský. Ne že by byla určovala Fibichův umělecký vývoj (to také o Hostinském nelze říci), ale též, že je se soubor žila i že jej dovedla svými znalostmi opráti i věcné, jistě jej urychila, stejně jako Hostinského přátelství i jeho znalosti historické a stilově nesporné byly když uspíšily Fibichův vývoj ke scénickému melodramatu.” “Fibich stood here in the Czech world at the time completely alone in his new direction and it was unquestionably of great support for him when he found in Anežka Schulzová the one, who would provide him with a vital contact with similar currents in the worldwide art, international literature, from which all the modernism has, in fact, emerged. In this way, Anežka Schulzová became Fibich’s colleague in this third period just as naturally as Otakar Hostinský was his cooperator in the second period. Not that she determined Fibich’s artistic development (that also cannot be said about Hostinský), but because she also lived through it and was also able to factually support, she even sped it up in the same way that Hostinský’s friendship and historical and stylistic knowledge indisputably accelerated Fibich’s progress towards scenic melodramas.”
her the title of mere inspiration, not an active collaborator with considerable intellectual input. In what follows, I present evidence for Schulzová’s function in the collaborative process with Fibich as an equal contributor to their artistic ideals rather than a plain muse for the composer’s artistic output.

Fibich’s love and devotion to Anežka were captured in his 376 short piano pieces, which were published under the title Nálad, dojmy a upomínky (Moods, Impressions and Reminiscences) and consist of preparatory studies that were later used in larger works, but also of quotations from pieces that had already been completed. In addition, numerous excerpts include “thematic inter-relationships and cross-references of the pieces themselves.” In 1925 Nejedlý published his Zdeňka Fibicha milostný deník (Zdeněk Fibich’s Love Diary), in which he interprets a ‘love-diary’ through autographs by Anežka and Fibich, including inscribed titles, dates, and other hints. According to Nejedlý’s analysis, nálad (moods) consist primarily of character studies and portraits of Anežka, dojmy (impressions) of her physical descriptions and features, and upomínky (memories or reminiscences) narrate some specific moments in their history together. As we shall see, their collaboration on Šárka belonged to the pivotal moments in their relationship and, consequently, several piano pieces also appear in the opera: no. 147 is used in the first act when Vlasta hears birds singing in the forest; no. 219 (which Anežka

50 Fibich’s Nálad, dojmy a upomínky were published by Fr.A. Urbánek in Prague and consisted of four series, each with a separate opus number (Opus. 41, 44, 47, and 57). In addition to a numbering of the entire collection from beginning to end, each opus had its ‘internal’ numbering system. For more details see Abraham, 71. Also see Nejedlý, 259-64.

51 Abraham, 71.

ascribed the title “How Zdeněk is mine” on September 16, 1895) is used in Přemysl’s song “Větve dvě” in Act I; no. 295 appears in Ctirad’s aria “Moje, moje jsi” (You are mine) in Act II; and no. 348, written for Anežka’s name day, is entirely based on themes from Šárka. It is curious, however, that Schulzová’s description of the ‘love-diary’ leaves out the narrator as the source of inspiration completely. She states,

This collection, designed for the psychological study of the individuality of the artist [and] for understanding of his deepest inner spirit, has a priceless meaning. It is a diary, in which the artist captured impressions and events from his life in small pieces of great diversity and variety. Every single one of the adorable miniatures hides a piece of the artist’s life, his immediate thoughts and sentiments, tremors of his inner being, the beating of his heart, dreams, hopes, happiness and heartbreak of his soul.

Schulzová therefore entirely removes herself from the compositional process of Fibich’s Nálady. Perhaps she did not want to risk her credibility, as she was no longer writing under the pseudonym of Carl Richter or maybe she did not want to be reduced merely to the composer’s inspiration, his muse and an object of desire (after all, she was the epitome of an ‘emancipated woman’ of her time).

As also signaled earlier by Nejedlý, Schulzová was believed to represent much more to Fibich than a companion and inspiration; some sources suggest that she intended to be equal, if not superior, in her relationship with the composer. Nejedlý, for example, introduces her as “her own heroine” (vlastní hrdinka) in Fibich’s life and Hostinský alludes to his suspicion that Schulzová edited Fibich’s private correspondence and longed

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53 Abraham, 77, 80-82.
54 Schulzová, 62-63. “Sbírka tato propsychologické stadium individuality umělcovy, pro poznání nejhlubšího nitra jeho, má význam neocenitelný. Jest to deník, v němž umělec v nevelikých skladbách úzasné rozmanitosti a mnohotvárnosti zachycoval dojmy a události svého života. Každý z těch rozkošných kousků skrývá v sobě kus života umělca, jeho bezprostřední myšlenky a city, záchvěvy jeho nitra, úder jeho srdece, sny, touhy, radosti a žal jeho duše.”
after completely controlling him.\textsuperscript{55} Furthermore, in his review of Nejedlý’s \textit{Milostný deník} Helfert suggests,

The fact that Anežka was interested in the publishing of the program notes [to \textit{Nálady, dojmy, a upomínky}] is easily explained with her overly ambitious nature due to which she wanted to play a greater role in Fibich’s life than was her destiny and than she was able to have. . . . Anežka Schulzová belonged to the type of women, who were dissatisfied with being only an inspiration to the artist. Her ambition was greater. She wanted to force her own likes on Fibich and have an influence on him also in the direction of his work. She proved that by her book \textit{Zdenko Fibich}.\textsuperscript{56}

According to Hudec, Fibich’s newly found meaning of life and his work in the “erotic microcosmos . . . gave rise to the penetrating lyricization and subjectivization which began to characterize his work and which, in the opera genre, also led to a change in his former dramatic ideal.”\textsuperscript{57} He turned away from the declamatory style and his past “tendency to combine word and music as equal components of a musical-dramatic syncretism” and, instead, stressed vocal cantability.\textsuperscript{58} As a response to his relationship with Anežka, Fibich—similarly to Wagner—began to place greater emphasis on the ‘feminine’ music rather than the ‘masculine’ text.

Fibich’s openness to collaborative efforts with Schulzová began to show early into their relationship. In a letter from 1951, Schulzová’s brother Bohuslav Schulz noted that in Fibich’s work \textit{Podvečer} (Sunset) there were “some notes left out in a few staves in

\textsuperscript{55} Nejedlý, 81; Hostinský, 223-24. \textquote{Ze slovesné formy odpovídě té dokonce měl jsem dojem, že Fibichův concept prošel redakcí kohosi druhého. . . a ovšem toužila po tom, aby ho zcela ovládla.}

\textsuperscript{56} Helfert in Kopecký, 128, 130. \textquote{Ze Anežka stála o publikování program, vysvětluje se snadno její přílišnou ctižádostivostí, s níž chetěla v životě Fibichově mít větší úlohu, nežli jí osud určil a nežli byla schopna. . . Anežka Schulzová patřila k těm ženám, která se nespokojila, býti pouze inspirátorkou umělcovou. Její ctižádost byla větší. Chetěla své osobní záliby vnutit i Fibichovi, mít na vliv i ve směru jeho tvorby. To dokázala dostatečně svou knihou \textquote{Zdenko Fibich}.}"

\textsuperscript{57} Hudec, \textquote{Commentary.}"

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
the last measure and Fibich invited [Schulzová’s family] to fill in their own [pitches].”

Such a leisurely compositional process was, however, quite unusual for the composer. In his collaboration with Eliška Krásnohorská, he found it necessary to make changes to the libretto (even though the piano reduction later included the extracted lines), and Vrchlický was asked to alter the text when working on *Hippodamia* and later had to write a libretto to the precomposed music for *Bouře* (The Tempest). An instance of a close collaboration between Fibich and his librettist was, of course, during the conception of *Nevěsta Messinská* with his lifelong friend Hostinský; he said that the composer “would at first request that [he] indicate the accentuation in the text by the underlining in the way that [he] imagines it in the declamation of the spoken verse.” However, Hostinský later noted that Fibich’s trust and confidence in his friend’s advice subsided after he began to work on *Hedy* with Schulzová:

It was the first dramatic work that was undertaken in collaboration with Anežka Schulzová and Fibich himself surely had a larger part also in the plot formation and the theatre adaptation than in any of the previous works. His confidence in his new collaborator, who took over the work, was not disappointed. . . . Fibich didn’t even agree with me and, from the way in which he defended the ensemble, I soon realized that this possible objection has already been considered by him and his librettist. . . . He agreed to the ballet number, which was [also] suggested by the librettist, so that (among other reasons) he could show all that he was capable of in one large dance scene.

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59 In a letter (Horní Černošice, Vráž, February 21, 1951) to M. Očadlík he wrote: “V posledním taktu byly v několika řádcích vynechány noty a Fibich nás vyzval, abychom vyplnili každý svou.” Kopecký, 76.


61 Hostinský, 84. “I vyžádal si s počátku, abych mu v textu obvyklým způsobem (podtrhováním) naznačil duševná, jak si bych si jej při deklamací mluveného verše představoval.” For more details on the collaboration between Fibich and Hostinský, see 79-85.

62 Ibid., 171-73. “Bylo to první dramatické dílo ve spolku s Anežkou Schulzovou podniknuté a zajisté, že při něm měl Fibich sám větší podíl i na dějové stavbě a divadelní úpravě, než při kterémkoli z předcházejících. Děvěra jeho v novou spolupracovníci, která ovšem se stejným nadšením jako skladatel, podpírala práce, nebyla zklamána. . . . Fibich nedál mi arci za pravdu a ze způsobu, jakým ensemble ten hájil, poznamenával jsem brzo, že jím a libretistkou i tato možná námítka byla již předem vzata v úvahu. . . . K baletu libretistkou navrženému dal svůj souhlas mimo jiné i z toho důvodu, aby také jednou velkou baletní scénou ukázal, co v oboru tom dovede.”
Hostinský’s memory, quoted above, shows that Fibich’s faith in Schulzová was unconditional from the beginning of their partnership and while Fibich’s relationship with Hostinský progressively declined, his loyalty to his new collaborator only grew stronger.

