Mobilising Dvořák

Discourse, Meaning, Politics



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Abstract

Mobility is a recurring feature of Antonín Dvořák's music. From the new travel technologies of the industrial revolution to gendered depictions of fugitives, from racialised 'Gypsies' to goblins who pull people beneath the waves, Dvořák's music depicts and has been associated with many symbols, figures, sites, and technologies of human mobility. These mobilities speak to many different political ideas, since in the nineteenth century mobility was both valorised and demonised for a range of purposes. Yet they consistently ask us to address people who are out of place—marginal voices who have been unnoticed or even silenced in prior scholarship. This thesis argues that mobility (as a locus of discourse, meaning, and politics) is a recurring feature of Dvořák's music, and that his music's mobilities raise questions about power and identity which challenge more familiar, parochial accounts of this repertoire. It makes this argument over five chapters, each of which takes a different mobility as a starting point for discussion. Via close reference to Dvořák's compositional strategies, the texts that he selected for musical treatment, and the musical listening experience, it seeks to understand the discourses, meanings, and politics that his mobilities convey. But it also seeks to understand mobility as a critical category, which can be studied only as part of an active process of mobilisation, and which can be used to achieve a range of hermeneutic and political objectives.

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[1] Dylan C. Price, 'In the Presence of "Gypsiness": Dvořák, Ecocriticism, Phenomenology', *Journal of Austrian Studies*, 56.2 (2023), 87–96.

[2] For a summary of this conference, see Jarmila Gabrielova, 'Konference: Workshop Dvořák a Opera, Praha 4.–5. 11. 2021', *Hudební věda*, 59.1 (2022), 93–95.

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A Note on Formatting

Not all pieces by Dvořák were assigned Opus numbers, and Opus numbers generally refer to publishing considerations rather than to chronology. For the sake of clarity, I therefore refer to pieces using Burghauser numbers rather than Opus numbers.[3] Except where otherwise specified, piece dates refer to dates of composition rather than to dates of premiere. A further formatting choice relates to piece names. Most middle- and upper-class people in Bohemia and Moravia spoke both Czech and German, and would have understood piece names in either language. However, there was often a political significance to language choices in the nineteenth century, and as such I refer to pieces in their original language of publication.[4] When I am referring to an entire piece, I use italics (for example, *Der Wassermann*). Where I am referring just to a single part of a larger collection, such as a song, I use inverted commas (for example, 'Hostina').

Further issues surround the composer's name. In some editions, scholarship, and reception, particularly from America and the United Kingdom, Dvořák's name is written without accents (i.e. 'Dvorak'). In German-speaking contexts, his name is often written as 'Anton Dvořák', or even just 'Ant. Dvořák'. For the sake of consistency in my own writing, I use the Czech spelling of Dvořák's name throughout this thesis. In quotations, however, I do not change or add '[sic]' markings to alternative spellings of Dvořák's name, for the

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[3] For Jarmil Burghauser's catalogue of Dvořák's output, see Jarmil Burghauser, *Antonín Dvořák: thematický katalog, bibliografie, přehled života a díla* (Prague: Bärenreiter Editio Supraphon, 1996). For a good English-language survey of Dvořák's output, published by the Dvořák society, see Peter J. F. Herbert, *Antonín Dvořák: Complete Catalogue of Works* (Surrey: Dvořák Society for Czech Music, 1984).

[4] On the languages of Dvořák's titles, see David Beveridge, 'Antonín Dvořák's Music and the Concept of Czechness', *Clavibus Unitus*, 7.1 (2018), 11–26 (pp. 15–16).

same reasons that I do not refer to all piece names in the same language. Translations from Czech and German are my own, except where otherwise stated. Except for Dvořák's name, I have anglicised spellings from American English when quoting from prior scholarship, consistent with common practice.

A recurring challenge for scholars in this area concerns geography. The term 'Czech lands' risks both presentism and essentialism, by implying that the boundaries of present-day Czechia neatly align with how the region has historically been conceived. The term 'Bohemia' is also difficult because, though Dvořák was native to Bohemia, he also engaged Moravian elements in his constructions of 'Czechness'. For this reason, I use the term 'Bohemia-Moravia' in discussions of nationalism. When discussing specific geographical regions, I also prefer the precision of 'Bohemia' or 'Moravia' to 'Czech lands'.

Where helpful, I have reproduced score excerpts. In all instances, I have specified which editions I am using in the footnotes. In some instances, I have silently corrected aspects of the original editions. For example, the Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a uměni edition of B. 45/1 occasionally uses both *diminuendo* markings and hairpins. In Chapter Three, where I discuss B. 45/1, I have therefore omitted the duplicated dynamic markings.

Carets above numbers (for example, $\hat{5}$) indicate scale degrees. Occasionally, figured bass and Roman Numerals are used to discuss functional harmony, and arrows denote progressions between them. For example, $ii^6_5 \rightarrow V$ denotes a progression from ii^6_5 to V. Non-functional harmonic progressions are sometimes discussed using Neo-Riemannian terms,

following long-standing terminological conventions in the field.[5] Letters in italics refer to pitches, and the superscript denotes their register: for example, c^1 denotes a middle *c*; c^2 denotes the *c* an octave above; c^0 denotes the *c* an octave below; and *C* denotes the *c* two octaves below. 'Dim' in superscript (for example, c^{dim}) refers to a diminished chord above a root pitch. Uppercase letters without italics refer to keys, and the + or – signs in superscript indicate whether those keys are major or minor. For example, D^+ refers to D major.

[5] For a brief overview of these conventions, see Richard Cohn, 'Introduction to Neo-Riemannian Theory: A Survey and a Historical Perspective', *Journal of Music Theory*, 42.2 (1998), 167–80 (pp. 171–72).

Introduction

A single step. A vast lunar landscape, previously unexplored. Complete silence—except for when Antonín Dvořák's 'New World' Symphony (B. 178; 1893) sounded in Neil Armstrong's ears.[1] That Armstrong apparently listened to the symphony, when after four days the Apollo 11 mission reached its destination, is less strange than it might initially seem. The symphony would have lent itself to the patriotic aspect of this occasion: it has often been heard as expressing a distinctly American landscape, replete with prairie representations and appropriations of African- and Native-American musics. The symphony likewise shared the mission's spirit of colonial conquest, whilst critics have similarly insisted (however dubiously) upon its ability to vocalise common aspects of the human experience. Of course, evidence for this anecdote is scarce. Though it has become a mainstay of Dvořák's reception, we should remain open to the possibility that it is an urban myth. If Armstrong did listen to the piece, moreover, then the experience would still have felt strangely dissonant. In this moment, prairie and lunar landscapes would have come into contact, as one

[1] Maurizio Agrò, *Music and Astronomy* (Cham: Springer, 2023), pp. 71–72.

'New World' met another. Yet the symphony would have been well-suited to the occasion, despite these obvious differences. Long associated with Dvořák's homesickness for his native Bohemia, the symphony shared with the mission a remarkable impression of displacement or even disorientation, which would have assumed new meaning almost a quarter of a million miles from Earth. What would have lent the symphony to this occasion is a quality that pervades Dvořák's output, which explains why it sounds both homely and different at the same time, and which this thesis identifies in a range of pieces: its sense of mobility.

Mobility is ubiquitous in modern life, and it occurs at a wide range of registers, modalities, and scales. From the distribution of vaccines to shipments of grain from Ukraine, from the circulation of microplastics in our bloodstreams to exports of waste to the Global South, mobility is central to understanding the world in which we live. Human mobilities are especially prevalent, but they have also been the subject of extensive political debate. On topics including climate migration, diaspora, immigration, people smuggling, and the mobility of troops across national borders, questions about who has the right and the ability to be mobile—and what its consequences might be—are undoubtedly high on political agendas worldwide. But although it may seem as if we live on a planet that is more mobile than ever before, to such an extent that many (like Armstrong) have even been able to leave it entirely, many of our present-day mobilities find their origins in the nineteenth century. A time of new travel technologies, the nineteenth century made distant locations and peoples seem newly proximate. It also created new social dynamics closer to

home, where mobility was valorised and disavowed in equal measure.[2] For some people, such as those who embarked upon the Grand Tour, mobility promised empowerment. For others, including literary figures like the convalescent and the pilgrim, it was invested with a recuperative or even redemptive power. For others still it offered only subjugation, such as those who were forcibly transported via the Middle Passage. Thus, human mobility was so ubiquitous in the nineteenth century, and associated with such a range of social, political, and technological effects, that we might even struggle to conceive it in terms that are anything except for mobile themselves. For the purposes of this thesis, I adopt a broad definition of mobility, which follows work by Flavia Cangià and Tania Zittoun. 'As more than mere physical movement,' they describe, 'mobility relates to the act of moving[,] entangled with power, norms and meaning, and involving social, material, temporal and symbolic components that make movement (im)possible.'[3] But this definition could potentially accommodate any number of different, contradictory phenomena, which gives some sense of the challenges ahead. It is from this context, and with an appreciation of these challenges, that my discussion of Dvořák's music proceeds.

Mobility has also been an important, even intuitive category in prior discussions of Dvořák's music, but it has rarely been subject to sustained critical reflection or scrutiny. Most obviously, mobility (variously translated as *mobilita*, *hybnost*, or *pohyblivost*) is

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[2] For a broad discussion of some of these issues, see Jana K. Hunter, '"The Flower of Eastern and Western Europe": British Travellers, Czech Go-Betweens, and the Temporal Culture of Nineteenth-Century Prague', *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Geschichtswissenschaften: ÖZG*, 34.3 (2023), 21–35.

[3] Flavia Cangià and Tania Zittoun, 'Exploring the Interplay between (Im)Mobility and Imagination', *Culture & Psychology*, 26.4 (2020), 641–53 (p. 641).

important biographically.[4] Dvořák (1841-1904) travelled widely, to places including London, Brussels, Vienna, Budapest, and (most famously) New York City.[5] He benefited from the status, technologies, and financial resources to visit all these places, and his travels have been a recurring focus of prior scholarship.[6] Partly because of these travels, his music also speaks to a wide variety of cultural influences, and mobility is also an important stylistic category. Listening to his music, it is often hard to escape the feeling of moving continually between different idioms, such as those associated with his 'Czech' or 'American' styles.[7] But mobility is most notable because, both poetically and compositionally, Dvořák's music depicts and creatively imagines many symbols, figures, sites, and technologies of human mobility.[8] These mobilities give rise to a range of musical meanings, which are irreducible to questions of biography or style alone. They transgress a variety of geographical and social boundaries, and they speak to politics that challenge many of the familiar, parochial

[4] There are some differences between these translations. *Mobilita* is the closest equivalent to the English word mobility, whereas *hybnost* might suggest momentum as much as mobility, and *pohyblivost* might also suggest the capacity to be mobile (akin to the English word 'motility').

[5] On Dvořák's travels, see Ondřej Šupka, 'Travels', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/life/travels/> [accessed 9 May 2024]. Where I refer to where pieces were composed, I draw upon Šupka.

[6] For two studies with a biographical emphasis, see Jitka Slavikova, 'Dvořák in England', *The Musical Times*, 127 (1986), 427; John Clapham, 'Dvořák's Visit to Russia', *The Musical Quarterly*, 51.3 (1965), 493–506. For a more recent discussion that takes reception as its focus, but that still focuses on Dvořák's travels, see David Brodbeck, 'Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna: Language Ordinances, National Property, and the Rhetoric of Deutschtum', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 60.1 (2007), 71–132.

[7] On Dvořák's shifting musical styles, see Klaus Döge, 'Dvořák, Antonín (Leopold)', ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), 777–814 (pp. 785–88).

[8] Whilst acknowledging that much scholarship on mobility has sought to move away from human mobilities in recent years, I focus on human mobilities here because they are a recurring feature of Dvořák's music. In this thesis, except where I specify otherwise, it should thus be assumed that 'mobility' refers to the mobility of people.

accounts of his music that define prior scholarship.[9] This thesis is about these mobilities. It is about their musical expression and how, in turn, the category of mobility can allow us to reimagine the field of Dvořák studies more generally.

This thesis is primarily about Dvořák's music but, by exploring these issues, it contributes to a broader 'mobility turn' in the humanities.[10] Scholarly interests in mobility grew steadily throughout the 1990s, most notably in geographical work by Doreen Massey, Nigel Thrift, and Tim Cresswell, and in response to the 'spatial turn' from the 1980s onwards.[11] Yet they have grown more considerably from the 2000s to the present day, including in work by John Urry, Mimi Sheller, Peter Merriman, and Peter Adey.[12] Indeed, research about mobility has since flourished in a range of specialist journals (for example, *Mobilities*, *Transfers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Mobilities*, and *Applied Mobilities*) and edited collections (in musicology, these include two edited collections by Sumanth Gopinath and

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[9] I discuss all these ideas more in Chapter One. Suffice to say that, for many, Dvořák is merely a 'quiet cautious conservative peasant': Leon Botstein, 'Reversing the Critical Tradition: Innovation, Modernity, and Ideology in the Work and Career of Antonín Dvořák', in *Dvořák and His World*, ed. by Michael Beckerman (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 11–55 (p. 13).

[10] Mimi Sheller and John Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', *Environment and Planning A*, 38 (2006), 207–26 (p. 208).

[11] Doreen Massey, 'Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place', in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, ed. by John Bird and others (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 60–70; Nigel Thrift, *Spatial Formations* (London: Sage, 1996), chap. 7; Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); for a useful overview of these scholars' work, see Peter Adey, *Mobility* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 23–27. By the 'spatial turn', I am referring to the emphasis on space, place, and their social dimensions that developed in the late 1980s, often building on the work of feminist geographers like Massey. On the relationship between spatial and mobility turns, see Mimi Sheller, 'From Spatial Turn to Mobilities Turn', *Current Sociology*, 65.4 (2017), 623–39.

[12] These scholars' work is extensive and varied. For some examples of their publications, however, see John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007); Peter Merriman, *Mobility, Space and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2012); Mimi Sheller, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm for a Live Sociology', *Current Sociology*, 62.6 (2014), 789–811; Peter Adey, *Moving Towards Transition: Commoning Mobility for a Low-Carbon Future* (London: Zed Books, 2022).

Jason Stanyek).[13] Given its breadth and variety, any attempt to summarise this scholarship fully would surely fall short. As such, I will introduce this scholarship as and when it becomes relevant throughout the thesis. Given the range of phenomena that scholars of mobility have addressed, however, I nonetheless want to clarify which aspects of mobility I believe to be most pertinent to the project at the outset. In the following chapters I will address three aspects of Dvořák's mobilities, which are closely related and denoted by the project's title.

Firstly, I trace how mobility features in musical discourse. By 'discourse', I mean the communicative possibilities of Dvořák's musical texts and how those texts have been discussed by others.[14] Rather than seeking to make an ontological argument about mobility,[15] or to focus on the real-life mobilities that Dvořák undertook as a biographical subject, I will address discursive elements like poetic or literary sources, compositional strategy (musical topics, tonal progression, mimesis, register, and form), and critical reception. All these elements inform how Dvořák's musical texts creatively imagine their mobilities, in ways that differ from piece to piece. My discursive approach will be familiar to musicologists, who over the last few decades have often sought to understand the mutual entanglements of text and context. Indeed, it has become a commonplace of current musicology that all aspects of musical expression, not just more overtly referential aspects like musical

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[13] On the range of publication venues for mobility research, see Mimi Sheller and John Urry, 'Mobilizing the New Mobilities Paradigm', *Applied Mobilities*, 1.1 (2016), 10–25 (pp. 14–15). For edited music and mobility collections, see the *Oxford Handbook of Mobile Music Studies*, ed. by Sumanth Gopinath and Jason Stanyek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), I, II.

[14] For a broad discussion of the term 'discourse' in music scholarship, see David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 80–83.

[15] For one example of this kind of scholarship, Thomas Nail, 'The Ontology of Motion', *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences*, 27.1 (2018).

topics, communicate the values of the society whence they originated.[16] But a discursive approach is also necessary for the current project more specifically, since 'irrespective of the spatial activities involved,' as Birgitta Frello has noted, 'the distinction between movement and non-movement is in itself discursively constituted.'[17] In Dvořák's music this distinction is always contingent, I will show, and it is always open to renegotiation.

Secondly, and accordingly, I seek to understand mobility's meanings. I aim for a comprehensive (not exhaustive) understanding of the meanings with which Dvořák's mobilities are associated, as well as the stakes of adopting mobility as a hermeneutic category. In so doing, I follow largely from a lengthy tradition of musical hermeneutics, especially hermeneutic studies about music and place. As scholars such as Daniel Grimley, Sarah Justina Eyerly, and Denise Von Glahn have shown, place can be associated with a range of representational and nonrepresentational features in music.[18] It can be a locus of meaning, identity, and belonging, which mobility might unsettle or challenge.[19] However, I also draw upon mobility studies scholarship, in which meaning has been a recurring interest. It has interested scholars who have used mobility as a category for understanding cultural texts.[20]

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[16] On this point, see Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form* (London: University of California Press, 2000), chap. 1.

[17] Birgitta Frello, 'Towards a Discursive Analytics of Movement: On the Making and Unmaking of Movement as an Object of Knowledge', *Mobilities*, 3.1 (2008), 25–50 (p. 27).

[18] Daniel M. Grimley, *Delius and the Sound of Place* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Sarah Justina Eyerly, *Moravian Soundscapes A Sonic History of the Moravian Missions in Early Pennsylvania* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020); Denise Von Glahn, *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003).

[19] On place and displacement, see Daniel M. Grimley, '"In the Mood:" "Peer Gynt" and the Affective Landscapes of Grieg's "Stemninger," Op.73', *19th-Century Music*, 40.2 (2016), 106–30 (p. 109).

[20] For example, Maria Rovisco, 'Towards a Cosmopolitan Cinema: Understanding the Connection Between Borders, Mobility and Cosmopolitanism in the Fiction Film', *Mobilities*, 8.1 (2013), 148–65; Frederike Felcht, 'Constantly in Motion': Appropriation and Hans Christian Andersen's Texts', *Transfers*, 2.3 (2012), 81–96.

But it has also interested more theoretically minded scholars like Cresswell, for whom mobility is inconceivable *without* meaning. As a 'thoroughly social facet of life imbued with meaning and power', he argues, mobility differs from plain movement because it is always meaningful.[21] By drawing on scholarship about place and mobility, it is not my purpose to privilege either one. To do so would be to make a covert ontological point about which category deserves to be prioritised over the other.[22] But I do take as a premiss (following Adey and others) the fact that 'there can be no movement without context, without something to push off from', and the fact that mobility can both negate and affirm a range of meanings, behavioural norms, and kinships.[23]

Thirdly, I understand mobility politically. Though I occasionally discuss how mobility may support existing structures of power, I more often discuss it as a means of political critique or transgression. This idea has a lengthy historical basis. From the eighteenth century, as Cresswell has described, 'the moveable and excitable crowd was known as the mobility (the *mobile vulgus,* in contrast to the nobility), later shortened to the *mob*.'[24] But this potential for critique has also been recognised by contemporary scholars. Many

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For a broader overview of mobility studies in the humanities, see Peter Merriman and Lynne Pearce, 'Mobility and the Humanities', *Mobilities*, 12.4 (2017), 493–508 (pp. 499–503).

[21] Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 3–4.

[22] On these debates, which are often framed in terms of sedentarism and nomadism, see Sheller and Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', pp. 208–12.

[23] Peter Adey, 'If Mobility Is Everything Then It Is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)Mobilities', *Mobilities*, 1.1 (2006), 75–94 (p. 86). On the various conceptual dyads that scholars have used to capture the relationship between mobilities and their contexts, see Peter Merriman, 'Mobility/Fixity', *Mobility Humanities*, 2.1 (2023), 6–21; Peter Adey, 'Fluidity-Fixity', *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, 194–99.

[24] Cresswell, *On the Move*, p. 20.

scholars of mobility have explored how spatial mobilities overlap with mobilities 'in physical, electronic, social, psychological or other kinds of space', and they have often used mobility as a metaphor for critique—even in cases where no spatial mobility occurs.[25] At one level, I examine how this critical or transgressive potential is expressed in Dvořák's musical texts. I am primarily interested in the geographical mobilities of individual people, and how they exemplify and facilitate forms of political critique or transgression (with the term 'political' here being understood in broad terms, not limited to the nation state). I thus explore how geographical and social space are interlinked, and how mobile figures may roam ambiguously between a state of being 'in place' and 'out of place'.[26] But I also discuss a process of mobil*isation*, in which contemporary scholars perform an active role. Leaving aside the occasionally militaristic connotations of 'mobilisation', in other words, I explore what can be gained by applying mobility as a critical category or metaphor. Like any metaphor, the category of mobility might transport us from one semantic location to another.[27] In the larger context of this research area, it might therefore allow us to displace some familiar truisms of Dvořák studies, and to recover the marginal voices that prior scholarship has tended to silence.

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[25] Friederike Ziegler and Tim Schwanen, 'I Like to Go out to Be Energised by Different People', *Ageing and Society*, 31.5 (2011), 758–81 (p. 758); quoted in Noel B. Salazar, Alice Elliot, and Roger Norum, 'Studying Mobilities: Theoretical Notes and Methodological Queries', in *Methodologies of Mobility: Ethnography and Experiment*, ed. by Alice Elliot, Roger Norum, and Noel B. Salazar (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), pp. 1–24 (pp. 1–2). On this point, see also Maria Margaroni and Effie Yiannopoulou, 'Introduction: Theorizing Metaphoricity, Reconceptualizing Politics', in *Metaphoricity and the Politics of Mobility*, ed. by Maria Margaroni and Effie Yiannopoulou (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 9–23 (pp. 9–10).

[26] On place, mobility, and transgression, see Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, p. 10. For an overview of his views on transgression, see also pp. 21-7.

[27] On metaphors as semantic mobility, see John Durham Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds: Toward a Philosophy of Elemental Media* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), pp. 101–2.

Consistent with its performative emphasis, the thesis enacts its findings about mobility as an extended journey away from home, followed by an eventual return. It completes this journey in five chapters, each of which takes its title from a different symbol, figure, site, or technology of mobility, drawn from Dvořák's critical reception or directly from his compositions. The thesis treats these mobilities differently in each chapter. In some chapters, it explores how they are expressed musically, in dialogue with the music's broader cultural, political, historical, and compositional contexts. In others, it deploys them as productive metaphors, or as anecdotes that prompt more foundational questions about Dvořák's musical texts—whether these mobilities and texts are directly related to one another or not. But all the chapters argue that mobility (as a locus of discourse, meaning, and politics) is a recurring feature of Dvořák's music, and that this music's mobilies raise questions about power and identity which challenge more familiar, parochial accounts of this repertoire. Each chapter draws on one or more case studies from the mid-1870s to the late-1890s, principally from his European output (which best exemplifies the parochial image of Dvořák that I am seeking to unsettle). And though it is not my purpose to advance a single theory of mobility, nor to pursue a lengthy discussion of mobility studies that might dull our hermeneutic nous, each chapter also considers some of the larger theoretical issues that arise from adopting mobility as an interpretative category. In these ways, the project's mobilities become more than the sum of their parts. Though they lend each chapter focus, they also allow me to pursue a single line of argument over five chapters, in what amounts to an extended relay race. Each participant passes onto the next having completed a further leg of the journey, and they collectively cover a mileage that would be impossible for any single participant alone.

The first chapter shows why a study about Dvořák's music and mobility is both useful and necessary, and it positions my research themes in relation to Dvořák studies more specifically. It accomplishes these tasks via a discussion of bird flight, interspersed with an extended literature review of prior Dvořák scholarship. At first glance, I will suggest, birds—which recur throughout his music's lyrics, programmes, and reception—exemplify many of the clichés that have defined Dvořák studies. They suggest a bucolic, quaintly provincial tone that (though attractive) has often served to depoliticise his music and remove it from academic scrutiny. On the other hand, Dvořák's birds can allow us to challenge many of these same clichés, since their expression in his music's lyrics is more politically challenging than prior scholarship may initially lead us to believe. The chapter develops these points using two case studies: 'Hostina' ('The Sparrow's Party', B. 87/5, 1878), and 'Die Flucht' ('The Fugitive', B. 60/1, 1876). Via their lyrics, both pieces use bird symbolism to explore an ambiguous relationship between flirtation and fugitivity. Their bird flight is a metaphor for people who flee their homes, often because (during an act of flirtation) they have transgressed a social norm, and often in ways that are bound up with gender. Ultimately, these pieces highlight the benefits of embracing mobility as a hermeneutic category. To study their mobilities is to amplify the marginal voices that prior Dvořák studies has silenced. It is to pursue a line of flight from our intellectual 'home', much as the songs' protagonists pursue a line of flight from theirs, and thus to explore more genuinely revisionary approaches to this repertoire.

Chapter Two seeks to deepen our understanding of marginality in Dvořák's music. After the poetic focus of Chapter One, it also seeks to understand how mobility can be heard compositionally. The chapter accomplishes these tasks using Dvořák's *Zigeunermelodien* (*Gypsy Songs*, B. 104, 1880). It first shows how the songs stereotype their Gypsy

using a range of exoticist devices, and how they depict the Gypsy (to draw on Stewart Dearing) as 'a generalised, residual category of society embodying various outcast, pariah elements of European modernity'.[28] The chapter goes on to trace how the Gypsy's mobility is defined both against and in tandem with an aesthetic history of *Stimmung* ('mood', 'attunement', 'atmosphere'), an affective, primordial mode of being-in-place that resists such stable modes of exotic representation, but that can be no less meaningful. Through their dialogue with *Stimmung*, the chapter demonstrates, the *Zigeunermelodien* blur the distinction between listening Self and Gypsy Other, and they significantly complicate our understanding of both Gypsiness and mobility as a result. They highlight the places through and against which bodies move, and they show that the distinction between being 'in place' and being 'out of place' is always contingent.

Chapter Three seeks to understand how Dvořák's mobilities are related to modern life. More specifically, it addresses their entanglement with the technological, social, and intellectual shifts of the classical modern period, and what Amanda Anderson describes as the 'alienation and rootlessness that accompanied modern disenchantment, industrialisation, and the globalization of commerce.'[29] Its starting point is Dvořák's interest in railways. One of the best-known facts of Dvořák's biography is that he used to spend hours at train stations, checking whether the trains had arrived on time and making a note of the

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[28] Stewart Dearing, 'Painting the Other within: Gypsies According to the Bohemian Artist in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Romani Studies*, 20.2 (2010), 161–202 (p. 165).

[29] Amanda Anderson, *The Powers of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 4. The precise dates of the 'classical modern' period have been the matter of some debate, as have the benefits of periodising modernity at all. In this thesis, however, I use the term 'classical modern' to refer to the period between 1789 (the French Revolution) and 1914 (the outbreak of the First World War). On this point, see Ole Jacob Madsen, 'Modernity', ed. by Thomas Teo, *Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology* (New York: Springer, 2014), pp. 1199–1204 (p. 1200).

locomotives' numbers. Any causal link between his hobby and his music is difficult to prove. Yet much of Dvořák's music contains rhythmic aspects that evoke the mechanical age, and that (due to their formal and topical contexts) elicit a strong impression of mobility. This chapter applies a railway metaphor to two sonata forms by Dvořák: the first movements of the String Quartet No. 7 in A minor (B. 45, 1874) and the String Quartet No. 14 in A flat major (B. 193, 1895). By applying a railway metaphor to these pieces, it seeks to raise generic, formal, and critical questions about their context in late nineteenth century music. As it argues, both these pieces use a mechanical topic that disciplines and disenchants the musical subject, akin to the (re-)temporalisation that defined many parts of nineteenth-century life. But it further argues that the mechanical topic of B. 193/1 blurs into supernaturalism, akin to Gothicised representations of industrial modernity at the time. Thus, these movements enrich our understanding of the relationship between Dvořák's mobilities and modernity, as well as the marginal voices of previous chapters. Consequently, they also challenge the common assumption that mobility is always empowering: the mobilities of these pieces produce their own, temporal forms of discipline, and a powerful sense of disenchantment and alienation.

Chapter Four further develops our understanding of how Dvořák's mobilities are bound up with modern life. Its starting point is his interest in ships. Dvořák developed a strong interest in steamships during his time in New York City, and at one point he considered writing an 'Ocean' symphony (B. 420, 1893). Though his plans for an 'Ocean' symphony speak to his interest in modern steamship technologies, they also point to his interest in New York's bustling harbour, where he spent several hours each week, and against which ships' mobilities became a way of leaving the city behind. This chapter argues that, though Dvořák never wrote an 'Ocean' symphony, depictions of water are commonplace

in his late output, and they often convey an experience of leaving modern life behind. Two case studies underpin the chapter: the *Largo* of Symphony No. 9 (B. 178/2, 1893), and *Der Wassermann* (*The Water Goblin*, B. 195, 1896). Through these case studies, and in contrast with the mobilities of Chapter Three, this chapter shows that not all Dvořák's mobilities are modern. Both case studies convey an experience of (re-)enchantment. Consistent with much other music and poetry in the nineteenth century, they are to do with becoming re-sensitized to nature, and with being drawn into the waterscape by a (super)natural entity. At first glance, this experience might seem relatively benign, in stark contrast with the transgression associated with some of Dvořák's other mobilities. As I will further show, however, this experience often contains its own risks. It invites the protagonists and the musical listener to lose their bearings, with consequences for the characters that range from the pleasantly sensuous to the fatal.

After the varied mobilities of the first four chapters, the final chapter (Chapter Five) questions what it might mean to return home. Its starting point is a trope of Dvořák reception: that his music belongs in the village inn. It considers Dvořák's own representation of the village inn in the opera, *Čert a Káča* (*The Devil and Kate*, B. 201, 1899), and it asks what the opera's inn can tell us about the category of home in Dvořák's music more generally. From one perspective, I suggest, the opera's inn is a blithely nostalgic place, which returns us to the parochial image of Dvořák that I otherwise seek to challenge. Yet from another perspective, the inn is a more dynamic place. As somewhere for people to meet, it both accommodates and instantiates mobility, and it collapses the distinction between home and mobility that (in various ways) underwrote all the previous chapters. This theoretical turn suggests a more progressive understanding of home than the project's previous case studies, in the sense of being open, porous, and accommodating to mobilities. But it

also invites us to reimagine the category of mobility in turn, and to reconsider where we locate Dvořák's music critically as the thesis draws to a close.

I

Bird

Lines of Flight, Fugitive Mobilities, and Theoretical Preliminaries

Taking Flight

This thesis argues that mobility (as a locus of discourse, meaning, and politics) is a recurring feature of Dvořák's music, and it raises questions about power and identity that challenge more familiar, parochial accounts of this repertoire. Yet this argument is a complex one, and it demands that we first ask some foundational questions about the project's definitions, scope, and theoretical commitments. Some of these questions concern mobility. How are symbols, figures, sites, and technologies of mobility expressed in Dvořák's music, and how can mobility be made useful as a hermeneutic category? Other questions concern definition and method. How are mobility's discourses, meanings, and politics linked? Others still concern the study's aims. What critical work might the category of mobility perform, and why might that work be necessary in the first place? For whom might we wish to mobilise Dvořák's music, for what purposes, and to what ends? The following chapter seeks to answer these questions. It interweaves a literature review with some working definitions of the project's key terms, and it provides some initial case studies for support.

To illustrate how mobility may be an important category for understanding Dvořák's music, I turn now to 'Hostina' (literally translated as 'Feast', but generally translated as 'The Sparrow's Party'), the concluding number of the *Pět mužských sborů na texty litevských národních písní* (*Five Choruses for Male Voices on Lithuanian Folk-Song Texts*; B. 87, 1878, published in 1890).[1] The mobility of this song is associated with birds. Organised according to a strophic form, the song—scored for TTBB voices and based on poetry by František Ladislav Čelakovský—narrates the tale of an anthropomorphic sparrow. The sparrow brews some cider and, having gathered all the other birds at his home to sample it, he invites 'Miss Owlet' to dance. Clumsy and drunken as the sparrow is, however, he subsequently steps 'on Miss Owlet's great toe'. Amusingly, she proceeds to sue him for damages, and the song's conclusion sees him flee home in fear.

As this precis suggests, the lyrics are to do with geographical mobility, as the sparrow leaves home. Birds were commonly associated with mobility in poetry and music from the nineteenth century. As Philip Ross Bullock and Laura Tunbridge have noted, '[n]ot all in the poetic aviary are the songsters that might be expected: alongside the lyrical outpourings of the hermit thrush there are the peacock's blood-curdling cries and squawking seagulls.' But '[a]lthough readers, composers, performers, and listeners may remain rooted in one place,' they go on to argue, 'through song it becomes possible to imagine taking flight to explore, with others, lands beyond our own.'[2] The piece is noteworthy for the ways that

[1] In the case of 'Hostina' (literally translated as 'Feast') I am using Rosa Newmarch's English translation of the title and lyrics, from the J. & W. Chester edition of 1927.

[2] Philip Ross Bullock and Laura Tunbridge, 'Introduction: "L'invitation Au Voyage"', in *Song Beyond the Nation: Translation, Transnationalism, Performance*, ed. by Philip Ross Bullock and Laura Tunbridge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 1–10 (p. 10).

it represents these themes. For the most part, it represents them using musical topics—strategies of 'extroversive semiosis'.[3] Though nineteenth-century topics were more semantically unstable than their eighteenth-century counterparts, as scholars including Julian Horton have noted,[4] Dvořák's music often uses old topics in familiar ways. In 'Hostina', as example 1.1 illustrates, the ostinato of the lower vocal parts creates a murmuring effect, which irresistibly evokes the sounds of chattering birds. Much like the first member of the B. 87 set, 'Pomluva' ('Village Gossip'), 'Hostina' also emphasises the subdominant chord, a common way of representing bucolic scenes musically.[5] Since there are few perfect authentic cadences (hereafter referred to as PACs), the piece also has little sense of tonal direction or arrival. Even the 10-7 linear intervallic pattern at bb. 19-22, a device that can often indicate dynamic tonal movement, simply returns us from E^{+} to E^{-} (b. 26). That the leading note is generally flattened, as in b. 3, further attenuates the piece's capacity for tonal direction. When paired with the plagal cadences and closing *Tierce de Picardie*, these modal inflections create a feeling of musical antiquity, as if the voices are describing events that happened long ago. Collectively, these strategies suspend our experience of time, by producing the kind of tonally static idiom that (as many musicologists have shown) has long been associated with bucolic subject matters in music.[6] They evoke an imaginary

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[3] Though the term 'extroversive semiosis' has a long history, in musicology it was primarily popularised by Kofi Agawu. On this point, see Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 23.

[4] Julian Horton, 'Listening to Topics in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. by Danuta Mirka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 642–64 (p. 642). On the difficulties of identifying pastoral and bucolic topics after the eighteenth century, see also Julian Johnson, *Webern and the Transformation of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 11.

[5] On the subdominant as a pastoral marker, see Andrew Davis, 'Chopin and the Romantic Sonata: The First Movement of Op. 58', *Music Theory Spectrum*, 36.2 (2014), 270–94 (p. 275).
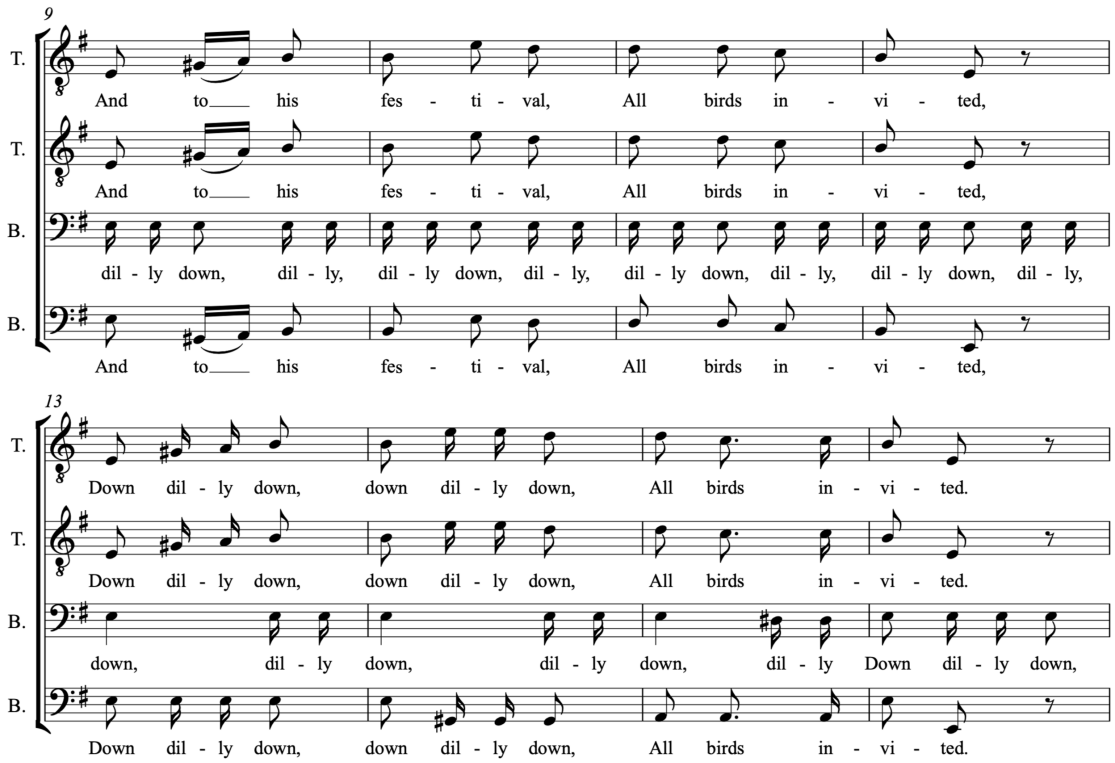
[6] On this distinction between representational and temporal modes of musical landscape expression, see Daniel M. Grimley, *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006),

landscape or place, based not on any real-life place but on a set of aesthetic strategies that would have been widely understood at the time.[7] As such, the song contains a constitutive tension, between the tonal stasis of the music (which creates a sense of immobility, despite the subtly syncopated feel of the ostinato) and the mobility described by the lyrics.

chap. 2. For a good overview of landscape representation in music, see Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), chap. 3.

[7] As many geographers have noted, the terminological distinction between place and landscape is often hard to draw. Some scholars, including Tim Cresswell, have suggested that place is often understood as a site of practice, whereas landscape is often 'something that's seen from a slight distance'. Yet this distinction is slippery and, since I address both practice and representation over the course of this thesis, I do not want to overdraw it. For Cresswell's point, see the discussion printed in Peter Merriman and others, 'Landscape, Mobility, Practice', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9.2 (2008), 191–212 (p. 194). On landscape as a site of both representation and practice, see Hannah Macpherson, 'Non-Representational Approaches to Body–Landscape Relations', *Geography Compass*, 4.1 (2010), 1–13 (pp. 6–8).

Example 1.1: Dvořák, 'Hostina' (B. 87/5, 1878), bb. 9-16



For a study of this length, 'Hostina' might seem like a curiously inconsequential place to begin. Dvořák's reputation has long derived from his orchestral works, and song might therefore seem like a strange angle from which to approach his music. How the sparrow's mobility may be meaningful or political is also unclear, not least because of the song's humorous tone, but also because birds have been a uniquely *de*politicised theme in prior Dvořák scholarship: often, they have been used to show that his music is picturesque, but intellectually unchallenging. As popular accounts have it, for instance, both the String Quartet in F major (B. 179, 1893, 'American') and the String Quintet in E flat Major (B.