The extent of Fibich’s and Schulzová’s close collaboration, as applicable to the opera at hand, could be clearly shown by examining personal correspondence between the various members of Schulzová’s family.63 In a letter addressed to Bohuslav Schulz and his wife Bohumila Schulzová from Attersee, summer, 1896, Anežka’s mother Karolína Schulzová stated, “I am also supposed to inform you that Anda [family name for Anežka] can now also orchestrate; just today she orchestrated a portion of Šárka.”64 Later during the same summer, Karolína Schulzová updated her son and his wife on the status of the opera: “Master Fibich diligently orchestrates Šárka here; every day he completes three to four pages.”65

During the summer of 1896, Anežka herself wrote to her brother Bohuslav and his wife Bohumila from Attersee:

Our beloved couple, . . . we only cultivate our health and Šárka, the latter of which has shown a better result of our care! . . . I look forward to the day when we will talk about everything in Prague and when you will come to hear all the new parts from Attersee that master will now write. Bodičku [diminutive for Bohuslav], when you see all that I have written into the full score, you will greatly respect me! We already have 62 completely finished pages. . . . We will spend one full year here, in Attersee, and write an opera. . . . We will come to Prague probably on September 1; Šárka is

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63 The collection of personal letters was originally in possession of Bohuslav Schulz (1873-1951), whose granddaughter Zdena Schulzová donated all the materials to the Czech Museum of Musical Arts (České muzeum hudby) in 2008. For more information see Kopecký, 61.
65 Ibid., 63. “Mistr Fibich zde pilně instrumentuje na Šarce každý den uděla tři až čtyry strany.”
already urgently calling, because I cannot write the text here. . . . Your Anežka. Very warm greetings, Zdenko Fibich [written by Fibich’s hand].

In 1899 (Prague) Anežka Schulzová wrote to her brother Bohuslav:

I’m sending you Act II, pp. 9–24. I kept the beginning here, so that Fibich can orchestrate from it for now and I will later copy it down myself. Please begin on page 9 and for now paginate with a pencil at the bottom corner . . . and write quite wide measures so that my Czech and German text can comfortably fit in and copy only piano, not the vocal parts*, we will still make a few changes in them and also in the text, so I will then copy them myself.
*But still, please leave all the staves for them.

The last letter quoted here was not in reference to Šárka, but Fibich’s last opera Pád Arkuna. However, it demonstrates the fact that Anežka’s role in the collaborative process did not diminish. According to Hostinský, Fibich’s power and responsibility in plot- and production-related decisions in Hedy increased in comparison to his previous large-scale works; however, beginning with Šárka, Schulzová seemed to have a strong voice not only with regards to the libretto, plot, and the dramatic situation, but also—to a certain degree—the musical content. While the present evidence cannot speak of Schulzová’s ability to contribute original musical materials to the opera, several of the letters show signs of her involvement in the scope of orchestration. Consequently, in agreement with Nejedlý, I argue that Schulzová represented much more than Fibich’s muse and served as an equal collaborator, who provided him with valuable input within both text and music

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*Ibid., 68. “Posýlám druhé jednání od str. 9.-24. Začátek jsem zde nechala, aby zatím z něho Fibich mohl instrumentovat, a opisů ho pak sama. Prosím tě, začni jen tou stránkou 9. a stránkuj to zatím tužkou v rohu dole . . . a dělej dost široké takty, aby se mi vesel pohodlně český a německý text, a opisuj jen klavír, zpěvní hlasy nikoliv, budeme v nich ještě leccos měnit a v textu též, tak to si pak sama k tomu opíšu. *Ale ovšem, řádky mi prone prosím nech všude.”
throughout his last three operas. From the personal correspondence it seems that their romantic relationship did not negatively impact her creative role and, if anything, it may have made Fibich subconsciously more susceptible to her ideas.

In the crafting of the opera, Schulzová’s concepts came primarily from the versions of Julius Zeyer and Jaroslav Vrchlický.\(^\text{68}\) According to Hudec, Fibich refused to set Šárka’s narration of a dream, present in Zeyer’s version, as it bore Wagnerian references, but Anežka borrowed other elements from Zeyer’s adaptation: namely, Šárka’s “betrayal, . . . her inner struggle against growing love, . . . [and her] voluntary death. However, it was on the basis of her inspiration from . . . Vrchlický’s Šárka . . . that [she] developed the core of the future love tragedy, . . . including the binding of Šárka, her torturous visions and especially her betrayal of Přemysl’s troops at Děvín.”\(^\text{69}\) In fact, parts of Schulzová’s libretto feature Vrchlický’s entire verses, such as in the central, erotically charged forest scene.

Schulzová’s dramatic setting of the forest passage deemphasizes the love-hate relationship between Šárka and Ctirad and, instead, brings out the main heroine’s “inner struggle between her desire and revenge and her growing feeling of love, . . . the struggle of a woman who . . . conceals her emotional needs under Amazonian roughness and wildness.”\(^\text{70}\) The love vs. duty dilemma is captured by Schulzová herself in the foreword to the libretto, as quoted by Hudec: “Šárka longs for the death of Ctirad, but only because she loves him.”\(^\text{71}\) Schulzová, of course, understood the female heroine’s inner struggle and suffering. As stated by Hostinský, “all involved suffered from the family disruption

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\(^{68}\) See discussion in Chapter 2 for more information.
\(^{69}\) Hudec, “Commentary.”
\(^{70}\) Ibid.
\(^{71}\) Ibid.
[referring to Fibich’s wife and children]. Anežka Schulzová also suffered; she suffered a lot.” The composer’s interest in the plot therefore stemmed from both the subjective and the objective components, as it allowed him to set his personal love tragedy within the context of the “maidens’ war” and, at the same time, link it with Smetana’s politically-charged *Libuše* (as discussed in Chapter 1). For Schulzová alike, the plot offered a promising opportunity because, as stated by Thomas, “Czech writers . . . of the National Revival . . . tended to look back to the medieval and early modern periods for their inspiration and appeared to establish a congenial compromise between their personal and political selves.”

In the opera, Schulzová successfully fuses the political message of the historical myth and her personal love story; she continues the dramatic subject of Smetana’s *Libuše* (by maintaining analogies and memories of the deceased queen through the characters of Vlasta and Přemysl), while developing an erotic interplay between Šárka and Ctirad. In this way, the librettist solves the ‘double dialectics’ by positioning a drama within another drama. The plot of Fibich’s opera, which includes this *drama within a drama* (the story of Šárka and Ctirad within the “maidens’ war”), is therefore parallel to the semantics of the myth itself or a *myth within a myth* (in which the “maidens’ war” myth of a struggle for equality/power is set and interpreted within the myth of the Czech nation).

Schulzová may have successfully included her personal love story in the plot of the opera; however, as suggested later by Nejedlý,

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72 Hostinský, 224. “Rozvratem rodinným trpěli všichni, jichž se týkal. Také Anežka Schulzová trpěla, mnoho trpěla.”
73 Thomas, 19.
74 Hudec, “Commentary.”
75 For more information and the definition of *myth within a myth*, see Chapter 2.
Although it had been allowed to write in a modern style in Czech society at the time, it was absolutely unacceptable for someone to translate it into reality and live accordingly. That is why the sincerity of Anežka Schulzová was rather revolting. But she not only did not have such prejudices—which also influenced those who otherwise ridiculed them—but also had enough courage to take on a battle for it with the society.\textsuperscript{76}

In spite of the social opprobrium that the couple had to face, they decided to move forward in their relationship, which—according to Nejedlý—culminated at the exact same time as the production of Šárka. In the fall of 1897 Fibich left his wife and son and found a new home, in which he could cultivate his love interests and artistic ideals for the rest of his life.\textsuperscript{77} The conception of Šárka could therefore represent a public proof of their relationship and a metaphor for their type of bond, which they could not legally confirm.\textsuperscript{78} Simultaneously, Fibich’s willingness to (more than) equally share his creative powers with his collaborator and companion may have been as a result of his attempts to validate their untraditional involvement and provide her with a validation in the professional sphere, which he could not match in his personal life.

In this section I have established the figures of Wagner and Schulzová as potential influences on Fibich’s representation of gender in Šárka. In addition, I have shown that while the German social hierarchy is primarily rooted in patriarchy—which Wagner began to turn against towards the end of his life—the Czech societal model maintained an ideal of the ‘emancipated woman’ and gender equality. In what follows, I examine

\textsuperscript{76} Nejedlý, 90. “V české společnosti bylo tehdy sice již dovoleno velmi moderně psát, ale naprosto nebylo přípustné, aby někdo to vzal do opravdy a podle toho i žil. Proto opravdovost Anežky Schulzové přímo pobuňovala. Ale ona nejen že neměla takových předsudků, jimž podléhali i ti, kteří se jim jinak smáli, nýbrž měla i dosti odvahy podstoupit za to se společnosti boj.”

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 253.

\textsuperscript{78} The motive behind the conception of Fibich’s and Schulzová’s Šárka offers similarities with Wagner’s Tristan und Isolde, which “celebrates and idealises his [forbidden] love affair with Mathilde Wesendonck.” Parly, 234.
Fibich’s depiction of the sexes within the musical language exhibited in the opera and correlate it with his construction of Czech national identity.

**Gender portrayal in Fibich’s Šárka**

As I have previously pointed out, the standing of Fibich as a composer, acting during the Czech National Revival, was often questioned by his contemporaries due to his alleged cosmopolitan tendencies. The composer was aware of his purported Wagnerian affiliations and, as a result, returned to a nationalistic topic for his penultimate opera. As proven by the letter addressed to the publisher in August 1896, Šárka represented for him a plea to his fellow nationals that would, once and for all, “consolidate [his] position as a Czech composer.”80 As a result of the opera’s vital role for his patriotic reception, Fibich was very careful in the choosing of the libretto and its adaptation and—although he had been interested in setting the “maidens’ war” for some time—refused to commit to a text with evident Wagnerian references. More specifically, he declined a libretto fashioned by Václav Vlček (titled Vlasta) and asked Schulzová to remove “Šárka’s narration of the dream, in which the gods bid her to wage war against the men” in order to avoid any potential associations with Wagner’s Brünnhilde.81

I compare Fibich’s depiction of female characters—focusing primarily on Šárka—with Wagner’s Valkyrie Brünnhilde and Isolde, the German counterpart to the Czech Amazon and the operatic representation of Fibich’s real-life romantic interest,

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79 See Chapter 1 for more information.
80 In a letter addressed to F. A. Urbánek and dated 1 August 1896, translated by Hudec. “In my opinion Šárka will be a real national opera which will consolidate my position as a Czech composer.” See Hudec, “Commentary.”
81 Ibid.
Anežka Schulzová, respectively.82 My analysis ultimately assesses the extent to which Fibich managed to get away from the Wagnerian ‘stigma’ and musically depicted gender in a “nationalistic way” (representative of women’s status in the Czech society at the time of the opera’s conception). I begin by summarizing the commonalities between the female heroines, as elucidated in their respective plots and, subsequendy, I consider gender as depicted in the musical material. In my observations, I follow the transition from ‘general’ to ‘particular’ (or ‘political’ to ‘personal’, as described by Thomas) and progress from the collective representation of the two gendered sides (men vs. women) to the specific characters of Šárka and Ctirad.83