180, 1893) refer to birdsongs that Dvořák heard whilst walking around Spillville, Iowa.[8] In Bohemia, as Harry Burleigh likewise reported, Dvořák 'had birdcages all over the house with thrushes in them. He kept the cage doors open so the thrushes flew about freely and joined in the singing.'[9] During his time in New York City, too, Dvořák was also a regular visitor to the Menagerie in Central Park, and according to Josef Kovařík he visited the aviary 'at least once and often twice a week.'[10] He wrote regularly to Jan Hodík, a miner from Vysoká u Příbramě whom he had tasked with looking after his birds, and his concern for his birds is often included in lists of trivia about the composer.[11] Collectively, these accounts do more than just prove a biographical interest. They also buttress a common claim: that (in Leon Botstein's words) Dvořák is 'the family man, the antithesis of the image of the artist as an antibourgeois, deviant madman or Wagnerian-style decadent narcissist.'[12] By infantilising Dvořák as a biographical subject, associating him with a hobby that might to many seem childish or even lowbrow, they depoliticise his music and exclude it from sustained academic enquiry. Indeed, the problem is especially glaring in Michael

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[8] For primary sources, see Veronika Vejvodová and Kateřina Nová, *Three Years with the Maestro*, trans. by Adam Prentis (Prague: Národní Muzeum, 2016), pp. 63–64; discussed in Mark J. McKone and David A. Beccue, 'The Iowa Bird That Inspired Antonín Dvořák's American String Quartet in 1893: Controversy over the Species' Identity and Why It Matters', *Nineteenth Century Music Review*, 18 (2021), 521–37 (pp. 523–24). Indeed, the bird species in question has been a matter of great debate: see John Clapham, '"Dvořák and the Impact of America"', *Music Review*, 15.3 (1954), 203–11; Ted Floyd, 'Reassessment of a Scarlet Tanager from Spillville, Iowa: Was It Really a Tanager?', *Iowa Bird Life*, 86.4 (2016), 159–61; Alan Houtchens, 'The F-Major String Quartet Opus 96', in *Dvořák in America*, ed. by John C. Tibbett (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1993).

[9] Harry T. Burleigh, '"Sweet Chariot" Inspired Anton Dvorak To Immortalize Negro Spirituals', *New York World Telegram* (New York, 12 September 1941); quoted in Michael Beckerman, 'Dvořák for the Birds', in *On the Third Hand: A Festschrift for David Josephson*, ed. by Brent A. Wetters (Providence, RI: Wetters Verlag, 2016), pp. 96–105 (p. 87).

[10] Otakar Šourek, *Antonín Dvořák: Letters and Reminiscences*, ed. by Otakar Šourek, trans. by Roberta Finlayson Samsour (Prague: Artia, 1954), p. 155.

[11] For example, see Ondřej Šupka, 'Did You Know?', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/did-you-know/> [accessed 5 November 2023].

[12] Botstein, p. 19.

Beckerman's work. Few scholars have done more than Beckerman to improve Anglo-American understanding of Dvořák's music and its politics.[13] But even he depoliticised Dvořák's music in a *New York Times* article, as we can tell from the title: 'Dvorak Loved Pigeons and Trains, Not Ideology'.[14]

Before seeking to understand the politics of B. 87/5's mobility, then, it will first be necessary to challenge the idea that Dvořák's music is politically neutral, and the related idea that his interest in birds—whether biographical or compositional—somehow guarantees that neutrality. To that end, it should be noted that, *pace* Beckerman, politics are not always a matter of intention. In music, they exist also at the nexus of musical materials and cultural context, and it is at this nexus that the song's politics reside.[15] In many ways, B. 87/5 speaks to a Viennese context. As the autograph score declares, the set was '[c]omposed on the journey from Prague to Vienna, 12th of December 1878', during a visit to Johannes Brahms—a powerful figure in the Viennese musical establishment. It was likely commissioned by Vienna's Slavonic Choral Society, and Dvořák was at this time financially supported by further Austrian patronage: the Austrian State Stipendium for

[13] For just one example, see Derek Katz and Michael Beckerman, 'The Chamber Music of Smetana and Dvořák', in *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. by Stephen E. Hefling (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 315–47.

[14] Michael Beckerman, 'Dvorak Loved Pigeons and Trains, Not Ideology', *The New York Times* (New York, 23 January 1994), p. 25. Beckerman makes little distinction between 'ideology' and 'politics', presumably having selected the former simply for its added polemical weight. On the differences between these terms, see J. P. E. Harper-Scott, *Ideology in Britten's Operas* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 4.

[15] As scholars associated with the 'New Musicology' exposed, music is always already imbued with the political values of the context whence it originated. For one discussion that makes this point, see Susan McClary, 'Narrative Agendas in "Absolute" Music: Identity and Difference in Brahms's Third Symphony', in *Reading Music: Selected Essays*, ed. by Susan McClary (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 65-83.

composition, which he had received in 1874, 1876, and 1877.[16] Emblematic of this context is the song's bucolic imagery. This imagery would have brought Viennese audiences into contact with a ruralism that, in a time of rapid urbanisation, must have seemed increasingly remote. No less emblematic are the song's ambiguous ethnic reference points, both Lithuanian and Czech simultaneously. These speak to a Viennese interest in musical exoticism, which the song further conveys with its temporal stasis (an exoticist as much as a landscape device in music).[17] Yet the song is geared towards Czech as much as Viennese audiences. After all, rural subject matters were commonly associated with musical nationalism in the nineteenth century, as many scholars have discussed previously.[18] Moreover, Čelakovský was an important figure in the Czech National Revival, a movement designed to restore the integrity of the Czech language. In this sense, the autograph score's declaration that it was '[c]omposed on the journey from Prague to Vienna' neatly parallels the way that it caters for multiple audiences. All these features undermine the claim that Dvořák's music is politically neutral. They show that its idyllic tone is no guarantor of political neutrality, and they offer a more nuanced foundation for studying the politics of its mobilities.

In 'Hostina', these politics are gendered. The song depicts a male sparrow (a bird type that often nests in human houses) who invites a woman into his home, implicitly in the hopes of turning her into his wife. In many ways, the gender dynamics of the tale are

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[16] On the piece's context, see Ondřej Šupka, 'Five Choruses for Male Voices on Lithuanian Folk-Song Texts, Op. 27, B87', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/work/five-choruses-for-male-voices-on-lithuanian-folk-song-texts-op-27-b87/> [accessed 13 May 2023].

[17] On temporal stasis and exoticism, see W. Dean Sutcliffe, 'Grieg's Fifth: The Linguistic Battleground of "Klokkeklang"', *The Musical Quarterly*, 80.1 (1996), 161–81. On a Viennese interest in exotic subject matters, see Chapter Two.

[18] Grimley, *Grieg*, chap. 2.

what we might expect. Like much nineteenth-century poetry and literature, it uses bird symbolism to depict an amorous pursuit—in this case between a male sparrow and a female owl.[19] Like gendered accounts of the home more generally, it also raises the possibility that, for the owl, this domestic setting will come to be a place of homemaking and sexual intimacy.[20] But the tale is also gendered in ways that we might not expect. Firstly, it is the owl rather than the sparrow who is invested with power. Having become drunk on his own cider, the sparrow has failed to uphold his end of the bargain, and the owl thus turns out not to be a homemaker but a bird of prey.[21] Their power differential is underlined by the fact that owls and sparrows differ in size, and the fact that (whereas sparrows travel in flocks for safety) owls are often depicted as a regal and independent species. Secondly, the tale challenges (and even reverses) the association of male and female with public and private respectively. Her choice to litigate is a strikingly public act, whereas he is forced to live as a fugitive. In all these ways, the song's mobility is gendered. These features suggest that Dvořák is not the 'family man' described by Botstein. In a literal sense, this piece is about exile from friends and family, whom the sparrow had invited to his home at the start of the song. But in the figurative sense in which Botstein surely intended his remark,

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[19] This point is commonly understood, but for further details, see Maynard Solomon, 'Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini', *19th-Century Music*, 12.3 (1989), 193–206 (p. 201). On the origins of these connotations, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2007), chap. 2.

[20] The idea that home is a gendered site is commonly understood. For a useful overview, however, see Mona Domosh, 'Geography and Gender: Home, Again?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22.2 (1998), 276–82. In a Czech context, see also Kelly St. Pierre, 'Singing Women and the "Woman Question" in the Czech Lands', in *Women in Nineteenth-Century Czech Musical Culture: Apostles of a Brighter Future*, ed. by Anja Bunzel and Christopher Campo-Bowen (London: Routledge, 2024), pp. 191–203 (pp. 192–97).

[21] This aspect of the tale is consistent with sparrow depictions in nineteenth-century poetry and literature more generally, in which sparrows are often ejected from their homes. Generally, this occurs because of an Other that the sparrow has invited into the home: often, that Other is a cuckoo, but in this case, it is an owl. For a useful overview of these tropes, see Emily Roberson Wallace, 'Caged Eagles, Songsters and Carrion-Seekers: Birds in Jane Eyre and Wuthering Heights', *Brontë Studies*, 41.3 (2016), 249–60 (p. 258).

however, they suggest that this music is hardly politically neutral or disinterested. In fact, they realise, subvert, and even invert many of the gendered aspects of a nineteenth-century domestic ideal, and the politics of the sparrow's exile are challenging indeed—despite the song's humorous tone.

The poem also engages further aspects of a nineteenth-century domestic ideal. These aspects can be understood by addressing the owl's squashed big toe. Given the flirtation of the tale, the big toe is most immediately significant as a phallic symbol, common in both literary texts and psychoanalytic thought.[22] For contemporary scholars, it might suggest an Oedipal reading of the poem, derived from the mother's matrimonial 'ownership' of the paternal phallus, and the persecution that occurs after it is 'squashed'.[23] The big toe is also important for biological reasons. Biologically, the big toe is important for walking and flight, especially the acts of taking off and landing, which imbue the sparrow's *faux pas* with further political significance. Whilst he flies away, she is immobilised. Her immobilisation is consistent with the gendered expectations of her domestic setting, even as the poem may otherwise seem to challenge and invert these kinds of gender norms. However, the big toe is also significant for anthropomorphic reasons, since it is important for human beings specifically. 'If in a synchronic sense we begin with the big toe, because walking is reliant on "toe-off",' Matthew Beaumont argues elsewhere, 'then there is also a diachronic sense in which, anatomically speaking, we begin with the big toe. […] For in

[22] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, trans. by Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 245; cited in Matthew Beaumont, *The Walker: On Finding and Losing Yourself in the Modern City* (London, New York: Verso, 2020), p. 191.

[23] Marie G. Rudden, 'The Castration Complex', *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, 38.1 (2018), 51–58 (p. 52).

evolutionary terms, humanity itself […] can be said to begin with the big toe.'[24] As Charles Darwin observed in the 1870s, in fact, the big toe 'is perhaps the most characteristic peculiarity of the human structure'.[25] That the sparrow steps on the owl's big toe is therefore not just an amorous *faux pas*, nor a phallic symbol, nor still an act of immobilisation: it mounts a challenge to her anthropomorphic status, bringing into question whether she is animal or human. The gendered politics of this challenge are complex. Though at one level it belittles her by depriving her of her human qualities, she nonetheless responds with a uniquely human act: to litigate. Conversely, he reverts to animal instinct: given a choice to fight or to flee, he chooses (both literally and figuratively) to fly away. As such, the song's relationship with nineteenth-century gendered expectations is ambivalent. It both reinscribes and inverts them, in ways that symptomatize the gender politics of this time. In the larger context of this thesis, moreover, these features confirm that the most prominent symbol of Dvořák's apolitical status—his interest in birds—is itself politically loaded. 'Hostina' contains meanings that are geographical, gendered, and anthropomorphic, and myriad politics attend the title character's mobility.

This chapter is about flight. It is about the flight of birds, which recur throughout the poetic texts that Dvořák selected for musical treatment. It is about the flight of fugitives who leave their homes, and who are often depicted as birds in Dvořák's music. But it is also about lines of flight. In other words, it is about 'escape from an institutionalized

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[24] Beaumont, *The Walker: On Finding and Losing Yourself in the Modern City*, p. 197.

[25] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man: Selection in Relation to Sex*, ed. by Adrian Desmond and James Moore (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004), p. 28; quoted in Beaumont, *The Walker*, p. 197. For a useful discussion of Darwin's work in relation to walking, see Tim Ingold, 'Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet', *Journal of Material Culture*, 9.3 (2004), 315–40 (p. 317).

apparatus of capture',[26] both for Dvořák's protagonists and for scholars working in Dvořák studies today. Broadly speaking, the chapter proceeds in two halves. The first half comprises a literature review of prior Dvořák scholarship, subdivided into several sections, which demonstrates why a new approach to his music is necessary. Whilst acknowledging that any literature review will be reductive, it notes that prior scholarship has generally centred on clichés about his music's Czechness, Germanness, or cosmopolitanism. These clichés have severely limited the range of possible enquiry, and they have silenced many of the marginal voices that this music contains. The second half of this chapter sets out an alternative approach. It illustrates what the category of mobility can offer this research area, using a further musical case study: 'Die Flucht' ('The Fugitive', B. 60/1, 1876). Much like 'Hostina', this song expresses themes of capture and escape using bird symbolism. Within the broader scope of the thesis, however, it also offers support to the arguments that I made in the introduction, and it raises questions about mobility, marginality, and belonging that will underpin all the subsequent chapters.

Dvořák and the Category of Czechness

If Dvořák has conventionally been seen as homespun, folksy, and of merely marginal interest, then one of the many clichés of prior scholarship, and by far the most stubborn, is that his music is Czech. This idea has persisted since the earliest studies of Dvořák's music, which routinely discussed it in nationalistic terms. In his discussion of the Symphony No. 6 (B. 112, 1880), for example, Otakar Šourek waxed lyrical about 'Dvořák's love for the

[26] The 'line of flight' is a well-established concept, but for this definition see Keith Woodward and John Paul Jones III, 'On the Border with Deleuze and Guattari', in *B/Ordering Space*, ed. by Henk Van Houtum, Olivier Kramsch, and Wolfgang Zierhofer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 235–48 (p. 237).

Czech land that gave birth to him,' and how 'his love for Czech landscapes, Czech nature and the Czech people is communicated in every bar'.[27] Likewise, Šourek's work on Dvořák's symphonic poems described 'the thoroughly Czech spirit' of Karel Jaromír Erben's poetry, which 'set up sympathetic vibrations in the soul of the composer'.[28] Though scholars have since moved away from understanding Dvořák merely as a conduit for national spirit (*Volksgeist*), the national frames of this early work undoubtedly set the tone for subsequent research. For instance, a similar tendency can be found in work by Antonín Sychra and Jiří Kopecký,[29] of which the latter is especially telling. To be sure, Kopecký has conducted some of the most substantial research on Czech music of recent years, expertly commenting upon music by Dvořák, Zdeněk Fibich, Josef Leopold Zvonař, and Ludvík Ritter. Yet he has generally integrated these figures within a singular, nationalist metanarrative. 'If Bedřich Smetana is thought to be the father of Czech national opera,' Kopecký narrates, then 'Antonín Dvořák and Zdeněk Fibich would be his sons.'[30] Thus, nationalism has clearly been a persistent trope of prior Dvořák studies. But what makes his music nationalistic? What are the reasons for this emphasis in prior scholarship, and what are the strengths and limitations of pursuing a nationalist understanding of Dvořák's music?

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[27] Otakar Šourek, *Život a Dílo Ant. Dvořáka* (Prague: Hudební matice Umělecké besedy, 1928), II, pp. 102–3; quoted in Eva Branda, 'Speaking German, Hearing Czech, Claiming Dvořák', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 142.1 (2017), 109–36 (pp. 123–24).

[28] Otakar Šourek, *The Orchestral Works of Antonín Dvořák*, trans. by Roberta Finlayson Samsour (Prague: Artia, 1956), p. 311; for discussion, see Christopher Campo-Bowen, 'Bohemian Rhapsodist: Antonín Dvořák's Píseň Bohatýrská and the Historiography of Czech Music', *19th-Century Music*, 40.2 (2016), 159–81 (p. 167).

[29] Antonín Sychra, *Estetika Dvořákovy symfonické tvorby* (Prague: Státní Nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1959).

[30] Jiří Kopecký, 'Karl Goldmark and Czech National Opera: The Final Operas of Antonín Dvořák and Zdeněk Fibich', *Studia Musicologica*, 57.3/4 (2016), 349–59 (p. 349).

There are many reasons why nationalism has been emphasised in prior Dvořák scholarship. In part, this emphasis speaks to dynamics that are internal to Czech musicology. National frames can be found in many fields but, as Marina Frolova-Walker has noted, the 'practice of separating national music into a self-standing narrative' is especially common in many Eastern-European musicologies.[31] Indeed, Kelly St. Pierre has argued that an entire 'century of scholarship, from the 1880s to the 1980s, was devoted to setting up (and where necessary exonerating) Smetana as an individually heroic originator of Czechness in music',[32] and of a tradition that could (in theory) be studied independently from any other.[33] This emphasis also speaks to a prominent Czech understanding of nationalism—the view, found in Miroslav Hroch's work, that the formation of Czechoslovakia in 1918 was preceded by a long period of cultural propagation, in which cultural actors like Smetana and Dvořák played an important role.[34] Yet this emphasis on nationalism is not unique to work by Czech scholars. For instance, John Clapham repeatedly—and conspicuously—described Dvořák in terms like 'this gifted Czech composer' and 'the unknown Czech composer'.[35] Clapham also compared Dvořák's music to the rhythms of the Czech language, in comments that (given the importance of language to many nationalists) contain

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[31] Marina Frolova-Walker, 'An Inclusive History for a Divided World?', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 143.1 (2018), 1–20 (p. 8).

[32] Kelly St. Pierre, 'Smetana's "Vyšehrad" and Mythologies of Czechness in Scholarship', *19th-Century Music*, 37.2 (2013), 91–112 (p. 110).

[33] This tendency can be found in Zdenék Nejedlý, *Zpěvohry Smetanovy* (Prague: J.Otto, 1908); Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Česká moderní zpěvohra po Smetanovi* (Prague: J.Otto, 1911). See also the *Smetana* journal that he helped found in 1910.

[34] This is the broad thrust of Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[35] John Clapham, *Antonín Dvořák: Musician and Craftsman* (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), p. 87. See also John Clapham, 'Dvořák on the American Scene', *19th-Century Music*, 5.1 (1981), 16–23 (pp. 16, 17, 19).

an obvious nationalist subtext.[36] A similar strategy can be witnessed in Hans Hollander's work. When he claimed that Dvořák 'found his way with the instinctive certainty of a child of nature',[37] Hollander was not simply primitivizing this music. Rather, he was also conferring upon it a legitimacy derived from nature—a familiar nationalist move. In different ways, all this scholarship has argued for a nationalist reading of Dvořák's music. Evidently, the nationalist reading extends beyond scholarship from any one place or time, and closer scrutiny is therefore required to understand the reasons for its ubiquity.

In so doing, it will be useful to examine the bases on which these nationalist claims have been made. Most obviously, Dvořák's nationalism has often been claimed based on speculation about his intentions, often by drawing upon his public statements (in which he strenuously publicised the 'nationalist' status of his music) and private correspondence.[38] In a letter to the publisher Fritz Simrock in 1885, Dvořák argued that 'an artist […] has his country in which he must have firm faith, and for which he must have an ardent heart'.[39] Understandably wary that his visit to the United States (1892-95) may have brought into question his commitment to the Czech nationalist cause, similarly, Dvořák on one occasion exclaimed: 'I was, I am, and I remain a Czech composer. I have only showed them the path they might take—how they should work. But I'm through with that! From this day forward

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[36] John Clapham, 'The National Origins of Dvořák's Art', in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (Taylor & Francis, 1962), pp. 75–88 (p. 76). Notably, the journal of The Dvořák Society, whose inaugural meeting Clapham chaired, was for a long time named *Czech Music*. For a brief history of the society, see 'The Dvořák Society: The Early Years', *The Dvořák Society for Czech and Slovak Music* <https://www.dvorak-society.org/?page_id=190> [accessed 10 January 2024].

[37] Hans Hollander, 'Dvořák the Czech', *Music & Letters*, 22.4 (1941), 313–17 (p. 314).

[38] On Dvořák's publicity efforts, see Eva Branda, 'Letting the Music "Speak For Itself": Dvořák as Strategist', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 19 (2022), 599–624 (p. 605).

[39] Šourek, *Letters and Reminiscences*, p. 98; quoted in Michael Beckerman, 'In Search of Czechness in Music', *19th-Century Music*, 10.1 (1986), 61–73 (p. 63).

I will write the way I wrote before.'[40] Other evidence for Dvořák's nationalist sympathies can be inferred from his choices of genre. In practice, for example, Dvořák's efforts to 'write the way [he] wrote before' consisted of a late burst of symphonic poems.[41] Though Dvořák had only written one symphonic poem beforehand, the *Rapsodie a moll* (*Rhapsody in A minor*, B. 44, 1874), Smetana had firmly established the symphonic poem as a genre for Czech nationalist expression, and a generation of writers for the periodical magazine *Dalibor* (including Václav Juda Novotný, Otakar Hostinský, and others) had subsequently advocated the genre as a vehicle for nationalist music.[42] As such, Dvořák's use of this genre can easily be read as a nationalistic gesture, and an attempt to reestabilish his 'Czech' credentials following his stay in the United States. It also allowed him to convey nationalism via programme, moreover, and he chose tales by Erben—a prominent figure in the Czech National Revival, and the person who brought Čelakovský's poetry to a broader audience—as the basis of all but one of his late symphonic poems.[43]

Further evidence for Dvořák's nationalist sympathies can be found in titles and musical quotations. Despite its German publication language, for example, the title of *Mein Heim* (*My Home*, B. 125a, 1881-82) recalls Smetana's *Má vlast*. Its idiom also suggests a

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[40] Jan Smaczny, *Dvořák, Cello Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 25.

[41] On Dvořák's late shift to programme music, see Michael Beckerman, 'Dvořák', in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. by D. Kern Holoman (New York; London: Schirmer Books; Prentice Hall International, 1997), pp. 273–98 (p. 273).

[42] For a useful discussion of this trend, see Kelly St. Pierre, *Bedřich Smetana: Myth, Music, and Propaganda* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2021), chap. 2. Indeed, the symphonic poem was a tried and tested genre for nationalism across Europe. On this point, see James Hepokoski, 'Beethoven Reception: The Symphonic Tradition', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 424–59 (p. 430).

[43] On the relationship between Čelakovský and Erben, see Derek Sayer, 'The Language of Nationality and the Nationality of Language: Prague 1780-1920', *Past & Present*, 153 (1996), 164–210 (p. 189).

cosy, parochial representation of the Czech homeland. In fact, it musically references František Škroup's 'Kde domov můj' ('Where My Home Is'), which was later to become the Czech national anthem. Clapham often focuses on these kinds of evidence, exploring how Dvořák's 'use of the rhythms and spirit of the folk dances of his country […] appears to have facilitated the acceptance of his music abroad.'[44] Indeed, he also explores how Dvořák's melodies resemble Czech folksongs. For example, he highlights the similarities between folksongs like 'Kdyby moje milá' ('If only, my dear') and Jirka's leitmotif in *Čert a Káča* (*The Devil and Kate*, B. 201, 1899),[45] and all these features corroborate his nationalist account of Dvořák's music.

Of course, music-analytical approaches to nationalism are rarely sufficient in themselves, since they tend to identify features that can be found in any number of different national contexts. This is especially true in Dvořák's case, given the wide range of contexts in which he lived and worked. From a music-analytical perspective, as Beckerman notes, 'the overture to *The Devil and Kate* could easily be a prairie portrait, and the dance of the little devils in hell suspiciously recalls Dvořák's Native American style.'[46] Likewise, as Leon Plantinga has argued, '[a] mere lowered seventh scale-degree, when it sounds in the first theme of Dvořák's Cello Concerto, can easily be accepted as "Bohemian"—even though it is the commonest cliché of modal colouring.'[47] But as Carl Dahlhaus has argued,

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[44] Clapham, *Antonín Dvořák*, p. 87.

[45] Clapham, 'The National Origins of Dvořák's Art', p. 77.

[46] Michael Beckerman, 'The Master's Little Joke: Antonín Dvořák and the Mask of a Nation', in *Dvořák and His World*, ed. by Michael Beckerman (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 134–54 (p. 148).

[47] Leon Plantinga, 'Dvořák and the Meaning of Nationalism in Music', in *Rethinking Dvořák: Views from Five Countries*, ed. by David R. Beveridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 117–23 (p. 123).

nationalism is always a matter of reception and context as much as compositional intention or analysis (not least because intention is such an elusive concept).[48] Indeed, a range of other scholars have pursued reception histories of Dvořák's nationalism. As Eva Branda notes, for instance, critics heard Dvořák's Symphony No. 6 in nationalistic terms, in spite of its reliance on a Viennese symphonic model. For her, '[p]olitical tensions and Dvořák's growing international renown in the early 1880s made Czech critics eager to take ownership of the composer, giving Czech labels to a work that could [otherwise] be interpreted as conforming to the Austro-German tradition.'[49] David Beveridge identifies a similar tendency, arguing that '[t]hroughout Dvořák's career, which transpired during a period of strong Czech nationalist sentiments, Czech critics were eager to put the "Made in Bohemia" stamp on any work of his they thought could be a source of pride for their nation.'[50] In all these ways, scholars have challenged reductive analytical approaches to musical nationalism, and they have enriched our understanding of Dvořák's music as a result.

Still, this scholarship has not been without its problems, despite the wealth of evidence that has been available to support claims about Dvořák's musical nationalism. Without wishing to deny the importance of Czech nationalism for Dvořák's music, I nonetheless want to highlight some of the critical lapses of prior scholarship. Most obviously, this scholarship has overemphasised questions of genre. There exists a vast number of single-

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[48] Carl Dahlhaus, 'Nationalism and Music', in *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Mary Whittall (Berkeley: Univerisity of California Press, 1980), pp. 79–101 (pp. 86–87); for a useful discussion, see Grimley, *Grieg*, p. 19.

[49] Branda, 'Speaking German, Hearing Czech, Claiming Dvořák', p. 110.

[50] David Beveridge, 'A Rare Meeting of Minds in Kvapil's and Dvořák's "Rusalka": The Background, the Artistic Result, and Response by the World of Opera', in *Czech Music around 1900*, ed. by Lenka Krupková and Jirí Kopecky (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2017), pp. 61–80 (p. 74).

genre studies about Dvořák's musical nationalism, in relation to the symphonic poem, opera, the symphony, and chamber music.[51] This emphasis on genre has arguably established nationalism as an unmarked category: though many of these studies are not about nationalism *per se*, the nationalist significance of many genres has allowed scholars to claim the Czechness of this music passively, but without subjecting that claim to proper scrutiny. Moreover, this emphasis on genre has also overlooked the historical context in which Dvořák's music was composed: as Jeffrey Kallberg comments, following Carl Dahlhaus, '[a]round 1830, musical genres started losing their factual and historical relevance because functional music began giving way to individual works and the idea of aesthetic autonomy. […] Not that genre was entirely irrelevant (Dahlhaus claims this development occurred only in the twentieth century), but it "became a secondary distinguishing characteristic of works of art conceived primarily as self-sufficient entities and not as exemplary instances."'[52]

A further problem with a nationalist label concerns musical status. It can often imply that a composer is of merely local or peripheral importance, and its adoption by Dvořák scholars has negatively impacted the field in several ways. Most obviously, it has relegated Dvořák to the margins of music history. Dahlhaus treats Dvořák nationalistically, for

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[51] For some examples of this tendency, across a range of genres, see Clare A. Thornley, '"Dramas without a Stage, Acts without Singers": Rethinking the Symphonic Poems of Antonín Dvořák' (PhD thesis, New York University, 2011); John Holland, *The Lost Tradition of Dvořák's Operas: Myth, Music, and Nationalism* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2023); Christopher Campo-Bowen, '"We Shall Remain Faithful": The Village Mode in Czech Opera, 1866-1928' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2018); Stephen Scott Johnson, 'Narrative and Form in Dvořák's Symphonic Poems Based on the Folk Poetry of Karel Jaromír Erben' (PhD thesis, University of Connecticut, 1997). On his piano chamber music, see Markéta Štědronská, *Die Klavierkammermusik von Antonín Dvořák* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2010).

[52] Jeffrey Kallberg, 'The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor', *19th-Century Music*, 11.3 (1988), 238–61 (pp. 239–40); see also Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. by J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 149.

example, and he ends up discussing Dvořák just twice in *Nineteenth-Century Music*.[53] The nationalist label has also informed a negative strand of critical reception. '[A]s if in a ghetto', Richard Taruskin suggests about Dvořák's reception, it 'led inevitably to biased expectations and, in some cases, to invidious reviews when he failed to conform to German (or French, or American) listeners' ideas of properly Czech behaviour.'[54] Yet the nationalist label has also limited scholarly coverage of Dvořák's music. The music's 'alleged Czech specificity', Beveridge suggests, 'has led commentators abroad to suppose it might not be fully comprehensible to foreign audiences',[55] and as such it has discouraged many non-Czech scholars from contributing to this research area. All in all, much is lost by applying a nationalist label to Dvořák's music. What is more, it is not always clear what is *gained* by thinking about this music in nationalist terms. For although scholars have successfully shown that nationalism was an important aspect of Dvořák's reception, the same cannot be said of his compositional technique. Whilst 'every scholar who attempts to deal with nineteenth-century Czech music ends up trying to articulate that very element which makes Czech music Czech', Beckerman wrote in 1986, they have generally struggled to do so.[56] Indeed, not much has changed since Beckerman's study. Despite countless music-analytical studies, as Beveridge commented more than three decades later, '[n]obody has yet shown convincingly what constitutes the Czechness of Dvořák's music.'[57]

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[53] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. by J. B. Robinson (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 276, 308.

[54] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 753.

[55] Beveridge, 'A Rare Meeting of Minds', p. 77.

[56] Beckerman, 'In Search of Czechness in Music', p. 61.

[57] Beveridge, 'Antonín Dvořák's Music and the Concept of Czechness', p. 11.

Especially problematic, however, has been this scholarship's emphasis on authorial intention. One problem with this emphasis is that it can feel overly speculative. Though biography can undoubtedly be a useful starting point for hermeneutic enquiry, it should be noted that Dvořák revealed little about his political opinions, beyond the vaguest of nationalist platitudes. For many scholars, this lack of evidence has led to moments of argumentative inconsistency. When Clapham notes that Dvořák 'showed no special interest in politics', for example, his attempts to derive nationalism from Dvořák's intentions become strangely inconsistent.[58] On occasions where Dvořák did speak about politics, moreover, he actively disputed the idea that his music was simply Czech. As Oskar Nedbal recalled, Dvořák once stated privately that whereas 'Smetana's music is Czech, […] mine is Slavic.'[59] Indeed, he developed a friendly relationship with Tchaikovsky, whom he visited in Russia in 1890, and to whom his music has often been compared.[60] The larger problem with this emphasis on authorial intention, however, is that it has been conspicuously out of step with broader developments in musicology over recent decades, which has tended to reassign interpretative authority from composers to listeners and scholars.[61] As any number

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[58] John Clapham, 'Dvořák's Unknown Letters on His Symphonic Poems', *Music & Letters*, 56.3/4 (1975), 277–87 (p. 277).

[59] Oskar Nedbal, 'Drobné vzpomínky na Dvořáka', *Hudební revue*, 4 (1911), 481–84 (p. 482); cited in Beckerman, 'Antonín Dvořák and the Mask of a Nation', p. 146.

[60] On this trip, see Clapham, 'Dvořák's Visit to Russia'. For one comparison between Dvořák and Tchaikovsky, see Milan Kuna, 'Dvořák's Slavic Spirit, and His Relation to Tchaikovsky and Russia', in *Rethinking Dvořák: Views from Five Countries*, ed. by David R. Beveridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 143–53. The most famous comparison between Dvořák and Tchaikovsky was made by Theodor Adorno, however, who argued that both composers use 'a pot-pourri of melodies arbitrarily connected with one another.' Theodor W. Adorno, 'The Schema of Mass Culture', in *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, ed. by J. M. Bernstein (London: Routledge, 1981), pp. 61–97 (pp. 72–73).

[61] Of course, 'listeners' are not a unitary group, as Adorno showed in his much-cited typology of musical listeners: Theodor W. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, trans. by E. B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 1976), pp. 1–20. As Kofi Agawu has argued, however, 'it is the category of the tutored or trained listener that matters to the hermeneuticist', and these are the listeners that I am referring to throughout this

of poststructuralist scholars have observed, after all, these kinds of authorial readings reduce a text's meanings and impoverish our understanding of its politics. They are especially reductive when applied to a composer who often drew upon literary and poetic texts. Taken separately, both music and poetry speak to a complex web of intertextual relations, which might point to any number interpretative possibilities for the listener or reader.[62] In Roland Barthes's terms, both are texts that are 'made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation'.[63] Taken together, as Lawrence Kramer has observed, 'each art makes explicit the dimension that the other leaves tacit', in ways that may lead to multiple, richly contradictory strands of interpretation.[64] Yet these kinds of authorial readings are also reductive because they overlook our own historical contingency, as reader-listeners today. 'If the primary reason why we are still interested in this music now is because it speaks to us of something that is felt to be meaningful and important,' as Benedict Taylor has commented about Mendelssohn's music, but in a comment that might equally apply to Dvořák, then 'trying to

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thesis. On this point, see Kofi Agawu, 'Music Analysis versus Musical Hermeneutics', *The American Journal of Semiotics*, 13.1–4 (1996), 9–24 (p. 10).

[62] Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. by Léon S. Roudiez, trans. by Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Léon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 66; quoted in Kevin Korsyn, 'Beyond Privileged Contexts: Intertextuality, Influence, and Dialogue', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 55–72 (p. 56).

[63] Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image, Music, Text: Essays Selected and Translated by Stephen Heath* (London, 1977), pp. 142–48 (p. 148).

[64] Lawrence Kramer, *Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1984), p. 6. On some of the many interpretations that music and poetry afford when paired together, see Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (London: University of California Press, 1974), chap. 1.

overcome our own historical situatedness through the chimera of an abstract antiquarianism is not only impossible but of questionable value for its own sake.'[65]

Alternative Politics

In seeking to address this historical context, of course, it should be noted that nineteenth-century understandings of Czech national identity did not exist in a vacuum. The Habsburg monarchy was a complex medley of different ethnic groups until at least the early years of the twentieth century, which meant that many national identities were negotiated in tandem.[66] Hungarian national identity was an especially important model for the Czechs because, since the *Ausgleich* of 1867, Hungary had enjoyed a legal status in the empire that many Czechs sought to gain for themselves. But notions of Czechness were also defined against Germanness, given that the Habsburg Empire (from which the Czech national project strove to gain independence) was administered from German-speaking regions. Following the creation of an Imperial Council in 1861, for example, the *Národní strana* (Czech National Party) was forcefully anti-Teutonic in rhetoric, as were the *Mladočeši* (Young Czechs) upon their formation in 1874. Language was another frontier in this political battleground, as historians including Gary Cohen, Robert Luft, and Pieter M. Judson have

[65] Benedict Taylor, *Mendelssohn, Time and Memory: The Romantic Conception of Cyclic Form* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 3.

[66] For a recent and productive discussion of these issues in musicology, see Leah Batstone, 'A Dance from Iglau: Gustav Mahler, Bohemia, and the Complexities of Austrian Identity', *19th-Century Music*, 44.3 (2021), 169–86 (pp. 170–71). For a broader historical overview in relation to Czech identity, see Bálint Varga, 'The Habsburg Monarchy', in *The Cambridge History of Nationhood and Nationalism*, ed. by Cathie Carmichael, Matthew D'Auria, and Aviel Roshwald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), ii, 64–87 (pp. 68–71).

shown.[67] So too was culture, which became a special focus for nationalists following the military failure of the 1848 revolution.[68] Dvořák's music was at the nexus of these struggles because of its ambivalent cultural reference points, and because beneath the local colour (as Branda's discussion of the Symphony No. 6 demonstrated) it often relied upon Austro-Germanic models. This ambivalence meant that Dvořák opened himself up to critique from multiple directions simultaneously. Though many Czech critics were keen to claim ownership of his music, so too did many interpret his affiliation with the Viennese musical establishment as a betrayal. Even in the early twentieth century, as Jindřiška Bártová and Marta Ottlová have shown, many contributors to *Smetana* and *Dalibor* (music periodicals) continued to critique Dvořák for having failed to live up to Smetana's example.[69] As Novotný complained on October 1st 1880, for example, 'the covetous Germans will write of our ingenious Dvořák: "unser Dworzak!"' ('our Dvořák!')[70] As David Brodbeck has

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[67] Gary Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), chap. 1; Robert Luft, 'Nationale Utraquisten in Böhmen: zur Problematik nationaler Zwischenstellungen am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Allemands, Juifs et Tchèques à Prague, 1890–1924*, ed. by Maurice Godé, Jacques Le Rider, and Françoise Mayer (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry-Montpellier III, 1996), pp. 37–54. Judson's work has been especially useful since, by arguing that 'all such language groups might constitute a majority or a minority of the population in the different regions where they were located', it has destabilised traditional accounts of linguistic hegemony. On this point, see Pieter M. Judson, 'Making Minorities and Majorities: National Indifference and National Self-Determination in Habsburg Central Europe', in *Sovereignty, Nationalism, and the Quest for Homogeneity in Interwar Europe*, ed. by Mona Bieling, Emmanuel Dalle Mulle, and Davide Rodogno (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023), pp. 21–38 (p. 22).

[68] On these shifting frontiers, see Muriel Blaive, 'National Narratives of Czech Identity from the 19th Century to the Present', in *Geschichtsbuch Mitteleuropa: vom Fin de Siècle bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Anton Pelinka and others (Vienna: New Academic Press, 2016), pp. 161–89 (p. 164).

[69] Jindřiška Bártová, 'Dvořák as Criticised in the Periodical "Smetana" and in the Writings by Members of Its Editorial Circle', *Czech Music: Journal of the Dvořák Society*, 23 (2003), 173–78; Marta Ottlová, 'The "Dvořák Battles" in Bohemia: Czech Criticism of Antonín Dvořák, 1911-15', in *Rethinking Dvořák: Views from Five Countries*, ed. by David Beveridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 125–34.

[70] Václav Juda Novotný, 'Drobné Zprávy: Dvořákovy "Moravské Dvojzpěvy"', *Dalibor*, 2.28 (1880), 222; quoted in Eva Branda, 'Representations of Antonín Dvořák: A Study of His Music through the Lens of Late Nineteenth-Century Czech Criticism' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2014), pp. 235–36.

shown, conversely, German critics likewise used Dvořák's music to debate 'what did and did not count as *German*.'[71] Whereas Eduard Hanslick characterised Dvořák 'as an acculturated German', for instance, another German critic unfavourably compared him to Meyerbeer, in a review that was laced with anti-Semitic subtext, and that treated Dvořák as being hostile to German cultural interests.[72]

Dvořák's reputation was undoubtedly tarnished by these debates, which go some way to explaining his music's lowly status up to the present day. But for many scholars these debates have provided the impetus for a more complex, unstable understanding of his music's stylistic politics, not limited by essentialist notions of Czechness alone. In fact, some scholars have sought to accommodate Dvořák's music within a broadly Austro-Germanic stylistic and political context. The Brahms comparison is one instance of this approach, and it has motivated much sonata-theoretical work by Peter H. Smith.[73] However, other scholars have compared Dvořák's music to that of other Austro-Germanic composers. Jan Smaczny and Klaus Döge have traced how Dvořák was influenced by Richard Wagner in a 'New German' phase, for example, both focusing on Dvořák's music before 1873.[74] Going one step further, Jarmila Gabrielová has argued that Wagner's influence was not limited to Dvořák's early music, and that it extended throughout Dvořák's entire

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[71] Brodbeck, 'Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna', p. 72. Emphasis in original.

[72] David Brodbeck, 'The Symphony After Beethoven After Dahlhaus', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Symphony*, ed. by Julian Horton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 61–95 (pp. 84–85).

[73] Chapter Three discusses this work in greater depth, but for one example see Peter H. Smith, 'Dvořák and Subordinate Theme Closure: "Positive" Analytic Results for a "Negative" Approach to Romantic Form', *Journal of Music Theory*, 64.2 (2020), 203–40.

[74] Jan Smaczny, '"That Great Little Man": Dvořák and Wagner', in *Wagner in Russia, Poland, and the Czech Lands: Musical, Literary, and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. by Anastasia Belina-Johnson and Stephen Muir (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 93–119. See also Döge, secs 3, 8.

oeuvre.[75] Other scholars have compared Dvořák to Beethoven. Most notably, Leslie Kinton has compared Dvořák's Symphony No. 7 (Op. 70, 1885) to Beethoven's Op. 14 No. 1, using a Schenkerian approach to show that the pieces handle their motives in similar ways.[76] Mark F. Rockwood has also discussed Dvořák's Germanness music-analytically, exploring how he 'meld[ed] both Germanic and Czech musical traditions,' thereby reducing its association with the latter tradition alone.[77] Most strikingly, Heinrich Schenker identified a German trait in Dvořák's music, arguing that '[h]is chamber music in particular, with all its Bohemian roots, is blessed with such outstanding German virtues that it justly seems to us most highly attractive.'[78]

Further to these comparisons, scholars including Gerald Abraham, Beveridge, Susan Wollenberg, and Smaczny have compared Dvořák's music to that of Schubert.[79] This

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[75] Jarmila Gabrielová, 'Antonín Dvořák and Richard Wagner', trans. by David Beveridge, *Muzikologija*, 6 (2006), 305–16.