According to Parly, similarly to the earlier versions of the “maidens’ war,” Brünnhilde was first described as a woman who “loved no man and did not commit suicide, but lived on to celebrate her just revenge on the deceitful, dishonourable Siegfried. . . . She laughs eternally!”84 Parly further states that the later Germanic and German-influenced sources (such as Thidreks Saga af Bern, the Völsunga Saga, and the Nibelungenlied) diminish Brünnhilde to a “barren and obstreperous, . . . comic, burly female who loses a wrestling contest with Siegfried, is ridiculed, and her dignity is further violated by unceremonious defloration followed by humiliating rejection” and is eventually killed off.85 Šárka’s character also dies in the majority of the versions, but Vrchlický’s adaptation is even closer to this description of the Germanic legend in that it also involves an element of humiliation in the opening rape scene (see Chapter 2) and,

82 Nejedlý compared the romantic love tragedy of Fibich and Schulzová to Wagner’s Tristan und Isolde. See Nejedlý, 172.
83 Thomas, 19. Also see Chapter 1.
84 Parly, 160. This version bears resemblance to a version of the “maidens’ war” by Alois Jirásek, in which Šárka captured Ctirad, lived beyond the confines of the story, and “only laughed at him.”Alois Jirásek, Old Czech Legends (Boston: Forest Books, 1992), 20.
consequently, carries parallels with the violation of Brünnhilde. Finally, in the present day, we imagine Wagner’s heroine (and, perhaps, also the Amazonian Šárka) as “a thickset, screeching, ridiculous type with armour and plaits.” In addition to the masculine physical features, both characters also possess ‘manly’ rationality: Šárka is merciless, ready to revenge in the name of her maidens, and Brünhilde’s “manner of speech makes it clear that she has not abandoned her maternal perspective, [as] she remains the knowledgeable one dealing with an inexperienced child” during her first encounter with Siegfried (Act II, scene 2).

In a comparison of Brünnhilde and Isolde, Parly concludes that both heroines are “strong-willed, pro-active women who follow their own lead, and . . . are able to give and take love and death. . . . [They] defy society’s powerful father-figures and make their own choices.” However, Parly continues,

Isolde . . . does not have Brünnhilde’s stature of being a challenge to the social order, because she is not capable of implementing her rebellion in full glare of the public spotlight and taking the consequences like a really heroic person. . . . This makes her weaker, both outwardly in relation to society and inwardly in relation to her own instincts.

In this essence, Šárka’s character bears a closer resemblance to Isolde, who lives in a loveless marriage while secretly engaging in her love for Tristan. Similarly, Šárka temporarily hides her love for Ctirad until she returns to save him from the maidens with Přemysl’s help. Furthermore, the two characters share another link: they both face an unseized opportunity to kill their male counterparts and, instead, become victims of the deadly love. Consequently, the realization of Šárka’s character in the plot of the opera

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86 Parly, 160.
87 Ibid., 131. Also see Dieter Borchmeyer, Das Theater Richard Wagners, Idee—Dichtung—Wirkung (Stuttgart: Philip Reclan, 1982), 248-49.
88 Parly, 233.
89 Ibid., 233-34.
goes through a transformation from a fervent Brünnhilde to a feeble Isolde type.

Before exploring the concept of the conversion of Šárka’s character, I return to general plot similarities between Fibich’s Šárka and Wagner’s operas, as pertinent to my examinations of gender portrayal through metric and harmonic structures.

**Metric structures in Šárka**

In an article titled “Humperdinck and Wagner: Metric States, Symmetries, and Systems,” Daphne Leong proposes a correlation between the dramatic situations in Wagner’s *Parsifal* and Engelbert Humperdinck’s (1854-1921) *Hänsel und Gretel* and their respective depictions in the metric structures.\(^{90}\) She suggests that the “musical and dramatic action [is centered] on *leitmotifs* whose musical characteristics change in correspondence to dramatic and psychological developments; [and, furthermore,] rhythmic-metric transformations form one aspect of this kind of musical depiction.”\(^{91}\) The basis for Leong’s analysis depends upon a shared plot schema, which also happens to coincide with Fibich’s opera:

the action takes place in a forest setting, with a group of people (the knights of the Grail, the gingerchildren) oppressed by evil magic. Innocent protagonists (Parsifal, Hansel and Gretel) overcome temptation to defeat an evil magician (Klingsor, the witch) destroying his/her work (the magic castle, the gingerbread house) and bringing healing and redemption to his/her victims.\(^{92}\)

In the plot of Šárka the dramatic climax arises during the forest scene, in which the main characters succumb to the lures of sexual desire. At the end of the opera, however, the libretto deviates slightly by the proposed plot schema: Šárka realizes that her rationality

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\(^{91}\) Leong, 241.

\(^{92}\) Ibid.
and loyalty to her maidens have been compromised and attempts to heal herself and redeem the death of her damsels by committing suicide.\textsuperscript{93}

In addition to plot-related similarities, Leong observes that \textit{Parsifal} and \textit{Hänsel und Gretel} share several “surface rhythmic characteristics . . . [such as] metric fluidity that contrasts duple and triple on lower levels while keeping higher levels constant, . . . [where] the contrasting subdivision factors occur either successively or concurrently.”\textsuperscript{94}

Based on the results from her analysis, Leong further deduces that simple meters (and duple factors more generally) are associated with the dramatic depiction of truth or reality and compound meters (and other triple factors) often accompany the portrayals of deception or evil designs.\textsuperscript{95}

The following analysis proposes an extension of Leong’s idea of “metric states as bearers of meaning . . . [that] exploit particular metric relations to signal certain dramatic ones” and offers an interpretation of gender portrayal through metric structures in Fibich’s \textit{Šárka}. I argue that duple and triple divisions are not only representative of men and women, respectively, as two distinct categories, but also of gendered qualities: ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’.\textsuperscript{96} As a result, the concurrent use of duple and triple factors (or an implication thereof) suggests blurred lines between the traditional Western

\textsuperscript{93} The potential interpretations of the forest (tree-tying) scene and Šárka’s suicide will be addressed later in this chapter.

\textsuperscript{94} Ibid. In addition, Leong notes motivic similarities, syncopated accompaniments in formal transitions, and a “shimmer” figuration—which she defines as “fast moving triplet-eighth or triplet-sixteenth notes whose pitch alternation groups notes in twos”—that evokes associations of the supernatural.


\textsuperscript{96} Throughout this chapter, the qualities and various states of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ represent in their use the cultural context of the late nineteenth-century Western and Central Europe. Furthermore, they represent the culturally conditioned standard of gender description that is challenged by the opera at hand.
depiction of the two gendered sides, such as ‘masculine’ female roles (the Amazons) and ‘feminine’ male characters. I begin by exploring gender depiction through metric structures in a general, collectivist sense (men vs. women), as contained in Act I of the opera, and continue with the particular representations of Šárka and Ctirad in the forest scene of Act II.

Act I

The first act opens with Vlasta, Libuše’s follower and the leader of the Amazonian maidens, sitting on the lower steps of the throne, holding her face in her hands. Her aria “Stínové vy duší zemřelých” (Shadows of departed souls) begins in common time, as she reflects on the reality of the queen’s passing. When she becomes more emotional (“I cry in vain!... In vain! She disappears in the heights above!”), Vlasta’s accompaniment introduces dotted rhythms and triplet figuration, which lead directly into a 6/8 time. At this point, Vlasta temporarily escapes into a pensive state, as she dreams of a brighter future: “The birds, who by the dead were frightened away, now return to the trees, their gay song greets the shadows’ departure! Above the forest, behold, from the solid gates of heaven, the sun is rising, like a magnificent hero, wielding a golden shield in his mighty hand!” Her thoughts are soon disrupted and the meter returns again to common time as she whispers, “Hide, enslaved head, from the holy lustre

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98 “K větvicím již vracej se ptáci, strach jež před dušemi zapudil, a jarým přímím zdráví odchod stínů! Nad lesem, hle, z pevné brány nebes slunce vystupuje jako skvělý rek, jenž v mocné dlani štřtem zlatým vládne!”
of his shield.” At this point, the duple division may point both to Vlasta’s sudden return to reality and, as we will see, a reference to men’s power and the patriarchal rule.

The scene is interrupted by Šárka, whose brave, ‘masculine’ nature is portrayed through her very first line, as she enters the stage holding a bird and examining its body: “Dead! My arrow flew straight to its breast, the thirsty earth now drinks its warm blood!” Her character is accompanied by a motif (Ex. 1) in a duple 2/4 meter, half dotted, half not, which may be representative of her split identity: female body and male mind. She encounters Vlasta (“Behold, a maiden sitting alone a-pondering”), who is still deep in thought, and the meter responds with a shift to 3/4. As Šárka recognizes her fellow warrior, Vlasta’s motif temporarily transforms the meter into triple divisions (Ex. 2); similarly to that of Šárka, her motif contains both ‘man(ly)’ and ‘woman(ly)’ features, using both duple and triple divisions of the beat.

Example 1. Šárka’s courageous motif, Act I, pp. 16-17, mm. 262-65.

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99 “Skryj se, hlavo porobená, svatý lesk by jeho na tě nepad!”
100 “Mrtev! Bystře šíp můj přímo k prsoum letěl! Teplou krev již lačná země pije!”

The action remains in 3/4 while the two characters discuss women’s power during Libuše’s rule, her subsequent death, and the loss of their authority to the men. Šárka’s line “Enough of women’s rule, they said, man shall be women’s master again!” serves as a transition—both musically and of power—and by “They chased us from the throne’s golden steps—forever!” the meter has returned to the ‘masculine’ common time. Šárka then speaks of the king (“In the morning Přemysl and his men will offer here a solemn sacrifice, seeking to move the gods in favour of their rule”), whose first mention is accompanied by the king’s/men’s motif (originally introduced in the Overture), as shown in Ex. 3.

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101 “Dosti prý té ženské vlády, muž zas bude pánem ženy! Navždy od zlatého stolce stupnů vyštvali nás!”

102 “Jitra toho Přemysl a muži slavnou žertvu vznítí zde, by bohy naklonili vládě svoji.”
Example 3a. Men’s/king’s motif, Act I, p. 6, mm. 41-48 (from overture).

Example 3b. Men’s/king’s motif in the accompaniment of Šárka’s aria, Act I, p. 25, mm. 401-6.

Her defiant response (“We shall wait here to claim our rights, if needed be by force!”) is presented in 2/4, but only temporarily: Šárka’s meter becomes convoluted with ‘feminine’ triplets—evoking a 6/8 meter—with the appearance of the maidens (“Look,
our sisters are coming”), as portrayed in Ex. 4. Šárka’s duple vocal line juxtaposes the triplet accompaniment of the arriving damsels, as if her rationality is fighting with her feminine disposition. The triple character of the accompaniment is mostly maintained throughout the maidens’ chorus scene “S teskným srdcem” (With grieving hearts) until it is interrupted by Šárka’s motif, returning the meter firmly to the assigned 2/4. Her courageous motif is quickly followed by 6/8-like triplets and, this time, Šárka joins in on the ‘feminine’ expression, attempting to mobilize the maidens to attack (“Is it not perhaps intended to tell us to promote the cause ourselves? The eternal ones don’t favour weakness, fear, only to courageous hearts do they erect their altars!”). Vlasta, who responds in her customary 6/8, ornamented with dotted rhythms, successfully accepts Šárka’s womanly plea (“Holy prophecy speaks through your lips! Through you Libuše conveys to us her commands!”), and the maidens rejoice. As they prepare to fight the men the following morning, their anthem is masculinized into common time. This change serves as a musical metaphor for the transformation of their inner (and also physical, according to some versions of the “maidens’ war,” as discussed in the previous chapter) selves into the embodiment of the traditionally ascribed male qualities.

103 “Vyčkáme zde a svá práva třeba mocí žádat budem! Viz, tam družky naše již se blíží!”
104 “Mlčení zda jejich nedí zřejmě, samy bychom k dílu spěly? Nemílují věční slabost, bázeň, v srdci smělém jen si oltář staví.”
105 “Svatá věštba mluví ústy tvými! Libuše nám tebou pokyn dává!”
Example 4. Šárka’s aria and transition into maidens’ motif, Act I, pp. 25-26, mm. 407-30.
The action continues with the men’s arrival, accompanied by their motif, to perform the ritual. First comes Ctirad, immediately followed by King Přemysl. The king says a few words about his lost love as a way of initiating the rite (“Blessings of the gods to all! And greetings to you, bound by holy bond to my heart, to my grief, so vast and powerful, which has spilled shadows in my soul!”), but quickly finds himself lost in emotion.¹⁰⁶ The music follows this trajectory: the composed king continues in the ‘masculine’ common time, as previously set up by the men’s motif, increasingly elaborating with triplets and dotted rhythms as his emotion heightens at the thought of

¹⁰⁶ “Přízeň bohů všem! Mně pozdravení budte všichni vy, kdož páskou svatou se srdcem mým spjati jste, s mým žalem nezměrným a mocným, stíny své jenž v duši rozsypal!”
Libuše. After a brief pause, he begins his aria “Větve dvě” (also present in Fibich’s ‘love-diary’, as discussed above) in 3/4, which exposes his ‘feminine’ emotion and a dreamy state, taking him back to the dotted rhythms of Libuše (Ex. 5):

Two branches grew closely together from the trunk of harmony and love. Their shoots intertwined, their leaves caressing tenderly. The same sun smiled down on both of them, moisture from the same dew watered them. The white snow of winter, the spring blossoms, made their embrace closer. The birds nested in their shade, seeking shelter and protection for themselves. The sun’s brilliant light spread happiness all around, prosperity and blessing blossomed everywhere!107

The imagined metric state is unexpectedly interrupted with duple, common time divisions as Přemysl returns to the devastating reality: “Then suddenly the ruinous hand of death swept along, inflicting a mortal blow on one of the amorous branches. Its foliage withered and bent to the ground.”108

Example 5. Libuše’s motif during Přemysl’s aria, Act I, p. 40, mm. 643-44.

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107 “Větve dvě, hle, úzce spolu vyrůstaly na pni svorné lásky. Haluze se jejich proplétaly, lístky sněhou k sobě chýlili se! Jeden úsměv slunce obě blázil, kropila je rosy jedné vláha. Sněžná zímy příze, svěží jara květy v úzké objetí obě spjaly. V stínu jejich ptáčci tichý útulek svůj měli, ochraně jich svěřující hnízda. Slunná záře štěstí kolem šířila se, zdar a požehnání na všem vykvétaly!” The vocal score to the entire aria can be found in Appendix 2.

108 “Náhle ničící dlaní Morany kol spěla, krutě podlomila jednu z družních větvic! S listím svadlým k zemi schýlila se!”
The reality of the ending love abruptly shifts Přemysl’s condition to the opposite side of the spectrum, from the ‘masculine’ common time to an implied 12/8, created by a triple subdivision of the beat. If the duple division represents the manly rationality/reality, then the extensive use of triplets here suggests a complete ‘feminization’ of the character. Přemysl continues, “Oh, Libuše, radiant dream of my life, from which I have awoken sorrowful and broken-hearted. Where are you? Where has your brilliant being gone? Where shall my despair search for you, my love, my desire?”

The extent of his intensified emotions—portrayed in the text and meter, but also in the ambiguous harmonic structure of the excerpt, which is far from stable (as discussed later in the chapter)—point to an extreme departure from reality, as he desperately searches for the deceased queen. Such uncontrollable emotion could be interpreted as a symptom reminiscent of hysteria, a psychological malady originally associated exclusively with women and depicted as a ‘mad scene’ in opera. Finally, Přemysl calms his emotions and in a simple meter of 3/4 he states, “Woe, oh woe to me, now that you have left me!” He then immediately realizes the level of inappropriateness of his behavior (“Hide from strangers’ eyes, you open wound! It is unmanly to bow in sorrow!”) and returns to the proper meter.

The implied 12/8 returns just moments later as a depiction of the supernatural when the men address Svaroh during the ritual. The women intervene with a ‘feminine’

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109 “Libuše má, zářný sne ty mého žití, z něhož bědný procitl jsem s nitrem bole zdarným! Ach! Kde jsi? Kam zmizel zjev tvůj jasný? Kde tě hledat má mé zoufalství, má láška, moje touhy?”

110 Abbate and Parker, 226-27.

111 “Žel, ó žel mi, žes mne opustila! Však již skryj se zrakům cizím ráno otevřená! Nemužno jest v žalu klesat!”

112 In Czech mythology, Svaroh is a Slavic god of sun and fire. For more information see fn. 37. Leong’s analysis also reveals instances of triple factors that accompany references to the supernatural in Hänsel und Gretel, such as the discussion of angels in their dreams, and when their father refers to God’s help. Leong, 222, fn. 15.
6/8 and Šárka attempts to obstruct the men’s actions. Her deed is followed by a switch back to common time, while Přemysl struggles to keep peace between the sexes (“Hear, all of you, in Libuše’s name, my voice! Beware of evil passions, and defend the land’s sacred place!”). Ctirad interrupts the king’s speech and pleads with him not to yield to Šárka’s beautiful face:

My Prince, please consider if I speak the truth when I say that women’s weeds have too boldly grown around the throne? [He points at Šárka] A beauty she is! But a maiden’s loveliness is but a deceit! A lovely blossom yet full of poison! Those white hands are an instrument of hatred! The rosy lips breathe revenge, and only pride dwells in her icy heart!

Ctirad’s duple meter proves that he is not misled by her charms and the men demand Šárka’s death. Vlasta attempts to save Šárka’s life. Accompanied in 3/4, her feminine plea begins with Vlasta’s own triplet motif and is later replaced by the dotted quotations from Přemysl’s aria to Libuše (“Like a blissful echo of times past your moving words sound in my heart! Those words lamented over the broken branch, torn from the tender caress, that can never again protect the golden throne.”). After skillfully using her femininity, Vlasta switches into common time to dramatize the reality of Libuše’s death and, finally, proposes that the power be turned over to women (while introducing fast triple divisions, which later appear rhythmically augmented to a regular eighth-note value). Přemysl, using ‘feminine’ dotted rhythms, nods to women’s rights (“Arise, Vlasta! That is not woman’s place! Respect, and love should be your sacred rights”),

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113 “Slyšte všichni jménem Libuše můj hlas! Oh, ochraňte již před zlobou vášně svatý země mír!”
114 “Můj kníže, viz, zda pravdou slova má, že bejlí ženské vlády příliš směle kolem stolce vzrostlo? Krásná jest! Však lícě děvy šalbou jen! Toť skvělý květ, jenž plný ostravy! Ty dlaně bíle zásti náštrojem! Ta ústa růžová jen pomstou dýchají a pýchu zná jen srce ledové!”
115 “Jako blahý ohlas doby zašlé v duší zvučí slova dojemná! Ta slova žalně škala nad zlomenou snětí, z družného jež svazku vyráva, jenž nikdy nemůže chránit stolec zlatý.” The excerpt with Vlasta’s aria and Přemysl’s subsequent response can be found in Appendix 3.
but—only after the sound of the men’s motif—concludes, “only men will rule our country!”

When Šárka hears that her life has been spared, her ‘masculine’ 2/4 meter returns with the arrival of her motif, and she swears revenge on Ctirad. The women announce a war against men; their ‘feminine’ warrior motif (Ex. 6) is appropriated from 3/4 to a common time, and is juxtaposed against the men’s motif. In this way, all women follow Šárka through the process of masculinization, while still maintaining the dotted ‘femaleness’.

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116 “Povstaň, Vlasto! Ne tam místo ženy! Úcta, láskau právem buď jí svatý, ale muž jen v zemi naší vládni!”
Example 6. Female warrior motif, Šárka’s and Vlasta’s lines joined by men’s and women’s chorus, Act I, p. 63, mm. 1053-67.
In summary, the first act makes use of four principal meters (C, 2/4, 3/4, and 6/8) and a fifth implied meter (12/8), as shown in Table 2 (in the table, implied meters are differentiated from written meters by the use of quotes). Fibich employs common time in the representations of masculinity, all male characters (with the exception of Přemysl in his aria about Libuše), and reality. The duple rhythm of 2/4 is limited to the depictions of Šárka’s character and, namely, her ‘manly’ rationality and bravery. The simple 3/4 is used in the roles of Vlasta and Přemysl, both of whom showed signs of intense ‘feminine’ emotion and sorrow for the deceased Libuše when in a state of a dream/illusion. The triple division of 6/8 is also appropriated for Vlasta’s character, but more generally represents all women with the exception of Šárka, who uses it as a tool for manipulation (or, perhaps, a bonding device) of the maidens. Lastly, the implied 12/8 is employed in extremely unreal scenes, such as Přemysl’s excessive ‘femininity’ during the ‘mad scene’ and the supernatural powers during the ritual. Consequently, Fibich’s treatment of metric structures of duple and triple factors in Act I is not limited to the portrayal of men and women, respectively, but moves on the metric spectrum based on the character’s specific gendered qualities of ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity’.