[76] Leslie Kinton, 'Motivic Enlargement in Dvořák's Symphony Op. 70', in *Explorations in Schenkerian Analysis*, ed. by David Beach and Su Yin Mak (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2016), pp. 226–40. On Dvořák and Beethoven from a motivic perspective, see also Otakar Šourek, 'Dvořák, Antonín', ed. by Eric Blom, *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1954), pp. 831–45 (p. 836). On Dvořák and Beethoven from a performance perspective, see Iacopo Cividini, *Die Solokonzerte von Antonín Dvořák: eine Lösung Der Konzertproblematik nach Beethoven* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2007).

[77] Mark F. Rockwood, 'Form, Style, and Influence in the Chamber Music of Antonin Dvořák' (University of Oregon, 2017), p. 3.

[78] Nicholas Cook, *The Schenker Project: Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 79. For a further discussion of Schenker and Dvořák, see also Nicholas Cook, 'Classical Music and the Politics of Space', in *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, ed. by Georgina Born (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 224–38 (pp. 231–32).

[79] Gerald Abraham, 'Dvorak's Musical Personality', in *Antonín Dvořák: His Achievement*, ed. by Viktor Fischl (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1942), pp. 192–240 (pp. 198–99); David Beveridge, 'Romantic Ideas in a Classical Frame: The Sonata Forms of Dvořák' (PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1980), p. 33; Susan Wollenberg, 'Celebrating Dvořák: Affinities between Schubert and Dvořák', *The Musical Times*, 132.1783 (1991), 434–37; Jan Smaczny, '"Biding His Time" - Schubert among the Bohemians in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in *Schubert Studies*, ed. by Brian Newbould (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 153–65.

comparison is useful for historiographical reasons. After all, Schubert's music is often positioned both within and slightly separately from an Austro-Germanic tradition, often read (as Christopher Tarrant has noted) 'as the "non-Beethovenian" *par excellence*',[80] and in this respect it readily affords comparisons with Dvořák's music. Yet this comparison is also useful because of an essay that Dvořák (together with Henry T. Finck) wrote on Schubert. In this essay, Dvořák stated that, '[i]n originality of harmony and modulation, and in his gift of orchestral colouring, Schubert has had no superior.' Harmonically speaking, Dvořák went on to argue, 'both Schumann and Liszt are descendants of Schubert; Brahms, too, whose enthusiasm for Schubert is well known, has perhaps felt his influence; and as for myself, I cordially acknowledge my great obligations to him.'[81] In scholarship, the Schubert comparison was pursued most provocatively by Hollander, who showed that the Dumka of Dvořák's Piano Quintet clearly resembles Schubert's 'Trout' Quintet.[82] Hollander thus read the piece against the grain, by locating it within an Austro-Germanic musical tradition—despite the Czechness implied by the 'Dumka' title. Other scholars have also pursued a comparison between Dvořák and Schubert, whilst challenging the stylistic hierarchies implicit in Hollander's study. '[P]ut simply,' Wollenberg suggests, 'if Dvořák "spoke Czech" in his instrumental music […] then it seems that Schubert also "spoke Czech" in some of his music. The opening of Schubert's "Trout" Quintet finale sounds as

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[80] Christopher Tarrant, 'Schubert, Sonata Theory, Psychoanalysis: Traversing the Fantasy in Schubert's Sonata Forms' (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2015), p. 20.

[81] Originally published in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine,* xlviii, 1894. Reproduced in Antonín Dvořák and Henry T. Finck, 'Antonín Dvořák: Franz Schubert', ed. by Ondřej Šupka, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/dvorak-on-schubert/> [accessed 15 November 2023].

[82] For a useful discussion, see David Beveridge, 'Dvořák's "Dumka" and the Concept of Nationalism in Music Historiography', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 12.4 (1993), 303–25 (p. 310). The citation for Hollander's original essay has not been provided by the journal editor, but Beveridge's summary nonetheless offers a good overview.

though in another existence it might have been one of Dvořák's celebrated Slavonic Dances'.[83]

One might welcome this scholarship for expanding our understanding of this music's politics. It has usefully shown that all national categories are contingent upon ongoing processes of identification, which are a feature of reception as much as compositional style, and which are always open to challenge.[84] If the category of Czechness has narrowed our understanding of its politics, then this scholarship has been a useful counterweight. But although it has usefully challenged some of the more intractable clichés of Dvořák's reception, its claims should not be taken at face value. One problem with this scholarship concerns the category of Czechness. That much of this scholarship is defined against the category of Czechness, ironically, means that it risks reproducing that category as a negative image. After all, any effort to define what is *not* Czech requires an understanding of what *is*—often in ways that can feel essentialising. Another problem with this scholarship is that it has ignored the political sensitivities of this research area. As recent years have reminded us, the cultural, political, and territorial boundaries of many Eastern-European nations have long been contested. Though Dvořák's music is hardly the most important part of this wider battleground, we should remain sensitive of the context in which these musical ownership claims have been made. A further problem with this scholarship concerns the category of

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[83] Wollenberg, p. 434. Beckerman is similarly aware of this issue, and he likewise seeks to show that the relationship between Dvořák and Brahms was not (as many accounts have assumed) monodirectional. See Michael Beckerman, 'Dvořák and Brahms: A Question of Influence', *The Brahms Society Newsletter*, 4.2 (1986), 6–8.

[84] On similar ideas in the context of Central- and East-European history more generally, see Tara Zahra, 'Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis', *Slavic Review*, 69.1 (2010), 93–119 (pp. 98–106).

Germanness. Against the backdrop of the cultural, political, and military tensions that have long been associated with Czech-German relations, efforts to Germanise his music seem especially insensitive.[85] By setting Czech and German identities against one another, moreover, there is also a risk of reinscribing the kinds of centre-periphery model to which these kinds of national categories invariably gave form, and whose cultural hierarchies are unlikely to benefit Dvořák's status in histories of nineteenth-century music.

Arguably the biggest problem with this scholarship, however, is that it has reproduced the Czech-German opposition of nineteenth-century reception. By this, I do not mean to suggest that scholars have been politically biased. Nor do I mean to suggest that they have been unaware of the contingency of the political distinctions that they have sought to highlight. But I *do* wish to suggest that scholars have been insufficiently mindful of their own role in maintaining this political opposition, and in policing the larger discursive contours of this research area. As many poststructuralist scholars have noted, after all, knowledge is not simply something to be accessed 'out there'. Rather, every idea has a history that lends it meaning, and each expression of that idea 'establishes the conditions of possibility for thought and action; that is, it posits what is appropriate and reasonable to be thought and practiced.'[86] From this perspective, the fact that current debates about

[85] For one discussion of these tensions, which continue to loom large in the Czech national consciousness, see Robert B. Pynsent, 'Conclusory Essay: Activists, Jews, the Little Czech Man, and Germans', *Central Europe*, 5.2 (2007), 211–333.

[86] Deborah P. Dixon and John Paul Jones III, 'Poststructuralism', in *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, ed. by Nuala Christina Johnson, James S. Duncan, and Richard G. Schein (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 79–107 (p. 85). This is especially true for questions of identity, national or otherwise. As Judith Butler famously argued, all identity formations are discursively produced and maintained, and they have 'no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute [their] reality.' On this point, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), p. 185.

Dvořák's music perfectly match a debate in nineteenth-century reception does not simply suggest that scholars have been faithful to the evidence at hand. Quite the opposite: it is compelling evidence that these debates form part of a single continuity. To be sensitised to this continuity demands more than just replacing one national category with another, or even addressing the archaeology of our basic terms. It asks that we recognise the performative effects of academic studies, and how (as Sunčana Laketa has described) scholars 'construct the effects they purportedly merely name'.[87] Moreover, it might equally seek to explore alternative kinds of politics, to expand 'what is appropriate and reasonable to be thought and practiced'.[88] Without doing so, there is a danger that the field is consigned to a small range of national categories, and that it neglects the richer array of meanings that Dvořák's music (like all music) contains.

One such approach can be found in research on cosmopolitanism and transnationalism. This research has been conducted across the humanities, in a range of theoretical guises.[89] Some scholars, including Kwame Anthony Appiah and Martha Nussbaum, have adopted a broadly liberal-Enlightenment understanding of cosmopolitanism, often in

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[87] Sunčana Laketa, 'Performativity', ed. by Audrey Lynn Kobayashi, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2020), pp. 65–70 (p. 65).

[88] Dixon and Jones III, p. 85.

[89] For two examples of cosmopolitanism studies in musicology, see Dana Gooley and others, 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848-1914', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66.2 (2013), 523–50; Björn Heile, 'Erik Bergman, Cosmopolitanism and the Transformation of Musical Geography', in *Transformations of Musical Modernism*, ed. by Erling E. Guldrandsen and Julian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 74–96. In other disciplines, see also Philip Ross Bullock, 'Ibsen on the London Stage', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 53.3 (2017), 360–70; Marta Filipová, 'The Construction of National Identity in the Historiography of Czech Art' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2008), chap. 5.

dialogue with figures such as Kant and Mill.[90] Others have adopted Marxist understandings of cosmopolitanism, generally as part of a larger critique of transnational market capitalism—in which the liberal version of cosmopolitanism is often understood to be naively complicit.[91] Still others, including Bullock and Tunbridge in musicology, have pursued a more generally transnational approach, without the ethical traits (and definitional problems) that generally attend cosmopolitanism studies.[92] In different ways, all these approaches have reacted against the national paradigms that have historically informed the humanities and social sciences, often by acknowledging scholarship's own power to constitute and maintain such national frames. Whether implicitly or explicitly, they have thus recognised that, as Gary Wilder tells us, 'an attempt to move beyond the limitations of national history paradigms has less to do with what one studies or where than with how one frames and treats an object of study.'[93]

Given the problems that have long persevered in Dvořák studies, a cosmopolitan lens seems to offer a powerful corrective. It offers a way to challenge familiar, parochial understandings of Dvořák's compositional style, whilst maintaining an awareness of our

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[90] For two examples of this trend, see Martha Nussbaum, 'Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 5.1 (1997), 1–25; Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).

[91] David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), chap. 3; Tim Brennan, *At Home in the World: Cosmopolitanism Now* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[92] Bullock and Tunbridge. For my own discussion of some of these trends, see Dylan C. Price, 'Review of "Labour, Mobility and Informal Practices in Russia, Central Asia and Eastern Europe: Power, Institutions and Mobile Actors in Transnational Space"', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 2022. For a useful discussion of these trends in musicology more specifically, see Brigid Cohen, 'Limits of Natìonal History: Yoko Ono, Stefan Wölpe, and Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism', *The Musical Quarterly*, 97.2 (2014), 181–237 (pp. 185–88).

[93] Gary Wilder, 'From Optic to Topic: The Foreclosure Effect of Historiographic Turns', *The American Historical Review*, 117.3 (2012), 723–45 (p. 732). A big influence on approaches that recognise this was Ulrich Beck, 'Toward a New Critical Theory with a Cosmopolitan Intent', *Constellations*, 10.4 (2003), 453–68.

performative role as scholars.[94] Indeed, some Dvořák scholars have previously recognised this potential. Just as musicology and neighbouring disciplines have grown steadily more active in discussions about cosmopolitanism over the last few years, so too has Dvořák studies. Generally, this scholarship has reread ostensibly nationalist music in cosmopolitan ways. This approach defines Christopher Campo-Bowen's study of *Píseň bohatýrská* (*A Hero's Song*, B. 199, 1897). Whereas scholars have often heard this piece nationalistically, as they have with all Dvořák's symphonic poems, Campo-Bowen argues that 'Czech audiences and especially critics saw Dvořák through the lens of a kind of "universal" cosmopolitanism, wherein Dvořák was judged positively along lines of adherence to a standardised European hierarchy of compositional values rather than, or at least in addition to, his closeness to an unapproachable ideal of "Czechness."'[95] Beveridge likewise argues for a cosmopolitan reading of Dvořák's music, but he instead seeks to recover Dvořák's compositional intentions from correspondence. Using a letter from 1898, for instance, Beveridge notes that Dvořák 'mentions Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schumann as composers who had influenced him in several different works.' In contrast, Beveridge continues, 'I know of only one case where he reportedly named a Czech composer (or any Slavic composer for that matter) who had influenced him.' Though '[n]obody has yet

[94] On cosmopolitanism and performativity, see Bogdan Popa, 'How to Interrupt Happy Nationalism From Butler's Performativity to Radical Cosmopolitanism', in *Re-Grounding Cosmopolitanism: Towards a Post-Foundational Cosmopolitanism*, ed. by Tamara Caraus and Elena Paris (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 240–54; Anna Griffith, 'Excursions into Otherness: Performative Cosmopolitanism and Movement Culture' (PhD thesis, York University, 2014); Ian Woodward and Zlatko Skrbis, 'Performing Cosmopolitanism', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. by Gerard Delanty (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 127–37.

[95] Campo-Bowen, 'Bohemian Rhapsodist', p. 160.

shown convincingly what constitutes the Czechness of Dvořák's music', he thereby argues, '[w]hat is *clear*, on the contrary, is that his music is very international in character'.[96]

Whereas these studies have shown that the lens that we apply to our objects of study matters as much as the objects of study themselves, other scholars have extended a performative approach to Dvořák as an historical subject. By this, I mean that they have emphasised Dvořák's own, authorial ability to perform aspects of a broad cultural repertoire, against those prior accounts that have understood him as a passive conduit for national spirit. This approach defines more recent work by Campo-Bowen, which often registers a Butlerian commitment to the performative and the intersectional.[97] It also defines an essay by Beckerman that describes Dvořák's different national styles as 'masks', which alludes to the broad cultural repertoire possessed by a cosmopolitan (even as Beckerman at one point rejects cosmopolitanism as a critical paradigm).[98] Likewise, Beckerman's aforementioned *NYT* article suggests a cosmopolitan ethos when it concludes that Dvořák, far from being an ideologue, was 'speaking for humanity'.[99] This commitment to universalism is a characteristic marker of cosmopolitan thought, and in fact it has been a recurring feature of Dvořák studies more widely. As Botstein comments, for instance, 'Dvořák realized that the achievement of high critical praise demanded concessions to the camouflage

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[96] Beveridge, 'Antonín Dvořák's Music and the Concept of Czechness', pp. 11–13.

[97] Campo-Bowen, 'The Village Mode in Czech Opera', pp. 60–61.

[98] Beckerman, 'Antonín Dvořák and the Mask of a Nation', p. 148. The performative language of 'masks' is especially common in feminist musicology. For one example, see Ramona Curry, 'Madonna from Marilyn to Marlene - Pastiche and/or Parody?', *Journal of Film and Video*, 42.2 (1990), 15–30 (p. 28). A similar idea has been applied to Ravel's music. On Ravel's musical masks, see Steven Huebner, 'Ravel's Poetics: Literary Currents, Classical Takes', in *Unmasking Ravel: New Perspectives on the Music*, ed. by Peter Kaminsky (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2011), pp. 9–40 (p. 25).

[99] Beckerman, 'Dvorak Loved Pigeons and Trains, Not Ideology', p. 25.

of universalism.'[100] Likewise, Branda suggests that '[t]he dedication of *Hymnus* to the English people might […] be interpreted as an attempt to make the work's message less obviously Czech and more universal—a patriotic plea, to which any nation could relate.'[101]

This research has had many benefits. It has pushed back against familiar, parochial understandings of Dvořák's music, and it has contributed to broader efforts (in both English- and Czech-language scholarship) to denationalise Czech music.[102] Implicitly, this research has also unsettled some of the perennial stereotypes about Dvořák's biography, not least the idea that he was a lowly peasant. After all, cosmopolitanism requires a certain amount of financial privilege, which Dvořák—as the recipient of a £15,000 salary in New York, worth about thirty-five times that today—undoubtedly came to possess.[103] Unlike many other approaches, moreover, this research has also accounted for Dvořák's music from his time in the United States (1892-95). It has accommodated his American output, which I will discuss in Chapter Four, rather than dismissed it as an anomalous part of his career. But although this research has had many benefits, it has also created further problems. In practice, such approaches can often become reductive exercises in musical 'influence spotting' that identify the 'Czech' influence of Smetana in one bar and the 'German'

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[100] Botstein, p. 27.

[101] Branda, 'Representations of Antonín Dvořák', p. 115. On Dvořák in a transnational context, see also Edo Skulj, 'Die slowenish-tschechischen Musikbeziehungen und Antonín Dvorák', *Glasbeno - Pedagoski Zbornik Akademije Za Glasbo v Ljubljani*, 22 (2015), 184–90.

[102] On Smetana, see St. Pierre, *Bedřich Smetana*; Marta Ottlová and Milan Pospíšil, *Bedřich Smetana a jeho doba: vybrané studie* (Prague: Knižnice Dějin a Současnosti, 1997). Both shift attention away from nationalism using deep context. See also Derek Katz, *Janáček beyond the Borders* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2009).

[103] On Dvořák's finances, see John Clapham, 'Dvořák's American Ordeal: Part One', *Czech Music: Journal of the Dvořák Society*, 11.1 (1985), 10–12, 18.

influence of Beethoven in another.[104] So too do they retain a narrow, nation-centric understanding of what counts as 'the political'. That is to say, these approaches generally take national categories as their starting point—in what amounts to a covert form of methodological nationalism—whilst excusing these categories from critique by association with a progressive cosmopolitan ethos.[105] As such, they ignore what Naomi Waltham-Smith has described as 'the informal politics, micropolitics, and day-to-day politicking that are elusive or resistant in the face of political theory and world history'.[106] Consequently, they also evade many of the more challenging questions that Dvořák's music prompts, not least concerning belonging, marginality, and power. To be sure, we can easily describe Dvořák as a mask-wearer, and these kinds of analogies can perform useful critical work. Yet they can also efface the diverse and contradictory forms that authentic modes of expression can take, which are not necessarily opposed to performativity, but whose negotiation is never neutral or straightforward.[107]

Most problematic, however, has been these studies' commitment to universalism.[108] Over the last few decades, these kinds of universalist claims have often been

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[104] On 'influence spotting', see Smaczny, 'Dvořák and Wagner', p. 117.

[105] On methodological nationalism, see Magnus Qvistgaard, 'Cultural Transfers in the Shadow of Methodological Nationalism', in *Cultural Transfer Reconsidered: Transnational Perspectives, Translation Processes, Scandinavian and Postcolonial Challenges*, ed. by Steen Bille Jørgensen and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021), pp. 44–63 (p. 44).

[106] Naomi Waltham-Smith, 'Politics: The Unexceptional Politicking of Labor, Enjoyment, and Obstruction', in *A Cultural History of Western Music in The Industrial Age*, ed. by Alexander Rehding and Naomi Waltham-Smith (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), pp. 71–92 (p. 76).

[107] For a critique of the opposition between masks and authentic ways of being, see Slavoj Žižek, 'Hegel - Chesterton: German Idealism and Christianity', *The Symptom*, 7 (2006).

[108] On cosmopolitanism and universalism, see Anderson, *The Powers of Distance*, p. 31.

critiqued on the grounds that they are always partial.[109] Indeed, cosmopolitan thought has prompted particular scrutiny because of the debts it owes to ugly hierarchies of geography, race, and ethnicity.[110] As Christine Helliwell and Barry Hindess have noted, for example, Kant 'achieves the appearance of inclusiveness—of bringing all human beings together into one community—[only] by means of an insidious division of humanity into more or less advanced components, components that are judged to be closer to or further from this unencumbered condition.'[111] But these universalist claims have attracted little attention in Dvořák studies, a context in which they are especially problematic. Applied to Dvořák's 'American' music, they silence the marginal voices that his music contains. They ignore the power dynamics that were involved in Dvořák's appropriations of African- and Native-American musics, and they even legitimise those appropriations by applying a veneer of inclusivity. These universalist claims also ignore Dvořák's own marginal subject position. An ethnic Czech working in the Habsburg monarchy, Dvořák suggested to many that even a lowly Czech could be elevated to the lofty heights of high art, and (as I will later note) his music was often celebrated as the product of a civilising mission. Since the universalist mantle has often been claimed by Austro-Germanic composers, moreover, we should remain open to the possibility that these cosmopolitan accounts of Dvořák's music are just a

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[109] For a survey of these debates, and a defence of universalism, see Amanda Anderson, *The Way We Argue Now: A Study in the Cultures of Theory* (Princeton, N. J. and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 69–70.

[110] Charles W. J. Withers, 'The Enlightenment and Geographies of Cosmopolitanism', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 129.1 (2013), 36–53 (esp. p. 44); Pauline Kleingeld, 'Kant's Moral and Political Cosmopolitanism', *Philosophy Compass*, 11.1 (2016), 14–23; Robert Bernasconi, 'Who Invented the Concept of Race? Kant's Role in the Enlightenment Construction of Race', in *Race*, ed. by Robert Bernasconi (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 11–36.

[111] Christine Helliwell and Barry Hindess, 'Kantian Cosmopolitanism and Its Limits', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 18.1 (2015), 26–39 (p. 28).

different way of claiming its Germanness.[112] However, these universalist claims also risk perpetuating ingrained forms of academic privilege. After all, there is a strongly Anglo-American flavour to many cosmopolitan approaches. Both in Dvořák studies and elsewhere, they have largely been advanced by English-speaking scholars, who (whether intentionally or not) have laid claim to a loftier academic standpoint—not limited by the parochial national categories of others.[113] In all these ways, then, cosmopolitanism is a less appealing category for understanding Dvořák's music than it might initially seem. To be sure, this scholarship's performative emphasis is useful. But its universalism risks bowdlerising this music's marginal voices, as well as the ambivalent, challenging, and in some cases highly charged power dynamics that its many subject positions enkindle. As such, this thesis has entertained and rejected a range of prominent research themes of prior Dvořák studies. The time is thus ripe for more genuinely refreshed and revisionary approaches to his music.

Fugitive Mobilities in 'Die Flucht'

Following this discussion, then, we might well be feeling like the protagonist of 'Hostina'. Having flirted with multiple strands of prior Dvořák scholarship, it is as if—by revealing the shortcomings of that scholarship—we have stepped on its big toe. Exiled from the academic mainstream, we have (like the sparrow) become outcasts. But our newfound

[112] On Austro-German music and universalism, see Celia Applegate, 'What Is German Music? Reflections on the Role of Art in the Creation of the Nation', *German Studies Review*, 15 (1992), 21–32 (p. 26).

[113] On these points, see Laura Tunbridge, 'On Sharing', *Anuario Musical*, 74 (2019), 11–18 (p. 13). For a discussion of these tendencies in a British context more specifically, see also Frolova-Walker, 'An Inclusive History for a Divided World?', p. 8.

fugitive status need not be problematic: as scholars of other fields have shown, it can in many instances be productive. Many studies have explored the critical distance that an experience of intellectual displacement may bring, often in relation to Edward Said's work on exile, and especially in relation to fugitive subject matters.[114] Some scholars have called for a 'fugitive anthropology' that disrupts predominant regimes of knowledge production. This phrase refers to an approach that 'cannot be tethered to preordained courses or predictable paths; it moves forward with an understanding that the path to reach spaces unknown is necessarily unpredictable […] The outline of this fugitive anthropology is, in essence, one that […] takes flight from that contested space we claim as our intellectual home.'[115] Other scholars have explored how 'fugitive geographies both sustain and break from the social, political, and economic relations from which their producers flee'.[116] The specific aims of these approaches have differed. Some have used fugitive subject matters to denaturalise and critique ingrained patterns of epistemic violence, often with a focus on race.[117] Indeed, there is a lengthy tradition of Black radical scholarship on fugitives,

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[114] Edward Said, 'Reflections on Exile', in *Transatlantic Literary Studies: A Reader*, ed. by Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 285–90 (p. 286). It should, of course, be noted that fugitivity (which can imply ongoing pursuit) and exile (which can imply a more final or absolute state) are not identical. But these experiences are closely interrelated, as prior scholarship has suggested, and it would be counterproductive for this chapter to overdraw the distinction between them.

[115] Maya J. Berry and others, 'Toward a Fugitive Anthropology: Gender, Race, and Violence in the Field', *Cultural Anthropology*, 32.4 (2017), 537–65 (p. 560).

[116] Elleza Kelley, 'Roofscapes: Narrative Geographies of Fugitive Praxis', *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 22.5 (2023), 1366–87 (p. 1366).

[117] Manu Vimalassery, 'Fugitive Decolonization', *Theory & Event*, 19.4 (2016). See also Leslie Gross-Wyrtzen, 'Toward "Fugitivity as Method": An Introduction to the Special Issue', *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 22.5 (2023), 1258–72. In literature studies, see Jeffrey Hole, 'Enforcement on a Grand Scale: Fugitive Intelligence and the Literary Tactics of Douglass and Melville', *American Literature*, 85.2 (2013), 217–46 (p. 217).

including by W. E. B. Du Bois, Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, and Elleza Kelley.[118] Others have sought to accommodate a wider array of marginal voices, especially regarding gender and class.[119] In general, however, they have all used fugitive subject matters to recover the marginal meanings, knowledges, and identities that other approaches may have effaced.[120]

Without wishing to deny the painful experiences that can be associated with exile, nor to launch into a discussion of this Black radical scholarship, I nonetheless wish to suggest that our status as intellectual fugitives may (despite the challenges it initially seems to pose) be an opportunity in disguise. More specifically, it offers an opportunity to think through the questions about mobility, marginality, and power that are the foci of this thesis. This opportunity can be understood by returning to Dvořák's 'bird music', in which the experience of becoming a fugitive from one's home, having experienced it as an unsafe, punitive, or even abusive place, is a recurring but previously unrecognised theme.[121] One example of this trend was 'Hostina', which depicted a romantic pursuit gone wrong. Another example is *Die Waldtaube* (*The Wild Dove*, B. 198, 1896), one of Dvořák's late

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[118] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. by Patricia H. Hinchey (Gorham, Maine: Myers Education Press, 2018); Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study* (New York: Minor Compositions, 2013); Elleza Kelley, '"Follow the Tree Flowers": Fugitive Mapping in Beloved', *Antipode*, 53.1 (2021), 181–99.

[119] Daniel DeWispelare, 'Fugitive Pieces: Language, Embodiment, and the Case of "Caleb Williams"', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 28.2 (2015), 345–73 (pp. 349–53).

[120] On fugitive meanings, see Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[121] Though my focus here are the fugitives of Dvořák's 'bird music', it should briefly be noted that fugitives also appear elsewhere in his output. From his early output, for example, *Sirotek* (*The Orphan*, B. 24, 1871) is told from the perspective of a child who laments the death of their mother, having been neglected by their father and cast out by their stepmother. From his later career, to anticipate a point that I will make in Chapter Three, *Der Wassermann* (*The Water Goblin*, B. 195, 1896) depicts a girl who is pursued by a merman, who—in a disturbing turn of events—rapes her and then kills their baby.

symphonic poems. This piece depicts a woman who, having murdered her husband, is driven to commit suicide by a bird that sings upon his gravestone. But an especially useful example is the first song from the second volume of Dvořák's *Klänge aus Mähren* (*Moravian Duets*, 1876).[122] This song, which like the other duets was based on a folksong that was collected by František Sušil (1804-68), is not 'about' birds to the same extent that 'Hostina' was. Yet it often uses bird symbolism to depict a fugitive. This fugitive quality is denoted by the title. Entitled 'A já ti uplynu' in Czech, a literal English translation of B. 60/1's title might be 'And I'll pass you by'. However, the German title under which Simrock originally published it, 'Die Flucht', is generally translated as 'The Fugitive'.[123]

Like 'Hostina', 'Die Flucht' explores an ambiguous relationship between romantic pursuit and fugitivity with a humorous tone. It depicts an exchange between two poetic personae, both of whom speak in the first person, and who are differentiated at the level of poetic form. This form follows a recurring pattern: in general, the first character states that they will flee and the second states that they will follow. From the first character's attempts to flee the second, we infer that they are female. As scholars in other national contexts have noted, indifference was the culturally expected response for women who were subject to

[122] The *Klänge aus Mähren* comprise many pieces, which are catalogued as B. 50, B. 60, B. 62, B. 69, B. 107, and B. 118.

[123] After some debate about who might translate it, a translation was provided by Josef Srb-Debrnov (a friend of Smetana). For the letters between Brahms, Dvořák, and Simrock that discuss possible translators, see Šourek, *Letters and Reminiscences*, pp. 39–41. Though 'Die Flucht' is the most common German title, all the texts of the *Klänge aus Mähren* have been subjected to philological scrutiny. See Jan Kachlík, 'Antonín Dvořák – Moravské dvojzpěvy z hlediska hudebně filologického' (thesis, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2007). It should also be noted that the duets' *Klänge aus Mähren* title was chosen by Simrock, who seems to have inflated their nationalism for commercial purposes: Beveridge, 'Antonín Dvořák's Music and the Concept of Czechness', p. 15. In this discussion, all lyrics and excerpts are drawn from Simrock's 1882 edition. Translations are my own.

romantic pursuit.[124] By extension, we can infer that the second character is male. Whilst remaining open to the possibility of a queer reading of the song, not least because B. 60 was composed for two female singers, the expectation for most listeners would have been that a female character's pursuer would be male.[125] The characters' exchanges become increasingly comic over the course of the song. Initially, the woman states that she will escape using the river, and the man responds that he has a fishing rod for catching fish. Even if the woman were to become a fish, in other words, then the man would still be able to catch her. Birds come to fore in the next exchange, when the woman states that turning into a dove would allow her to 'roam in freedom', but she goes on to say that there are ravens at home which could catch her. The fugitive then says that she will become a different kind of bird, either a crow ('vranú' in the Czech lyrics) or a falcon ('einem Falken' in the German lyrics), and he responds that he has a bow and arrow that will bring her down. The song pushes their exchanges to what is surely their geographical limit. Most strikingly, the woman states that she will transform into a star, and the man states that there are astronomers at home who can find any star. At this stage it becomes clear that there is no distance that the woman can travel that will allow her to escape. In a triumphant conclusion, the man sings 'You should be mine. / God will arrange that you will be mine forever, forever.'[126]

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[124] For example, indifference is a recurring theme in *Flirtation and Courtship in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, ed. by Ghislaine McDayter and John Hunter (London: Routledge, 2022), I.

[125] Incidentally, it should be noted that much research on gender has sought to complicate rigid male/female binaries in recent years, including in Dvořák studies: Christopher Campo-Bowen, 'Ježibaba's Ambiguities: Binaries, Power, and Queer Alterity in Antonín Dvořák's "Rusalka"', in *Women in Nineteenth-Century Czech Musical Culture: Apostles of a Brighter Future*, ed. by Anja Bunzel and Christopher Campo-Bowen (London: Routledge, 2024), pp. 217–34. I discuss this point more below.

[126] 'Sollst doch mein Eigen sein. / Gott wird's fügen, daß du ewig, ewig mein.'
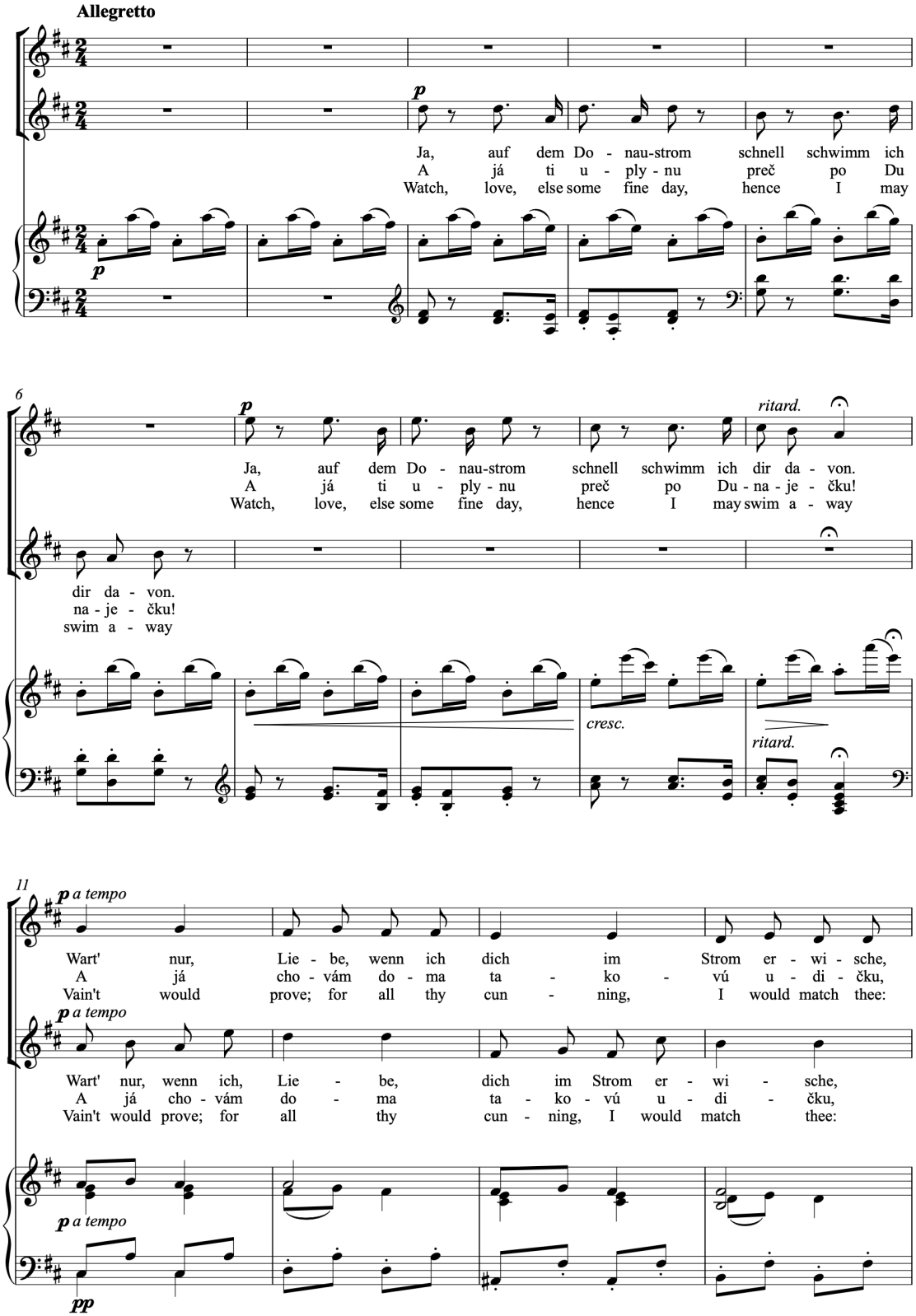
When setting this text to music, Dvořák opted to discard Sušil's original folksong melody, much as he did in the other duets.[127] He devised his own melody for the song instead, alongside a range of devices that suggest a feeling of pursuit. Most obviously, Dvořák conveys this feeling using pastoral topics. As figure 1.2 shows, the song's opening uses horn fifths in the left hand of the piano (bb. 3-4). These horn fifths suggest a hunting call, consistent with the animal symbolism and chase of the song's text. Likewise, the piano's right hand uses an arpeggio ostinato from b. 1. This ostinato resembles an alphorn, also consistent with the tale in its connotations of herding animals.[128] Dvořák further conveys a feeling of pursuit by setting different melodies against each other. Most notably, he often juxtaposes a dotted rhythm melody (for example, bb. 3-10 and bb. 39-46) with a more rhythmically foursquare quaver melody (for example, bb. 11-18 and bb. 47-54). The first has a 'brightening' effect due to the upward melodic sequence, which neatly parallels the woman's hopes of escape, whilst the second often hints at the relative minor as the woman's hopes are dashed. These melodies do not always coincide with the exchanges of the poetry. For example, bb. 19-26 develop the same melody as bb. 11-18, even as there is a change in poetic persona between the two passages. These melodies are also not limited to either one vocal part. The two vocal parts create their own feeling of juxtaposition, such as in the call and response of bb. 3-10, but they share the same melodies. Taken together, however, all these juxtapositions create a more generalised feeling of pursuit, even as the song's melodic, formal, and vocal oppositions do not always coincide exactly.

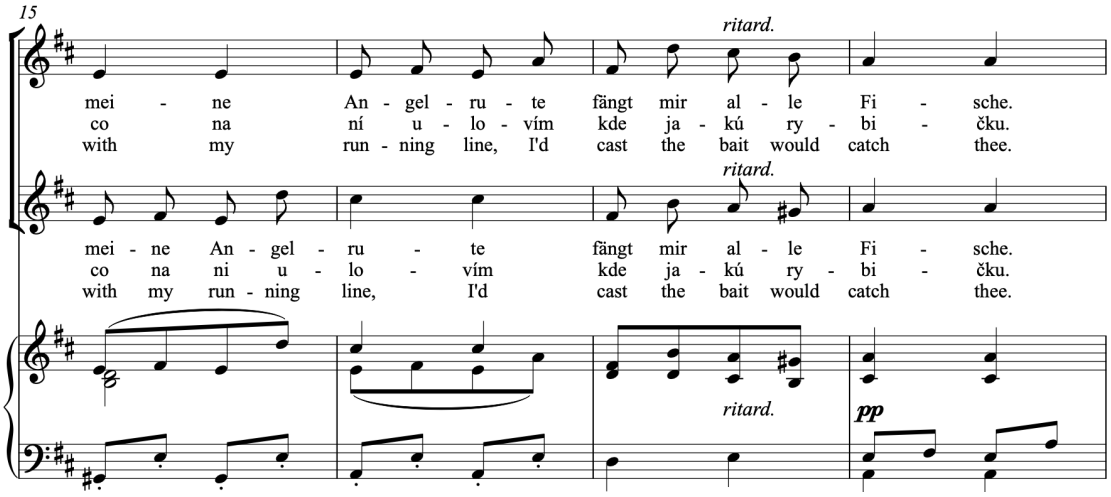
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[127] Ondřej Šupka, 'Moravian Duets, Op. 29, B60', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/work/moravian-duets-op29-b60/> [accessed 18 November 2023].

[128] On these topics, see Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 99–102.

Example 1.2: Dvořák, 'Die Flucht' (B. 60/1, 1876), bb. 1-18 *(cont. on next page)*





Arguably the most striking feature of the song, however, is its ephemeral temporality. Punctuated by several tempo changes, the piece at several points (bb. 10, 30 36, 46, 66, 74, 80, 84) comes to a complete halt. It is not that the listener believes the piece to have ended. After all, these pauses are generally marked by half cadences, which create a tonal expectation that the piece will continue. Rather, it is that the music assumes an almost improvisatory quality, as the song continually stops and restarts. These temporal qualities point, firstly, to the social context for which 'Die Flucht' was composed. Prior to publication, when it came to be sung in parlours across Europe, the song was performed at soirees held by Jan Neff.[129] A Prague merchant to whom Dvořák had taught the piano, Neff was an important figure in the Czech cultural scene, and he held regular soirees for figures including Janáček and Čelakovský (the poet behind 'Hostina'). 'Die Flucht' was well suited to entertain in the context of one of these soirees. Its pauses allow time for laughter and commentary at the absurdity of the text's metaphors, which the performers (Marie Neff and Marie Blažková, the family's governess) could easily have lengthened for comedic

[129] Šupka, 'Moravian Duets, Op. 29, B60'.

effect.[130] Yet the song's temporal qualities also point, secondly, to its fugitive subject matter. There is a feeling, both textually and compositionally, that the fugitive is making it up as she goes along. She uses increasingly outlandish metaphors for how she hopes to escape her pursuer, which she imagines during the song's fermata, and which speak to the 'uncertain, improvised, and illicit temporal dimensions' that Michael Nicholson has identified in fugitive subject matters more generally.[131]

At their most foundational level, then, the song's ephemeral temporality points to the fugitive's vexed relationship with her home. She refuses to perform the role of a wife, homemaker, or object of sexual conquest, which (as the final lines imply) her pursuer seeks to assign her. As such, she describes a range of boundaries that she would cross to escape, including geographical boundaries (when she threatens to become a star, crossing the boundary of the Earth's atmosphere) and anthropomorphic boundaries (when she threatens to become a bird). To interpret these metaphors too literally would be a mistake: her mobilities are imaginative rather than actualised.[132] But because of her refusal to conform, she becomes 'out of place'. It is not that she inhabits the wrong place, but rather that she does

[130] On Neff's soirees and the duet's likely performers, see Veronika Vejvodová and Barbora Števanka Kadlíčková, '"Živý recitativ beze slov": symfonické básně Antonína Dvořáka v reflexi Leoše Janáčka', *Musicologica Brunensia*, 57.2 (2022), 131–43 (p. 133); Veronika Vejvodová, 'Antonín Dvořák v zápiscích cestovatele Josefa Kořenského a česká společnost v Americe v roce 1893', *Musicalia*, 11.1–2 (2019), 133–49 (pp. 134–35).