Table 2. Metric structures in Act I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meter</th>
<th>Dramatic situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Reality; masculinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>Šárka; reality/rationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>Vlasta, Přemysl; femininity, dream, illusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/8</td>
<td>Vlasta, maidens; femininity, dream, emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“6/8”</td>
<td>Šárka; femininity as manipulation (maidens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“12/8”</td>
<td>Přemysl; mad scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The supernatural; ritual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Act II

I begin my exploration of gender portrayal in Act II just before Šárka asks her maidens to tie her to an oak tree.\textsuperscript{117} She demands: “Oh, Ctirad, you scorned my challenge to a direct fight so I have no other weapon left but my youth and beauty. And thus, I challenge you to a mortal fight!”\textsuperscript{118} Her attitude of a warrior is accompanied by her motif, which is appropriated for portrayal in common time. However, as soon as Šárka’s limbs touch the tree, the meter, as if magically, switches to 3/4; its enchanted quality instantly feminizes her and, at sunset, transforms the duple division of 3/4 into an implied 9/8 (appearing for the very first time), as shown in Ex. 7. Šárka finds herself daydreaming and fantasizing about the happiness of youth until she returns to the present, depicted again through the metric structures of 3/4. She finally lands on the reality of common time when she thinks of her hatred towards Ctirad: “In vain I seek forgetfulness and peace in horrors of wars and killing. I am tormented by the thought that he is alive! Either he must die, or I will be slain by his hand, no matter! As long as the passionate fire is quenched that burns in my heart, driving me mad.”\textsuperscript{119} The ‘passionate fire’ that Šárka speaks of, however, is very ambiguous and could represent both her hatred and love towards Ctirad, already kindled by the enchanted tree of lovers.

\textsuperscript{117} The reader may recall from my previous discussions that the tree of lovers in German folklore is the Czech lime (or linden) tree rather than the German oak.
\textsuperscript{118} “Oh, Ctirade, ty zhrdáš bojem přímým. Nuže viz, teď nemám jiné zbraně nežží mladost svou a krásu! Ale těmi tebe v zápas smrtný já vyzývám.”
\textsuperscript{119} “Marně v hrůzách vraždění a bojů hledám zapomenění, klid! Mě bolem divým mučí myšlenky, že žije on! Buď zhyne, nebo ruka jeho dá mi smrt, vše jedno, jen když zhasne bouřný žár, jenž v nitru plá a hárá!”
Example 7. Šárka’s feminization during her aria, Act II, pp. 93-95, mm. 511-43.
Example 7. (cont.)

má, di. ne- ho! Zpě- ve dušu, vě ko-

sta-le tych, svůj hlás, tém budiš mrtvě snů, jež v duši leži

jaké květy svad. lét!

kde jste vy lů- ta děs tvi bláhó, kdy zná lažem jen hvez - dy
After Ctirad finds her, she remains in 3/4 and lies about how she ended up tied to a tree. At this point, the drama turns to an interaction between the truth and illusion: Šárka’s real motives are depicted through the established common time and her attempts to deceive Ctirad are presented in a 6/8 meter. “How terrible! It’s you! I’m lost!” —she sighs, and then to herself, “Strength, strength for bloody vengeance!” The common time is strengthened by Šárka’s courageous motif. Then, in 6/8, she pleads, “I am in your power. I know that death awaits me.” After being grounded in his reality (common time), which is colored by rising emotion (with an implied 12/8), Ctirad is finally overpowered by Šárka’s guile and joins her in the 6/8 meter: “You’d better ask me to turn

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120 This excerpt can be found in Appendix 4.
121 “Ó, hrůza! Ty! Jsem ztracena! Jen sílu, sílu, pomstvo krvavá!”
122 “Jsem v moci tvé! Já vím, mě čeká smrt.”
my sword against my own heart. Permit me to protect you!” Šárka murmurs again in common time, “Treacherous poison is already entering his blood!” When she realizes that he has forgiven her, she attempts to warn him of her deceit (“You do not desire my death? You have forgiven me? No, no, it’s all but a delusion. You scorn me and nothing but hatred you have for me”). Ctirad’s response to her is full of real feelings, as shown by the common time, embellished with an occasional triplet:

Yes, indeed, I hated you. I hated your beauty, Šárka. Hear me out. I even hated your locks of hair from which your white neck shines like blossoms white from the dark depths of the waters, I hated your rosy lips, and sparkling eyes, through dark eyelashes that shine like stars through the forest bush. Your image has pierced and haunted me, I wanted to crush you with my great strength, so that you’d drop to my feet, dead! Call it hatred, if you like, but don’t ask me to live without it!

At this point, they can no longer ignore their feelings for one another. The duple rationality is taken over by the triplet of emotion and, in an implied 12/8, Šárka responds, “Your power rules over me, I want to be obedient; come and untie my shackles.” Ctirad proposes that she sit under the treacherous oak tree. She temporarily returns to reality, struggling desperately against her feelings (“No! No! I cannot do it! Let me depart!”), but Ctirad jumps towards her, passionately embraces her and, for the first time, the music turns to a real 12/8 rather than its implied predecessor. Marked Feroce e vivo, Ctirad proceeds to declare his love for Šárka (Ex. 8), which—like Přemysl’s aria—

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123 “Žádej spíše, proti sobě abych zbraň sbou obrátil! Ó, dovol, dovol, abych ochráncem ti byl!”
124 “Již zrady jed mu otravuje krev!”
125 “Ty nechceš moji smrt? Ty odpouštěš? Ne, ne, to blahý klam! Vždyť zhrdáš mnou a zášť jen pro mne máš! Ó, nech mě zemřít!”
126 “Ano, nenáviděl jsem! Já nenáviděl, Šárko, krásu tvou. Ó, slyšíš? Zášť jsem měl ku vlnám kadeří, z nichž šije bělostná ti svítí jako květy bile z temných hlubin vod, a zášť jsem měl k tvým retům růžovým i zrakům zářivým, jež řasou temnou planou jako hvězdy lesní houštinou. To stále bodalo a stvalo mne, bych železnými svaly tebe stisk’ a drtil, až bys k nohám mojim sklesla neživá! Nuž nazývej to zášť, ale nechtěj, abych bez ní žil!”
127 “Jsem v moci tvé, chci být tě poslušná; nuž pojď a rozvaž moje pouta.”
128 “Ne, ne! Já nemohu! Ó nech mě odejít!”
expresses his complete devotion to the world of feeling. The difference between the two arias stems precisely from the written meter: Přemysl’s implied 12/8 is really set in common time, suggesting that the feeling of love is but a fleeting emotion that is no longer true—he must return to the reality; on the contrary, Ctirad is completely enveloped in the sexual desire evoked by the tree and thus acts in the marked 12/8.

In response to Ctirad’s promise of everlasting love, Šárka finds herself in a very different battle than the one that she was expecting: the battle between men and women now turns into a personal gendered conflict of the ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ Šárka or, in other words, between rational duty and her sexual desire. She desperately pulls back from his embrace and draws a dagger against Ctirad, as depicted in Ex. 9. The moment of truth is mirrored in the restatement of her courageous motif. Shortly after, Šárka realizes that she cannot go through with the murder and drops the weapon at the same time as her motif is transformed into continuous triplets, evoking again an implied 12/8. Is love but a fleeting moment for Šárka as well?
Example 9. Šárka’s aria, attempting to kill Ctirad, Act II, p. 116, mm. 902-17.

United at this moment, Šárka’s and Ctirad’s passionate duet dances in triplets and dotted rhythms and constantly shifts between 3/4, implied 12/8, and finally 3/8, ending with her “A blissful dream!” and his “You have enchanted me!” Their lines allude to the fact that their love may be just an illusion or a product of the supernatural and, as a

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129 “Toť blahý sen! Ó kouzlem spjalas mě!” This excerpt can be found in Appendix 5.
result, Šárka is brought back to reality: “Woe! Away! Quickly away! Please flee!”130 She breaks away from the magical spell of the tree and attempts to save him with a duple common time. Ctirad—still bound with the emotional triple division—responds in 3/4: “Your treachery has given me love, I therefore bless it!” and—returning to his manly nature of the common time—he continues, “Should I flee from womenfolk? How could you love a coward?”131 He then blows the horn and gives the maidens a signal to attack. At the moment of the self-inflicted fate, the common time switches back to the implied 12/8, as if signaling that Ctirad’s deed, which will lead to death, is unusual and perhaps even insane. In this way, Ctirad’s implied 12/8 is similar to Přemysl’s earlier scene in that both of them are driven mad as a result of sexual love and desire. His expression of passion for Šárka blurs with the triplet motif of the maidens. Breaking off the battle, Šárka ends the second act by claiming Ctirad as her captive in an attempt to save his life.

In summary, Act II is also equipped with five primary meters, as shown in Table 3. The common time describes again two traditionally ‘masculine’ traits: 1) the ‘manly’ bravery, which Ctirad does not turn to until he is faced with having to defend himself from the troop of female warriors, and 2) the reality (connected with man’s rationality), which, in this instance, represents the duty requested of the ‘masculine’ side of Šárka. As a result of the tree-tying scene, the meter signature 2/4 is taken away from her (the courageous motif is incorporated in the common time) and, instead, her ‘feminine’ side is depicted in factors of three. The meter of 3/4 appears when she is first tied up and again when Ctirad invites her to sit under the oak tree. The 6/8 juxtaposition of a duple division of the measure with a triple factor in each beat is representative of Šárka’s attempted

130 “Oh, běda! Pryč, rychle pryč! Ó jdi!”
131 “Zrada lásku tvou mi dala, proto žehnám jí! Však před ženami měl bych ustoupit zbaběle? Ty sketu nemohla bys milovat!”
deceit: it masks her true intentions behind her feminine features and pretended weakness. When, however, she truly falls in love, her ‘real’ feelings are portrayed in an implied 12/8 (marked as common time with triple divisions), suggesting that she is either not completely committed to the sexual relationship over her duty or that her desire is not to be fulfilled (it is not the ‘true’ reality)—both of these interpretations are realized at the end, as she betrays her love to redeem the death of the maidens and commits suicide. On the contrary, Ctirad’s love is real, as depicted by the written 12/8 meter.

Table 3. Metric structures in Act II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meter</th>
<th>Dramatic situation</th>
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| C     | Šárka; reality, duty  
       | Ctirad; return to masculinity |
| 3/4   | Tree, femininity, emotion, supernatural powers of love |
| 6/8   | Šárka; deceit |
| “12/8”| Šárka; love for Ctirad |
| 12/8  | Ctirad; real love for Šárka |

Ski paths and symmetries in Acts I & II

In the analysis of metric structures and their symmetries in Wagner’s Parsifal and Humperdinck’s Hänsel und Gretel, Leong presents an extension of Richard Cohn’s ski-hill paths by allowing for a ‘dissonant’ metric state and hypermeters.\(^{132}\) Her work follows the ski-hill graphs by Cohn in that the pulse levels related by ratios of 2 and 3 are arranged on “two-dimensional lattices, where vertices on a lattice represent pulses, edges

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\(^{132}\) Richard Cohn presents a model of hierarchy of pulse levels that are isochronous (consisting of evenly spaced pulses) and in which each pulse level relates to the next by a ratio of 2 or 3. Unlike Cohn’s ‘consonant’ metric states, which are limited to pulse levels that relate by integer factors, Leong’s ‘dissonant’ metric states “include any state that can be created from the union of fully consonant states . . . [that have] at least one pulse level in common.” Leong, 216, 220. For more information on Cohn’s metric states, see Richard Cohn, “Complex Hemiolas, Ski-Hill Graphs and Metric Space,” Music Analysis 20 (2001): 295-326.
sloping downward to the right show triple divisions, and edges sloping downward to the left show duple ones.” Furthermore, Leong’s theory focuses on the path shapes and develops “a subgroup of the group of symmetries of a square” by rotating them clockwise on the vertical and horizontal axes (V- and H-relations).

The application of this method to the prevalent metric states in Acts I and II of Fibich’s Šárka proposes several interpretations for gender depiction in the opera. As shown in Fig. 2, the duple metric state of Šárka’s courageous motif is equivalent to the men’s/king’s motivic material, consequently showing the female heroine’s truly ‘masculine’ traits—at this point, she is by no means a ‘feminine’ character, but rather an Amazonian warrior. Conversely, Fig. 3 represents the implied 6/8 meter of the arriving maidens, depicting their triplet ‘femininity’. The metric states portraying ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ (Figs. 2 and 3) differ in the direction (left or right) of precisely two segments of their respective slopes. The comparison between Přemysl’s metric state (Fig. 4) of the ‘mad scene’ (containing the implied 12/8) and Fig. 3 shows certain shape similarities, suggesting his overly emotional, emasculating and feminized psychological condition. The initial segment of the slope in Fig. 3, which represents hypermetric organization, is absent from Fig. 4a due to the highly asymmetrical phrase structure: Přemysl’s aria is organized in nine (4+5) and eleven (5+6) measure-long phrases that contribute to the portrayal of a non-traditional and unnatural state of being. However, when the king collects himself, the reemergence of the duple division reattributes his ‘masculine’ traits, as depicted in Fig. 4b, achieving the shape of the king’s original motif.

133 Ibid., 212.
Figure 2. (a) Men’s motif. (b) Šárka’s courageous motif.

Figure 3. Femininity and Šárka’s deceit.

Figure 4. (a) Přemysl’s “mad scene.” (b) Přemysl’s return to reality.
Figure 5 represents the metric state of Šárka while tied to a tree. Her feminization/state of an illusion of an implied 9/8 meter (written as 3/4) is visually demarcated by the rightward sloping of the graph. On the contrary, Fig. 6 shows her metric state in 6/8 during her conscious efforts to deceive Ctirad using her feminine charms—it slopes to the left and represents Šárka’s deliberate action (a sign of ‘masculine’ rationality). In addition, Fig. 6 (Šárka’s deceit) is a reflection of Fig. 5 (Šárka’s feminization) about the vertical axis. According to Leong, a V-relation signifies a “dramatic opposition . . . [such as] reality versus . . . deception.” In Fibich’s opera, it epitomizes the two sides of Šárka: the ‘feminine’ side, achieved through the magical properties of the lovers’ tree, and the ‘masculine’ one that uses her rationale to manipulate her opponent. In other words, it represents her real and deceptive ‘femininity’. Lastly, Fig. 7 shows the depiction of Ctirad’s emotional state, as portrayed in the ‘real’ 12/8: the slope shape is equivalent with the one of Přemysl’s aria (Fig. 4) and suggests that his feelings for Šárka were true and, perhaps, will go beyond her demise as did the king’s love for Libuše.

Figure 5. Šárka’s feminization.

\[\text{Figure 5. Šárka’s feminization.} \]

\[\text{134 Ibid., 225.}\]
Figure 6. (a) Šárka’s deceit.

Figure 6. (b) V-relation of Šárka’s feminization (Fig. 5) and Šárka’s deceit (Fig. 6a).

Figure 7. Ctirad’s aria.
In conclusion, Leong’s theory of the metric states and symmetries provides additional interpretations on the gender depiction in Fibich’s Šárka. In the opera, female characters are generally portrayed with triple divisions and male characters with duple ones. However, the representation of gender is not limited to the two distinct sexes, but varies based on their respective psychological states on the spectrum of relative ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’, where the former is generally portrayed in simple meters and duple divisions and the latter in compound meters and triple divisions. Consequently, the depictions of ‘feminine’ qualities are, to a certain degree, treated with a greater level of complexity. In the next section, I examine the extent to which Fibich preserves the representation of gender (as exhibited in the metric structures) in his use of the harmonic language.

**Harmonic structures in Šárka**

In order to examine the role of the harmonic material in the representation of gender in both the two distinct sides (men versus women) and on the spectrum of relative ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ (and for space considerations), I primarily focus on three musical excerpts: the depiction of (1) ‘masculinity’ in the king’s motif (Act I, mm. 41-48, 401-406 as shown in Exx. 3a and 3b), (2) ‘femininity’ in the maidens’ motif (Act I, mm. 411-26 as portrayed in Ex. 4), and (3) feminization of a male character during Přemysl’s “mad scene” (Act I, mm. 684-705 as depicted in Appendix 2). In my analysis of harmonic progressions that are traditionally conceived as tonal, I follow the system of *Stufentheorie* as appropriated by Steven Laitz in *The Complete Musician*.\(^{135}\) For musical

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\(^{135}\) The principles of *Stufentheorie* were developed by Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler (1776) and later expanded by his pupil Gottfried Weber, who defined the role of a harmony by its placement in the key and
excerpts that do not exhibit features of tonal harmonic progressions, as defined by Laitz, I employ the methodology of triadic transformations, as described by Cohn in *Audacious Euphony: Chromaticism and the Triad’s Second Nature.*

As presented in the overture, the motivic material in mm. 41-48, which is retrospectively attributed to the king’s/men’s motif, is primarily grounded in the key of A-minor, oscillating between the tonic and dominant chords. The motivic cell presented in beats 1 and 2 (m. 41) is transposed to F-major in m. 43, b. 3 with a slight harmonic variation where it remains and tonicizes A-minor’s submediant through the end of m. 44. After a return to A-minor, the progression moves through a brief tonicization of the mediant (C-major in m. 47) and the Neapolitan ♭II (B-flat major in m. 48), concluding with a succession of the subdominant and the dominant. Measures 41-48 are therefore an example of a tonal progression or the ‘phrase model’, which features an expansion of the tonic function (mm. 41-47), followed by the predominant (mm. 48-49), the dominant (m. 49), and finally return to tonic in m. 51.

The second instance of the men’s motif occurs in mm. 401-406. Šárka creates a plan to disrupt the sacrificial rite of the men and, in response, the motif of ‘masculinity’ is transformed to represent a woman’s understanding of its meaning. Beginning on B-minor, the first three measures progress in an ascending thirds progression (♭♭D-♭F) until the sequence is broken in m. 404 with a half-diminished F-sharp chord, which then

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137 For a definition of the ‘phrase model’, see Laitz, 200-203.
moves to C-major (m. 405) and, subsequently, to E-major (m. 406). Using Cohn’s theory of transformations of major and minor triads and his reduction of dissonant chord members (chordal sevenths in dominants and roots of half-diminished seventh chords into major or minor triads), I model the progression in mm. 401-406 via Tonnetz, as shown in Fig. 8.\textsuperscript{138}

Figure 8. Linear sequence and Tonnetz for men’s/king’s motif (Act I, mm. 401-406).

\textsuperscript{138} The pcs Tonnetz, used for the purposes of this paper, was designed by Richard Hermann in 2013. The pcs Tonnetz accounts for equal temperament and furthermore, carries the advantage of displaying in a clearer fashion close relationships and transformations with sonorities where enharmonic notation is involved.
The moves between individual chords are displayed in two ways: visually, in a form of triangles (created by pcs as their vertices) moving through space, and as a linear sequence where each move includes a description of how one triad is transformed into the next.\(^{139}\)

Using the spatial notation, we may notice that the progression begins (B-minor) and ends (E-major) on the same diatonic parallelogram (moving horizontally left to right). The RL transformation cycle is disrupted in mm. 404-405, where A-minor (F-sharp half-diminished seventh with a reduced root, as per Cohn’s methodology) and C-major replace the ‘fitting’ A-major and C-sharp minor.\(^{140}\) One may wonder why Fibich would sacrifice the preparation of the upcoming key of D-minor (m. 407) by removing the leading tone, which is contained in one of the harmonies. I propose two possible interpretations: 1) the roots of the ‘a-C-E progression’ outline an A-minor triad, representing the original key of the men’s motif, as first presented in the overture, where A-minor is juxtaposed against D-minor in m. 407 (which coincides with the other primary tonal area in the overture) and together they represent the opposition of the sexes; 2) the move from C-major to E-major, which, according to Nors Josephson, is a frequent progression for “Vlasta and her female co-warriors . . . [which often] switches to

\(^{139}\) Located directly above the Tonnetz representation. Moves between individual structural chords on Tonnetz are labeled with an arrow and an ordinal number starting with 1. at the beginning of the given section. Circles around individual pcs represent “neighborhoods” or a collection of chords where all major and minor triads have a single (circled) pc in common.

Cohn’s methodology defines neighborhood as “[\(\text{pc}_x\) (where \(\text{pc}_x\) represents any one pc)] connected to the six tones with which it is consonant [creating six edges]. Six further edges, forming a hexagon, build those six tones directly to each other by consonances. The hexagons and radii together form six triangles, representing the six triads that include \([\text{pc}_x]\) (as root, third, or fifth of a major or minor triad).” See Cohn, Audacious Euphony, 113. Therefore, a neighborhood consists of all major and minor triads that contain a single pc in common. Chords in an adjacent horizontal alignment form unordered diatonic collections; chords in a diagonal top left to bottom right (NW to SE) form an octatonic (8-28 [0134679t]) collection, while chords in a diagonal top right to bottom left (NE to SW) form a hexatonic (6-20 [014589]) collection.