[131] Michael Nicholson, '"Fugitive Pieces": Walpole, Byron, and Queer Time', *The Eighteenth Century*, 60.2 (2019), 139–62 (p. 140). For a powerful discussion of displacement, exile, and transience in music, see Philip V. Bohlman, '"Das Lied ist aus": The Final Resting Place along Music's Endless Journey', in *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, ed. by Erik Levi and Florian Scheding (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010), pp. 15–30.

[132] On imaginative mobilities, see Noel B. Salazar, 'On Imagination and Imaginaries, Mobility and Immobility: Seeing the Forest for the Trees', *Culture & Psychology*, 26.4 (2020), 768–77 (p. 773).

not inhabit the *right* place: the home.[133] She embraces a more fluid identity, continually becoming something else. Indeed, these aspects of the text are further suggested by Dvořák's compositional choices, with which they are in playful dialogue.[134] That Dvořák opted to use two vocal parts rather than one can be heard, on the one hand, as a duplication of the pursuit. From the call and response of bb. 3-10, but even more so from the imitative polyphony of bb. 19-26, it is as if both voices are pursuing and being pursued simultaneously. It points to an experience in which, as Stephen Gilbert Brown has commented elsewhere, '[p]ossession gives way to dispossession: the desire to possess the Other devolves into a desire to be possessed by the Other.'[135] But from another perspective, it is as if a single identity has been split or otherwise unsettled by the attempts to escape. An internal monologue is vocalised by multiple singers, and the fugitive's sense of self becomes mobile.

The results of the woman's attempts to flee are unclear. Within the course of the song, they arguably achieve very little. After all, her mobility is not necessarily a transgressive act. It arguably defers his advances rather than refuses them, such that it becomes part and parcel of the flirtation itself. Even if this were not the case—that is to say, if his pursuit amounts to sexual harassment—then her lines of flight still achieve very little. They are repeatedly invalidated: the more she tries to escape, the more he tells her that escape is impossible. This reading of the song's lyrics suggests that it belongs to a lengthy tradition

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[133] On this distinction in relation to gender, see Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, p. 105.

[134] On music's capacity to comment upon and complicate the meanings of the text, see Kofi Agawu, 'Theory and Practice in the Analysis of the Nineteenth-Century "Lied"', *Music Analysis*, 11.1 (1992), 3–36.

[135] Stephen Gilbert Brown, *The Gardens of Desire: Marcel Proust and the Fugitive Sublime* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), p. 93.

of musical *pastourelles*, dating back to the medieval period, in which (as Geri L. Smith has discussed) '[a]n aristocratic man rides through the countryside and encounters a lone shepherdess […] Almost always, he propositions her, and the ensuing animated conversation involves varying degrees of coercion and resistance, leading to outcomes ranging from successful seduction to thwarted attempts, and in the extreme, to rape.'[136] This reading is further supported by the song's conclusion, when the man describes how 'God will arrange that you will be mine forever'. The conclusion makes explicit the religious connotations of some of the earlier exchanges. For example, the symbolic portrayal of crows (which are commonly associated with church graveyards), as well as doves and ravens (which are common representatives of Heaven and Hell respectively), earlier hinted at the moral ambiguity surrounding the man's pursuit of the woman. Additionally, her aspiration to transform into a star resonates with celestial imagery often associated with depictions of Heaven, while the theme of exile, prevalent in biblical narratives, would have been familiar to both Dvořák, as a devout Catholic, and Sušil, as a Roman Catholic minister.[137] As such, the conclusion also suggests that the woman was unable to escape, and that she was made to obey gender norms which (in a misogynistic lesson) the song implies were conferred

[136] Geri L. Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition: Poetic Motivations and Generic Transformations* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), p. 1.

[137] On the religious connotations of doves and ravens in a Scandinavian folk tradition, see Tracey R. Sands, '"Det kommo tvänne dufvor...": Doves, Ravens, and the Dead in Scandinavian Folk Tradition', *Scandinavian Studies*, 73.3 (2001), 349–74 (pp. 349–50). For a dated but useful overview of celestial depictions of Heaven, see Karl Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven', *The Art Bulletin*, 27.1 (1945), 1–27. On Dvořák and Catholicism, see John Guthmiller, 'The Choral Music of Antonín Dvořák: A Sesquicentennial Review', *Choral Journal*, 32.3 (1991), 7–14; Thomas Sheets, 'Antonín Dvořák's "Requiem": An Introduction', *Choral Journal*, 32.3 (1991), 17–23.

upon her by God himself.[138] In Dvořák's setting, there is certainly an air of finality about these final bars. The lyrics' reference to eternity coincides with a return to the tonic key and a fermata, both of which bring the song's ephemerality firmly to a close, and which suggests that the woman was ultimately forced to submit. Much as Kathryn Gravdal suggests about medieval *pastourelles*, Dvořák's song therefore 'aestheticizes assault as a socio-sexual game and therefore a source of pleasure for the playful, resilient, and plastic female character, thus enabling rape to become a source of pleasure for the male listener and critic as well.'[139]

But although this interpretation of the song finds a secure historical basis, and however troubling its implications may be, it also overlooks the song's position in the set more generally. A fuller understanding of the song's position in the set leads us to a very different interpretation, which is more empowering for the fugitive. Consider the following song in the B. 60 set, 'Das Vöglein', in which a lyrical subject mourns the fact that someone has left them. As the German title (translated as 'The Little Bird') suggests, bird symbolism is important in the song. As such, it is worth questioning whether the second song sheds new light on the first, and whether the second song's bird might be the dove, crow, or falcon from the first. From one perspective, there seems to be little continuity between 'Die Flucht' and 'Das Vöglein'. In the Czech lyrics, the object of their mourning is their son—not a lover. They mourn the fact that they cannot talk to their son ('synečkem'), possibly

[138] A good point of comparison is *J'ai une bonne amie à Quimperlé*. A traditional French folksong that uses antiphonal exchanges to perform an amorous pursuit, the *Quimperlé* often concludes with the love being legitimised by God. For referring me to the *Quimperlé*, I am grateful to Marinu Leccia.

[139] Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 110.

because their son has died. At the song's opening, the lyrical subject tells their son to fly away, which might be interpreted as a metaphor for the son's passage into the afterlife. But from another perspective, there seems to be more continuity between the two songs. In contrast with the Czech lyrics, the German version depicts a lyrical subject who mourns a lost lover. The subject laments that both they and their former lover will soon have forgotten about each other: as the final lines describe, 'you will soon have found girls, and I will soon have found boys'.[140] These lines imply that the lover is very much alive, in contrast with the son of the Czech lyrics. The subject mourns their lover because they have chosen to leave. Given the fugitive's attempts to leave in 'Die Flucht', these features lend credibility to the idea that the second song continues the narrative of the first. As such, they also shed a new light on the attempts to escape. If Dvořák's setting of 'Die Flucht' suggested that two fugitives were pursuing each other simultaneously, at least one of whom was male, then the male bird of 'Das Vöglein' might therefore suggest that one of the fugitive's attempts to escape was successful. This reading is corroborated by the fact that 'Die Flucht', though commonly translated as 'The Fugitive', is literally translated as 'The Escape'. Indeed, it challenges the idea that 'Die Flucht' symptomatizes violent male wish-fulfilment. It retroactively suggests, in contrast with the generic conventions of the *pastourelle*, that one of the first song's fugitives was male, and that their pursuer's desire was left unfulfilled.

The category of mobility can allow us to understand all these meanings. It explains the song's ephemerality, and it demonstrates how the fugitive both defers and refuses the overtures of their pursuer. The fugitive defers the pursuer's overtures insofar as the act of deferral is part and parcel of the act of consensual flirtation, as well as the more violent,

[140] 'Mädchen wirst du finden, Burschen werd' ich finden. […] keiner mehr den Andern kennt.'

non-consensual flirtation of *pastourelles*. But the fugitive can be understood as having refused the pursuer's overtures because, as the following song in the cycle suggests, they were engaged in a genuine effort to escape. Via their mobility, then, the fugitive upholds, resists, and inverts a set of normative gender behaviours. Indeed, these meanings of the song would have assumed even greater significance in the late nineteenth century context of Dvořák's setting. Though male subjects of poetry and literature from the time were often celebrated for their geographical and social mobilities, the modern woman, liberated from traditional gender expectations, was more often pathologized when they achieved these same capacities. 'Indeed, the distinction between the feminist and the hysteric was regularly blurred in much of the writing of the period,' Rita Felski has noted, 'which constantly sought to reduce the political actions of suffragettes to the irrational outbursts of a group of deranged and dangerous women.'[141] By the late nineteenth century, the unmarried deviant had become a common stereotype of women who struggled for civil rights, including in a Czech context. In this sense, the song's mobilities—in which the fugitive seeks to resist the overtures of their pursuer—would have resonated with contemporaneous anxieties about gender more generally.[142]

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[141] Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 3; in making this point, Felski follows Gail Finney, *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 13. On the gendered aspects of modern mobilities, see also Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 1996), chap. 4.

[142] For a contemporaneous discussion of 'the woman question' in a Czech context, see Eliška Krásnohorská, *Ženská otázka česká* (Prague: Edvard Grégr, 1881). For a more recent discussion in the secondary literature, see Jitka Malečková, 'The Importance of Being Nationalist', in *Czech Feminisms: Perspectives on Gender in East Central Europe*, ed. by Jiřina Šiklová and Iveta Jusová (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), pp. 46–59 (p. 49). On how these anxieties were expressed in literature from the time, see Matthew Beaumont, '"A Little Political World of My Own": The New Woman, The New Life, and "New Amazonia"', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 35 (2007), 215–32 (p. 218). See also Amanda Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 40–41.

But however useful the category of mobility may be, of course, my academic lines of flight always risk reverting to the status quo—much like the fugitive's experience in the song. To study the song's fugitive mobility risks passively reinscribing familiar categories of Dvořák studies under new signs, not least the category of cosmopolitanism. Mobility is self-evidently important for cosmopolitan thought because it facilitates the many cultural encounters, and the 'reflective distance from one's original or primary cultural affiliations',[143] upon which cosmopolitanism relies. In poetry and music from the nineteenth century, moreover, cosmopolitan mobility was often associated with the kinds of themes that are found in 'Die Flucht'. Bird symbolism was an especially common way of expressing cosmopolitan themes, as Bullock and Tunbridge noted.[144] This is because birds were often presented as 'figures of freedom,' as Fiona Stafford has noted, 'especially appealing to an age obsessed with human liberty.'[145] Even more common were fugitives and exiles. Cosmopolitans were often described in terms of exile during the nineteenth century, since (because of their mobility) they were often deemed to be insufficiently committed to their national homelands. In a nineteenth-century context, these ideas have been discussed by Tara Zahra, who has shown how mobilities across the regional borders of East-Central Europe were associated with a range of cultural, political, and economic dangers.[146] In the face of revanchist nationalisms today, moreover, and their attempts to demonise 'citizens

[143] Anderson, *The Powers of Distance*, p. 63.

[144] Bullock and Tunbridge, p. 10. For more details, see my discussion of 'Hostina' above.

[145] Fiona Stafford, *Reading Romantic Poetry* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2012), p. 165.

[146] Tara Zahra, 'Travel Agents on Trial: Policing Mobility in East Central Europe, 1889-1989', *Past & Present*, 223 (2014), 161–93 (pp. 163–64).

of nowhere', these ideas have prompted a new wave of research.[147] 'Die Flucht' depicts all these themes, and it could therefore be read in reductively cosmopolitan terms. Indeed, the risk of reducing mobility to cosmopolitanism is not limited to the present case study. This risk extends to all the project's case studies and, though I am not using the category of mobility to advance a normative ethical, characterological, or political paradigm in the manner of many cosmopolitan thinkers, I will necessarily return to cosmopolitanism in the following chapters.

There is a similar risk when it comes to the category of Czechness, since 'Die Flucht' could easily be heard in nationalist terms. There is an obviously bucolic flavour to the lyrics' descriptions of birds, as there is to the other duets' description of nightingales, doves, cuckoos, and swallows (B. 30/1, B. 62/2, B. 69/1, and B. 118 respectively). Paired with a suggestive reference to Moravia in the title, these descriptions might easily convey an idealised Czech countryside.[148] Moreover, fugitives have long been important for Czech understandings of self-identity. Aside from folk heroes like Juraj Jánošík, a highwayman who much resembles Robin Hood, Josef Kajetan Tyl published a tale entitled 'Čech a Lech' (1835) that located the origins of Czechness in sixth-century migration. Just as '[t]he Roman nation descended from a fugitive exile in Troy', Milada Součková has argued, Tyl's

[147] On the significance of these ideas in a contemporary context, see Benjamin Ramm, 'Citizens of Nowhere: Jewish Identity After Brexit', *Jewish Quarterly*, 63.4 (2016), 44–48 (p. 45).

[148] It was surely these qualities of the set that made it so popular. 'In November 1878', as Brodbeck has observed, 'Louis Ehlert wrote favourably in the Berlin *National-Zeitung* about the recently published *Moravian Duets* and *Slavonic Dances*, setting off a rush on the music shops by Germans in search of an exoticism that could be brought home into their parlours.' Brodbeck, 'Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna', p. 77. Indeed, when Brahms recommended that Fritz Simrock publish the *Klänge aus Mähren*, he stated that 'they might become a "good commodity."' On this point, see David Beveridge, 'Dvořák and Brahms: A Chronicle, an Interpretation', in *Dvořák and His World*, ed. by Michael Beckerman (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 56–91 (p. 63).

'Čech a Lech' suggests that 'the Czech nation and its abodes were founded by a fugitive who sought a better future for himself and for his progeny.'[149] Though many nineteenth-century nationalists treated mobility with suspicion, then, the mobilities of this song (and potentially many other pieces) could nonetheless be understood in reductively nationalist terms. Indeed, Dvořák's music always invites these kinds of nationalist readings because of his status as an ethnic Czech, and because music, which tends to be semantically ambiguous, can often sustain them.[150]

A further risk of studying the song's fugitive mobilities is that it legitimises existing patterns of negative reception. In scholarship on poetry and literature, for example, the term 'fugitive' can often imply unknown or multiple authorship, and subject matters that are occasional, unoriginal, or unimportant.[151] To study these ideas in Dvořák's music is dangerous because it risks reinscribing a lengthy history of pejorative reception, much of which has claimed that Dvořák's music is unoriginal. This critique was implicit in work by Theodor Adorno, who compared Dvořák's sixth *Humoresque* (B. 187/6) to the task of finding a criminal in a newspaper optical puzzle:

> A caption might read: Can you find the burglar? The picture showed an empty street without any people. A long ladder is leaning against a house, but it too has no one on it. Dark spots of rain are shown falling on the white houses. There is no sign of a burglar. The trick was to turn the page this way and that, sideways or upside down,

[149] Milada Součková, '"Locus Amoenus": An Aspect of National Tradition', in *The Czech Renascence of the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 26–32 (p. 30).

[150] As James Garrett has noted, in any case, 'it is a moot point whether a technique like allegory is a mode of artistic production or a mode of reading or listening.' James Garratt, *Music and Politics: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 147.

[151] Nicholson, p. 140. See also Ryan Cordell and Abby Mullen, '"Fugitive Verses": The Circulation of Poems in Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers', *American Periodicals*, 27.1 (2017), 29–52.

> until you discovered that the lines signifying rain, when taken with a bulky chimney, formed a grimacing gaze which could be arrested.[152]

Adorno's argument was about the role of humour in the piece, and the aesthetic status of 'commodity music' more generally. But his choice to describe a burglar in the optical puzzle, rather than any other figure or object, is significant because it condemns Dvořák by association with theft. Many Dvořák scholars have perpetuated these ideas by indulging in 'influence spotting', which can inadvertently imply that his music was unoriginal.[153] Indeed, many Czech critics made similar claims at the time, often within larger critiques of musical cosmopolitanism. For them, as Ottlová has noted, '"evidence" of Dvořák's eclecticism (meaning that he contributed nothing new) led to the conclusion that he meant nothing for the development of Czech music'.[154] On one occasion, these accusations were even made in a court of law. Following a libel claim against the *Musical Courier*, as Botstein has noted, there was a trial (1901) in which 'an expert witness—John Goodrich—testified that Dvořák was an "unoriginal" composer who developed "other people's ideas."'[155]

Yet these risks should not discourage us from studying the piece's mobility, nor from studying Dvořák's mobilities more generally. By highlighting that mobility lacks any fixed semantic reference point, rather, they demonstrate its richness as a topic of study. They offer one explanation for why this music seems to resist prevailing categories of interpretation, since its mobilities legitimise all and none of those categories at the same time.

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[152] Theodor W. Adorno, 'Commodity Music Analysed', in *Quasi Una Fantasia: Essays on Modern Music*, trans. by Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1992), pp. 37–52 (p. 40). For referring me to this essay, I am grateful to Geoff Chew.

[153] On 'influence spotting', see Smaczny, 'Dvořák and Wagner', p. 117. See also my discussion above.

[154] Ottlová, 'The "Dvořák Battles" in Bohemia: Czech Criticism of Antonín Dvořák, 1911-15', p. 128.

[155] Botstein, p. 13.

They also show how we can expand our existing horizons of debate, for although mobility can often accommodate nationalist or cosmopolitan readings, it can also suggest other kinds of politics—in this case related to gender. Ultimately, they point to the marginal voices that prior Dvořák studies, and its unitary categories of interpretation, have policed, disciplined, and suppressed. Always contingent, these marginal voices roam ambiguously between a state of being in place and out of place. Their otherness, and their resistance to prevailing categories of interpretation, is never fixed or final. But it is a powerful injunction to cross familiar boundaries of academic discourse, and to understand this music's expression of difference as something to be amplified by scholars, however temporarily, rather than passively recovered.[156] It is these marginal voices that the category of mobility can help us to understand and, over the course of the next four chapters, it is for these Others that I mobilise Dvořák's music.

[156] On these points, see K. Woodward, D. P. Dixon, and John Paul Jones III, 'Poststructuralism/Poststructuralist Geographies', *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Elsevier, 2020), pp. 375–85 (p. 404).

II

Gypsy

Marginal Voices and Mobility in Dvořák's *Zigeunermelodien*

Marginal Voices in Dvořák's Music

For scholars seeking to understand the marginal qualities of Dvořák's music, few aspects suggest themselves more readily, or raise a more formidable series of political challenges, than his depictions of racial Others. Celebrated by many nineteenth-century critics, these depictions have often been discussed using paternalistic language—much of which is ideologically laden. When Dvořák was awarded an honorary doctorate at Cambridge, for example, a speaker at the ceremony celebrated that Dvořák

> has put such great art even into the music of those other races, partly by imitating, partly by *ennobling* it, either by portraying the yearning songs of the nomad nations (*Gypsy Melodies*) or he chooses as subject for a great work the poems of the Italians which arouse sacred loving-kindness (*Stabat Mater*).[1]

This claim is problematic because, though cloaked in a language of liberal tolerance, it implies a racial hierarchy by suggesting that one race needs 'ennobling' at all. What makes this claim problematic is not the paternalism itself, in other words, but the racial

[1] Viktor Fischl, 'Dvořák in England', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 68.1 (1941), 1–17 (p. 12). Emphasis added.

assumptions and terms of reference on which it is founded.[2] It points to a wider trend of critical reception, in which Dvořák's depictions of race have often been discussed in paternalistic terms. For example, an anonymous *New York Herald* article entitled 'Real Value of Negro Melodies' (21st May 1893) discussed a need to 'glorify' African-American musics via national style.[3] Much as the Cambridge speech advocated 'ennobling' Gypsiness in national terms, circumscribing a mobile community within the conceptual boundaries of a 'nomad nation', this article—possibly by James Creelman, but at any rate vocalising the composer's own views—suggested nationality as a means by which racial Others could be redeemed.[4] Any number of similar examples can be found, and in fact this paternalism was not just a feature of reception: it also featured in Dvořák's own statements. In the *Herald* on 28th May 1893, Dvořák spoke profusely about the Conservatory where he worked, praising the fact that African-American musicians were allowed to attend. Though seemingly constructive, the article occasionally implies that African-American musicians could contribute to national culture only if they were properly educated. Much like the Cambridge address, the article exemplified the same idea that disadvantage (both racial and economic)

[2] As many moral philosophers have noted, paternalism can sometimes be justifiable. What matters are 'the conditions under which it is permissible to intervene in a person's affairs for that person's own good': Jason Hanna and Kalle Grill, 'Introduction', in *The Routledge Handbook of the Philosophy of Paternalism*, ed. by Kalle Grill and Jason Hanna (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 1–8 (p. 1). For the Cambridge speaker, there seem to be few conditions, if any at all.

[3] 'Real Value of Negro Melodies', *New York Herald* (New York, 21 May 1893), p. 28.

[4] Michael Beckerman has since attributed the 21st May article to James Creelman: Michael Beckerman, 'The Real Value of Yellow Journalism: James Creelman and Antonin Dvorak', *Musical Quarterly*, 77.4 (1993), pp. 753, 765.

can be redeemed through 'high art', and in this sense it perpetuated a racial hierarchy—despite its apparent charitability.[5]

Closer inspection of Dvořák's reception reveals the extent of the problem, since it suggests that these attitudes were not limited to the nineteenth century. In fact, they have also been a recurring feature of this music's reception up to the present day. One instance of this tendency can be found in Joseph Horowitz's writing. 'Tasked with creating an American concert idiom,' Horowitz wrote in 2014, the composer 'fixed on the sorrow songs of African-Americans (which he esteemed and validated) and on the plight of Native Americans (which he absorbed with exceptional empathy).'[6] Michael Steinberg takes a different approach by arguing that Dvořák's subject position—'a Bohemian citizen of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a member therefore of a linguistically and culturally oppressed minority'—was fully comparable to those of the racial Others that he represented.[7] Embedded

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[5] Antonin Dvorak, 'Antonin Dvorak on Negro Melodies: Negro Melodies To Be the True Basis for a Distinctively American School of Music', *New York Herald* (New York, 28 May 1893). On charity and the redemptive power of 'high art' in the nineteenth century, see Anna Bull, 'El Sistema as a Bourgeois Social Project: Class, Gender, and Victorian Values', *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education*, 15.1 (2016), pp. 126–28.

[6] Joseph Horowitz, 'New Song for the New World; This Little-Known Opus Paints a Fuller Picture of Dvorak's Time in America', *Wall Street Journal (Online)*, 29 October 2014 <https://www.proquest.com/newspapers/new-song-world-this-little-known-opus-paints/docview/1617972230/se-2>.

[7] Michael Steinberg, *The Symphony: A Listener's Guide* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 150; quoted in Nathaniel Sikand-Youngs, '"Another Spirit, Other Thoughts, Another Colouring": Performances of Race in Antonín Dvořák's Symphony No. 9 From the New World', *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*, 23.2 (2017), 317–30 (p. 318). A similar, but more nuanced position has been adopted by Michael Beckerman. 'From the point of view of a certain German mainstream,' Beckerman argues, 'Smetana and all his colleagues might as well have been seen as people of colour, because they certainly were considered culturally inferior, unable to compete with Germans in areas ranging from philosophy to counterpoint, and from intellectual sophistication to structure.' As such, Beckerman does not seek to make claims about racial or ethnic equivalence himself, but instead speculates about the reasons why such equivalences might have been drawn historically. On this point, see Michael Beckerman, 'Is Czech Music White?', *Czech Music Quarterly* 21.4 (2021), 26-30 (p. 27).

within this claim are familiar notions of empathy, and a dubious conflation of race and national identity.[8] An even more striking example can be found in Josef Škvorecký's novel, *Scherzo capriccioso: Veselý sen o Dvořákovi* (*Dvořák in Love*, 1984). The novel is notable for its racial stereotypes, and at one point it describes a Black character's 'wide smile' and sexual voracity. Strikingly, however, it also extends these stereotypes to Dvořák's own physiognomy, having someone reflect upon 'how unexpectedly negroid his features seemed—a white man with a minstrel-show black-face.'[9] Thus, Škvorecký worsens the problem: he insinuates that Dvořák's interest in racial difference might have its roots in biology, whilst alluding to an ugly history of minstrelsy.

A further instance of this trend is Martin Nedbal's study of *Armida* (B. 206, 1903). At first glance, Nedbal's account might seem to differ from the others, because it begins to deconstruct the binary relations of Self and Other on which they rest. Perhaps more important than any rigid distinction between the opera's Christians and Muslims, he argues, are their commonalities—the fact that Dvořák 'blurred the boundaries between the European Self and the non-European Other'.[10] Yet although Nedbal's study suggests a productive line of enquiry, it arguably lacks a rigorous theoretical framework.[11] When he states that '[Jaroslav] Vrchlický's libretto casts Armida's Muslim compatriots in a sympathetic

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[8] This conflation is especially dubious because, as Filip Herza has shown, racialisation was no less prominent in a Czech context. On racialism in Prague from the 1820s onwards, see Filip Herza, 'Sombre Faces: Race and Nation-Building in the Institutionalization of Czech Physical Anthropology (1890s–1920s)', *History and Anthropology*, 31.3 (2020), 371–92 (p. 375).

[9] Josef Škvorecký, *Dvorak in Love: A Light-Hearted Dream* (London: Hogarth, 1986), p. 21. For a useful discussion of the novel, in relation to some of the themes that I raise in this thesis, see James Grove, 'Place and Placelessness in Dvorak in Love', *The Review of Contemporary Fiction*, 17.1 (1997), 130–40.

[10] Martin Nedbal, 'Dvořák's "Armida" and the Czech Oriental "Self"', *Current Musicology*, 84 (2007), 25–51 (pp. 26–27).

[11] For one example of this tendency, see Martin Nedbal, p. 34.

light from the first act,' for example, Nedbal ultimately falls back on reductive notions of empathy for the Other, and he does not fully evaluate the power dynamics embedded within his claims.[12] As these examples collectively show, then, paternalism has defined Dvořák reception well beyond the nineteenth century. Recent discussions of Dvořák's music and race have replicated many older biases, and they have been limited to a small, problematic range of talking points.

This chapter clears fresh critical space. It seeks to amplify the marginal voices of Dvořák's music, in a continuation of Chapter One, but without resorting to reductive claims about his empathy for the Other. It also seeks to show how Dvořák's mobilities can be expressed compositionally, not just via lyrics. The chapter accomplishes both these tasks using his *Zigeunermelodien* (*Gypsy Songs*, B. 104, 1880),[13] the set of songs referenced by the Cambridge speaker. As it argues, the songs' Gypsiness registers multiple layers of history and invention, and its value judgements, subject positions, and geographies are not straightforward.[14] In the first instance, it shows that the songs represent their Gypsy as being 'out of place' using musical exoticism. Both generic and ethnographically specific, this exoticism firmly differentiates their Gypsy from the Romani communities that it purports to represent. In the second instance, it shows that the songs define their Gypsy against and in tandem with *Stimmung*, an affective category that was ubiquitous in nineteenth-century music. Because of their affects, it argues, the *Zigeunermelodien* convey a sense of

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[12] Martin Nedbal, p. 33.

[13] Though Simrock initially published the songs exclusively in German, they were later rereleased in Czech as *Cigánské melodie*. I discuss the political implications of these language choices later.

[14] For syntactical reasons I have opted not to describe Gypsiness in inverted commas, except in the next paragraph when I discuss the label itself. However, the inverted commas should be taken as implied throughout this thesis.

continual itinerancy. They show how Dvořák's mobilities can be expressed compositionally, not just via the lyrics that were the focus of Chapter One. But they also complicate our understanding of the marginal voices in Dvořák's music, via nonrepresentational features that (in a refinement of Nedbal's point) blur familiar binaries of Self and Other, and that defy any fixed sense of who belongs and who does not.

Gypsiness and Displacement

To understand what makes the songs a pertinent case in point, and to understand how their mobility is expressed, it will be necessary to define the chapter's principal terms of reference. At the outset, it should be noted that both 'Romani' and 'Gypsy' are imagined and contested categories, but they are contested for slightly different reasons. 'Romani' (or, more colloquially, 'Roma') is a contested category because it comprises a variety of ethnoracial subgroups. All Romani originated in Northwest India, but a range of subgroups later formed: these include the Calé, the Lalleri (found in Bohemia-Moravia), and the Bergitka Roma, but the complete list is significantly longer.[15] Of course, there are some advantages to essentialising these groups strategically, since a shared ethnonym allows for a shared political agency that would be unavailable to any one group alone,[16] but we should

[15] For discussions of some of these different groups, see Michaela Grobbel, 'Contemporary Romany Autobiography as Performance', *The German Quarterly*, 76.2 (2003), 140–54; Joanna Talewicz-Kwiatkowska, 'One Culture or Multiple Cultures? The Diversity of Roma People in Poland', *Colloquia Humanistica*, 3 (2014), 77–89; Christina West, 'Memory—Recollection—Culture—Identity—Space: Social Context, Identity Formation, and Self-Construction of the Calé (Gitanos) in Spain', in *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, ed. by Peter Meusburger, Michael J. Heffernan, and Edgar Wunder (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), pp. 101–19.

[16] David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities—From Egipcyans and Moon-Men to the Ethnic Romany* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004), p. 6. For further discussion, see also Ian Law and Martin Kovats, *Rethinking Roma: Identities, Politicisation and New Agendas*, Mapping Global Racisms (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. xii.

nonetheless remain sensitive to the ethnic differences that the 'Romani' label may disguise. Even more essentialising, the 'Gypsy' category is unstable for different reasons. Now recognised by most scholars as a pejorative slur, the Gypsy (also spelled 'Gipsy' in older texts, and sometimes without capitalisation) has only an oblique relationship to the Romani communities that it claims to represent. Though some Romani have embraced the Gypsy label, in an example of racial double-consciousness, it has historically functioned less as a category of self-identification than as an essentialised Other.[17] This suggests that to understand the *Zigeunermelodien*, and to understand why they may be a useful case study for this thesis, it will be necessary to understand the kinds of ideological work that Gypsiness can perform.

If the category of Gypsiness has been used ideologically, then the first step is to ask why and by whom. The field of Romani studies has most often answered these questions from a legal perspective. As many scholars have noted, Romani have often been otherized by legal structures that penalise their mobility, often because of anxieties about how they might undermine national sovereignty. In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, this penalisation comprised the establishment of special offices that were designed to police their mobility; today, governments continue to push the stereotype that Romani are 'unwilling to have a legal job and willing to "game" the welfare system in the countries they

[17] For some examples of this self-identification, see Hsiao-Chin Kuo, 'Crossing and Understanding: Funds of Knowledge among Romani Households', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 51.4 (2020), 459–76 (p. 467). On racial double-consciousness, see Du Bois, p. 9. On Romani communities' relationship with the 'Gypsy' label, see also Audrey Carr Shields, 'Gypsy Stereotypes in Victorian Literature' (PhD Thesis, New York University, 1993), p. 4.

[a]re passing through'.[18] The most prominent forum for Romani research, *Romani Studies*, has emphasised issues regarding the law, but themed special issues have also promoted literary, historical, and theological approaches.[19] Gypsiness has also been studied within mobility studies. For example, Sergei Shubin has discussed Romani migration in terms of their transitory patterns of dwelling. He describes an experience of 'being attuned-in-motion' that, by establishing mobility rather than emplacement as a normative pattern of behaviour, challenges the assumption that Romani identities are defined solely by *dis*placement.[20] Shay Loya, Jonathan D. Bellman, and Anna G. Piotrowska have all studied Gypsiness in music, moreover, often in a nineteenth-century context.[21] These studies in musicology have been conducted slightly away from the others, and in fact music is notably absent from *Romani Studies* (except for a couple of reviews). Much like other scholars, however, musicologists have generally conceived Gypsiness as an overtly fictitious category, which in the nineteenth century was often linked to a demand for exotic musics. Or,

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[18] Panikos Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in 19th and 20th Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others* (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 97. See also Maartje van der Woude, 'Securitizing Mobility: Profiling "Non-Core" Europeans', *Security Dialogue*, 2023, p. 7.

[19] Legal perspectives were especially prominent in volume 32/1 (2022) of *Romani Studies*. For literary, historical, and theological perspectives, see especially volumes 30/2 (2020), 31/1 (2021), and 31/2 (2021).

[20] Sergei Shubin, 'Travelling as Being: Understanding Mobility amongst Scottish Gypsy Travellers', *Environment and Planning A*, 43.8 (2011), 1747–2000 (p. 1936).

[21] For example, Shay Loya, 'Beyond "Gypsy" Stereotypes: Harmony and Structure in the "Verbunkos" Idiom', *The Journal of Musicological Research*, 27.3 (2008), 254–80; Jonathan Bellman, 'The Hungarian Gypsies and the Poetics of Exclusion', in *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. by Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), pp. 74–103; Jonathan Bellman, *The 'Style Hongrois' in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993); Anna G. Piotrowska, *Gypsy Music in European Culture: From the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*, trans. by Guy R. Torr (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2013); Anna G. Piotrowska, 'The Gypsy Baron Operetta (1885) as a Musical Document of a Certain Age', *Przegląd Narodowościowy*, 7.1 (2017), 329–54.

as Michael Beckerman comments, 'selling is selling' and, whilst reflexive self-commodification is always possible, 'what is really being sold is an imaginary Gypsiness.'[22]

In nineteenth-century music, the 'imaginary Gypsiness' described by Beckerman was associated with a range of political ideas. Many representations of the Gypsy were straightforwardly exoticist, by which (following Ralph P. Locke) I mean that they depicted 'a specific Other people through one or more features that were understood as "odd"—different from European norms—and that were thought to be appropriate to the character or behaviour of the people in question according to some mixture of factual information, personal impressions, and often-noxious stereotypes.'[23] As scholars including Locke and Susan McClary have shown, for example, Georges Bizet's *Carmen* (1875) portrays an exoticized Spanish Gypsy using a variety of racialised and gendered stereotypes (even as McClary has sought to reread it against the grain, in ways that are more empowering for the female protagonist).[24] Other representations of Gypsiness were *auto*-exoticist, insofar as they used it to convey the marginal status of another, non-Gypsy identity. In a Hungarian context, for instance, *verbunkos* (a broad term for traditional Hungarian music) became closely associated with Romani bands through performance.[25] The Hungarian-Gypsy

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[22] Michael Beckerman, 'Pushing Gypsiness, Roma or Otherwise', *The New York Times* (New York, 1 April 2001), p. 32 (p. 32).

[23] Ralph P. Locke, 'The Exotic in Nineteenth-Century French Opera, Part 1: Locales and Peoples', *19th-Century Music*, 45.2 (2021), 93–118 (p. 96).

[24] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), chap. 3; Ralph P. Locke, 'Spanish Local Color in Bizet's "Carmen": Unexplored Borrowings and Transformations', in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 316–60.

[25] *Verbunkos* is a twentieth-century term, initially advocated by figures such as Bence Szabolcsi, but I follow Shay Loya in using it as a catch-all term for styles. As Loya has noted, this Hungarian-Gypsy style 'derives most immediately from Magyar village dance music, [but] with further influences from Romani, Slav (especially Romanian), Balkan, Austrian, and (quite possibly) Turkish musical cultures.' On this point, see Shay

music that resulted was an obvious resource for many Hungarian nationalists, and Franz Liszt often drew upon it to differentiate his music from the tradition of Austro-German music. Indeed, he wrote about Hungarian-Gypsy music in a treatise, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (1859).[26] This treatise depicts the Gypsy as the representative of a carefree, pre-Enlightened past, consistent with broader stereotypes about Gypsiness, and consistent with the idyllic subject matters that appealed to nationalists more generally.[27]

Gypsiness was associated with a different set of politics in Vienna, where not all conceived it negatively—despite its non-Germanic associations in Liszt's music. Here, the *verbunkos* idiom became entwined with the exoticized *style hongrois*, a result of cross-pollination between Gypsy bands and Viennese vernacular music.[28] The values associated with Viennese Gypsiness were no less ambivalent than elsewhere. As Julie Hedges Brown

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Loya, *Liszt's Transcultural Modernism and the Hungarian-Gypsy Tradition* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2011), pp. 60–61.

[26] For a translation of this treatise, see Franz Liszt, *The Gipsy in Music ['Des Bohémiens et de Leur Musique En Hongrie', 1859]*, trans. by Edwin Evans (London: William Reeves, 1960).

[27] These stereotypes were especially prominent in an English context, such as George Borrow's novel *The Romany Rye* (1857). Likewise, Theodore Watts-Dunton's *Aylwin* (1898) interweaves Gypsiness, and its imagined connection to nature, with bucolic nostalgia. As it describes, '[i]n Great Britain it is the Gypsies alone who understand nature's supreme charm, and enjoy her largesse as it used to be enjoyed in those remote times [...] before the Children of the Roof invaded the Children of the Open Air, before the earth was parcelled out into domains and ownerships as it now is parcelled out.' Theodore Watts-Dunton, *Aylwin* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 254; quoted in Jodie Matthews, 'Reading the Victorian Gypsy' (PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2008), p. 82. Similar examples can be found in work by Ralph Vaughan Williams, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Augustus John. All exhibit what Roger Savage has termed 'Gypsophilia', by which he means 'the late-Victorian and Edwardian idealisation and rather selective emulation of the Gypsy traveller, an aspect of the age's particular penchant for rural places, spaces, and faces.' Roger Savage, 'Vaughan Williams, the Romany Ryes, and the Cambridge Ritualists', *Music & Letters*, 83.3 (2002), 383–418 (p. 383). For a broader discussion of Gypsiness in Vaughan Williams's music, see Karen Leistra-Jones, '"When Once You Have Fallen into an Equable Stride": The Peripatetic in Vaughan Williams's Songs of Travel', *The Journal of Musicological Research*, 36.4 (2017), 259–91.

[28] Julie Hedges Brown, 'Schumann and the Style Hongrois', in *Rethinking Schumann*, ed. by Roe-Min Kok and Laura Tunbridge (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 265–99 (p. 265).

has noted, its 'subtexts could be positively inflected, for example by celebrating what many Europeans saw as Gypsies' innate musicality, or the supposed freedom in which they moved and thought; or these subtexts might evoke negative associations: deceitfulness, thievery, the demonic, and other stereotypes that society had long associated with the Gypsy.'[29] This ambivalence speaks to a wider set of tensions associated with racial Others in the nineteenth century—the tendency, described by Locke, 'to brand musical exoticism as either healthful and invigorating or decadent and noxious.'[30] But it also speaks to ambivalent value judgements that have long been associated with mobile figures more generally—the tendency to describe 'mobility as dysfunctional, as inauthentic and rootless', as Tim Cresswell has observed, but 'as liberating, antifoundational, and transgressive' at the same time.[31]

Dvořák's *Zigeunermelodien* can be understood within this context. Written for Gustav Walter, a tenor at the Wiener Hofoper, Dvořák's *Zigeunermelodien* comprise seven songs for voice and piano. Today, they are often known as the *Zigeunerlieder* (the *Gypsy Songs*), following Brahms's pieces of the same name (Op. 103 and Op. 112/3-6, 1888 and 1891). Yet they were originally published under the title *Zigeunermelodien*, in German only, and I refer to the songs using their original title and publication language throughout.[32] All

[29] Julie Hedges Brown, 'Schumann and the Style Hongrois', p. 265.

[30] Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 25.

[31] Tim Cresswell, 'Towards a Politics of Mobility', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28.1 (2010), 17–31 (p. 20).