\(^{140}\) RL represents a composite transformation by R (Relative) and L (Leittonwechsel), respectively. For more information, see Cohn, Audacious Euphony, 29-30, 62.
the more tragic key of A-minor” (in this case, the order is reversed).\(^{{141}}\) Regardless of the preferred interpretation, the deviation away from the traditional tonal progression may be as a result of the change in the agent (Šárka), whose ‘feminine’ vocabulary may have affected the presentation of the traditional ‘masculine’ motif.\(^{{142}}\)

An example of a ‘womanly’ harmonic expression can be found in the maidens’ motif (mm. 411-26), as shown in Fig. 9. Beginning again on B-minor, the progression soon becomes ambiguous, as the chord in m. 412 b. 2 can be interpreted as either C-sharp minor (with an upper neighbor in the tenor voice of the piano reduction) or E-major dominant seventh with an omitted chordal fifth.\(^{{143}}\) One may notice that the five-chord progression “b-f♯-c♯-A-a” (labeled α in the linear sequence in Fig. 9a) appears again (mm. 414-17), but is transposed down a whole step.\(^{{144}}\) We may also observe that the organized


\(^{142}\) Similar key relations have been discussed with regards to the works of Wagner. For example, Alfred Lorenz suggests that Hagen’s tonality of B-minor relates to Siegfried’s deed tonality of D-major in the same way that Alberich’s B♭-minor relates to the god tonality D♭-major. See Alfred Lorenz, *Das Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner* 1 (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1924-34), 49-50. According to Robert Bailey, Wagner abandoned the association of tonalities with individual characters and believes that the B♭-minor-D♭-major relation represents Valhalla and Nibelheim. See Robert Bailey, “The Structure of the ‘Ring’ and its Evolution,” *19th-Century Music* 1, no. 1 (July, 1977): 54. Furthermore, Parly suggests that the parallel tonalities between the characters “illuminate the relationship between ‘the heroes’ as played out in the patriarchal power game in which they are enlisted.” Parly, 188-89.

\(^{143}\) The C♯ in the soprano would consequently function as an escape tone. Similarly ambiguous instances appear in mm. 418 and 421, where the harmonies could be interpreted as E-flat minor or A-fully-diminished seventh and D-minor or A-major, respectively. The alternate readings (which depend on the reader’s determination of structural and embellishing tones) are represented on Tonnetz with a dashed arrow and an ordinal number.

\(^{144}\) On all Tonnetzes, chord-to-chord (non-structural) moves are labeled with a dashed arrow, as well as an ordinal number of the move identical to the next structural move. In the present paper, non-structural chords are understood as products of two possible interpretations of the vertical alignment of pitch classes, in which the non-structural reading is subordinate to the structural one on the basis of accentuation (metric, agogic, contour, etc.). Such cases occur primarily in the instances of major-major and minor-minor seventh chords, the reductions of which are not treated by Cohn’s theory and could produce two distinct triads (for example, a C major-major seventh chord can be reduced to a C-major or an E-minor triad). In these cases, structural preference is given to accented pitch classes and chords that promote chord-to-chord movement rather than repetition of the same sonority and belong to “alleys” and “neighborhoods” (defined in fn. 139) within the passage. In addition to the ordinal number, non-structural moves will also be demarcated with an
mapping of successive diatonic parallelograms on the Tonnetz in Fig. 9a (mm. 411-17) is disrupted in the second phrase (shown in Fig. 9b). Instead, the chord succession creates a new chain in mm. 423-26 (labeled β) that alternates between the Nebenverwandt (the dominant relation between a major and minor triad with its root located a perfect fourth above, labeled N) and the LRP transformation and creates a less parsimonious voice leading. In comparison to the men’s motif, the resulting progression does not abide by the rules of traditional tonal harmony and follows a less clear trajectory; in other words, the excerpt of ‘femininity’ is characterized by a more unusual succession of chords (further emphasized through the use of accented dissonance and ambiguous harmonic moves), the complexity of which goes hand in hand with the triple division in the meter.

“*” next to the ordinal number. These numbers shall not be confused with measure numbers labeled at the top of the figure above the linear sequence.

145 The LRP transformation is achieved through moves by L, R, and P, respectively (opposite of the Post-Tonal Theory practice). This transformation, which represents a move to a minor chordal fifth from a major triad, is described as Quintwechsel: a composite transformation of Quintschritt (a move of a major root up a perfect fifth) followed by Parallelklang/Wechsel (change of the quality of the triad) in Hugo Riemann’s Skizze. For more information, see Nora Engebretsen, “Neo-Riemannian Perspectives on the Harmonieschritte, with a Translation of Riemann’s Systematik der Harmonieschritte,” in The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Riemannian Music Theories, edited by Edward Gollin and Alexander Rehding (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 351-81. Especially see ibid., 355 (table at top of page). Also see Hugo Riemann, Skizze einer neuen Methode der Harmonielehre (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1880).

In Figs. 9b and 10a, the diagonal lines running from top left to bottom right (NW to SE) represent fully-diminished seventh-chords or individual subsets of the octatonic (8-28 [0134679t]) collection. Triads outlined in red denote transition points between two distinct figures that treat a continuous excerpt (for example, Figs. 9a and 9b, and 10a and 10b).
Figure 9. (a) Linear sequence and *Tonnetz* for maidens’ motif (Act I, mm. 411-17).

Figure 9. (b) Linear sequence and *Tonnetz* for maidens’ motif (Act I, mm. 417-26).
The last excerpt represents an example of blurred borders between the suggested characteristics of the two sexes. King Přemysl, the head of the patriarchal society and, consequently, the exemplar of ‘masculinity’, is in an ‘unnatural’ state because he exhibits signs of extreme ‘feminine’ emotion. The ‘mad scene’ (mm. 684-705) begins and ends on C-minor, which could be interpreted as a relatively natural state in comparison to the interior processes, as shown in Fig. 10. Measures 684-89 (see Fig. 10a) begin with a LR chain and create a diatonic parallelogram similar to the ‘manly’ depiction in Fig. 8; however, the parallelogram in this instance moves in the ‘wrong’ direction—right to left rather than left to right. Přemysl’s transformation from the ‘masculine’ king into a ‘feminine’ weakling (as suggested by the social contract theorists discussed in the previous chapter) is completed in the course of a chord succession—from E-flat minor (m. 687) to A-flat major (m. 688) and, finally, an enharmonically spelled D-flat minor (C-sharp minor in m. 689)—that models the composite move of the females by LRP and N (as shown in Fig. 9, mm. 423-26). The ‘mad’ state (mm. 689-92) is exemplified by a cycle of LN transformations (an ascending second semitonal sequence, travelling diagonally from North East to South West on the Tonnetz) and is eventually broken in order to allow for a return (via LP) to a lingering C-minor (mm. 692-94). At this point, the king returns to the stabilized horizontal opening chord progression (mm. 693-97) and reinstates his ‘masculine’ sanity.\footnote{The chord succession that, in this case, accompanies the king’s transformation has been termed a ‘Cohn Region’ or a ‘catepilar’ by Richard Hermann. See Hermann, “Verdi Challenges: The Ave Maria from Quattro Pezzi Sacri of 1889, rev. 1898” (conference paper, Annual Meeting of the Rocky Mountain Society for Music Theory, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, April 4, 2014).} The transformative journey, organized in an ABA’ form, consequently demonstrates the progressive move in and out of the ‘feminine’ harmonic zone.
Figure 10. (a) Linear sequence and Tonnetz for Přemysl’s “mad scene” (Act I, mm. 684-89).

Figure 10. (b) Linear sequence and Tonnetz for Přemysl’s “mad scene” (Act I, mm. 689-92).
The harmonic analysis of select musical excerpts from the opera shows certain tendencies in Fibich’s depiction of the sexes and their ascribed gendered qualities. The male characters are portrayed in their natural (‘manly’) state through the use of traditional tonal harmonic structures, as presented in the men’s motif. Female characters, on the other hand, possess features of unusual or non-tonal chordal progression. Lastly, the feminized male characters, who are found in an ‘unnatural’ psychological state, resemble closely the depiction of the ‘feminine’ female roles and share their complex harmonic relationships. While an instance of a ‘masculine’ female character, such as the main heroine Šárka, as portrayed in Act I, is not specifically considered in the present work, I expect that the harmonic structures will share more commonalities with the men’s motif than with representations of ‘femininity’.

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147 Parly notes a similar contrast between the motifs of the ‘natural’ and the ‘unnatural’, the latter of which is “expressed by means of whole-tone and semitone steps,” in Wagner’s Götterdämmerung and Der fliegende Holländer. She argues that the alternating appearance of the diametrically opposite motifs suggest a power struggle between the sexes. See Parly, 219-20.
Gender representation and the construction of Czech national identity

The results from the metric and harmonic analyses of the opera suggest a consistent depiction of gender across the examined structures: traditionally conceived male characters (exhibiting ‘masculine’ traits) are portrayed through standardized techniques, such as tonal harmony, simple meters, and duple divisions (on the level of beat, measure, or hypermetric structures); in contrast, ‘feminine’ female roles are represented by complex, non-tonal moves, compound meters, and triple factors. Overall, these descriptions can be generalized to men as agents of tradition (the ‘natural’ state) and women as a deviation from the customary practice. This idea is in contradiction with the ascribed gender roles in traditional patriarchy, such as in Germany, where women serve as symbols of the nation and the curators of cultural traditions. An alternative reading of the tradition-deviation pair is the portrayal of regressive and progressive trends, respectively, as an ideal for the construction of the revived Czech society.

Against the belief of Clément and Abbate, who understand the deaths of Wagner’s female characters in a patriarchal light as women’s subordination to men (discussed earlier in the chapter), Parly argues for an understanding of the role of women as “Wagnerian innovators, whereas the men seem to be far more repetitive and retrospective.” She suggests that the female characters have an “unprecedented power.

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148 Another example of Fibich’s use of tradition for the depiction of male characters occurs in Act II: Ctirad, on the way to the fatal location at which Šárka is tied to the tree, sings a sixteenth-century folk melody “Proč, kalino, v struze stojíš?” The quotation of a traditional Bohemian tune could be interpreted as an attempt to preserve the customary ways through men rather than women. Also see Hostinský, 185.

149 Patriarchal constructions of gender were also present in nineteenth-century India, as previously mentioned. For more information, see Chatterjee, 624, 626-27; Fruzetti and Perez, 41-42.

150 Parly, 380.
. . [and] often function as the active dramatic stimulus.” Parly therefore interprets Wagner’s gender depiction as a critique of man-controlled society and states, “deconstruction of the patriarchal hierarchies in Wagner’s operas is essentially also a deconstruction of language.” Consequently, the rise of female power in opera could be represented through the deconstruction of tonal hierarchies and the emergence of non-traditional harmonic progressions.

In contrast to patriarchal social constructs, female emancipation in the nineteenth-century Czech lands was equated with national awakening and, as a consequence, women represented the carriers of change rather than the repositories of tradition. The reinforcement of women’s activity was especially noticeable in the literary circles, where “some of the most prominent Czech writers of the nineteenth century were women.” In Fibich’s opera, this concept is materialized in the metric structures: women are portrayed through triple levels which, according to Hugh Macdonald, are associated with expressive freedom, but also pathos, death, the supernatural, languor, and ecstasy.

Macdonald’s hypothesis consequently also accounts for triple expressions of emotions, especially during the love duet between Šárka and Ctirad, but also for the enchanted powers of the tree. He further suggests that, at the same time, simple duple meters became associated with German music.

152 Ibid., 381-82.
153 My analysis shows an example of this occurrence in Fibich’s Šárka.
154 Thomas, 11.
155 Ibid.
157 Ibid.
characters) in Fibich’s opera represent the Czech nation and the active sign of social change, then the male characters are personified as the foreigners, the German “rapacious invaders” that disrupt the matriarchal/independent Czech social construct.\footnote{Thomas, 6.} As a result, while Fibich may have followed some of Wagner’s stylistic features in the depiction of gender, which would have aroused questions within the anti-Wagnerian circles about his cosmopolitan tendencies, the mode of his gender representation followed the nationalistic (and feminist) ideals at the time of the opera’s conception. Šárka could therefore be considered Fibich’s best effort for a contemporary nationalistic Czech opera.
Conclusion

Men of universal education, broad outlook, unadulterated nature, and idealistic efforts are the true fertilizers of national life. They bring moisture into the everyday barren land, sow seeds of active ideas, break new ground on pathless land, and battle prejudice and backwardness. These types are cherished, rare exceptions. They represent the most valuable national assets, the greatest gems in the nation’s treasure chest. Thus, from a purely practical standpoint, it should be accurately ensured that every strength and talent is situated in the place where it can bring the best possible benefit to the national cause. Unfortunately, it tends to be otherwise. Instead of receiving support and encouragement, these professionals are only faced with obstacles and oppression. This was also the case with Fibich.

— Anežka Schulzová

According to the published memories of the composer written by Anežka Schulzová, the creative efforts of Zdeněk Fibich were often met with disapproval. While, in Schulzová’s opinion, Fibich’s output was meant to “benefit . . . the national cause,” his works were severely critiqued for lacking in the nationalistic flavor and traditional Czech, folk-like elements. As I have discussed in the previous chapters, Fibich’s compositional style was instead compared with the musical tendencies and trends employed in other nations and, consequently, he was ascribed the marker of a cosmopolitan composer.


2 Ibid.

3 The international comparisons of Fibich’s compositional techniques remain in the musical narratives until the present day. For example, Nors Josephson describes Fibich, especially in his treatment of Šárka, as the ancestor of the second Viennese school: “While certain stylistic aspects of the work still recall Smetana’s festival opera Libuše (1872), Fibich’s pervasive concern for intervallic and rhythmic permutations clearly
In her article “Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848-1914,” Dana Gooley suggests that, “in the nineteenth century, as today, the word [cosmopolitan] was used loosely as a synonym for ‘sophisticated’, ‘worldly’, ‘international’, or ‘widely traveled’.” She further argues that, towards the end of the nineteenth century, cosmopolitanism gained negative connotations that were associated with “an absence of roots, folk spirit, developed subjectivity, or the capacity to transmit authentic feeling.” Similarly, Celia Applegate notes, “plenty of people . . . used the word cosmopolitan in reference to the musical world but very often in derogatory terms.” Richard Taruskin further suggests that the negative undertones gained precedence at the turn of the century, when the composers’ otherness was determined based on their training, compositional style, and ethnicity.

My work has shown that prominent Fibich scholars, such as Rosa Newmarch and John Tyrrell, ground their assessment of the composer’s nationalistic aims (or, more precisely, lack thereof) in two of the aforementioned categories listed by Taruskin: Fibich’s educational background and his musical tendencies. The act of adhering strictly to these criteria results in the emphasis of

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5 Ibid., 524.
Fibich’s cosmopolitan nature; conversely, my analysis—using feminist interpretation of gender construction and its correlation with nation building—proposes an alternate interpretation of his political and artistic beliefs that positions Fibich alongside other prominent Czech nationalistic composers.

Through a systematic analysis of the various published versions of the legend that Fibich’s opera Šárka is based upon, I ascertained the general trends of gender depiction in Czech literature and correlated any alterations to these representations with the changing political situation in the Czech society. Specifically, I established the importance of the connection between gendered social roles and the construction of a Czech nation, both within the context of the myth of the “maidens’ war” and during the time of the opera’s conception. In addition to proving the significance of gender portrayal for the illustration of Czech social structures, the results from my analysis developed two contrasting constructions of a nation: (1) the traditional Western form rooted in patriarchy, as proposed by the social construct theorists of the Enlightenment, and (2) the divergent matriarchal concept present in the Bohemian lands, as portrayed in the first written account of the history of the Czechs. By extension, the two distinct social hierarchies represent the standardized foreign/cosmopolitan and nationalistic characterizations, respectively, that were compared with Fibich’s musical treatment of the opera as a way of determining the classification of his compositional practices.

My analysis of the musical content with respect to the employed metric and harmonic structures showed parallels with the contemporary social situation of women’s status within the Czech society. The results from the analyses suggest consistencies in Fibich’s portrayal of gender across the examined parameters: traditionally conceived
male characters that exhibit ‘masculine’ traits (as described by Western, culturally conditioned generalizations) are portrayed through streamlined compositional techniques, such as tonal harmony, simple meters, and duple divisions (on the level of beat, measure, or hypermetric structures); in contrast, ‘feminine’ female roles are represented by complex, non-tonal moves, compound meters, and triple factors. Thus, these gendered depictions can be reduced to men as agents of tradition or the regressive trend of musical (and political) thought—that ascribes traditional patriarchy to Germanic nations—and women as symbols of the progressive movement that strives to revive the Czech society.

My examination of the opera, using the portrayal of gender through musical content, demonstrated evidence of the composer’s and librettist’s active efforts of working against the traditional Germanic stereotypes of gender depiction even though the progressive standpoint of the Czechs on the status of women in effect already at the time of the opera’s conception. This special emphasis on the development of the two gendered sides and their musical treatment, which is contradictory to the German mode of representation, may be interpreted as the creators’ efforts to accentuate the change from the past Germanic oppression and promote the autonomous future of the Czech nation. Consequently, the depiction of gender in Šárka is not necessarily designed to further foster the emancipation of Czech women; rather, it represents a nationalistic opera that uses gender-nation building correlation as a way to fuel the audience in their battle for freedom.

Recommendations for future research include the revisitation of the metric analysis presented in this work. A systematic examination of the transition states of gendered qualities that feature various combinations of duple and triple divisions on the
beat-, measure-, and hypermeter-level may reveal additional correlations of meanings and networks of gendered relations in Fibich’s opera. Furthermore, the influence of flexible temporal structures needs to be explored in order to account for the changed listener’s perception of the metric states and their respective divisions. Additional musical parameters that may reveal novel perspectives on gender portrayal in the opera may include (but are not limited to) the examination of ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ instrumentation, gender interaction associated with the use of large-scale/recurring key relations, social hierarchy depicted through the treatment of registers/tessitura, and the composer’s handling of the prosody.⁹

Other avenues for research that may provide information on the debate of Fibich’s compositional style include the study of his use of the *leitmotif* technique. Such discussion would provide another measure for gauging the extent of the composer’s conformity with the Wagnerian/Germanic tendencies. Furthermore, the application of these methodologies might offer additional evidence for (or against) Fibich’s nationalistic aims, which were pioneered in this work.

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⁹ These parameters were explored by Nila Parly with regards to the implications for gender portrayal in Wagner’s operas. See Nila Parly, *Vocal Victories: Wagner’s Female Characters from Senta to Kundry*, translated by Gaye Kynoch (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2011).
APPENDICES

Appendix 1. (a) Fibich, *Nálady, dojmy a upomínky*, op. 41, book 4, no. 22 (147).
Appendix 1. (a) (cont.)
Appendix 1. (b) Fibich, *Nálady, dojmy a upomínky*, op. 47, book 1, no. 15 (219).
Appendix 1. (c) Fibich, Náladny, dojmy a upomínky, op. 47, book 6, no. 91 (295).
Appendix 1. (d) Fibich, *Nálady, dojmy a upomínky*, op. 47, book 10, no. 144 (348).
Appendix 1. (d) (cont.)
Appendix 2. Fibich, Šárka, Přemysl’s aria, Act I, pp. 39-44, mm. 617-713.
ApPENDIX 2. (cont.)

odpeste mi, boži vě. každý, s nítem teškným k laž běží že va. ši přístupují.

Andante.
(Zadušná sv.)

stať! Dvakrát bolestné ty u. vě. mín. štěstí!

Vět. vé dvě ple, už ce spo. la vyra. staly ná poí svor. nő bás. ky.
Appendix 2. (cont.)
Appendix 3. Fibich, Šárka, Vlasta’s aria and Přemysl’s response, Act I, pp. 55-59, mm. 886-958.
Appendix 3. (cont.)
Appendix 3. (cont.)

(Vlasta v nejvyšším zanícení poklekl)

s ními bys nám vyřval!

na ňe všou či!

Lento assai.

Přemysl (dojat)

Povstaň, Vlas, to! Ne tam můs, to že, ný! Úcta, láska právem bud jí

Più mosso. Maestoso.

sva tým, Più mosso. a le nuž jen v ze, mi naší vlád ní!
Appendix 4. Fibich, Šárka, Šárka’s deceit and Ctirad’s response, Act II, pp. 104-10, mm. 716-826.
Appendix 4. (cont.)
Appendix 4. (cont.)

Allegro moderato.

Otirad (ťete, s namahavý tajenou, propukávající věrn.)

A - ko, ne-ná-vi-děl jsem! jí ne-ná-vi-děl Sár, ko

kré - su vuo! O slyš! zůst jsem měl ku vl. nám ka - de, ří.

z ních ši - je bě - gost natí svi - ti jau - ko kvě - ty bě - té

z tem - ních hlubin vod, a zůst, zůst jsem měl
Appendix 4. (cont.)

Otirad (těšte, s namávací tajenou, propukávající věrn.)

Allegro moderato.

A - ko, ne-má-ví-děl jsem! já ne-má-ví-děl Sáři ko

krá - su tvo! O sty-biš, zášť jsem měl ku vš. nám ka-de. ř.

z ních ši - je bě - lost na ti sví-tí ju - ko kvě - ty bi - tě

z tem - nich hlu - bin vod, a zást, zást jsem měl
Appendix 5. Fibich, Šárka, Šárka and Ctirad, awoken from the dream, Act II, pp. 122-25, mm. 1006-56.
Appendix 5. (cont.)
Appendix 5. (cont.)
Appendix 5. (cont.)
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