[32] The titles and lyrics below are drawn from Simrock's German, Czech, and English multilingual edition of 1909, for tenor voice. The English translations in the 1909 edition were by Natalia Macfarren; the German and Czech lyrics were by Heyduk. In this chapter, all score excerpts and translations of the original Czech poetry are also drawn from the 1909 edition, except where otherwise specified. It should further be noted that in Simrock's original multilingual edition, which dated from the nineteenth century and of which the 1909 edition

the songs were based on Czech poetry from Adolf Heyduk's *Básně* (*Poems*, 1859), despite the German publication language, and their lyric persona is generally implied to be a Gypsy.[33] Generally, they last for around two minutes each. Though some of the songs are now performed individually, especially the fourth, they were composed as a cycle. The songs do not have an obvious tonal scheme: though the soprano edition of 1881 broadly modulates from the tonic to the dominant, the original tenor edition for Walter is less clearly organised. More significant are the affective contrasts between the songs. As Ondřej Šupka has argued, '[t]he poems were selected and arranged to achieve greater contrast in a bright palette of moods, together creating a balanced concert cycle.'[34] This is evidenced by the table in figure 2.1, which illustrates the set's rich variety of moods.

is a reprint, the first song was extended by Dvořák to include an extra stanza. Since my bar numbers are drawn from the 1909 edition, they include this extra material. For an overview of the extra bars that were later added, see Ondřej Šupka, 'Gypsy Songs (Also Gypsy Melodies), Op. 55, B104', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013. Where I reference the soprano voice version of the songs, I draw upon Simrock's 1881 edition.

[33] In the Czech lyrics of the fourth song, for example, the poetic persona describes their 'snědé líce'. A literal English translation of this passage is 'brown cheeks', which implies that the poetic persona is racialised as a Gypsy. In the German lyrics for the fifth song, the singer likewise describes how their forefathers lived by the Nile. This description suggests that the poetic persona is a Gypsy, even as it betrays a common misconception that Romani originated in Egypt.

[34] Šupka, 'Gypsy Songs'.

Figure 2.1: Overview of Dvořák, *Zigeunermelodien* (B. 104, 1880)

	German title	Czech title	English title	Mood	Tonality	
					Tenor	Soprano
1	Mein Lied ertönt	Má píseň zas	I chant my lay	Melancholic	D^{-}	G^{-}
2	Ei, wie mein Triangel	Kterak trojhranec můj	Hark, how my triangle	March-like, but macabre	D^{-}	G^{-}
3	Rings ist der Wald	A les je tichý kolem kol	Silent and lone the woods	Hushed	G^{+}	$B♭^{+}$
4	Als die alte Mutter	Když mne stará matka	Songs my mother taught me	Nostalgic, impassioned	B^{+}	D^{+}
5	Reingestimmt die Saiten	Struna naladěna	Tune thy strings oh gipsy	Boisterous	A^{-}	D^{-}
6	In dem weiten, breiten, luft'gen Leinenkleide	Široké rukávy a široké gaté	In his wide and ample, airy linen vesture	Spirited, coltish	F^{+}	A^{+}
7	Darf des Falken Schwinge	Dejte klec jestřábu	Cloudy heights of Tatra	Melancholic, grandiose	$C^{-/+}$	$D^{-/+}$

Like many other Gypsy depictions in the nineteenth century, the *Zigeunermelodien* depict their Gypsy using exotic symbolism. If they depict the Gypsy as a mobile figure, in other words, they do so principally by representing the Gypsy as being 'out of place'. Often, they depict their Gypsy using the *style hongrois*. Jingoistic in tone, for instance, the second song represents the lyrics' 'march to battle' with march-like musical gestures. As the excerpt in example 2.1 shows, these gestures include the duple metre and strict hypermetre, lively staccato quavers, and declamatory $\hat{5}$→$\hat{1}$ melody. All these features are typical of the *style hongrois*, since *verbunkos* music (with which the *style hongrois* has long been

associated) had historically been used as a recruitment tool by the Hungarian army.[35] The seventh song is also indebted to the *style hongrois*. Here, the music imitates a virtuosic string line, replete with large runs and bariolage (especially in the second and third *Meno mosso* sections). These features are common in *hallgató* playing, a style of Gypsy music that was associated with *rubato* improvisational fantasy, and that became an important part of the *style hongrois*.[36] In contrast, other parts of the set more closely resemble the Turkish style. Telling signs of the Turkish style include the written-out trills of the first song (bb. 1-5, heard in thirds) and the acciaccaturas of the fourth song (bb. 1-7). But the Turkish style often coincided with the *style hongrois* in nineteenth-century music, and this layering of different exotic strategies is hardly unusual.[37] Paired with their Czech poetry, Gypsy subject matter, and German publication language, rather, it suggests that the songs convey a generalised impression of ethnic otherness for the benefit of Viennese listeners. They use a range of devices that were generally heard as 'exotic' by nineteenth century audiences, and that (given the importance of the *style hongrois* in Vienna) would have been heard as such by the attendees at Walter's recitals.
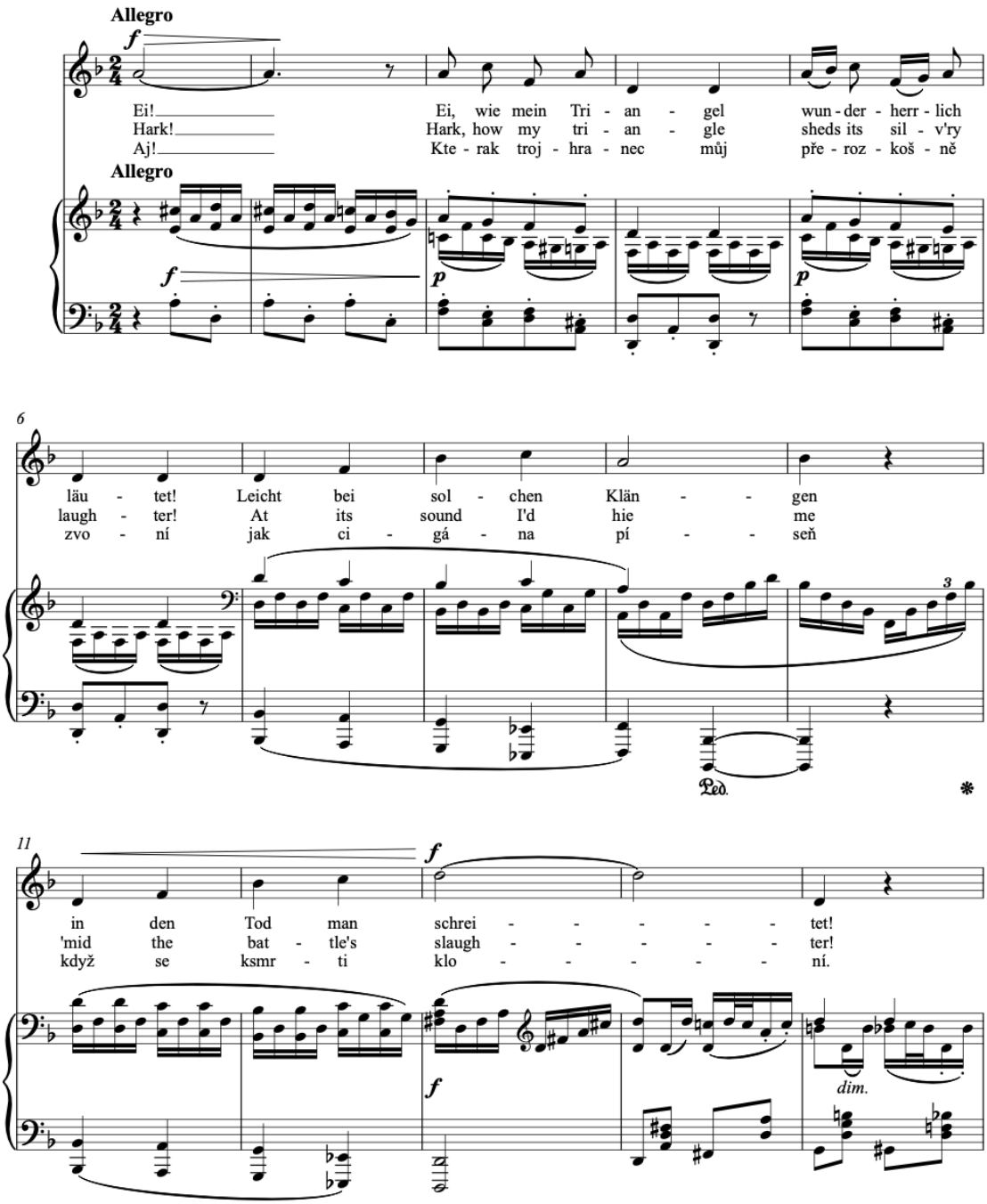
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[35] Jonathan Bellman, 'Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois', *The Journal of Musicology*, 9.2 (1991), 214–37 (pp. 216–17). As Krisztina Lajosi comments, moreover, the very name *verbunkos* is 'derived from the German *Werbung*, meaning "recruitment of soldiers"'. Krisztina Lajosi, 'Gypsy Music and the Fashioning of the National Community', in *Imagining Communities: Historical Reflections on the Process of Community Formation*, ed. by Gemma Blok, Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, and Claire Weeda (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 77–96 (p. 78).

[36] Bellman, 'Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois', pp. 220–23.

[37] Catherine Mayes, 'Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy Styles', in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. by Danuta Mirka (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 214–37 (pp. 216–18).

Example 2.1: Dvořák, 'Ei, wie mein Triangel' (B. 104/2, 1880), bb. 1-15



Dvořák's use of exoticism is hardly surprising. In fact, it is entirely consistent with many other musical depictions of Gypsiness in the nineteenth century, many of which Dvořák knew. Most obviously, he was intimately familiar with work by Liszt, who had

conducted Dvořák's music in 1858, and with whom Dvořák had previously tried to study in 1873.[38] That Dvořák should have chosen to use devices associated with the *style hongrois* is unsurprising, given the Viennese context for which the songs were composed, but also given that the *style hongrois* was often used by Liszt. Dvořák also knew Michael William Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl* (1843) through his work as a viola player for Prague's Provisional Theatre, during the piece's Czech revival in 1863-64.[39] Like the bucolic overtones of *The Bohemian Girl*, especially its second act, the *Zigeunermelodien* use a range of pastoral signifiers to depict their Gypsy Other. In the seventh song, for example, telling signs include the *gigue* topic (compound duple time), hunting call-like arpeggio melody, and bucolic subject matter (about a falcon, a bird of prey, consistent with the hunting topic). Dvořák also knew and admired Bizet's *Carmen*, even as he objected to some of its moral implications.[40] Indeed, much about the third song's chromatic voice-leading resembles the 'linear passages of melodic chromaticism' in *Carmen*, which Locke argues 'can easily, in context, suggest such things as mysteriousness or sexy slithering.'[41] Likewise, the opening of the first song could also be heard as an allusion to *Carmen*. It much resembles the opening of the 'Dance Bohème' in its repetition, third movement in the high register, and emphasis on the chromatically sharpened fourth. Thus, Dvořák's use of exoticism is consistent

[38] Döge, secs 1, 3.

[39] On Dvořák's knowledge of *The Bohemian Girl*, see Jan Smaczny, 'Dvořák: The Operas', in *Dvořák and His World*, ed. by Michael Beckerman (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 104–33 (p. 108).

[40] As Jan Květ comments, Dvořák seems to have objected to the opera's seductive title character, presumably (given that he was a Catholic) on religious grounds. On this point, see Jan Květ, 'Antonín Dvořák a Carmen Saeculare', *Listy Filologické / Folia Philologica*, 58.1 (1931), 19–28 (p. 26). On *Carmen* in relation to Dvořák's other operatic influences, see also Jan Smaczny, 'Dvořák, Antonín (Leopold)', ed. by Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 1289–95 (p. 1289).

[41] Ralph P. Locke, 'The Exotic in Nineteenth-Century French Opera, Part 2: Plots, Characters, and Musical Devices', *19th-Century Music*, 45.3 (2022), 185–203 (p. 195).

with many other musical depictions of Gypsiness in the nineteenth century. But although these exoticist strategies are an important feature of the songs, they are too generic to offer many insights into the songs' meanings. They produce an overly monolithic understanding of the Gypsy, which ignores the multiple ethnic reference points, subject positions, and politics that its exoticisms elide.[42]

Closer scrutiny of Heyduk's poetry offers a more complex picture. Gypsiness is an important feature of Heyduk's poetry, and not just in the poems that Dvořák set to music. Aside from *Básně*, Gypsiness featured in *Na potulkách* (*On Wanderings*, 1894), *Nové cigánské melodie* (*New Gypsy Melodies*, 1897), *Z deníku toulavého zpěváka* (*From the Diary of a Wandering Singer*, 1904), and *Východ a západ* (*East and West*, 1906).[43] It interested Heyduk for its nationalist potential. Though Gypsiness was often treated with suspicion in the nineteenth century, due to its connotations of transnationalism during a period of active nation-building, Heyduk saw Gypsies as figures of freedom who challenged imperial more than national borders. As one account describes,

> when Heyduk visited his brother in 1854, in Malacky, Slovakia, he discovered for his poetry not only magical nature and a strange people, but a romantically stylised kind of gypsy – [Heyduk] saw in [the Gypsy] a man who is wronged by fate and whose fierce blood is raging. The gypsies, their freedom and their spontaneity merged in Heyduk's verses with the image of Slovak nature as well as the author's emotional

[42] In effect, this point is also a critique of Saidian understandings of otherness, which afford too little capacity for resistance, and which often conflate difference into a single, unitary Other. For variations of this critique, see Homi K. Bhabha, 'The Other Question...', *Screen*, 24.6 (1983), 18–36 (pp. 24–25); Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 10–12; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Routledge, 1993), pp. 66–111 (pp. 76–84). For directing me to Behdad's work, I am grateful to Emma Kavanagh, who also discusses some of these sources in Emma Kavanagh, 'Masculinity and the Other in Belle Époque Opera, 1870-1914' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2022), pp. 4–5. For Said's views on representations and their power to construct the Other, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin, 2019), pp. 49–72.

[43] For a more comprehensive list of Heyduk's work, see Jiří Brabec and others, *Dějiny české literatury*, ed. by Jan Mukařovský and Miloš Pohorský (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1961), III, p. 565.

> revolt, allowing him to express the tensions between ideal and real, and between sadness and defiance. The simple lyrical stanzas of the [*Zigeunermelodien*] thereby coincided with the frustration of a period that did not satisfy political hopes or the desire for an internally rich and free life.[44]

Heyduk's poems about Gypsiness work at several political levels. Like many other depictions of mobile figures, including the fugitives of the previous chapter, his poems describe the Gypsy in terms of 'freedom'.[45] The final poem that Dvořák set to music, for example, proclaims that 'glorious freedom's in his breast, in his breast implanted!'[46] The idea of 'freedom' was politically charged in the nineteenth century and, as Šupka notes, '[t]he poems—and also Dvořák's musical setting—are thus often interpreted as allegories of the endeavours to liberate the Czech nation from Habsburg repression.'[47] At a deeper level, the poems also continue a lengthy association of Gypsiness with Czechness in folklore. For example, one Czech folk story (which originated by 1729 at the latest) tells the story of a Slovak castle of Nagyida. Here, legend would have it, a group of Gypsies temporarily resisted the Habsburg armies of Ferdinand I in the sixteenth century.[48] Like other parts of the Czech national history, this historical tale later assumed new political significance

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[44] 'když Heyduk navštívil r. 1854 svého bratra v Malackách na Slovensku, objevil tam pro svou poezii nejenom kouzelnou přírodu a svérázný lid, ale hlavně romanticky stylizovaný typ cikána—viděl v něm člověka, jemuž osud křivdí a jehož prudká krev se bouří. Cikáni a jejich volnost a živelnost splývali v Heydukových verších s obrazem slovenské přírody i s autorovou citovou revoltou a dovolili mu vyslovit rozpor mezi ideálem a skutečností a napětí mezi smutkem a vzdorem. Jednoduché písňové strofy Cigánských melodií tak souzněly i s rozhořčením nad dobou, jež nenaplňovala politické naděje ani touhu po vnitřně bohatém a svobodném životě.' Květy Homolové, Mojmíra Otruby, and Zdeňka Pešata, 'Adolf Heyduk', *Čeští spisovatelé 19. a počátku 20. století: slovníková příručka* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1982), pp. 95–97 (pp. 95–96). My own translation.

[45] On Gypsiness and 'freedom', see Julie Hedges Brown, 'Schumann and the Style Hongrois', pp. 265–66. On mobile figures and freedom, see Chapter One of this thesis.

[46] The German lyrics read, 'zur Freiheit schuf sie mir das ganze Leben', which might more literally be translated as 'she [nature] created my whole life for freedom'.

[47] Šupka, 'Gypsy Songs'.

[48] For referring me to this story, I am grateful to Geoffrey Chew.

within the context of struggles for Czech independence.[49] In the nineteenth century, for instance, Karel Hynek Mácha's *Cikáni* (*Gypsies*, 1835) depicted some Gypsies who arrive at an inn, and its third chapter recalled the Nagyida resistance when one of them sings the 'Nagy-Iday nóta' ('Nagyida Song').[50] But although Heyduk's poetry can be read against this context, it can also be read against the common misconception that Romani entered central Europe through Bohemia, and the dual meaning of 'Bohemian' in many languages that resulted. Though 'Bohemian' might describe people who live in Bohemia, a group that included Heyduk for most of his life, it can also refer to people who move about.[51] Just as many Hungarian composers, poets, and writers exploited the stereotype that Gypsiness was important for Hungarian national identity, then, Heyduk's poetry blurs Gypsiness and Czechness for auto-exotic purposes.

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[49] In an obvious nationalist allegory, for example, the second act of Leoš Janáček's later *Výlety páně Broučkovy* (*The Excursions of Mr. Brouček*, JW 1/6-7, 1908-17), depicts the real-life siege of Prague by a German army in the fifteenth century. A further point of comparison might be the tenth painting in Alphonse Mucha's *Slovanská epopej* (*The Slav Epic*, 1910-28), entitled 'Po bitvě u Grunwaldu' (After the Battle of Grunwald). Part of a larger mythologisation of Czech and pan-Slavonic history, this painting depicts a battle from the fifteenth century, about a decade after the siege of Prague, in which Slavonic armies prevailed against German invaders.

[50] László Turóczi, *Ungaria suis com regibus compendio data* (Tyrnau, 1729). For referring me to both *Cikáni* and Turóczi, and for offering an overview of the former when I was unable to access a copy, I am grateful to Geoffrey Chew.

[51] For a lengthier discussion, see Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 5–8. On Bohemianism, see Jerrold Siegel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930* (New York: Viking, 1986). See also Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 155. Indeed, Dvořák was also described as a Gypsy on at least one occasion in his life. As the prominent critic Henry Krehbiel later asked, during Dvořák's trip to the United States, '[w]hat matters it if the man who points out the way [to create an American national music] be a Bohemian scarcely two years in the country? The peripatetic gypsy is the universal musician, and he makes Hungarian music in Hungary, Spanish music in Spain, Russian music in Russia, and English music in England.' See Henry Krehbiel, 'Dvořák's American Compositions in Boston', reproduced in *Dvořák and His World*, ed. by Michael Beckerman (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 157–91 (pp. 167–68).

Dvořák's songs share these meanings by association with Heyduk's poetry. But like all musical settings, they also supplement the meanings of the poetry, as the fifth song (excerpted in example 2.2) demonstrates.[52] Entitled 'Reingestimmt die Saiten' ('Tune thy strings oh gipsy'), the fifth song depicts a dance: towards the beginning, the lyric persona implores another Gypsy to '[j]oin the wreathing dances!' Though it avoids the kinds of dance rhythms that we find in *Carmen*, which have a Spanish provenance, the song uses oompah rhythms that are no less exoticist (bb. 4-7 and bb. 27-30, and in an elongated version at bb. 19-26 and bb. 41-49). These features are stylistically more akin to Klezmer music than they are to the Spanish or North-African stylisations found in *Carmen*. However, they can also be heard as a reference to the cimbalom, a metal-strung chordophone, whose strings are hit with hammers. The cimbalom gained popularity amongst Hungarian folk musicians in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Accounts of its origins differ, but scholars including Curt Sachs have argued that it arose from box zithers in the Persian *santūr*.[53] Though the exact timbre of the cimbalom can vary depending on features including the instrument size, make, and atmospheric conditions, all exemplars share a sense of resonance, rich in overtones. Much about the fifth song evokes the cimbalom. Its oompah rhythms (bb. 5-8) feature throughout much cimbalom music, as do the specific shifts in timbre, rhythm, and articulation of the *Più animato* passages (especially bb. 9-14). The *Più animato* is met with instructions to pedal, and a sudden change in articulation from the semiquavers and *staccato* quavers of bb. 5-8 to long slurs. The vibrant triplet figuration in the piano is ubiquitous in cimbalom music across folk cultures, as a way to sustain volume

[52] On the dialogic relationship between music and poetry, see Agawu, 'Theory and Practice', pp. 10–13.
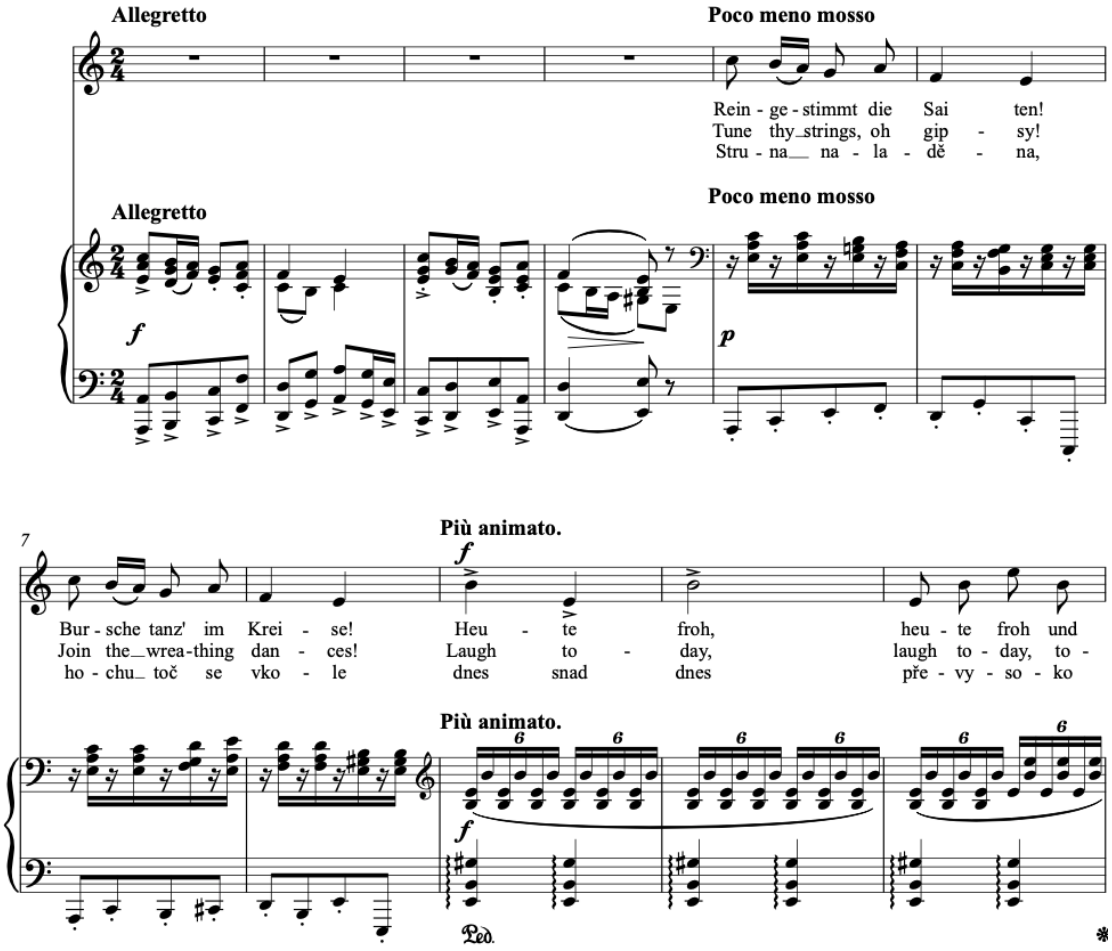
[53] Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940), p. 258. This account has not been unchallenged: see Jesse A. Johnston, 'The Cimbál (Cimbalom) and Folk Music in Moravian Slovakia and Valachia', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 36 (2010), 78–117 (pp. 81–82).
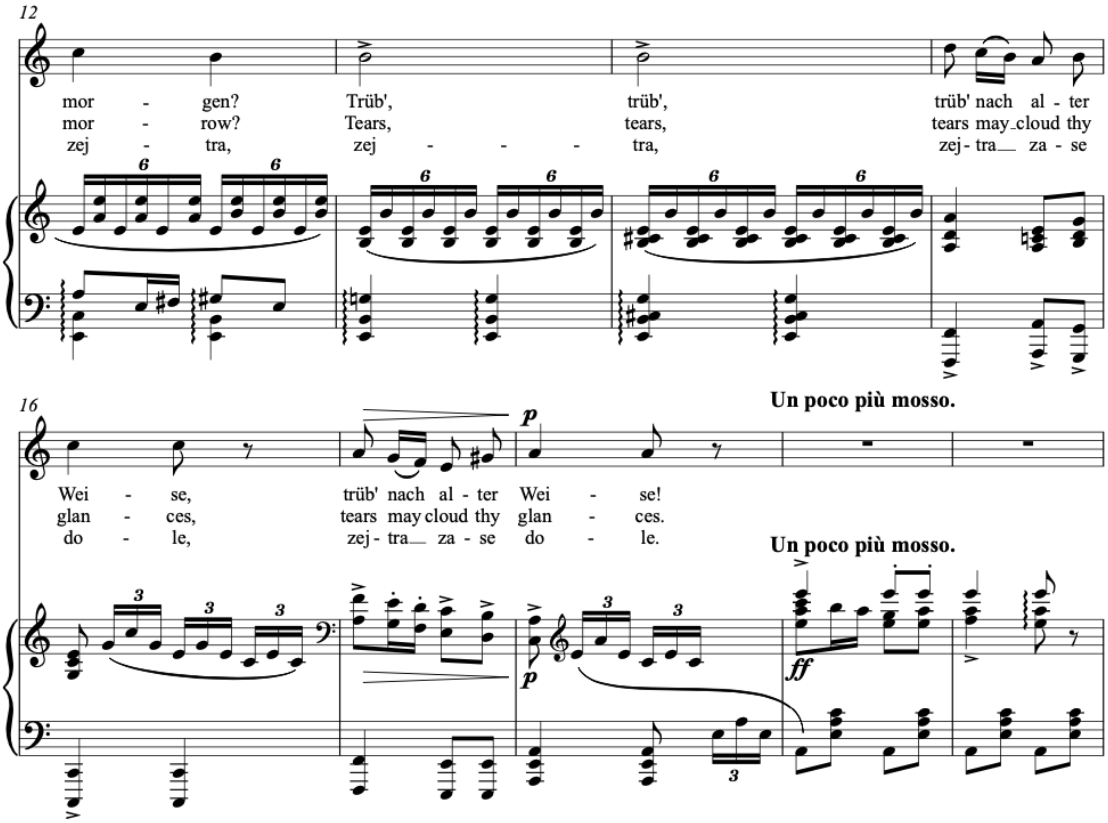
despite the instrument's relatively quick rate of sonic decay. It resembles a *táhlá*, a *rubato* section of cimbalom music associated with intense emotional reflection.[54] The tempo marking at this point in the song indicates an increase in speed, but in performance we hear the passage as a deceleration, given the static *tremolo*-like effect in the piano and the abrupt slackening of harmonic rhythm. Sure enough, the lyrics are engaged in emotional contemplation: '[l]augh today, laugh today, tomorrow? Tears, tears, tears may cloud thy glances, tears may cloud they glances.'[55] Indeed, *táhlá* often juxtapose faster sections, and this passage in Dvořák's fifth song is likewise followed by a sudden return to the rhythmic excitement of the beginning.

[54] Johnston, 'The Cimbál (Cimbalom) and Folk Music', p. 113.

[55] 'Heute froh, heute froh und morgen? Trüb', trüb', trüb' nach alter Weise, trüb' nach alter Weise!'

Example 2.2: Dvořák, 'Reingestimmt die Saiten' (B. 104/5, 1880), bb. 1-20 *(cont. on next page)*





From one perspective, these cimbalom imitations can be heard as an exoticist gesture. Cimbalom players were often part of Viennese café-music ensembles, where the *style hongrois* arose, and the cimbalom became almost synonymous with this style.[56] For example, Brahms's *Zigeunerlieder* and Karel Bendl's *12 Zigeunermelodien* (*12 Gypsy Melodies*, 1881) both utilise the *style hongrois*, and both also imitate the cimbalom. Likewise, Liszt imitates the cimbalom in the *Ungarischer Sturmmarsch* (*Hungarian Battle March*, S. 119, S. 524, S. 610, 1875-76), and so does Dvořák in his later Symphony No. 8 (B. 163, 1889). The symphony's cimbalom imitation is found in its second movement, in the second violin part from b. 57. Its imitation is paired with a range of folk topics (for example, horn calls

[56] Jonathan Bellman, 'Ongherese, Fandango, and Polonaise: National Dance as Classical-Era Topic', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 31.2–3 (2012), 70–96 (p. 76).

towards the beginning of the movement, and a folk-like fiddle melody), and the relaxed feeling of the movement further evokes the temporally loose characteristics of much cimbalom music.[57] The cimbalom was also associated with Gypsiness because of its provenance. It was often considered to have originated east of the Carpathian Mountains, before having travelled west to Bohemia-Moravia. As Jesse A. Johnston comments, '[t]his is often described as the "shepherd's migration" into Valachia because the culture is thought to have slowly dispersed throughout the Carpathian region as generations of mountain sheepherders moved throughout the region over a period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.'[58] The cimbalom thus came to be associated with mobility from the East, much like the Gypsy. For this reason, Heyduk associated it with crude geographies of East and West in his Gypsy poetry: for example, see *Cimbál a husle* (*A cimbalom and a fiddle*, 1876), *Nové cigánské melodie* (*New Gypsy melodies*, 1897), and *Východ a západ* (*East and West*, 1906).[59] For this reason too, Dvořák's cimbalom imitations can be heard exotically.

From another perspective, however, the songs' cimbalom imitations can be heard as an auto-exoticist gesture. This interpretation holds for three reasons. Firstly, the cimbalom is important in Czech folk bands, not just Gypsy ensembles. In these bands, the cimbalom is often left to duplicate an oompah rhythm between the bass and second violin. Its purpose is to fill out the harmony and texture, increasing the band's volume and enriching its timbre. As Johnston summarises,

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[57] On cimbalom imitations in Dvořák's Symphony No. 8, see Clapham, 'The National Origins of Dvořák's Art', p. 82. On cimbalom music in Czech 'art music' more generally, see Smaczny, '"Biding His Time"', pp. 158–60.

[58] Johnston, 'The Cimbál (Cimbalom) and Folk Music', p. 110.

[59] On these collections, see Brabec and others, III, p. 565.

> [t]he lead violinist, called *primáš* or *primas*, typically directs the ensemble. A second violin or viola covers a second part, or *kontráš*, which usually interlocks with the bass to form an accompaniment in which the bass plays on downbeats and the *kontráš* on upbeats. The *cimbál* [cimbalom] player is identified as a *cimbalista*. The *cimbál*'s musical role in the ensemble alternates between supporting the rhythm established by the bass and *kontráš*, and improvising patterns that elaborate the harmony.[60]

Secondly, the cimbalom was also associated with the kind of bucolic imagery that was privileged by so many nationalists. In illustrations and poetry, as Johnston observes, the cimbalom was often associated with flowers or vines.[61] Its nationalist significance was thus comparable to the Finnish kantele, a different kind of box zither that was often associated with bucolic imagery, and that Jean Sibelius later imitated in his own music.[62] Thirdly, the cimbalom was often conceived as a symbol of anti-imperial resistance, due to having originated outside the Habsburg Empire. In one publication of cimbalom music, entitled 'Songs and Marches from the Freedom Fight of 1848-49', the cimbalom was associated with songs entitled 'Cold Blows the wind from Vienna' and 'Stop! You Germans'. The latter contains gruesome lyrics like 'From your skin I'll make a bagpipe, / On that I will play your song: / Oh how roguish the German.'[63] Given the instrument's wider political significance, then, the cimbalom imitations of Dvořák's songs can be heard nationalistically as well as exotically. They share specific features with the cimbalom of Czech folk ensembles, most notably the oompah rhythms of the fifth song. Within the context of struggles for independence from the Habsburg Empire, the songs' imitations of the cimbalom have obvious political

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[60] Johnston, 'The Cimbál (Cimbalom) and Folk Music', p. 110.

[61] Ibid., pp. 102–3. This imagery figured centrally in Heyduk's depictions of Gypsiness, and in fact nature is a recurring theme of Heyduk's poetry. It is especially prominent in *Lesní kvítí* (*Forest Flowers*, 1873) and *Zaváté listy* (*Withered Leaves*, 1886), but it can be found throughout his oeuvre.

[62] For example, Sibelius imitated the kantele in *Kehtolaulu* (*Lullaby*, JS. 222, 1899), the Piano Sonata in F major (Op. 12, 1893), and the final section of 'Björken' ('The Birch Tree', Op. 75/4, 1914).

[63] John Leach, 'The Cimbalom', *Music & Letters*, 53.2 (1972), 134–42 (p. 140).

overtones, and in fact they were heard in this way at the time. Not for nothing did Václav Juda Novotný claim that the *Zigeunermelodien*, despite having originally been published in German alone, were Dvořák's 'most perfect and most Czech work in the realm of song'.[64] Like Heyduk's lyrics, and much as Liszt had done in a Hungarian context, the *Zigeunermelodien* blur the boundary between Gypsiness and Czech national identity, and their subject position is tantalisingly ambiguous.[65]

Thus, the songs' Gypsy is stylistically, socially, and geographically 'out of place', but in ways that are ambiguous. The songs depict their Gypsy exotically, using lyrics and musical representation. But they also depict their Gypsy auto-exotically, for the purposes of a Czech national project. As such, we might even suggest that their exotic symbolism is semantically mobile, due to the patterns of migration that made Romani communities so widely visible, which allowed the Gypsy stereotype to assume such a wide range of meanings, and which undergirds the songs' ambiguous subject positions.[66] These features demonstrate how Dvořák's marginal Others can be discussed without reinscribing the reductive value judgements that have defined prior scholarship. More important than how empathetically Dvořák depicts the Gypsy are the myriad displacements that define them

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[64] Václav Juda Novotný, 'Drobné zprávy: Dvořák co skladatel písní', *Dalibor*, 3.1 (1881), 7; quoted in Branda, 'Representations of Antonín Dvořák', pp. 237–38.

[65] Incidentally, it might be recalled from Chapter One that (following the *Ausgleich* of 1867) many Czech people aspired to a similar status in the empire as Hungarian people. As such, it is unsurprising that Dvořák should have adopted a nationalist strategy that had previously been so successful for Liszt. Nationalism is not the focus of this thesis, but interested readers can be directed to Adam Hudek, 'Between Czechs and Hungarians: Constructing the Slovak National Identity from 19th Century to the Present', *History Compass*, 9.4 (2011), 257–68.

[66] On semantic mobility in relation to mobility studies, see Chiara Gallanti and Mauro Varotto, 'Beyond the Immobility of "Museum Pieces": Variations on Mobility in the Collections of a Museum of Geography', in *Reimagining Mobilities across the Humanities*, ed. by Lucio Biasiori, Federico Mazzini, and Chiara Rabbiosi (London: Routledge, 2023), II, 69–84 (pp. 77–78).

as Other at all. But at the same time, these features give only a partial understanding of the Gypsy's mobility. They suggest a fixed experience of displacement, in contrast with the more genuinely mobile experiences that—as my discussion of 'Die Flucht' previously showed—can often bring the distinction between what is 'out of place' and 'in place' into question. Arguably, the songs even *im*mobilise the Gypsy by associating them with exotic symbols that (however semantically mobile) are stylistically fixed and essentialising. A raised fourth is a raised fourth, in other words, regardless of the ambiguous subject positions it may suggest. To understand how mobility can be expressed compositionally, then, we need a clearer understanding of how the songs' displacements are in dialogue with their *em*placements, and how the songs shuttle between these two states. This understanding can be gained by leaving familiar patterns of exotic representation behind, addressing the songs' nonrepresentational features, and reassessing the fifth song's imitation of the cimbalom.

Gypsiness and Mobility

What makes the fifth song's imitation of the cimbalom significant are the lyrics with which it coincides: 'Tune thy strings'. The Czech lyrics are '[s]truna naladèna' and the German lyrics are '[r]eingestimmt die Saiten'. These lyrics are noteworthy because *nálada*, from which the word 'naladèna' derives, is a close equivalent of the German word *Stimmung*—a prominent aesthetic trope of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European culture, which it will now be useful to discuss in some detail.[67] *Stimmung* is a reference point in the titles

[67] Since prior scholarship in this area has principally used the German word *Stimmung*, rather than the cognate from any other language, I use the term *Stimmung* throughout this discussion.

of landscape paintings by Alois Arnegger, Emil Jakob Schindler, and Anton Hlávaček, associated with murky gloaming and phantasmic idylls. In Poland, similarly, this trend is exemplified by the popularity of *nastrojowy* paintings,[68] a term derived from *nastrój* (a close equivalent of *Stimmung*, etymologically related to *nálada*).[69] Music was also used to express *Stimmung*, in a range of national contexts. Perhaps the most well-known musical example is Richard Strauss's *Stimmungsbilder* (Op. 9, 1884), but further examples include Nikolai Medtner's *Acht Stimmungsbilder* (Op. 1, 1895-1902) and Edvard Grieg's *Stemninger* (Op. 73, 1905). In Bohemia-Moravia, likewise, *nálada* was a persistent feature of musical titles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Examples include the four parts of Zdeněk Fibich's *Nálady, dojmy a upomínky* (*Moods, Impressions, and Souvenirs*; H. 311, H. 315, H. 319 and H. 327, 1891-98), Ludvík Vítězslav Čelanský's *Nálady* (*Moods*; 1895), Josef Suk's *5 Nálad* (*Mood*; Op. 10, 1895) and the third part of *Letní dojmy* (entitled 'Večerní nálada', 'Evening Mood'; Op. 22b No. 3, 1902), as well as Bohuslav Martinů's *Náladová kresba* (*Moody Picture*; H. 29, 1910) and *Nálada* (*Mood*; H. 108, 1917). Many of these pieces were no less associated with landscape imagery than the paintings mentioned above, as their constituent parts were often furnished with pastoral and folkloric titles. For example, the seventh part of Grieg's *Stemninger* is titled 'Lualåt' ('The Mountaineer's Song'). Likewise, Strauss's *Stimmungsbilder* begins with a miniature entitled 'Auf stillem Waldespfad' ('On a Quiet Forest Path'). Suffice to say that *Stimmung* was often associated

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[68] In Poland this label was not uncontested, and Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz distinguished between '*nastrojowy*' paintings (which he saw as an empty catchword rather than a marker of genre) and *Stimmungsmalerei*. On this point, see Jan Cavanaugh, *Out Looking in: Early Modern Polish Art, 1890-1918* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 116–17.

[69] Germanic and Slavonic terms for this phenomenon have different etymological roots, but they express a similar sentiment. On these etymologies, see Erik Wallrup, *Being Musically Attuned: The Act of Listening to Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 16.

with landscape imagery, that it was ubiquitous in European culture from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and that it had clearly entered a common creative parlance. But to what idea or experience did *Stimmung* refer, and how can it help us to understand the nonrepresentational features of Dvořák's *Zigeunermelodien*?

Prior *Stimmung* scholarship can help to answer these questions. Though studies of *Stimmung* have been conducted in fields as varied as philosophy, architecture studies, musicology, literature studies, and the history of science, commensurate with the range of media in which *Stimmung* has been expressed, they have often been drawn to similar problems.[70] One such problem relates to translation. In German, *Stimmung* might literally suggest 'mood'. According to this translation, it connotes a sense of affective immanence, granting access to the intimate, private, or enclosed. This meaning is relatively generic, which was part of the appeal for many composers: as Erik Wallrup states in his monograph, *Being Musically Attuned*, 'the open notion of mood allowed composers both to include mixed material under the heading and to attract the attention of the amateur music market.'[71] But although the 'mood' translation is relatively generic, others are more specific. As the term's etymology implies, given its *stimm-* ('voice') root, *Stimmung* could equally be translated as 'envoicement'. According to this perspective, *Stimmung* might be

[70] For example, Gerhard Thonhauser, 'Beyond Mood and Atmosphere: A Conceptual History of the Term "Stimmung"', *Philosophia*, 49 (2021), 1247–65; Andrew Saunders, 'Figuring Mood: The Role of Stimmung in the Formal Approach of Heinrich Wölfflin and Alois Riegl', *Architectural Design*, 86.6 (2016), 34–41; Grimley, '"In the Mood"'; Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'Reading for the "Stimmung"? About the Ontology of Literature Today', *Boundary 2*, 35.3 (2008), 213–21; Pawel Jarnicki, 'Stimmung/Nastrój as Content of Modern Science: On Musical Metaphors in Ludwik Fleck's Theory of Thought Styles and Thought Collectives', *Foundations of Science*, 27.3 (2021), 1207–28.

[71] Wallrup, p. 51.

understood as a kind of vocal presence; the manifestation of an emergent subjectivity, in which interior mood is transformed into outwardly projected expression.[72]

Still another translation of *Stimmung* is 'attunement', the most consequential for the current study. It is in this translation that *Stimmung* starts to come into its own, pulling away from other kinds of romantic affect.[73] This translation suggests that *Stimmung* is comparable to a musician tuning a string, as noted in Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's literary discussions and Daniel Grimley's musicological discussions of Grieg's *Stemninger* (which imitate the Hardanger fiddle's sympathetic strings).[74] Indeed, much *Stimmungsmusik* is concerned with tuning: in a Czech context, for example, Alois Hába's *Dětské nálady* (*Children's Moods*, Op. 51, 1943) explores the micro-tunings of a quarter-tone guitar. But although *Stimmung* might suggest material tuning, its qualities of 'attunement' also overlap with the affective qualities of 'mood'. In this respect, *Stimmung*'s connotations of attunement are double, suggesting both a literal material tuning and a more elusive, affective tuning-*in* to the place that it materially inhabits. This meaning extends to the Czech equivalent—*nálada* ('mood'), which shares etymological roots with *naladit* ('to tune in')—and, as Grimley has fruitfully explored in a Scandinavian context, this definitional complexity

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[72] On vocal presence and subjectivity, see Benedict Taylor, *Music, Subjectivity, and Schumann* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 23–25; Julian Johnson, *Mahler's Voices: Expression and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), chap. 1.

[73] On affect in the nineteenth century, see John Hughes, *Affective Worlds: Writing, Feeling & Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2011). In particular, see the chapter on Wordsworth and walking, which overlaps with some of my own interests in mobility.

[74] Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Atmosphere, Mood, Stimmung* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2012), p. 4; see also Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* (London: Harvard University Press, 1997); Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *After 1945: Latency as Origin of the Present* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2013). Grimley, '"In the Mood"', p. 115.

lies at the heart of much *Stimmungsmusik* from the nineteenth century.[75] Much ink has previously been spilled attempting to restrict *Stimmung* to a single definition but, as Grimley's study indicates, it is precisely in this ambivalence that its conceptual richness lies. Only by accommodating these multiple renderings can the reasons for *Stimmung*'s ubiquity, and its affordances as an aesthetic category, more clearly come into focus.[76]

For musicologists with an interest in this concept, the titles of many pieces have provided a neatly preselected repertoire for discussion. Yet as Wallrup showed in his monograph, *Stimmung*'s purchase extended far beyond pieces like Strauss's *Stimmungsbilder* and Grieg's *Stemninger* alone. As Wallrup suggests, it is also present in pieces that do not have *Stimmung* in their title, and that are significantly longer than the miniatures discussed above. For Wallrup, the category of *Stimmungmusik* also includes longer pieces such as Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 (WAB 108, 1884-92). As Wallrup describes, the symphony's *Adagio* begins with an expansion of register (a *Naturklang*) that creates a sense of open space—a common feature of *Stimmungsmusik*.[77] In the symphony as a whole, he also identifies an 'interplay between clear-cut episodes, juxtaposed to present the utmost contrasts, [which] gives telling examples of how a fundamental attunement can be held onto for a large amount of time through a complex of attunements and counter-attunements.'[78] Other scholars have pursued a similarly broad understanding of *Stimmung*. For example, Grimley

[75] Grimley, '"In the Mood"', p. 115.

[76] For a more in-depth discussion of these different renderings, see also David Wellbery, 'Stimmung', in *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe*, ed. by Karlheinz Barck and others (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2003), V, 703–33.

[77] Wallrup, pp. 126–27. On the *Naturklang*, see also Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, pp. 307–9.

[78] Wallrup, p. 206.

explores *Stimmung* in the context of Grieg's *Peer Gynt* (Op. 23, 1875),[79] whose title also does not reference this category. Indeed, this expansive, open-ended understanding of *Stimmung* can likewise be extended to visual art. In a Czech context, for instance, consider Julius Eduard Mařák's *Ranní píseň* (*Morning Song*, 1877). Its hazy forest scene, and the stillness of its stream, invite obvious comparisons with pieces like Strauss's 'Auf stillem Waldespfad' (Op. 9/1). Though the painting's title does not mention *Stimmung*, its suggestion that the scene is a kind of 'song' draws on similar notions of vocality. Contemplating Mařák's painting, it is easy to imagine the sounds of the stream, the gentle voice that calls through the forest at dawn.

Stimmung was also associated with specific musical strategies, which can be summarised using Dvořák's own, most overt contribution to the *Stimmungsmusik* tradition: his *Poetische Stimmungsbilder* (*Poetic Tone Pictures*, B. 161; 1889).[80] For solo piano, the *Poetische Stimmungsbilder* comprise thirteen pieces that last between three and five minutes each. The set has no story. More salient is the general mood of each piece, indicated by titles like 'Noční cestou' ('Night Journey', B. 161/1), 'Jarní' ('Spring Song', B. 161/4), and 'Vzpomínání' ('Reminiscence', B. 161/6). These pieces typify *Stimmungsmusik* insofar as they are tonally, harmonically, and melodically immobile. Though they do not avoid all tonal or harmonic motion, the miniatures generally avoid dissonance and remain close to

[79] Grimley, '"In the Mood"', pp. 107–8, 127–30.
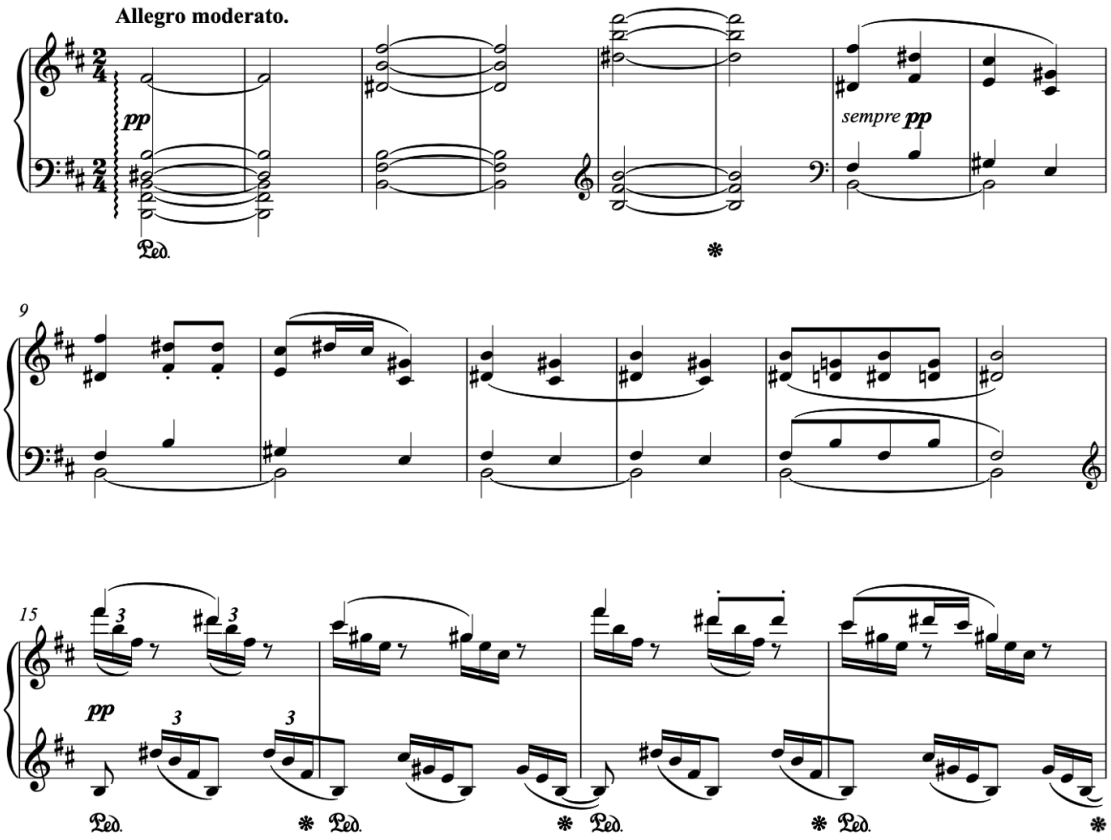
[80] Simrock's edition also displayed the Czech title (*Poetické nálady*) on the cover. However, this title was below the German title and in a significantly smaller font. For these reasons, I have adopted the German rather than the Czech title throughout this discussion. For an introduction to the piece, see Ondřej Šupka, 'Poetic Tone Pictures (Poetické Nálady), Op. 85, B161', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/work/poetic-tone-pictures-op85-b161/> [accessed 13 August 2023]. Score excerpts are taken from Simrock's first edition (1889).

their home key. For example, the opening of the very first miniature (example 2.3) outlines a B major chord for no less than thirty-six bars. It varies in texture and creates a feeling of surface harmonic motion, oscillating with a C♯ minor chord in every other bar. Yet it holds a tonic pedal throughout, which (paired with the repetitive character of both the melody and accompaniment) creates a powerful impression of immobility. This immobility explains why *Stimmungsmusik* is often very short. Perhaps because of the difficulty of maintaining a single mood over longer forms, and because of the difficulties of maintaining interest when nothing much seems to happen, *Stimmungsmusik* often comprises sets of miniatures (even as Wallrup has expanded its purview to longer pieces). This immobility also helps to express the landscape imagery of much *Stimmungsmusik*. Like much landscape music, it attenuates intensive temporality in favour of extensive spatialisation, generally with a descriptive purpose: as Dvořák stated about the *Poetische Stimmungsbilder*, 'here I am a poet as well as a musician'.[81] But it also proceeds from a lengthy intellectual history that associated musical scales with specific affects—modes with moods—which

[81] For discussion, see Sarah Murphy, 'Czech Piano Music from Smetana to Janáček: Style, Development, Significance' (PhD thesis, Cardiff University, 2009), p. 38. Incidentally, some scholars have not sought to differentiate *Stimmungsmusik* from landscape music more generally. In a response to Theodor Adorno's essay on Schubert, for example, in which Adorno compared Schubert's music to the experience and atmosphere of wandering around a landscape, Walter Benjamin claimed that Adorno's study was an 'historico-philosophical analysis of the concept of *Stimmung*'. For Adorno's essay, see Theodor W. Adorno, 'Schubert (1928)', *19th-Century Music*, 29.1 (2005), 3–14. For Benjamin's response, see Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), p. 1031. For discussion of both, see Sebastian Wedler, *Anton Webern at the Dawn of Modernism* (Cambridge [Eng.]: Cambridge University Press, 2024). For drawing my attention to Benjamin's quote, and for sharing part of his forthcoming monograph, I am grateful to Sebastian Wedler. On Adorno and landscape, see also Sherry Lee, 'Teddie's Landschaft', *New German Critique*, 48.2 (2021), 85–105.

the first of the *Poetische Stimmungsbilder* conveys by exploring the material resonances of a single chord.[82]

Example 2.3: Dvořák, 'Nächtlicher Weg' (B. 161/1, 1889), bb. 1-18



Dvořák's *Zigeunermelodien* can be heard in this context. Though none of the songs feature *Stimmung* in the title, though they are not instrumental miniatures, and though they are a cycle rather than a collection of individual pieces, much about the songs resembles

[82] On this intellectual history, see Maho Ishiguro, 'The Affective Properties of Keys in Instrumental Music from the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries' (Master's thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2010); cited in Grimley, '"In the Mood"', pp. 115–16.

Stimmungsmusik.[83] The third song is a good example. Entitled 'Rings ist der Wald', the third song evokes the stillness of a wood. It uses gentle ostinato writing in the piano, and a static vocal melody that begins and ends on $\hat{3}$. Though arpeggiated locally, generally via upwards melodic sequences that evoke the singer's anguish for a lost lover (e.g., bb. 27-31), the voice-leading remains remarkably static at a global level, and the song texturally resembles the *Stimmungsmusik* of example 2.3. Also like *Stimmungsmusik* are the songs' imitations of different instruments. Much like the fifth song, for example, the first song (excerpted in example 2.4) imitates the cimbalom using clamorous sextuplets (bb. 1-4) and strummed chords (bb. 5-14).[84] Though the cimbalom is generally hammered rather than strummed or plucked, this strumming effect evokes the generic sounds of a string instrument. Consider also the second song: 'Hark! Hark, how my triangle sheds its silv'ry laughter!'[85] This song imitates the triangle in its percussive piano articulation, and the voice's rapid *diminuendo* of bb. 1-2 likewise resembles a triangle's sonic decay. It is as if the singing voice envoices the triangle and its 'silv'ry laughter'. All these features of the *Zigeunermelodien* resemble *Stimmungsmusik*, and they imbue the fifth's song's call to 'tune thy strings' with new meaning.[86] Most obviously, this moment invites us to listen for the

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[83] The distinction between songs and miniatures should not be overdrawn here, given that miniatures were often invested with a poetic or literary significance. On this point, see Julie Hedges Brown, '"A Higher Echo of the Past": Schumann's 1842 Chamber Music and the Rethinking of Classical Form' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 2000), p. 2. For Dvořák's own, poetic description of his *Poetische Stimmungsbilder*, see above.

[84] On the cimbalom in the first song, see Clapham, 'The National Origins of Dvořák's Art', p. 82.

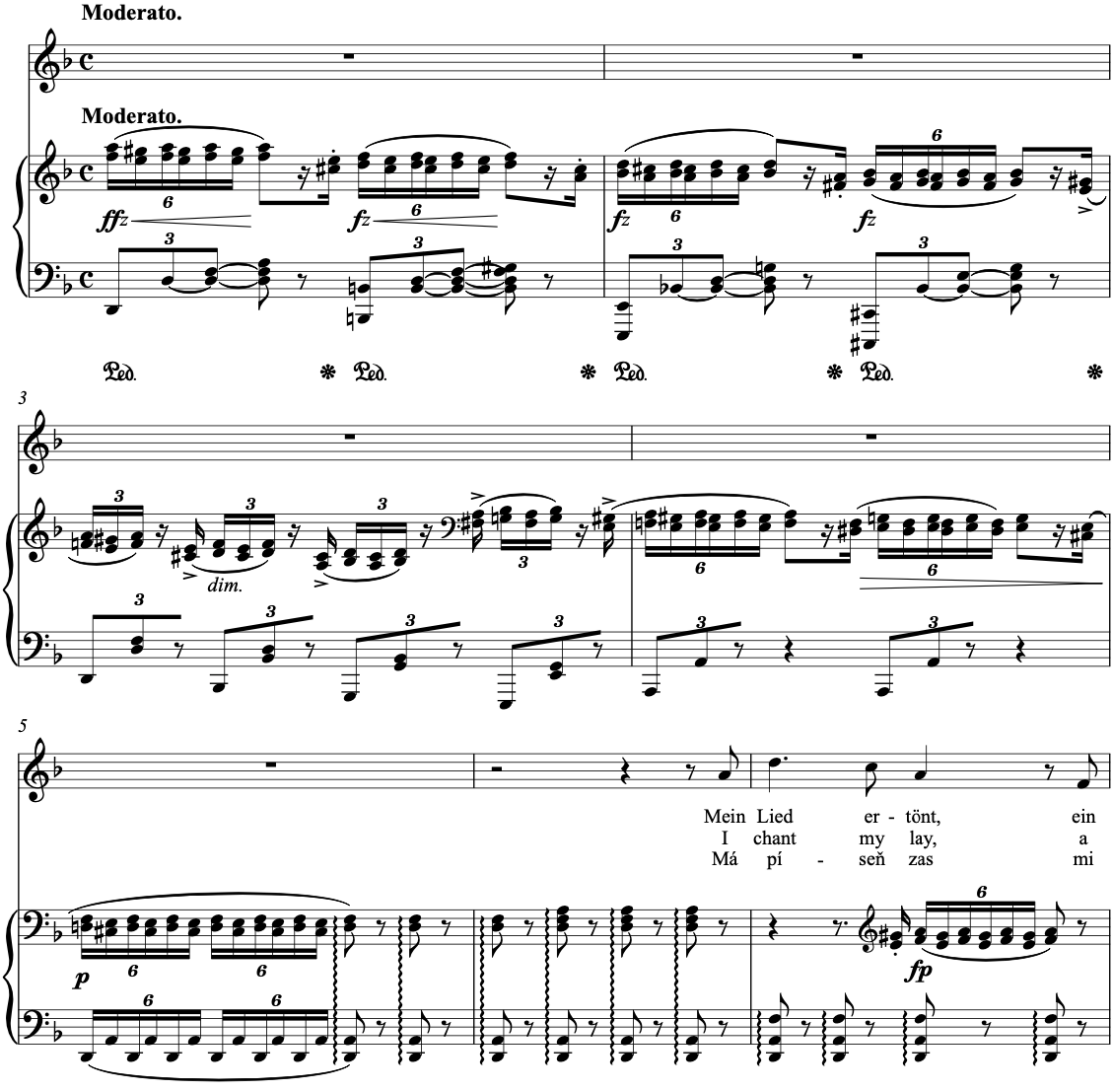
[85] 'Ei! Ei, Wie mein Triangel wunderherrlich läutet!'

[86] Of course, it should briefly be noted that some scholars have conceived *Stimmung* non-hermeneutically. By setting the 'presence effects' of *Stimmung* against the 'meaning effects' that dominated literary studies at the time he was writing, for example, Gumbrecht arrived at a nonhermeneutic understanding of *Stimmung* that firmly excluded questions of meaning and politics. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004), p. 7. The problem is even more explicit in Wallrup's work, which states that those who read for *Stimmung* 'do not read in order to engage themselves in the political situation of today. They read because they want to be immersed in a world.'

material sounds of cimbalom tuning. Indeed, the song stylistically resembles *Stimmungsmusik* when it suddenly becomes tonally and harmonically immobile, in the *táhlá*-like passages of bb. 9-14 and bb. 31-36. But heard in the context of *Stimmungsmusik*, this moment is more than just a tuning of the cimbalom. The call to 'tune thy strings' is also an invitation for the listener to 'tune in', affectively, to the instrument's distinctive strains.

Wallrup, p. 4. However, their failure to recognise *Stimmung*'s hermeneutic potential holds ideological risks. Much as James Hepokoski has suggested about ineffability elsewhere, their nonhermeneutic approach allows them 'to fill the vacant space now exempted from external critique [with] any foundational doctrine that one chooses.' On this point, see Hepokoski's contribution to Michael Gallope and others, 'Colloquy: Vladimir Jankélévitch's Philosophy of Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 65.1 (2012), 215–56 (pp. 225–26). For that reason, I treat *Stimmung* hermeneutically throughout the thesis, by recognising that any such aesthetic category can always be integrated into a hermeneutic framework.

Example 2.4: Dvořák, 'Mein Lied ertönt' (B. 104/1, 1880), bb. 1-14



All these features of the *Zigeunermelodien* resemble *Stimmungmusik*. Much as *Stimmungsmusik* was often associated with nationalist nostalgia, moreover, so too do they romanticise the nationalist sentiment of the songs' lyrics. However, a richer understanding of the songs' *Stimmungen* can be gained by tracing their interactions with Gypsiness. Especially telling is the first song's cimbalom reference. Against the temporal stasis of *Stimmung*, firstly, this passage equivocates. It is generally performed with heavy *rubato*, as if announcing, over the bustle of a Viennese café, that the songs are about to begin. In this respect, it temporally resembles the cimbalom's role in Gypsy bands. In these bands, as

Liszt described, '[t]he *zymbala* [cimbalom] supplies the rhythm, indicates the acceleration or slackening of time, and also the degree of movement [...] The *zymbala* shares with the first violin the right to develop certain passages and to prolong certain variations indefinitely according to the good pleasure of the moment.'[87] Whereas *Stimmungsmusik* creates a sense of temporal stasis, the cimbalom reference in the first of Dvořák's *Zigeunermelodien* elicits a looser, more uncertain feeling of musical time. This temporal experience is a common feature of Gypsy music: for example, Joshua S. Walden suggests that the heavy rubato of Gypsy music can 'evoke the qualities of spontaneity and freedom'.[88] But it also resembles the ephemeral temporality associated with mobile figures more generally. Indeed, it much resembles the temporality of 'Die Flucht', which I discussed in the previous chapter, and whose fugitive (in a thematic similarity with the *Zigeunermelodien*) was also searching for freedom.

Against the harmonious resonance of *Stimmung*, secondly, the Gypsy's exoticism often sounds dissonant. During the first song's *rubato* passage, for example, Dvořák uses an angular harmonic progression away from the tonic chord, through ♯vi°, ii^7, and ♯vii° (all of which are chromatically embellished by the double trills). All these chords are marked *ffz or fz*, the first two with *crescendo* markings as well, and they further instruct that the chromatic trills should be played with the piano sustain pedal. This passage is harmonically

[87] Liszt, p. 312; quoted in Bellman, *The 'Style Hongrois' in the Music of Western Europe*, p. 108; see also Helga Scheibert, 'Hungarian Elements in Selected Piano Compositions of Liszt, Dohnányi, Bartók, and Kodály' (PhD thesis, West Virginia University, 2017), p. 32. On momentary temporality in Gypsy music, see Michael Beckerman, 'The World According to the Roma', in *The Cambridge History of World Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 678–701 (p. 683). Italics in the original.

[88] Joshua S. Walden, *Sounding Authentic: The Rural Miniature and Musical Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 106–8.

mobile, consistent with the sudden harmonic progressions of much Gypsy music,[89] but in contrast with the more harmonically static experience of *Stimmungsmusik*. The rest of the first song settles down and becomes more harmonically immobile, more akin to the expectations of *Stimmungsmusik*, and it modulates only to the tonic major and back again. After the accented off-beats from the anacrusis to b. 3 until the anacrusis of b. 4, it also shifts the emphasis back to the on-beats from b. 7 onwards, and it thus seems to 'rectify' the rhythm. Yet the cimbalom figuration recurs in solo piano passages at bb. 15-18 and the very end. These passages sound noisy, even untuned. It is as if the cimbalom, which (much like the Hardanger fiddle discussed by Grimley) is sensitive to shifts in atmospheric condition,[90] has just arrived in the room in which it will be played and has yet to settle into its tuning. Since the keys of the tenor and soprano editions are tailored to suit each vocal range, of course, and since the cimbalom imitations are mediated by the piano's own timbre, the songs' cimbalom tunings are not ethnographically accurate. But nonetheless, they suggest that the cimbalom is out of place. They create anguished, dissonant harmonies that undercut the songs' attunements, and that are analogous to the Gypsy's social dissonance in any given context.

Heard in relation to the first song, the fifth song's call to 'tune thy strings' assumes new meaning. Most obviously, it asks the Gypsy to tune the strings that were so noisy and untuned in the first song. Yet against the background of *Stimmungsmusik*, it also asks the

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[89] Bellman, 'Ongherese, Fandango, and Polonaise', p. 72.

[90] Jesse A. Johnston, 'The Cimbál (Cimbalom) in Moravia: Cultural Organology and Interpretive Communities' (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2008), p. 282. On the Hardanger, see Grimley, '"In the Mood"', p. 115; following Pandora Hopkins, *Aural Thinking in Norway: Performance and Communication with the Hardingfele* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1986), p. 137.

Gypsy to become attuned to their place, just as musical listeners might become attuned to the songs. It asks them to cease their mobility because of the noisy disruption that it created in the first song, much as many attempts were made to immobilise Roma communities in real life.[91] Whether the Gypsy heeds this request is unclear. On first hearing, we might assume that they do. After all, the fifth song's cimbalom imitations are notably less dissonant than those of the first. Any hints of chromaticism are gone, replaced by extended E major chords, whose timbres are enriched by the sustain pedal. But although these passages evoke the attuned idiom of *Stimmungsmusik*, something is still out of place. Namely, these passages are attuned not to the tonic chord of A^-, but to the dominant of E^+. That these passages are in E^+, rather than E^-, makes the harmonic shifts seem even more unprepared, since the song otherwise uses the dominant minor. As such, the shifts require that, at a local voice-leading level, the *c* is sharpened to *c*♯, which heightens their sense of interruption. Though the song's cimbalom imitation is more harmonious than that of the first song, and although it produces an attunement, it is ultimately attuned to a key *beyond* our tonal 'home'.[92]

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[91] On the special offices that were created to police Romani communities' mobility, see the opening of the previous section. On Habsburg attempts to immobilise Roma communities, see also Piotrowska, 'The Gypsy Baron Operetta', pp. 345–46.

[92] That tonality is a way of expressing displacement is to some extent self-evident, and it was implicit in my discussions of the previous chapter's case studies. In prior scholarship, however, this idea has productively been explored by Julian Johnson. As Johnson states, the experience of 'transport' is 'built into modern music, shaped by tonality's ability to establish a sense of musical space, and to create within it a "dwelling place" (in the Heideggerian sense), to distinguish it from the "otherness" of "foreign" keys, delimited by their own borders and points of arrival, but also to play across these borders and to transgress, blur and mix up these distinctions in ways that "real life" rarely allows. Because these borders are set up to be crossed, the subject of tonal music is generally *in transit* between places—hence the formal ideas of transition and transformation, and the aesthetic notion of transcendence, as an exceeding of limits. In this way, music has always sought to make a dwelling place in the space it which it takes place and dwells a while, just as it is part of our everyday experience to define a dwelling space through music.' Julian Johnson, *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 159–60. I discuss Heidegger more below.

Already, then, the songs' *Stimmungen* have told us a great deal. In dialogue with (auto-)exotic symbolism, their material and affective parameters have further illustrated how the Gypsy is geographically 'out of place'. Yet they have not yet told us anything about the ambiguous relationship between displacement and emplacement that often attends the experience of mobility. To understand this relationship, I want to delve a little deeper into *Stimmung*'s intellectual history. Beyond its adoption by artists and musicians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the concept of *Stimmung* also gave rise to a lengthy philosophical tradition. Especially influential was Martin Heidegger, for whom *Stimmung* was irrevocably linked to human Being. For him, *Stimmung* was linked to a primordial, harmonious experience of being-in-place. An expression of *Dasein*, the being-there that defines humans' existence, *Stimmung* was more than a fleeting affective state.[93] As Karol Berger summarises, rather, Heidegger's 'mood is more primordial than any act of cognition or volition, [and] it is prior even to any distinction between the self and the world which such acts presuppose. It is the most primordial way in which our being in the world is disclosed to us.'[94] This means that, for Heidegger, *Stimmung* was not just a category of affect. In the face of the 'alienation and rootlessness that accompanied modern disenchantment, industrialization, and the globalization of commerce', to draw on Amanda Anderson,[95] it also marked an attempt to reclaim the very *possibility* of affective immediacy at all. It also means that *Stimmung* did more than simply blur the subject-object distinction of German idealism. From this perspective, as Sebastian Wedler comments, *Stimmung* 'does not target the synthesis between the "internal" and "external" world at all, but

[93] Thonhauser, pp. 1251–52.

[94] Karol Berger, *A Theory of Art* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 205.

[95] Anderson, *The Powers of Distance*, p. 4.

instead demonstrates precisely the impossibility of such an *a priori* binary in the first place.'[96]

These ideas were most prominently given form and focus by Heidegger in the 1920s, in which they also became more ideologically tinged. *Stimmung*'s existential qualities acquired a powerful nationalist clout in Heidegger's work, lending themselves to a search for primordial ethnic ties under national socialism. These connotations are one of the most awkward and troubling aspects of Heidegger's work, and they have rightly been the subject of much academic scrutiny.[97] But although Heidegger's work is contextually specific—and specific to a period that post-dated the songs of this chapter—his discussion of how *Stimmung* complicates the Self-Other relations of Enlightenment modernity arguably pulled at a much lengthier strand of the concept's intellectual history. As Leo Spitzer has argued, for example, *Stimmung* owes a debt to Pythagorean notions of world harmony, linked particularly to notions of temperament and balance (in the sense of the universe being 'well-tempered').[98] As Wallrup's survey demonstrates, moreover, underpinning many conceptions of *Stimmung*—including those of Leibniz, Kant, and Herder—is a

[96] Sebastian Wedler, 'The Tonal Webern: A Physiognomy of Early Modernism' (PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2017), p. 54.

[97] For two discussions, see Bernhard Radloff, *Heidegger and the Question of National Socialism: Disclosure and Gestalt* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Gary E. Aylesworth, 'Heidegger and the "Grundstimmung" of the German Nation', in *The Politics of Empathy: New Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Ancient Phenomenon*, ed. by Barbara Weber, Eva Marsal, and Takara Dobashi (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011), pp. 41–50. For one attempt to navigate these issues in musicology, see J. P. E. Harper-Scott, *Edward Elgar, Modernist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 32.

[98] For discussion of 'well-temperedness', see Leo Spitzer, 'Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word "Stimmung" (Part II)', *Traditio*, 3 (1945), 307–64 (p. 314).

harmonious resonance that challenges any notion of subjective autonomy.[99] In a Czech context, something similar can be found in Otakar Hostinský's work. In an effort to establish *Stimmung* as an important category for post-Wagnerian aesthetics, Hostinský turned its harmonising power to the *Gesamtkunswerk*.[100] For him, as Felix Wörner has noted, it 'possesse[d] the potential to combine materially dissociative arts (such as poetry and music)' into a single *Gesamtkunstwerk*, by harmonising them with the listening or viewing subject and with each other.[101] Arguably, in fact, this idea extends to present-day understandings of mood. As the *Urban Dictionary* suggests, 'Mood' (in contemporary English-language slang) can be used by a subject to express commonality, but also something more. 'Mood', according to the *Urban Dictionary*, is '[u]sed to express that something is relatable. Similar to "Same," but "Mood" became more common around 2016 […] If something is especially relatable, one might say "Big Mood." This implies that your whole being is one and the same with whatever you are commenting on.'[102]

These theoretical perspectives matter for how we understand *Stimmung*'s expressions in music and art because they partake in one and the same conceptual history. As

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[99] Wallrup, pp. 17–19. On *Stimmung* in an eighteenth century context, see also the collection of conference papers printed in *Stimmungen und Vielstimmigkeit der Aufklärung*, ed. by Sylvia Moosmüller, Boris Previšić, and Laure Spaltenstein (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017).

[100] Otakar Hostinský, *Das Musikalisch-Schöne und das Gesammtkunstwerk vom Standpunkte der formalen Ästhetik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1877).

[101] Felix Wörner, 'Otakar Hostinský, the Musically Beautiful, and the Gesamtkunstwerk', in *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, ed. by Nicole Grimes, Siobhán Donovan, and Wolfgang Marx (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013), pp. 70–88 (p. 79).

[102] e.a.92, 'Mood', *Urban Dictionary*, 2017 <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Mood> [accessed 1 December 2020]. For drawing my attention to this definition, I am grateful to Martin Lindill. A related word is 'vibe', which in urban slang can likewise suggest notions of attunement. One definition of 'vibe' is '[a] wavelength. Others can be on this wavelength or not.' Charbird, 'Vibe', *Urban Dictionary*, 2008 <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Vibe> [accessed 29 February 2024].

Grimley argues, the philosophical notion of *Stimmung* 'can refer both to an interiorisation (the condition of an attending subject) and to the external or environmental phenomena—such as a landscape at a certain time of day—that shape or determine the subject's response (whether conscious or not).'[103] Spitzer likewise highlights the links between 'temperament' and 'temperature', which can easily lead to notions of 'climate'.[104] It is notable, then, that *Stimmung*'s artistic expressions are concerned with exactly the same thing. Not coincidentally does art in the *Stimmung* tradition often depict landscapes at dawn or dusk. We witness this in Carl Moll's *Stimmungsstudie Abend, Michelhausen (Plankenberg)* (*Evening Mood Study, Michelhausen (Plankenberg)*, 1888) and Jakub Schikaneder's *Večerní nálada* (*Evening Mood*, c. 1910). In these paintings, it is as if light becomes an existential filter through which one's perception of a place becomes coloured. We find a similar phenomenon in Mařák's *Ranní píseň*, with all its sunrise hues. The painting's affects reside in its hazy glows, freezing the liminal time of sunrise into an eternal present. By way of this presence, the painting elides internal mood and external place, as existential distinctions between subject and object, Self and Other, inside and outside begin to collapse. It is as if a filter has descended upon both the scene and our perception of it, and each begins to blur into the other.[105] Or, as Grimley argues more sweepingly, *Stimmung* 'breaks down a monistic sense of autonomy or individual being into a more blended understanding of space, place, and time'.[106]

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[103] Grimley, '"In the Mood"', pp. 116–17.

[104] Leo Spitzer, p. 308.

[105] On similar ideas from a different disciplinary perspective, see Tim Ingold, 'The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and the Weather', *Visual Studies*, 20.2 (2005), 97–104 (p. 97).

[106] Grimley, '"In the Mood"', p. 117.

By discussing this philosophical tradition within a study about Dvořák, I want to clarify that it is not my purpose to 'redeem' his music philosophically. By discussing an intellectual tradition that was especially associated with German thinkers, in other words, it is not my aim to supply Dvořák's music with the philosophical depth that many have assumed it lacks, nor still (in a continuation of the problems I identified in Chapter One) to locate his music within a German intellectual context. It is also not my aim to make a point about authorial intention, since it seems unlikely that Dvořák should have known about *Stimmung*'s philosophical history in any depth. He might have been peripherally aware of Hostinský's 1877 discussion of *Stimmung* and the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, since Hostinský's essays about Czech national music had done much to enhance Dvořák's reputation on the Czech cultural scene.[107] He probably knew about *Stimmung* as a musical tradition by 1880, simply because it was so ubiquitous, and he certainly knew about it by the time he composed the *Poetische Stimmungsbilder* in 1889. But as Leon Botstein has noted, 'Dvořák was not interested in the power of music to wax philosophical',[108] and his awareness of *Stimmung*'s philosophical history was probably limited. By discussing this intellectual tradition, rather, my purpose is more broadly hermeneutic. So common was *Stimmung* at the time that listeners would surely have heard the songs' tunings in relation to this wider creative and intellectual history, irrespective of how deeply Dvořák understood this history himself. It is thus worth exploring what this philosophical history can tell us about the tunings of Dvořák's *Zigeunermelodien*, and whether they can help us to understand the Gypsy's mobilities.

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[107] On this point, see Chapter One.

[108] Botstein, p. 32.

From one perspective, the songs' *Stimmungen* other the Gypsy further. They affirm the common stereotype that the Gypsy, an exotic Other, was dangerously beholden to bodily experiences that had otherwise been discredited by the European Enlightenment. In examples like *Carmen*, Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl*, and, in a later context, Janáček's *Příhody lišky Bystroušky* (*The Cunning Little Vixen*, JW 1/9, 1921-23),[109] the Gypsy was often associated with seduction and abduction. Often, they were associated with child abduction, and in ways that imparted a moral lesson.[110] In Madame de Stolz's *La Maison Roulante* (*The House on Wheels*, 1869), as Jodie Matthews has described, a boy is kidnapped by a Gypsy and taken to a caravan. The kidnap occurs because the boy did not hold hands with his brother for safety, as his parents suggested, and the tale has a didactic purpose. 'The danger is not just the Gypsy *per se*,' Matthews notes, 'but what the Gypsy represents to the demographic expected to read this tale (middle-class children and their parents): transgression.'[111] Something similar is at play in Dvořák's songs, which reinforce many of the stereotypes associated with Gypsiness. As the listener becomes attuned to the *táhlá*, as per the lyrics' request, it is as if they are affectively abducted from within. This is especially true of the songs' soprano edition, since the female voice might easily suggest a Gypsy *femme fatale*—akin to the seductions of the title character in *Carmen*. But in both the soprano and tenor versions, the listener's capacity for rational thought is lost to affect,

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[109] For an in-depth discussion of these associations, see Allan C. Christensen, 'Creating/Vanishing: The Gypsy Muse in Works by Arnold, Kalda, Janáček, and Vaughan Williams', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, 45.3 (2012), 165–83. For other discussions, see Matthews, 'Reading the Victorian Gypsy', p. 45; T. F. Coombes, 'Music and Childhood in French Culture, 1880-1914' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2017), p. 155. See also Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, p. 155.

[110] On the Gypsy and child abduction, see Radmila Mladenova, *Patterns of Symbolic Violence: The Motif of 'Gypsy' Child-Theft across Visual Media* (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2019).

[111] Matthews, 'Reading the Victorian Gypsy', p. 197.

and with dangerous consequences. Not coincidentally are many of the songs' lyrics about death. When the triangle rings out in the second song, for instance, the protagonist celebrates '[h]ow sweetly my triangle rings, / like a Gypsy's song, when he bends over to die.'[112] As the tunings disorient the musical listener, they mediate presence and absence, proximity and distance, and—at their most existential—life and death.[113]

From another perspective, the songs' *Stimmungen* can be heard paternalistically. Though they otherize the Gypsy, in other words, they also invite the listener to empathise with that Other. After all, empathy was an important part of *Stimmung*'s intellectual history. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, *Stimmung* became a central component of *Einfühlungstheorie* (theory of empathy) in German aesthetics. '[W]hen we (in the given parlance) feel ourselves *into the object*,' Hermann Siebeck wrote, 'it will itself be drawn *into us*, and this latter perspective is even that which is characterising and essential for the whole process. Mediated by the mood [*Stimmung*], the object will be an element of our emotional state.'[114] Moreover, empathy was also an important part of *hallgató* Gypsy music, which Dvořák's final song imitates. In *hallgató* music, as Bellman describes, 'the soloist looks into a customer's soul, (supposedly) perceives and understands

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[112] This is my own, literal translation of the Czech lyrics rather than Macfarren's translation for Simrock. Hyduk's original Czech lyrics read as follows: '[k]terak trojhranec můj přerozkošně zvoní, / jak cigána píseň, když se k smrti kloní!'

[113] On landscape, presence, and absence, see John Wylie, 'Landscape, Absence and the Geographies of Love', *Transactions - Institute of British Geographers*, 34.3 (2009), 275–89 (p. 279). On these ideas in the context of *Stimmung*, see also Grimley, '"In the Mood"', p. 127.

[114] Hermann Siebeck, 'Musik und Gemütstimmung: Zur Psychologie der Tonkunst', *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 150 (1913), 11–12; translated and quoted in Wallrup, p. 55. For a more in-depth discussion of these issues, which guides Wallrup's own discussion, see Anna-Katharina Gisbertz, '"Stimmung" im Diskurs der Ästhetik und Psychologie um 1900', in *Concordia Discors: Ästhetiken der Stimmung zwischen Literaturen, Künsten und Wissenschaften*, ed. by Hans-Georg von Arburg and Sergej Rickenbacher (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012), pp. 183–98.

his personal sorrows and concerns, and expresses them on his instrument. When the Gypsy "plays" the customer's deepest feelings, the customer then feels as if he or she has an integral part in the composition.'[115] In its *Meno mosso* sections, then, the final song calls upon the listener and the imaginary Gypsy to become mutually empathetic. It invites the listener to empathise with the Gypsy Other, which lends credibility to the Cambridge speaker's paternalistic reading of the songs, and which can be read as an attempt to 'envoice' someone who (due to its exoticism) the music otherwise seems to silence. But it also reverses this dynamic, by suggesting that (similar to *hallgató* music) the Gypsy has themselves become empathetic towards the listener. In this way, it accommodates familiar, paternalistic understandings of the non-European Other, whilst subtly provincializing them at the same time.[116]

From a third perspective, however, the songs' *Stimmungen* blur the relationship between listening Self and Gypsy Other more substantively. Since affects are fundamentally nonrepresentational, they undercut the exotic representation on which the Gypsy's otherness depends.[117] Seemingly, they return to a more attuned or harmonious state that preceded the Self-Other distinctions of modern Enlightenment thought, on which the Gypsy's construction as a pre-Enlightenment Other depends.[118] By combining exotic

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[115] Bellman, 'Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois', p. 221.

[116] For a summary of provincialisation, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N. J. and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 42–46.

[117] On affect and binaries, see James Ash, 'Flat Ontology and Geography', *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 10.3 (2020), 345–61 (p. 348).

[118] On Enlightenment Others from a geographical perspective, see Helliwell and Hindess, p. 28. On Self-Other relations, modernity, and race from a different disciplinary perspective, see also William A. Callahan, *Sensible Politics: Visualizing International Relations* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 50.

representation with nonrepresentational *Stimmungen*, then, the songs both exaggerate and blur the distinction between Self and Other simultaneously. These features of the songs are significant for two reasons. Firstly, they suggest new ways of thinking about otherness in Dvořák's music. They point to how Dvořák 'blurred the boundaries between the European Self and the non-European Other', much as Nedbal suggested about *Armida*.[119] Yet they are supported by a sturdier theoretical foundation than Nedbal's study, and as such they cannot be reduced to paternalistic notions of empathy alone (even as the songs may accommodate such a reading). Secondly, these features complicate our understanding of the songs' politics. They open a Pandora's box. Through their affects, they prompt a more immediate encounter with what Stewart Dearing has termed the Gypsy's 'outcast, pariah elements of European modernity'.[120] They bring the Gypsy's containment of otherness into question, and they imbue the cimbalom imitations with a more threatening quality. More than just material tunings, these imitations highlight the risks of being *existentially* mistuned. Paired with the lyrics' references to death, they point to how (as Daniel Chua notes) 'tuning has apocalyptic overtones. The slightest change in global temperament can cause a collapse of the cosmic order.'[121]

Most noteworthy about these *Stimmungen*, however, is what they can tell us about the songs' expressions of mobility. For although they contextualise the Gypsy, offering a background for the Gypsy to be 'out of place', they also elicit their own sense of mobility. Most obviously, the fifth song's *Stimmung* connotes bodily movement when the lyrics

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[119] Martin Nedbal, pp. 26–27.

[120] Dearing, p. 165.

[121] Daniel K. L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge [Eng.] and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 16.

describe a dance. In the oompah cimbalom passage from b. 5, for example, the lyrics invite the listener to 'join the wreathing dances!'[122] But it also connotes mobility because *Stimmung* is in some sense always already mobile, regardless of context. As Wallrup notes, *Stimmung* elicits 'the embodied movements which are discerned as changes in the disposition and dynamics of the lived body'.[123] *Stimmung* points to the link between physical movement and the affective experience of 'being moved'—what mobility scholars have described as the inseparability of motion and *e*motion.[124] From this perspective, the songs' *Stimmungen* connote their own kinds of mobility. By inviting the listener to be 'moved,' they mobilise the listening Self *in relation to* the Gypsy Other, who (in the songs' most politically radical feature) becomes the stable existential point on which the songs' geography centres. They evoke a transitory experience of dwelling, akin to what Shubin has termed the Gypsy's experience of 'being attuned-in-motion', which mobilises the listener as much as it does the Gypsy.[125] In all these ways, then, the songs' *Stimmungen* can tell us about their expression of mobility. Indeed, they can also tell us about musical expressions of mobility more generally, since they suggest that mobility is always contingent upon the shifting subject positions of the listener—not simply a feature of the musical text.[126] Ultimately, then, they show (as Peter Adey has discussed elsewhere) that 'immobilities or

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[122] 'Bursche, tanz' im Kreise!'

[123] Wallrup, p. 128.

[124] On affective, nonrepresentational, and relational approaches to mobility, see Peter Merriman, 'Molar and Molecular Mobilities: The Politics of Perceptible and Imperceptible Movements', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 37.1 (2019), 65–82 (pp. 70–73); Ole B. Jensen, Mimi Sheller, and Simon Wind, 'Together and Apart: Affective Ambiences and Negotiation in Families' Everyday Life and Mobility', *Mobilities*, 10.3 (2015), 363–82 (pp. 364–66).

[125] Shubin, p. 1936.

[126] On mobility and subject position, see Tauri Tuvikene, 'Absence, Presence, and Mobility: A Landscape Approach to an Unfinished Tram Project', *Transfers*, 12.2 (2022), 47–59 (pp. 48–50).

moorings are indeed mobile too […] it is not quite clear how fixities enable mobilities or indeed how easily mobilities and immobilities or mobilities and moorings slip out of phase, moorings becoming mobilities and mobilities becoming moorings.'[127]

Thus, the *Zigeunermelodien* can help us to answer the questions raised by Chapter One. They demonstrate, firstly, how Dvořák's mobilities can be heard compositionally, not just via lyrics. Through their representational and nonrepresentational features, they show how Dvořák conveys an ambiguous relationship between what is 'in place' and what is 'out of place', which occurs in the bodies of listeners as much as the musical text. Secondly, and by extension, these features of the songs enrich our understanding of marginality in Dvořák's music. Against the casual, essentialist notions of empathy for the Other that define so much prior scholarship, these nonrepresentational features suggest a more relational understanding of otherness. They evoke a state of continual becoming, compositionally akin to the fugitive's transformations in 'Die Flucht', in which the Gypsy moves and the listener 'is moved' by the Gypsy, and in which any stable sense of authorial or listening subject position is brought into question. In both ways, then, the *Zigeunermelodien* can allow us to answer the questions raised by Chapter One. But in doing so, they have also raised new questions about how Dvořák's mobilities are entangled with modernity, and what Anderson described as the 'alienation and rootlessness that accompanied modern disenchantment'.[128] These questions deserve closer scrutiny since, though mobility is by no means unique to the modern period, it assumed greater importance in the nineteenth

[127] Adey, 'If Mobility Is Everything Then It Is Nothing', pp. 86–87. For a useful discussion of this quote, see Merriman, 'Mobility/Fixity', p. 11.

[128] Anderson, *The Powers of Distance*, p. 4.

century, when all aspects of life were increasingly on the move.[129] The next chapter begins to answer these questions. It does so by discussing the most well-known, and the most obviously 'modern' aspect of Dvořák's biography: his interest in railways.

[129] On mobility and modernity, see the inaugural editorial of *Transfers*: Gijs Mom, '"Hop on the Bus, Gus."', *Transfers*, 1.1 (2011), 1–13 (p. 2). On the larger history of mobility in premodern and modern eras, see Cresswell, *On the Move*, chap. 1.

III

Train

Dvořák's Industrial Sonatas

Trainspotting with Dvořák

Of the many quirks of Dvořák's biography, the best-known is his interest in railways. Dvořák's first encounter with the railways was during his childhood, around a decade after the first locomotive-hauled line opened in Bohemia, when the Prague-Kralupy route first passed through his hometown of Nelahozeves.[1] The line's construction began in 1845, when Dvořák was just three or four, and it was located just between his home and the Vltava—a few hundred yards away.[2] It was not until 1851 that the first steam train passed through, when Dvořák was ten, but the construction of the railway loomed large over Dvořák's early years. His interest in railways developed more intensively after he moved to Prague, aged sixteen. The main station then was what is now the Prague Masaryk railway station, located in the New Town quarter of Prague, but the Franz Joseph Station later

[1] Ian Carter, *British Railway Enthusiasm* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. 5.

[2] Ondřej Šupka, 'Nelahozeves', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/life/places/nelahozeves/> [accessed 17 February 2024].

opened in 1871. A monument to imperial might, the Franz Joseph Station was also a symbol of industrial progress right in the centre of Prague, immediately adjacent to Wenceslas Square. Dvořák made a point of walking past the station each day, admiring the view from above the railway tunnels on Vinohradská Street (just behind where the National Museum is located today).[3] Indeed, he often walked into the station itself, making a note of the locomotives' numbers before they departed for their destinations. As Albert Innaurato observes, Dvořák 'even sent Josef Suk one day. The steam confused Suk, who wrote down the numbers of the coal cars instead. Dvořák screamed the entire day, finally locking himself in his office with these words: "To think, I am letting a man like you marry my daughter!"'[4]

Dvořák's hobby is a productive starting point for discussion. In prior scholarship it has been biographically productive for Leon Botstein, who has used it to challenge the familiar biographical cliché that Dvořák was merely conservative, folksy, or otherwise backwards looking.[5] Though Botstein arguably reinscribes a different cliché of reception, the familiar idea that Dvořák 'loved pigeons and trains, not ideology',[6] his discussion of trainspotting remains useful because it discredits the notion that Dvořák was detached from modern life. Dvořák's hobby can also be hermeneutically productive. It is hard not to associate the lilting rhythms of the *Humoresque* No. 7 (B. 187/7, 1894) with a leisurely trip

[3] Šupka, 'Did You Know?'

[4] Albert Innaurato, 'Closely Watched Trains', *Opera News*, 58.6 (1993), 66 (p. 66).

[5] Botstein, pp. 35–39.

[6] Beckerman, 'Dvorak Loved Pigeons and Trains, Not Ideology'.

down a rural branch line, and the clickety-clack of wheels on rails.[7] Likewise, the finale of the 'American' quartet (B. 179/4, 1893) invites railway comparisons in its (hyper)metric regularity, and it has long been heard as such in prior reception.[8] To be sure, any causal link between the railways and Dvořák's compositions is hard to prove. I know of only one instance where the railways directly influenced his music: according to the holograph of Symphony No. 7, the symphony's main theme came to him at the train station, but it more likely reflects the passengers of the train—Czech nationalists who had arrived from Budapest—than the train itself.[9] But Dvořák's music can often be heard in relation to industrial rhythms, and railways were an important aspect of Czech life at this time: in the half-century from 1839 to 1889, as Vladimír Macura notes, the train 'started to be perceived, experienced, woven into the fabric of experience, became the subject of language activity, the subject of conversation, imbued with meanings and transformed from a mere "thing" to a signifier in a "semiotic universe"'.[10] As such it seems productive to take seriously the idea that Dvořák's music can be heard in relation to the railways, and to take seriously its engagement with the machinery of modern life.

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[7] On the *Humoresque* and railways, see Martin Higginson, '"Being Poor Is Going to the Ritz on the Bus": The Portrayal of Buses and Trams in Popular Culture', in *Transport and Its Place in History: Making the Connections*, ed. by David Turner (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 114–35 (p. 119).

[8] During an analysis tutorial about rhythm, in fact, no fewer than three of my students used a railway metaphor to discuss the final movement of this quartet.

[9] Jarmil Burghauser, *Antonín Dvořák: Life and Work*, ed. by Milan Pospíšil, trans. by David R. Beveridge (Prague: KLP, 2007), p. 73; discussed in Leslie Kinton, 'A Documentary Study and Schenkerian Analysis of Dvořák's Symphony in D Minor Op. 70' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2008), pp. 25–26.

[10] A fuller quote reads as follows: '[t]o půlstoletí je vlastně dobou včleňování vlaku do české kultury. Začal být vnímán, prožíván, vplétán do přediva zážitků a zkušeností, stal se tématem jazykové aktivity, předmětem hovoru, obaloval se významy a měnil se z prosté nové „věci" ve „věc-znak" jako součást „sémiotického univerza" či chceme-li „sémio-sféry" českého světa minulého století.' Vladimír Macura, *Česky Sen* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1998), p. 157; my own translation.

In so doing, it should first be noted that Dvořák's trainspotting does not necessarily have to become another way of infantilising his music, by associating him with a hobby that many might deem to be childish. Trains are not only symbols of leisure or recreation. This idea speaks more to nostalgic images of steam trains that proliferate today, largely due to the work of rural heritage railways, than it does to trains as Dvořák might have encountered them. Aside from a feeling of enjoyment, the experience of riding a train can elicit boredom, or frustration in the face of delays. As a mode of mass transport, they can create nervousness (the worry, late at night, about who might be sitting opposite) and hostility towards those who are different (not least towards homeless people who ride the trains for warmth). Well into the twentieth century, moreover, trains also elicited widespread excitement. For many, trains were understood as the pinnacle of technological progress, and Walter Benjamin described them as 'probably the *last* [...] means of transport which creates masses'.[11] They were therefore understood as an historical telos: the end goal of a predetermined historical journey, much like the train's own geographical journey to its destination. Or, to put it a different way, they amounted to Hegelianism on iron wheels. This points to ways that Dvořák's trainspotting can be linked to music. In the context of music, it should come as no surprise that Beethoven's 'heroic' music—the archetype of musical Hegelianism—has often been discussed using railway metaphors. 'From the perspective of the symphony's reception,' Daniel Chua notes, 'it is not only the French Revolution but the Industrial Revolution that the *Eroica* trumpets.'[12] Likewise, Ulrich Schmitt has noted

[11] Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), p. 744; quoted in Simon Ward, 'Train and Nation: "CityExpress" - The Soap Opera', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 34.3 (2000), 9–26 (p. 13). Emphasis added.

[12] Daniel K. L. Chua, 'Adorno's Symphonic Space-Time and Beethoven's Time Travel in Space', *New German Critique*, 43.3 (2016), 113–37 (p. 117). On the implied equivalence of the individual hero and the

the historical links 'between Beethoven and railways, between loudness and speed, between the modern experience of hearing and technical progress.'[13] That Beethoven's *Eroica* was completed in the same year that the first steam train (built by Richard Trevithick for an ironworks in Wales) completed its inaugural journey is not just a coincidence.[14] Rather, it speaks to the prevalence of industrial modernity in all aspects of nineteenth-century life.

Though trains were often associated with new possibilities, however, they were also associated with significant dangers. Trains could collide with each other, as the Czechs knew better than most. The first locomotive-powered railway in the Habsburg Empire opened two years prior to Dvořák's birth, initially connecting Vienna to Břeclav (a Moravian town bordering both Austria and Slovakia) and later extending a further forty miles to Brno. The first three trains from Vienna arrived at Brno on 7th July 1839. But on their return journey, that very same afternoon, two of them collided.[15] Trains could also collide directly with human bodies, as they did on the inaugural trip of the Manchester-Liverpool line, and these kinds of collisions became a recurring concern for many nineteenth-century authors

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revolutionary crowd—the sense that '[o]ne stands for all'—see also Chua, 'Adorno's Symphonic Space-Time', p. 115.

[13] Ulrich Schmitt, *Revolution im Konzertsaal: Zur Beethoven-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert* (Mainz: Schott, 1990), p. 99; quoted in David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 13; also quoted in Chua, 'Adorno's Symphonic Space-Time and Beethoven's Time Travel in Space', p. 117. On Beethoven and speed, see also Reinhold Brinkmann, 'In the Time(s) of the "Eroica"', in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. by Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg, trans. by Irene Zedlacher (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 1–26 (pp. 10–11). For useful surveys of the links between railways and music, see also Julia Winterson, *Railways & Music* (Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press, 2022); Philip Scowcroft, 'Music and Railways', *Journal of the Railway & Canal Historical Society*, 34.4 (2003), 248–53.

[14] Julian Johnson, *Out of Time*, pp. 47–48.

[15] Chad Bryant, 'Into an Uncertain Future: Railroads and Vormärz Liberalism in Brno, Vienna, and Prague', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 40 (2009), 183–201 (p. 183).

and poets. As Nicky Gardner describes, for instance, Leo Tolstoy's *Анна Каренина* (*Anna Karenina*, 1878) 'can be read as one of the most celebrated anti-railroad tracts of nineteenth-century literature', since its conclusion depicts the protagonist's suicide under the wheels of a train. Likewise, Nikolay Nekrasov's poem *Железная дорога* (*The Railway*, 1864) suggests 'that the line from St. Petersburg to Moscow was effectively built on the skeletons of the Russian serfs who had perished in the construction of the line.'[16] Yet the trains rolled on throughout the nineteenth century and by the early years of the next century, as Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht comments, '[r]eports of deadly railway accidents always present[ed] trains as agents of fate and ascribe[d] to the victims full responsibility for their deaths'.[17] A far cry from the leisurely notions of trainspotting to which Botstein referred, or the heroic teleology of Beethoven's music, the train's relentless momentum could often be fatal. In the nineteenth century, as Chad Bryant thus observes, 'liberalism's most potent symbol of commerce, science, progress, and national unity, easily became a source of consternation and a symbol of destruction.'[18] It gained a new, disturbing significance for the masses in the early-twentieth century, moreover, when on the line to Auschwitz, in freight vans that

[16] Nicky Gardner, 'On the Iron Roads: Of Russian Trains, Literature & Empire', *Russian Life*, 56.1 (2013), 36–44 (p. 40). In a Russian context, the train was also associated with moral dangers. For instance, Fyodor Dostoevsky's Идиот (*The Idiot*, 1868-69) opens with a young man, Prince Myshkin, discussing his life with strangers on a train to St Petersburg. The train's journey from one place to another, and its symbolic function as a locus of rapid historical change, neatly parallel the protagonist's loss of innocence. Likewise, the murderous plot of Tolstoy's Крейцерова соната (*The Kreutzer Sonata*, 1889) is bookended by train trips. On *The Idiot*, see Nicky Gardner, p. 36.

[17] Gumbrecht, *In 1926*, p. 179.

[18] Bryant, p. 184.

allowed for standing room only, the train's final destination would also become the Final Solution.[19]

This chapter uses Dvořák's interest in railways to understand how his music is entangled with modern life. Whereas the previous chapter addressed modernity's social effects, exemplified by the Gypsy, this chapter seeks to understand its industrial effects. It argues that, though there is little evidence that Dvořák ever represented a train, the *metaphor* of a train helps to explain the processes, mechanisms, and industrial sounds that recur throughout his music, and the mobilities of his idealised (rather than materially embedded) musical subjects. Unlike the previous chapters, it therefore applies mobility solely as an interpretative category—a way for scholars to mobilise this music imaginatively—rather than also as a literal feature of poetic or compositional expression.[20] The chapter's case studies are two string quartet movements by Dvořák: the first movements of the String Quartet No. 7 in A minor (B. 45, 1874) and the String Quartet No. 14 in A flat major (B. 193, 1895). Both these pieces use a 'mechanical topic', associated with a range of rhythmic, metrical, and textural features that evoke the sounds of industrial modernity. In context, they also enforce the smooth passage of sonata forms that (as James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy note) have long been associated with mobility through a series of tonal 'spaces', whose dialectical process was also a product of modern thinking, but that by the latter half

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[19] On railways and Auschwitz, see Todd Samuel Presner, *Mobile Modernity: Germans, Jews, Trains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 211. On the dialectical significance of Auschwitz, see Daniel Malloy, 'Dialectic and Enlightenment: The Concept of Enlightenment in Hegel and Horkheimer-Adorno', *Auslegung: A Journal of Philosophy*, 27.2 (2005), 43–60 (pp. 45–46).

[20] On mobility as a metaphor, see Margaroni and Yiannopoulou.

of the nineteenth century had become increasingly marked.[21] By mobilising this music, the chapter demonstrates how Dvořák's music is entangled with modern life. In different ways, both pieces irresistibly evoke the sounds of a train, cutting through the landscape, stopping at various points on its journey, and bringing distant locations into closer proximity. But the chapter also uses these pieces to show that mobility is not always emancipatory. Unlike the previous case studies, the sonata mobilities of these pieces are not associated with freedom. Quite the opposite: they comprise an experience of discipline, disenchantment, and alienation.

Industrialism, Form, and Mobility

I begin with the first movement of Dvořák's String Quartet No. 7 (B. 45/1, 1874), which Dvořák composed in September of 1874. A type 3 sonata form, in Hepokoski and Darcy's terms, the movement has not been deemed sufficiently abnormal to warrant sustained academic attention on purely formal grounds. In a brief discussion of B. 45, for example, David Beveridge suggests that Dvořák 'sacrificed too much of his imaginative spontaneity in his pursuit of formal orthodoxy.'[22] In his contribution to the 1980 edition of *Grove*, in fact, John Clapham even dismissed the piece as 'rather uninteresting.'[23] When the piece has attracted attention, moreover, scholars have generally sought to make a virtue of its

[21] These ideas are premisses of their study, but for a brief overview see James A. Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 15–16. On sonata form as a kind of mobility, see also McClary, 'Narrative Agendas in "Absolute" Music', p. 72.

[22] Beveridge, 'Romantic Ideas in a Classical Frame', p. 152.

[23] John Clapham, 'Dvořák, Antonín', ed. by Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980), pp. 765–92 (p. 780).

apparent formal simplicity. For example, Otakar Šourek argues that Dvořák's 'striving after clarity, neatness and correctness of form is reflected in an almost exaggerated care and preciseness'.[24] Indeed, some have read it as a direct response to his String Quartet No. 6, which was also in A minor, and as an attempt to 'rectify' the earlier piece's formal complexity.[25] Without wishing to deny such a reading, I nonetheless want to suggest that its apparent normativity, and the mechanical efficiency with which it passes by a series of formal landmarks, may be more challenging—and ultimately, dehumanising—than scholars have previously acknowledged.

A triple-metre *Allegro ma non troppo*, the P space uses a mazurka topic. It comprises an irregular 8-bar theme, defined by an emphasis on the second and third beats of each bar and off-kilter phrase organisation (example 3.1).[26] This mazurka lacks the tonal or rhetorical impetus that might be expected of a P space. It is marked *piano legato*, and it relegates the dominant chord to a syncopated beat: this syncopation reduces the dominant chord's rhetorical weight, invoking the kind of temporal stasis that—consistent with the mazurka's origins as a Polish folkdance—has long been associated with musical pastoralism. Initially, Dvořák's formal solution to this initial lack of impetus is to repeat rather than to develop. As the previous chapters have noted, this strategy is commonly associated with

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[24] Otakar Šourek, *The Chamber Music of Antonín Dvořák*, trans. by R. F. Samsour (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 70; quoted in Beveridge, 'Romantic Ideas in a Classical Frame', p. 152.

[25] For example, Ondřej Šupka, 'String Quartet No. 7 in A Minor, Op. 16, B45', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/work/string-quartet-no-7-in-a-minor/> [accessed 5 February 2023].
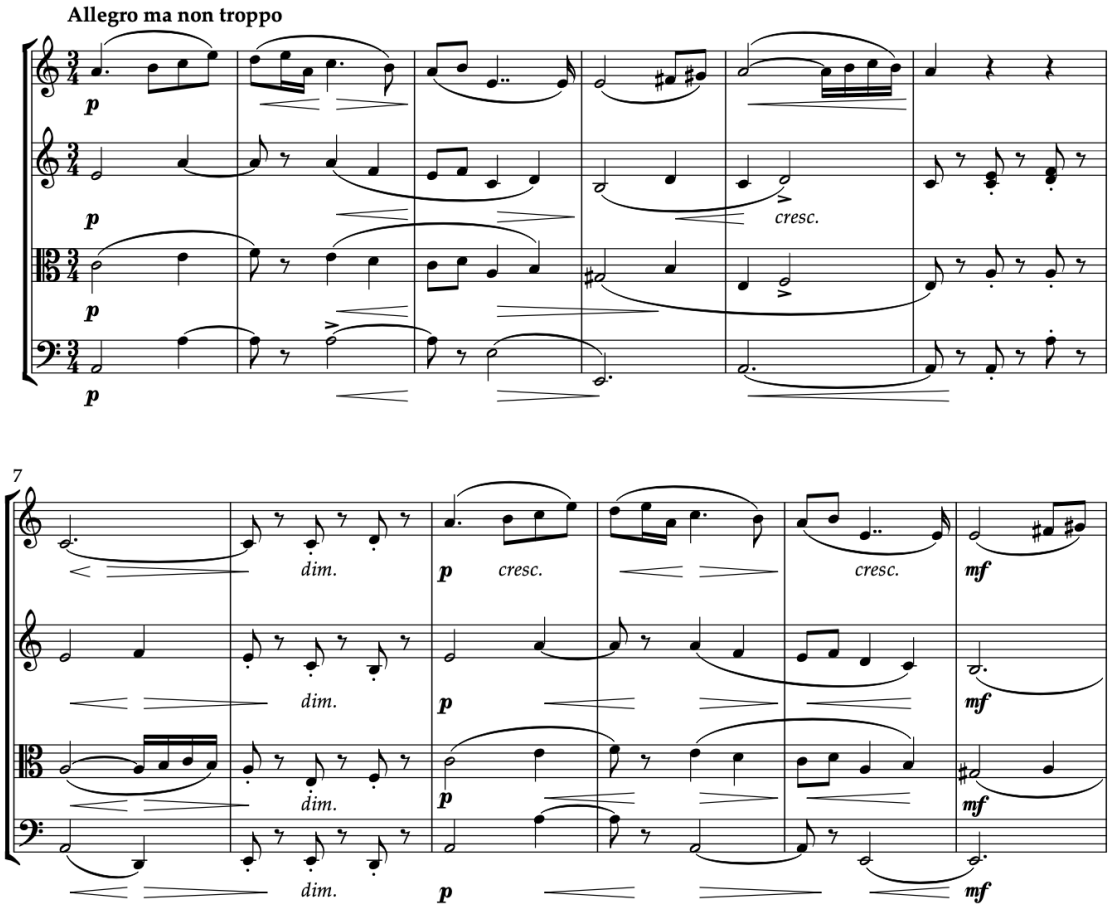
[26] For an overview of the mazurka, see Anne Swartz, 'The Polish Folk Mazurka', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica*, 1.4 (1975), 249–55; for a more recent discussion, see Michael L. Klein, *Music and the Crises of the Modern Subject* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015), pp. 96–102. All score excerpts of B. 45/1 are taken from the Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění edition of 1958.

landscape aesthetics in music. In this case, it further elaborates the pastoral connotations of the mazurka theme. From b. 23, the shorter note values, ascension of register, and heightened dynamic markings create a sense of accumulation or energy gain. Paired with an emphasis on the dominant chord, this energy gain creates an expectation that a PAC will shortly be achieved, and that TR will follow. But although a PAC arrives in bb. 28-29, it begins another restatement of the primary theme rather than the TR, this time an octave higher. It thus attenuates the intensive temporal drive of the sonata form in favour of *ex*tensive, bucolic spatialisation.[27] A rhetorical negation of the tonal closure in bb. 28-9, this restatement comprises $P^{1.2}$, which proceeds to TR space not via a PAC (after all, that has already been achieved) but by a forced rhetorical onset of the TR at b. 39. This moment prevents any further repetitions, and it forces a 'P=>TR merger' using *ff* accented semiquavers (example 3.2).[28]
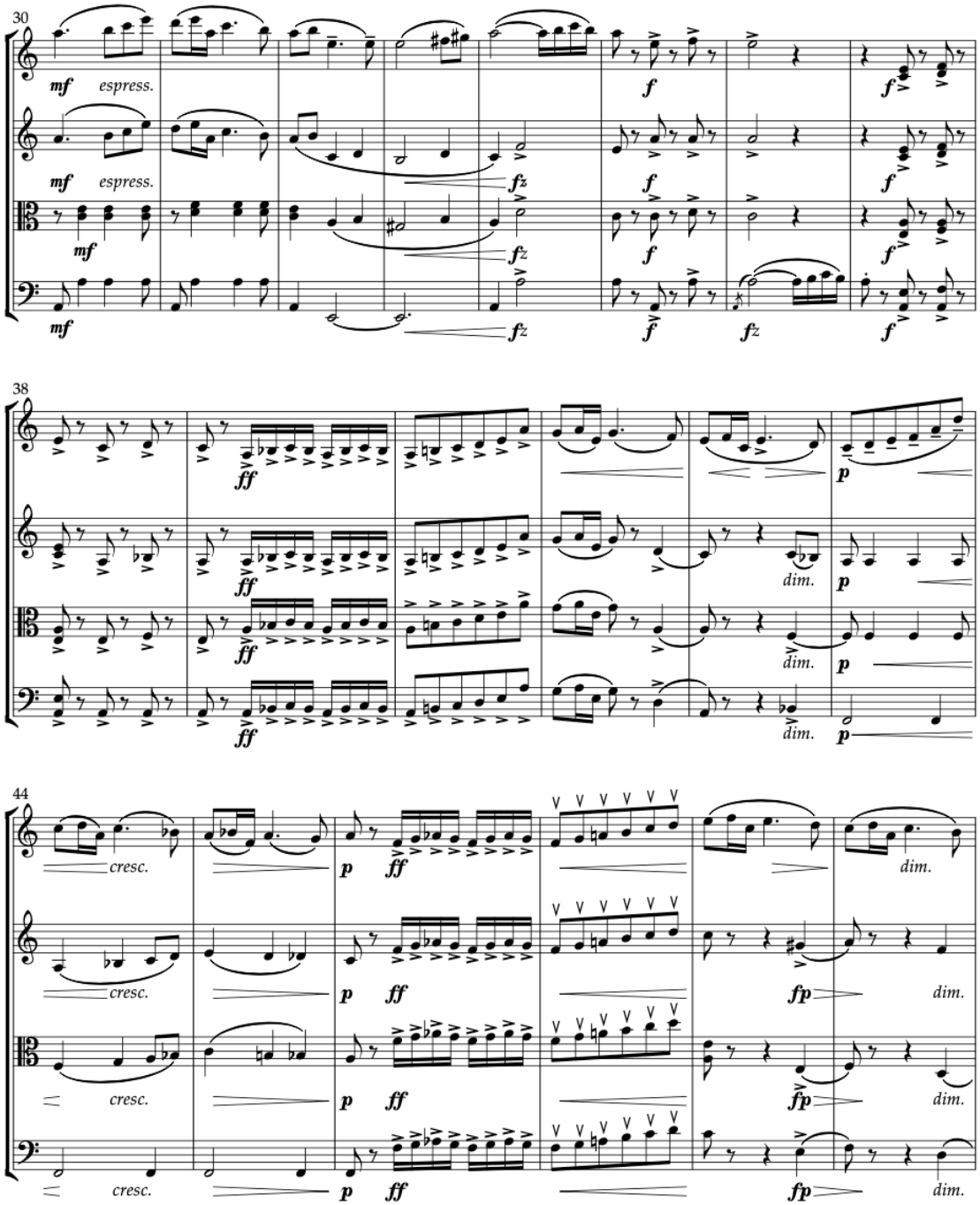
[27] On intensive and extensive modes of expression, see Michael Spitzer, *Music as Philosophy: Adorno and Beethoven's Late Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), p. 119. See also Lee, p. 97.

[28] On P=>TR mergers, see Hepokoski and Darcy, pp. 85–86.

Example 3.1: Dvořák, String Quartet No. 7, *Allegro ma non troppo* (B. 45/1, 1874), bb. 1-12



Example 3.2: Dvořák, B. 45/1, bb. 30-49



Yet this passage is less interesting for taxonomical than for hermeneutic reasons, since it evokes the industrialism, mechanisms, and temporalisation of nineteenth-century

century life. A 'temporalisation of experience' had already begun by the eighteenth century, as Benedict Taylor and Karol Berger have both argued, when cyclical, traditionalist notions of time were replaced by notions of linear progress.[29] But in the nineteenth century, time became increasingly standardised, regularised, and synchronised. It was broken down into regular units that were the same everywhere—not least due to the introduction of standardised railway times—and that became the rhythmic pulse of the industrial revolution.[30] 'In paradigmatic modern institutions,' Sebastian Conrad has observed, 'the rhythm of time was closely monitored and deeply integrated into daily routines. Factory work, schools, and military manoeuvres shaped social norms, and imprinted the new regime onto individual lives and bodies.'[31] As scholars in literary studies have noted, this regularised, mechanical understanding of time was a concern for poets and writers in the nineteenth century, including William Aitken and Alexander Anderson.[32] It also led to new musical inventions like the metronome.[33] However, these mechanical pulses were also reified as a musical

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[29] Benedict Taylor, *The Melody of Time: Music and Temporality in the Romantic Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 30, 53–54; Karol Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow: An Essay on the Origins of Musical Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. 9; see also Michael Fend, 'Romantic Empowerment at the Paris Opera in the 1770s and 1780s', *Music & Letters*, 94.2 (2013), 263–94 (pp. 268–71).

[30] On railway times, see Oliver Zimmer, 'One Clock Fits All? Time and Imagined Communities in Nineteenth-Century Germany', *Central European History*, 53.1 (2020), 48–70.

[31] Sebastian Conrad, '"Nothing Is the Way It Should Be": Global Transformations of the Time Regime in the Nineteenth Century', *Modern Intellectual History*, 15.3 (2018), 821–48 (p. 828).

[32] On Aitken and Anderson, see Kirstie Blair, 'Inhuman Rhythms: Working-Class Railway Poets and the Measure of Industry', *Victorian Review*, 40.1 (2014), 35–39. Yopie Prins, 'Voice Inverse', *Victorian Poetry*, 42.1 (2004), 43–60 (p. 48); Jason David Hall, 'Materializing Meter: Physiology, Psychology, Prosody', *Materializing Meter: Physiology, Psychology, Prosody*, 49.2 (2011), 179–97 (pp. 187–88); for a useful overview of Hall's thoughts more generally, see also Jason David Hall, *Nineteenth-Century Verse and Technology: Machines of Metre* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 5–6.

[33] On the metronome, see Alexander E. Bonus, 'Maelzel, the Metronome, and the Modern Mechanics of Musical Time', in *The Oxford Handbook of Time in Music*, ed. by Mark Doffman, Emily Payne, and Toby Young (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 303–40. For a discussion of the metronome in the broader context of nineteenth-century modernity, see Naomi Waltham-Smith and Alexander Rehding,

topic. As Allison Wente describes, some music from the early twentieth century evoked the 'sounds of industrialized labour's regulated and percussive rhythms, frenetic pacing, repetitive nature, and general indifference to metrical hierarchy,' as well as 'a mechanistic indifference to harmonic dissonance.'[34] And though Wente focuses on music from the 1910s until the 1920s, especially film music, she notes that composers had been interested in mechanical sounds for more than a century earlier. Prominent examples include Joseph Haydn's Symphony No. 101 ('The Clock', Hob. 1:101; 1794) and Léo Delibes's *Coppelia* (1870).[35] For all these reasons, it therefore seems historically appropriate to listen for mechanical sounds—what Wente terms a 'mechanical topic'—in the nineteenth century.[36]

In Dvořák's music, the mechanical topic is characterised by a specific set of compositional devices. It is usually characterised by a sudden emphasis on rhythm and texture, whether because it highlights a single rhythm conspicuously (often due to homorhythm) or because of a sudden, complex passage of polyrhythm that ends as quickly as it began. In general, it also serves to reinforce the metre, often by emphasising each crotchet of the

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'Introduction: Toppling Romanticism', in *A Cultural History of Western Music in The Industrial Age*, ed. by Alexander Rehding and Naomi Waltham-Smith (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), pp. 1–27 (p. 6).

[34] Allison Wente, 'Queue the Roll: Taylorized Labor Practices and Music of the Machine Age', *Music Theory Online*, 24.4 (2018), paras 1.1, 5.5; quoted in Wesley J. Bradford, 'Exploring the Narrative Implications of Emerging Topics in "The Legend of Zelda: Breath of the Wild"', *Journal of Sound and Music in Games*, 1.4 (2020), 1–21 (p. 7).

[35] Wente, paras 2.2-2.3.

[36] Wente, n. 7. For further discussion of the mechanical in music, see Tamara Balter, 'A Theory of Irony in Music: Types of Irony in the String Quartets of Haydn and Beethoven' (PhD thesis, Indiana University Jacobs School of Music, 2009), p. 126; cited in Wente, n. 7. See also Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), p. 392; Janet M. Levy, '"Something Mechanical Encrusted on the Living": A Source of Musical Wit and Humor', in *Convention in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music: Essays in Honor of Leonard G. Ratner*, ed. by W. J. Allanbrook, J. M. Levy, and W. P. Mahrt (New York: Pendragon Press, 1992), pp. 225–56; both cited in Balter, p. 96. For a brief literature review of the mechanical in nineteenth-century music, especially in a French context, see also T. F. Coombes, 'The Mysterious Souls of Hellé and Debussy's Toys', *Music & Letters*, 102.1 (2020), 80–100 (pp. 80–81).

bar, and it often uses sudden *ff* or *sfz* dynamic markings in all parts to create a cacophonous effect. Consider the opening of Dvořák's String Quartet No. 13 (B. 192, 1895), presented in example 3.3.[37] After a pentatonic, pastoral opening, which uses a five-bar folk phrase, and which resembles both a hunting call and the scarlet tanager birdsong that had so interested Dvořák in Iowa two years earlier, the P space introduces a sudden, mechanistic bar of *forte* polyrhythms (b. 4, and again in b. 9).[38] Like the mechanical topic more generally, it is defined by a sudden shift in texture, dynamic markings, rhythm, and articulation. This passage irresistibly evokes the sounds of industrial modernity, and the 'sounds of industrialized labour's regulated and percussive rhythms' elsewhere discussed by Wente.[39] It is even supported by a cyclical figure in the cello line, which easily evokes the sounds of a repetitive mechanism—akin to the rotations of a spinning wheel in a textiles factory. All these features can be found in the TR of Dvořák's B. 45/1. After the folklike mazurka topic of the P space, the onset of TR is marked by accented semiquaver motion, in which harmony and melody are subordinated to an oppressive homorhythm. This homorhythm is paired with *b*♭ chromaticism, an example of the 'mechanistic indifference to harmonic dissonance' described by Wente.[40] In context, its rhythmic regularity forcibly corrects the uneven opening bars, as if a large machine is sliding into gear.
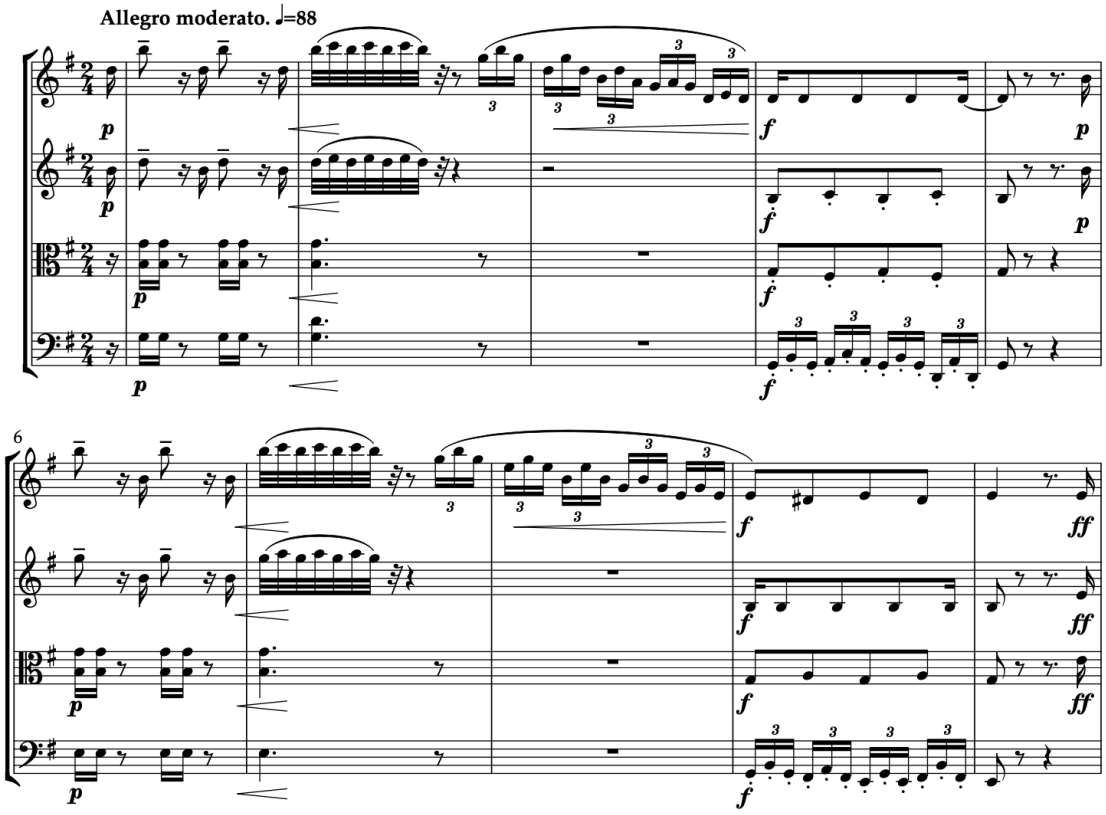
[37] All score excerpts of B. 192/1 are drawn from the Eulenberg edition of 1910.

[38] On the tanager call, see Chapter One about birds.

[39] Wente, paras 1.1, 5.5; quoted in Bradford, p. 7.

[40] Wente, para. 5.5.

Example 3.3: Dvořák, String Quartet No. 13, *Allegro moderato* (B. 192/1, 1895), bb. 1-10



However, other features of this topic are not straightforwardly mimetic. The mechanical topic can often assume formal significance, much as William E. Caplin and Kofi Agawu have argued about other topics, but in ways that vary depending on the formal context in which it is deployed.[41] In some contexts, like the complex polyrhythms of B. 192's development, the mechanical topic is used to gain the energy needed for a series of

[41] This is the overarching point of William E. Caplin, 'On the Relation of Musical Topoi to Formal Function', *Eighteenth Century Music*, 2.1 (2005), 113–24. In making this point, he follows Kofi Agawu, 'The Challenge of Semiotics', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 138-160 (p. 156). My point differs slightly from theirs insofar as I am not suggesting that the mechanical topic lends itself to a specific moment in any given piece. Whereas a French overture might lend itself to the beginning of a piece, for example, the mechanical topic may appear at any part of the form. As such, its precise characteristics are always contingent.

modulations. In other contexts, like codas, it confirms a particular key. But in all instances, the mechanical topic is used to catalyse or reaffirm the music's passage through a series of formal landmarks. The mechanical topic of B. 45/1 performs just such a role. In bb. 39-40 and 46-7, it overrides the bucolic mood of the mazurka, and it prevents further repetitions of the mazurka theme by forcing the energy gain required of a transition. Like many pieces that use the mechanical topic, moreover, B. 45/1 also imbues it with an impression of mobility. Though the mechanical topic connotes industrialism in general, its effect in the exposition of B. 45/1—in which it is spatially mobile, moving the piece from one formal space to the next—is less akin to a factory than to a steam train on its way to the next station. Like a train cutting through the landscape, industrial sounds intrude upon the rural idyll. Here, much as Wolfgang Schivelbusch describes the experience of a railway journey, it is as if 'mechanical regularity triumph[s] over natural irregularity',[42] and the irregular folk rhythms of the mazurka are overwhelmed—even en*train*ed—by a forced, repetitive figure in all four parts. In B. 45/1, moreover, the impression of mobility is further intensified by the topic of S space (bb. 60-104). It uses a waltz, a dance type that was historically associated with Vienna. The exposition thus evokes a sense of travel from periphery to centre, as the thematic hierarchy implied by sonata form (in which an Austro-German Self encounters a feminised, exoticized, or otherwise differentiated Other) is subtly provincialized by the musical topics.[43] Like a stopping train from somewhere in Eastern Europe to Vienna, the piece's mechanical topic narrows the distance between places and social

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[42] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 23.

[43] On provincialisation, see Chakrabarty. On the politics of sonata forms and musical topics elsewhere, see also Janice Dickensheets, 'The Topical Vocabulary of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 31.2–3 (2012), 97–137 (p. 100).

classes. It thereby compresses the listener's understanding of musical geography, akin to a quick succession of geographical settings outside the carriage window.[44]

What make a railway metaphor productive, rather than merely opportune, are the insights it can offer into the piece's stylistic context. If '[t]he locomotive became the popular symbol of the dizzying mobilization of *all* life-conditions' for people in the nineteenth century, as Jürgen Habermas observes,[45] then a railway metaphor might allow us to reflect on specifically *musical* shifts that were engendered by modernity. Most obviously, it speaks to shifting understandings of string quartets in the nineteenth century. Though I do not want to suggest that the mechanical topic is unique to this genre, the string quartet had historically been a privileged genre for the expression of modern values. As scholars including W. Dean Sutcliffe have argued, many proponents of the eighteenth-century string quartet prized sociability, dialogue, and exchange, and they conceived it as a genre to which all players in a string quartet contributed equally, and in which players could often converse with the audience via a shared cultural repertoire of musical formulae and topics.[46] But just as topics had become increasingly contested by the nineteenth century, however, so too had

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[44] On modernity's capacity to bring distant places closer together, see work on time-space compression in David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p. 240. On time-space compression in culture, see also Josh Poklad, 'Time-Space Compression in Emily Brontë's "Wuthering Heights"', *Brontë Studies*, 42.2 (2017), 100–108. For a brief discussion of this phenomenon in nineteenth-century music, see Lawrence Kramer, 'Forms of Time in Nineteenth-Century Music: Geology, the Railway, and the Novel', in *The Oxford Handbook of Time in Music*, ed. by Mark Doffman, Emily Payne, and Toby Young (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 41–56 (pp. 50–51).

[45] Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 60; quoted in Julian Johnson, *Out of Time*, p. 49. Emphasis added.

[46] On sociability, see W. Dean Sutcliffe, *Instrumental Music in an Age of Sociability: Haydn, Mozart and Friends* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), chap. 2.

these Enlightenment values.[47] In many instances, as Mary Hunter has observed, balanced dialogue gave way to 'a dynamic where everyone is important all the time, where the genius of performance does not simply inhere in the person with the lead, but in every player'.[48] Players increasingly spoke to the audience more than they did each other, which for Lukas Beck reflected 'a growing interchange between different spheres of chamber-music experiences, between private homes, semi-public soirees, and public places such as the Gewandhaus.'[49] Dvořák's B. 45/1 reflects this shifting context. In keeping with Beck's point, mechanical elements make their way into a 'private' genre, much as mechanical sounds increasingly entered the home via the sewing machine, and much as industrial transport technologies created new, semi-private spaces for social interaction. But just as mass transport allowed individuals to travel together, so too do all the string parts of B. 45/1 become musically identical (see example 3.2). Except for the cello, which is heard an octave lower, all parts play the same line at the same pitch. *Contra* Hunter, all players thus become equally *in*significant as Enlightenment dialogue gives way to mechanical efficiency. No longer sociable, bb. 39-40 of the TR proscribe phrasing or interpretation by the players. More important is the embodied act of mere physical repetition, which requires rapid *martelé* bowing. If the mechanical qualities of late nineteenth-century time were 'imprinted […] onto individual lives and bodies', as Conrad suggests,[50] then the TR not only

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[47] As Julian Horton has commented, topics of this time reflected 'the shifting backdrop of critical, performative, theoretical, aesthetic, and social circumstances, from expert listening and canon formation to revolution and industrialisation.' Horton, 'Listening to Topics in the Nineteenth Century', p. 661.

[48] Mary Hunter, '"The Most Interesting Genre of Music": Performance, Sociability and Meaning in the Classical String Quartet, 1800–1830', *Nineteenth Century Music Review*, 9 (2012), 53–74 (p. 65). By making this point, Hunter follows (not uncritically) from A. B. Marx.

[49] Lukas Beck, '"The Most Companionable Composer": Sociability, Robert Schumann, and His Chamber Music' (University of Oxford, 2021), p. 130.

[50] Conrad, p. 828.

points to the breakdown of Enlightenment sociability: it reduces sociable companions to cogs in a deafening machine.

Aside from issues of genre and topic, the railway metaphor can also inform our understanding of the piece's form. More specifically, it points to the stylistic challenges of writing a sonata form in the 1870s. In the early nineteenth century, the sonata forms of the 'Waldstein' piano sonata (Op. 53, 1804), the 'Razumovsky' quartets (Op. 59, 1806), and the *Eroica* (Op. 55, 1802-04) had been able to traverse vast distances in no time. Their motoric idioms had given new, revolutionary momentum to the Enlightenment sonata form, in a further instance of 'temporalisation of experience', and in ways that were often compared to the newest mode of mass transport: the train.[51] Yet in the first signs of disintegration, which continued throughout nineteenth-century romanticism, late Beethoven had begun to challenge such linear notions of musical direction.[52] In pieces like the 'Galitzin' quartets (Opp. 127, 130, 132), intensive teleology was subordinated to extensive lyricism. The mechanical idiom of the middle period was reduced to fragments and, in what amounted to a spatialisation of sonata form, one formal space continually expanded into another.[53]

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[51] On this 'temporalisation of experience' and Beethoven's middle-period music, see Taylor, *The Melody of Time*, p. 30.

[52] For an overview of this disintegration throughout the nineteenth century, and late Beethoven's position within it, see Max Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chap. 6.

[53] In this music, as Chua notes, 'the dynamics of tonal time transmute into the stasis of space as the material coagulates into isolated structures which can only be juxtaposed against each other.' Daniel K. L. Chua, *The 'Galitzin' Quartets of Beethoven: Opp. 127, 132, 130* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 131. This spatialisation is identified by Adorno, Chua's theoretical reference point, who describes late Beethoven's music as a 'fractured landscape'. Theodor W. Adorno, 'Late Style in Beethoven (1937)', in *Essays on Music*, ed. by Richard Leppert, trans. by Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley and London: Univerisity of California Press, 2002), pp. 564–68 (p. 567). For a discussion of Adorno's perspective on Beethoven's late landscapes, see Michael Spitzer, pp. 71–72.

Dvořák's B. 45/1 can be heard against this background. When the lyrical P space continues beyond the PAC, it exceeds the formal boundaries that it has been assigned, consistent with its late-century stylistic context. But what is so striking about the exposition is the sheer brutality of the rhetorical onset of the TR at b. 39. This moment forcibly reimposes a form that (by this point in the century) had become stylistically untenable, and it suggests that the piece cannot be described in straightforwardly Beethovenian terms. If late Beethoven had fragmented the motoric middle period idiom, then Dvořák reifies those fragments as a musical topic, which he proceeds to re-functionalise within a machinic type 3 sonata form. That B. 45/1 lends itself to a railway metaphor, then, not only speaks to the temporalisation that defined all aspects of late-century modernity. Against the formal disintegration that defined and followed late Beethoven, it also speaks to the *re*-temporalisation of sonata form more specifically. In B. 45/1, subjective lyricism is subordinated to the objective demands of musical form, and the Enlightenment sonata form is industrialised.[54]

In the material that immediately follows, this (re-)temporalisation seems to have had surprisingly little effect. The S space is tonally static, and it possesses little sense of the tonal direction needed to achieve a firm EEC. Much like the mazurka P space, it instead simply expands the register upwards. From the b^0 in b. 60, the first violin melody ascends as high as a^3 in bb. 91 and 95. To be sure, this lyrical strategy is not unproblematised. In both instances of a^3 in the melody, an *fz* dynamic marking in all four instruments punctuates what is otherwise a *piano* or *pianissimo* texture. Despite the waltz topic and lyricism, the piece thus comes to sound increasingly strained. But although its lyricism is problematised,

[54] Though this is not a chapter about Adorno, my points about the regression of Enlightenment thinking find an obvious historical basis in Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. by John Cumming (London: Allen Lane, 1973).

the piece never gains the energy needed to achieve formal closure. The material from b. 105 sounds rhetorically like C space, but it is not initiated by a cadence. In what follows, moreover, the piece interpolates fragments of P material and returns to A^-, the global tonic. These features suggest an impending repeat of the exposition, or even a type 1 sonata form: they do not lend themselves to a developmental process of tonal and thematic working-out. The TR space was a moment of maximal pressure, but the immobility of this passage might lead us to suspect that someone has thrown water on the fire. Forward motion has been lost, and the movement has begun to fizzle out.

On the next leg of its scheduled journey, however, the movement makes up for lost time. In a common Dvořákian deception, the implied repeat never arrives, and nor does the piece recapitulate.[55] Instead, bb. 125-27 introduce a *crescendo* ascending scale, which resembles a Mannheim Rocket topic from the eighteenth century. This passage lands on F^+ and inaugurates the rhetorical onset of the development proper. It effects an energy gain, as if signalling, after a brief halt, that Robert Stephenson's own *Rocket* locomotive is about to barrel down the tracks. The piece gains momentum as it becomes increasingly mechanical. Frenetic semiquavers repeat themselves in bb. 129-38, and they energise a rapid series of harmonic developments. Initially, F^+ is followed by $B♭^+$ (b. 135), which is recontextualised as a German augmented sixth in D^- (b. 136) before becoming a $g♯^o$ chord (b. 138). A lengthy *crescendo* brings the piece to a textural break in b. 139, where $g♯^o$ proceeds via smooth voice leading to E^+ (b. 140), and ultimately to a mid-development modulation to A^+ (b. 142). This modulation coincides with a return to mazurka material, but it does not

[55] I will discuss this strategy more later in the chapter.

comprise a false recapitulation. From a formal standpoint, it merely comprises what Beveridge terms Dvořák's 'island' technique, in which the global tonic key temporarily returns alongside an abridged restatement of the P theme.[56] From a thematic standpoint, moreover, the mazurka is heavily mediated. In contrast with the opening, it is now heard in the tonic major key, marked *fortissimo*, and metrically transformed into three-bar phrases. The experience here is almost agoraphobic—a condition that was first diagnosed just three years prior to B. 45 and from which Dvořák reportedly suffered[57]—in the sense that it symptomatizes 'disorientation with a space which was meant to be a locus of social engagement.'[58] Though the movement's (re-)temporalisation has brought distant locations closer together, it has made familiar places seem newly distant. It is if we have been socially disengaged from the mazurka by the time-space compressions that have brought us here, like a railway passenger who (during a brief stop at an island platform) is only able to watch the dance from a carriage window.[59]

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[56] Beveridge, 'Romantic Ideas in a Classical Frame', p. 130.
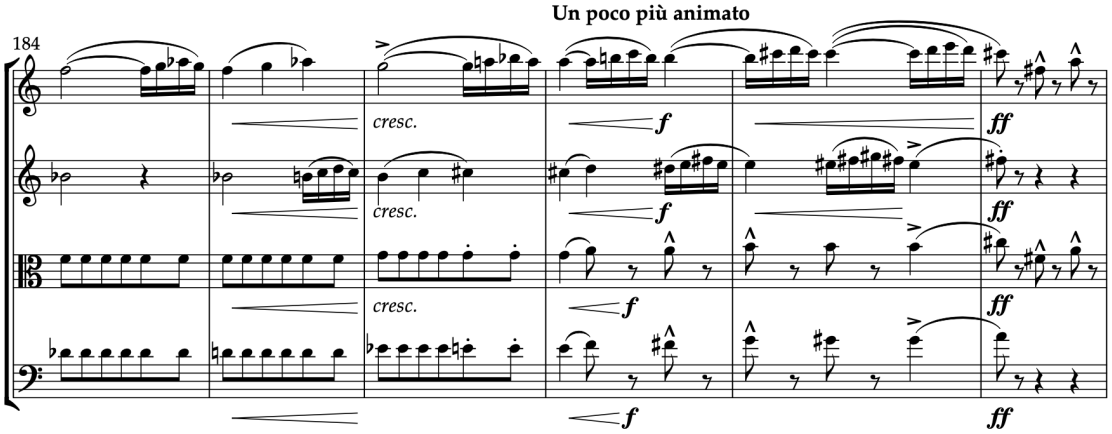
[57] For a discussion of Carl Westphal's original diagnosis of agoraphobia, see Sally Shuttleworth, 'Fear, Phobia and the Victorian Psyche', in *Fear in the Medical and Literary Imagination, Medieval to Modern: Dreadful Passions*, ed. by Daniel McCann and Claire McKechnie-Mason (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 177–202 (pp. 183–88). On Dvořák's own agoraphobia, see Michael Beckerman, 'Introduction: Looking for Dvořák in December 1992', in *Dvořák and His World*, ed. by Michael Beckerman (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 3–10 (p. 5). See also Michael Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák: Searching in America for the Composer's Inner Life* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2003), pp. 177–78.

[58] On this point, and the close link between agoraphobia and claustrophobia that it implies, see Andrew Thacker, 'Uncompleted Life: The Modernist Underground', in *The Railway and Modernity: Time, Space, and the Machine Ensemble*, ed. by Matthew Beaumont and Michael Freeman (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 101–24 (pp. 114–19). By making this argument, Thacker follows Paul Carter, *Repressed Spaces: The Poetics of Agoraphobia* (London: Reaktion, 2002), pp. 32, 210.
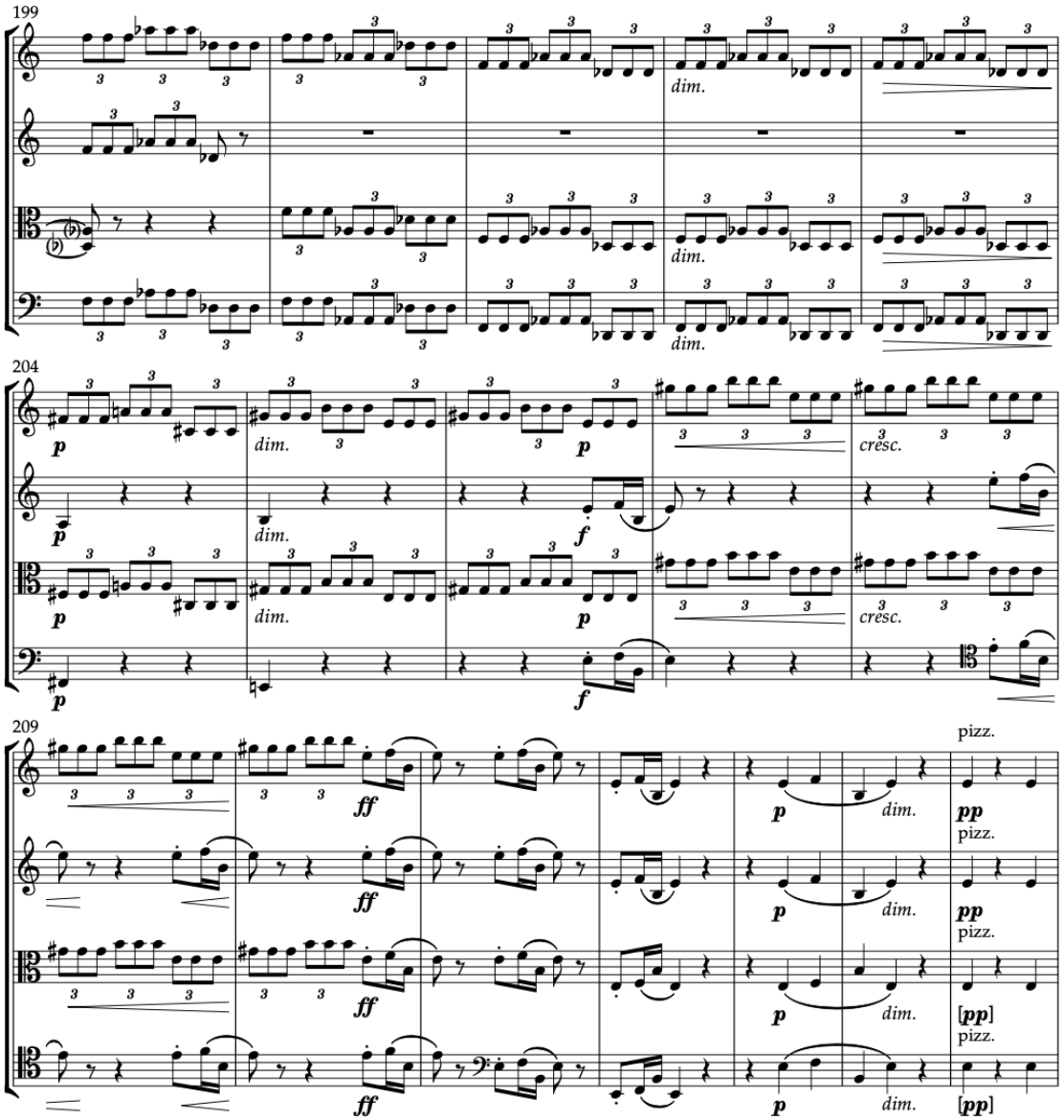
[59] As Schivelbusch notes, the nineteenth-century railway passenger 'no longer belonged to the same space as the perceived objects: the traveller saw the objects, landscapes, etc. *through* the apparatus which moved him through the world.' Schivelbusch, p. 64.

Further mediations of the folk material ensue, as our understanding of time and space becomes ever more uncertain. Having left the tonic island behind, the piece travels through a remarkable series of keys. In bb. 151-7, a 10-8 linear-intervallic pattern modulates through A^{-}, D^{-}, C^{+}, and F^{-}, before landing on $E\flat^{+}$. Like Stephenson's *Rocket*, this passage lacks any brakes; it hurtles forward uncontrollably. Here, the mediated version of the mazurka returns a tritone away from the global tonic. It is a tonal point of furthest remove, as the piece becomes increasingly disengaged from its original reference points. At b. 167, chuffing quavers allude to the mechanical topic once more. They initiate a large-scale *crescendo* that undergirds the remainder of the developmental space and that, in performance, is often accompanied by a marked *accelerando*. Between bb. 172 and 178, the piece moves through $B\flat^{-}$, F^{-}, and C^{-}. It comes to a local climax in bb. 184-89, which hints at $B\flat^{-}$, $E\flat^{+}$, D^{-}, E^{-}, and $F\sharp^{-}$ in quick succession (see example 3.4). But over the next nine bars, the development continues to saturate the listener's tonal palate, moving through B^{+}, E^{-}/G^{+}, C^{+}, F^{-}, and $D\flat^{+}$ using a combination of fifth and relative modulations. In sum, the development thus moves through keys associated with all twelve pitch classes. It enacts an extended passage of tonal intensification, as the mechanical topic forcibly drives the piece forwards, and as we increasingly lose our tonal bearings. This process concludes with the *ff* unison triplets in bb. 199-210, the most overtly mechanical aspect of the development, and an interpolated mazurka material (bb. 210-15) that has not just been mediated. As example 3.5 shows, the mazurka has now been decimated, reduced to mechanical, *ff* repetition in its smallest fragment. It has been brutally overpowered by the sonata form, which has become a mechanical necessity rather than a contingent process. Subjectivity and agency have been subordinated to musical mechanism, and the musical subject has been demoted from driver to unwilling passenger.

Example 3.4: Dvořák, B. 45/1, bb. 184-89



Example 3.5: Dvořák, B. 45/1, bb. 199-215



In all these ways, then, a railway metaphor is productive. As it suggests, the piece reflects a temporalisation of all aspects of nineteenth century life, and a re-temporalisation of sonata form more specifically. It evokes the mechanical sounds of the industrial revolution, and it turns a sonata process that had previously exemplified the promises of Enlightenment modernity—not least in the train-like idiom of Beethoven's 'heroic' music—into a rigid mechanism that transgresses upon, disciplines, and entrains the musical subject. Its sonata mobilities comprise a kind of disenchantment, insofar as they convey the alienation that attends modern objectivity and the decline of traditionalism.[60] Indeed, the piece's mechanism is at its most dehumanising in the recapitulation. Though the original mazurka returns at the beginning of the recapitulation, b. 217, the P space also reintroduces the mechanical topic (bb. 243-44) and presents the mazurka theme in metrically disciplined, four-bar form (from b. 271). After the TR (from b. 279) and S space (from b. 296), the rhetorical coda subjugates the mazurka subject once and for all. From b. 367, the mazurka is heard as a three-bar, *fortissimo* mediated form with much double and triple stopping. By the end it has become a regular four-bar phrase, which repeats the first and second bars of the original theme twice each. The piece ends with three hammer-blow chords. As such, this is not the blithe classicism that many have assumed Dvořák's sonata forms to express, nor the naïve love of modernity discussed by Botstein, nor the empowering mobilities of the previous two chapters, nor still the provincialisation that the exposition may have led us to expect. Quite the opposite: it amounts to nothing less than a civilising mission. Much as the railways were used as a tool of imperial power, hence why the station that Dvořák

[60] On disenchantment, see Richard Jenkins, 'Disenchantment, Enchantment and Re-Enchantment: Max Weber at the Millennium', *Max Weber Studies*, 1 (2000), 11–32 (pp. 11–14). On disruptions to traditional patterns of dwelling in the nineteenth century, and the disenchantments that resulted, see also Matt Waggoner, 'Split Level, or, the Predicament of Dwelling', *New Formations*, 70 (2010), 152–67 (pp. 154–55).

visited in Prague was named after Franz Joseph I, and just as Dvořák himself was often (as I will discuss in Chapter Five) seen to be the product of a musical civilising mission, B. 45/1 forces a rhythmically irregular folk subject into the standardised time of industrial modernity.[61]

Dvořák's Ghost Trains

The industrial sounds of B. 45/1 are oppressive, but other pieces by Dvořák deploy them to very different effect. One such piece is the first movement of the String Quartet No. 14 in A flat major (B. 193/1, 1895). Like B. 45, B. 193 comprises four movements. It was composed in 1895, alongside B. 192. In fact, its composition bookended that of B. 192: Dvořák began to compose the first movement in March of 1895, but he only completed it in December of that year—one day after the G major quartet. As such, the A flat major quartet received a higher Burghauser number than the G major quartet, even as he had begun it significantly earlier, and even as it was assigned a lower Opus number.[62] Like much of Dvořák's music, the consensus in scholarship has been that B. 193 is musically attractive, but intellectually unchallenging. For example, Beveridge comments on the simplicity of the quartet's musical forms, arguing that they conclude a lifelong 'process of clarification

[61] In other words, the conclusion of B. 45/1 is the result of a stylistic expectation that Dvořák would incorporate folklike elements within an Austro-German form, and within a cultural tradition to which (as I noted in Chapter One) he did not fully belong. On railways as part of an imperial civilising mission in an Austro-Germanic orbit, see Stefan Berger, 'Building the Nation Among Visions of German Empire', in *Nationalizing Empires*, ed. by Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015), pp. 247–308 (pp. 298–99).

[62] Ondřej Šupka, 'String Quartet No. 14 in A Flat Major, Op. 105, B193', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/work/string-quartet-no-14-a-flat-major/> [accessed 25 January 2024].

and simplification which not only made the music easier to comprehend from the listener's point of view but undoubtedly made it less of a challenge for the composer.'[63] Susan Wollenberg eschews formal considerations entirely, instead opting to note the attractiveness of the textural shifts in the third movement.[64] Likewise, Christopher Campo-Bowen notes how simple the piece sounds, against the catastrophic idioms associated with 'late' works more generally.[65] What these accounts arguably miss, however, are the mechanical strategies by which its musical forms are regulated and maintained. In what follows, I suggest that the piece's first movement uses industrial sounds to sustain its form, much like B. 45/1. Far from being reflexive, these sounds expend a great deal of rhetorical energy, and they easily suggest an impression of industrial mobility. Yet this industrialism is not straightforwardly modern. Unlike the previous case study, its mechanical topic assumes a more Gothic quality, by association with the supernaturalism of *ombra*. These aspects of the piece correspond with broader understandings of industrial modernity at the time, when industrial modernity in general, and railways in particular, were often conceived in Gothic or otherwise premodern terms. By conjoining modern industrialism and premodern supernaturalism, they significantly complicate our understanding of Dvořák's engagement with modern life, and they raise larger questions about what it might mean to understand his sonata mobilities as 'modern' at all.

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[63] Beveridge, 'Romantic Ideas in a Classical Frame', p. 375.

[64] Wollenberg, p. 435.

[65] Christopher Campo-Bowen, 'Antonín Dvořák's String Quartets Opp. 105 and 106 and the Question of Late Style', in *Chamber Music in Europe (1850-1918): Composition, Mediation and Reception*, ed. by François de Médicis and Catrina Flint (Turnhout: Brepols, 2024).

My starting point is the piece's introduction, bb. 1-14, which uses an *ombra* topic. Characteristic features of *ombra* include the flat-side key (A♭-), chromatic harmony (which soon alludes to F♭+ and C♭- via imitative polyphony), sudden dynamic contrasts and textural breaks, low tessitura, and heavy motivic repetition (example 3.6).[66] Though derived from supernatural scenes in eighteenth-century opera,[67] *ombra* was used in slow introductions throughout the nineteenth century: '[b]ecause *ombra* is founded on principles of discontinuity,' Clive McClelland argues, 'it signifies a kind of chaos out of which emerges the order provided by the more stable *Allegro*, the journey from "darkness into light" beloved of nineteenth-century musical writers.'[68] The introduction of B. 193/1 likewise gives way to an *Allegro appassionato* P space in A♭+, and a topical shift to an 'ordered', high classical pastiche.[69] However, the P space recalls *ombra* in bb. 19-23. This passage resurrects the *f*♭ and *c*♭ pitch classes from the introduction and, by introducing an extra bar in b. 23, it disrupts the regular phrase rhythm. Though subtle, it is as if the chaos of premodernity threatens to reassert itself, and to reverse the 'darkness into light' journey described by McClelland. This intrusion ultimately comes to nothing, and a more lyrical P^2 space is introduced from the anacrusis to b. 24. But *ombra* returns at the beginning of TR (b. 32). Here, a

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[66] All score excerpts of B. 193/1 are taken from the Eulenberg edition of 1910.

[67] Clive McClelland, 'Ombra and Tempesta', in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. by Mirka Danuta (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 279–300 (p. 284).

[68] Clive McClelland, *Ombra: Supernatural Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2012), p. 206. By the nineteenth century, of course, it should be noted that *ombra* (like all topics) had become more unstable. On the changing connotations of *ombra* in the nineteenth century, see Amanda Lalonde, 'Flowers over the Abyss: A Musical Uncanny in Nineteenth-Century Criticism', *19th-Century Music*, 41.2 (2017), 95–120 (p. 107). On topical instability in the nineteenth century more generally, see Chapter One.
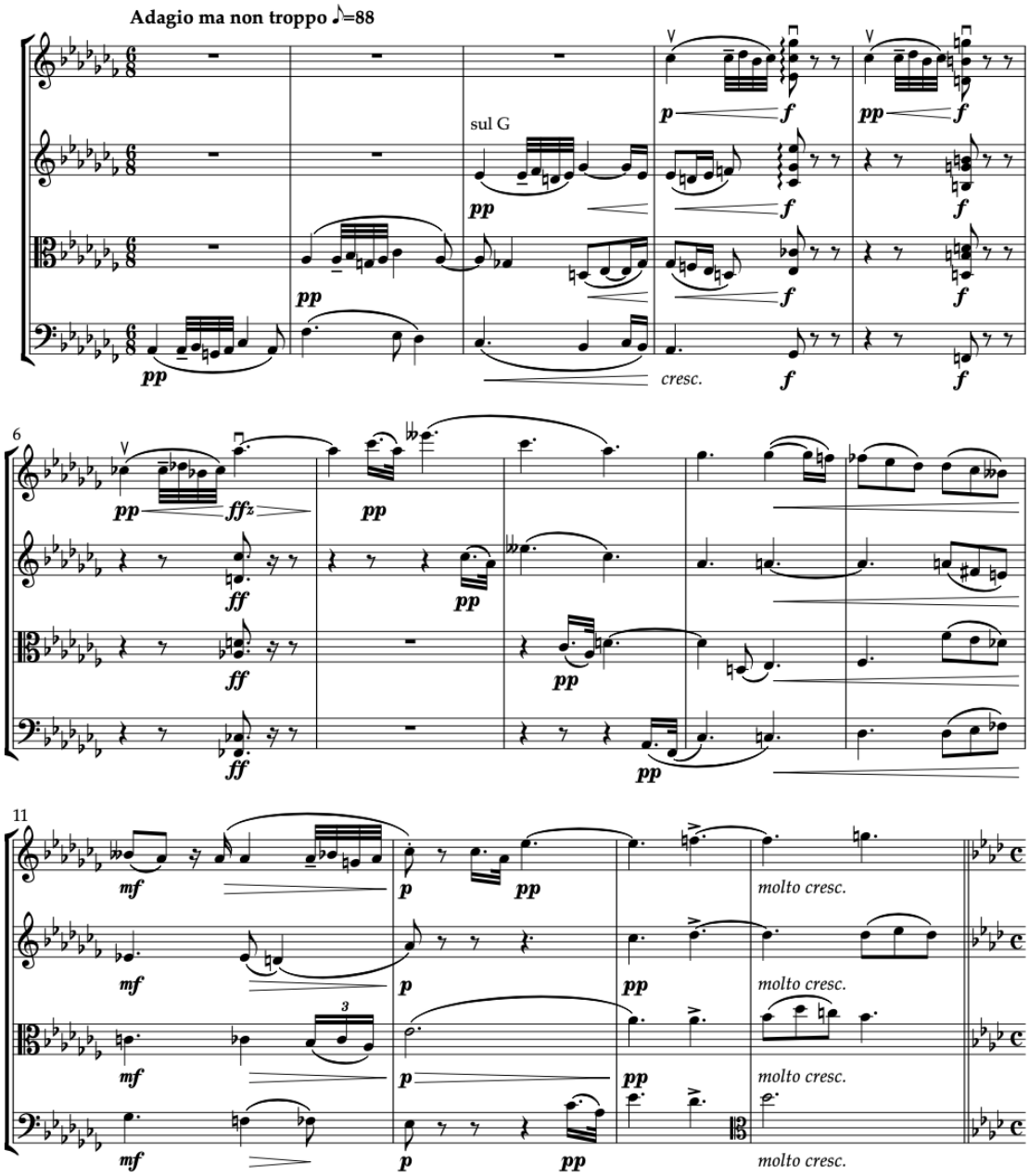
[69] This material comprises 4-bar regular phrases (which in bb. 15-18 trace a return journey from the tonic to the dominant), trills (bb. 24, 26, 28, and 30), and a quaint cadential gesture (bb. 18, 22, and 31).

forceful, accented cello motif (which uncannily resembles the high classical cadential gesture of b. 31, but which occurs at the same register as b. 1) invokes *ombra* once more. It is as if a supernatural creature is banging on the door, asking to be let in. This passage dislocates the metre, by adding an extra crotchet beat in b. 34: just as the lurking *ombra* in P space (the recollections of *f*♭ and *c*♭, in bb. 19-20) was followed by an additional bar that disrupted the phrase rhythm (b. 23), so too is the tonic minor's return followed by a sudden metrical shift (b. 34).[70] At this moment, *ombra* makes the leap from parageneric space to sonata space—like a vampire who crosses the threshold of a home.[71]

[70] Though this passage is written as a bar of triple metre followed by a bar of duple metre, it sounds like an extra crotchet has been added to create a single bar of quintuple metre.

[71] On vampires, border crossing, and the home, see Maria Parrino, *Crossing Borders: Hospitality in Bram Stoker's 'Dracula' and Florence Marryat's 'The Blood of the Vampire'*, ed. by David Baker, Stephanie Green, and Agnieszka Stasiewicz-Bieńkowska, *Hospitality, Rape and Consent in Vampire Popular Culture* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). The vampire metaphor is apt, both because of the obvious supernatural connotations of *ombra*, and because vampire tales rapidly grew in popularity in the final decade of the nineteenth century. The most famous example of vampire literature was Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, published two years after the quartet in 1897, but any number of other examples can also be found. For some examples, see Robert Tracy, 'Loving You All Ways: Vamps, Vampires, Necrophiles and Necrofilles in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', in *Sex and Death in Victorian Literature*, ed. by Regina Barreca (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 32–59. For a Czech study of vampires, see Frank Wollman, 'Vampyrické pověsti v oblasti středoevropské', *Národopisný věstník československý*, 14.1 (1920), 1–16. For a more recent discussion of Czech vampire representations, especially in Jan Neruda's 'The Vampire' (1871), see Alfred Thomas, *The Bohemian Body: Gender and Sexuality in Modern Czech Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), pp. 44–47.

Example 3.6: Dvořák, String Quartet No. 14, *Adagio-Allegro* (B. 193/1, 1895), bb. 1-14



The piece's *ombra* puts a new complexion on the mechanical topic, which appears in the TR to facilitate the move from one formal space (P) to the next (S). In bb. 37-8, much like the TR of the earlier case study, it is as if a steam train has arrived to take us to the next station on the line. But unlike the earlier case study, there is no clear distinction between

premodern (mazurka/*ombra*) and modern (mechanical) topics. Here, the accented, *forte* sounds of the mechanical topic ambiguously blur into the sudden accents, polyrhythms, and textural breaks of *ombra*. This ambiguity can be understood within the broader context of industrial modernity at the time. In the nineteenth century, modernity was often conceived in Gothic, supernatural, or otherwise premodern terms.[72] As Barry Murnane has argued, for instance, Prague became 'an uncanny site of ghosts, golems, and mysticism in spite of comprehensive programmes of urban modernisation in the latter half of the nineteenth century.'[73] Indeed, the industrialised lumbermill quarter (Podskalí) saw a wave of apparitions; these made their way into popular culture, including a polka by Karel Bendl (*Strašidlo v Podskalí*, 1874).[74] More generally, the railway became an important Gothic symbol. In many national contexts, new railway stations were built in a Gothic style, as the most prominent symbol of industrial capitalism became associated with ancient, cathedral-like arches. In literature, the railway became a new target for the medieval highwayman, as train compartments became a new source of potential profit.[75] In popular culture, steam trains were depicted as fire-breathing dragons that hoarded gold,[76] or as vampires who

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[72] On Gothic modernities, see Jerrold E. Hogle, 'Introduction: Modernity and the Proliferation of the Gothic', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Modern Gothic*, ed. by Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 3–19.

[73] Barry Murnane, 'On Golems and Ghosts: Prague as a Site of Gothic Modernism', in *Popular Revenants: The German Gothic and Its International Reception, 1800-2000*, ed. by Andrew Cusack and Barry Murnane (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), pp. 222–41 (p. 222).

[74] Petr Janeček, 'Prague Ghostlore of the Late 19th Century.: Suburban Ghosts between Moral Panic and Vernacular Spectacle', *Estudis de Literatura Oral Popular*, 11 (2022), 11–29 (pp. 15–20, 22–23).

[75] Matthew Beaumont, 'Railway Mania: The Train Compartment as the Scene of a Crime', in *The Railway and Modernity: Time, Space, and the Machine Ensemble*, ed. by Matthew Beaumont and Michael Freeman (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 125–53 (pp. 130–33).

[76] Matthew Wilson Smith, 'Victorian Railway Accident and the Melodramatic Imagination', *Modern Drama*, 55.4 (2012), 497–522 (pp. 507–8).

drained the bodies of rural communities using a vast rail network of veins and arteries.[77] In paintings like J. M. W. Turner's *Rain, Steam and Speed* (1844), steam trains erupted out of the urban smog—like Fáfnir in his lair. Moreover, ghost trains became popular in short stories, as in Charles Dicken's 'The Signalman' or Amelia Edwards's 'The Four-Fifteen Express' (both from 1866), as those who were killed on (or by) the railway could return from the dead.[78] Within this context, then, B. 193/1's pairing of *ombra* and the mechanical topic is less incongruous than it initially seems. Premiered in Prague, an important hub of this Gothic modernity, the piece explores the uncanny relationship between supernaturalism and industrial sounds—both of which are associated with sudden accents, angularity, and textural breaks. It also explores the uncanny effects of *ombra* on the form. Though the supernatural intrudes upon the piece, by making the jump from parageneric to generic space, it simultaneously *becomes* sonata space. The TR manifests the supernatural elements that had been exiled from the Enlightenment sonata, and that had been repressed by modern life more generally. In all these ways, the piece becomes uncanny, in the Freudian sense of falling within 'that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar'.[79] Its TR material is both supernatural and modern,

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[77] Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 213. On this biologized language in a Habsburg context, Felix Jeschke, 'Dracula on Rails: The "Pressburgerbahn" Between Imperial Space and National Body, 1867-1935', *Central Europe*, 10.1 (2012), 1–17 (pp. 8–9).

[78] On ghost trains, see Jen Cadwaller, 'Death by Train: Spectral Technology and Dickens's Mugby Junction', in *Transport in British Fiction: Technologies of Movement, 1840-1940*, ed. by Adrienne E. Gavin and Andrew F. Humphries (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 37–68.

[79] Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. by David McLintock (New York and London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 124.

parageneric and generic, chaotic and ordered—like the uncanny sounds of a ghost train rattling through the darkness.

A second apparition of the ghost train occurs from b. 76, where the piece becomes uncanny once more. After a hunt-like S space (b. 54), EEC (bb. 67-8), and codetta (in which the supernatural *c*♭ is contextualised within the new key of E♭$^{+}$), b. 76 returns the piece to P material in the tonic key. This passage invites a ghost train analogy because it of its ambiguous *ombra*-mechanical topic. The problematic *c*♭ returns from b. 81, marked by a sudden crescendo from *pp* to *fz* that, via mechanical semiquaver writing, pulls the piece into the deep-flat, supernatural realm of E♭$^{-}$ (b. 88). No less uncanny is its ambiguous form. Though the tonal and thematic return may indicate a type 1 sonata form, the piece later becomes more developmental and segues into TR (followed by an MC attempt, S, etc.) from b. 134. Consequently, it suggests two, competing understandings of formal space. From one perspective, this passage suggests that the movement is a type 1 sonata form, which has been expanded by the onset of a displaced development—a deformation that prises apart P and TR.[80] From another perspective, this passage suggests that the movement is a type 2 sonata form, which begins the development with a tonic island (consistent with other pieces by Dvořák, including B. 45/1, and by his mentor, Brahms)[81] and later achieves

[80] This reading of the piece is the most orthodox from a sonata theory perspective, and it has previously been pursued by Peter H. Smith. On this movement as an expanded type 1 sonata form, see Peter H. Smith, 'Form and the Large-Scale Connection: Motivic Harmony and the Expanded Type-1 Sonata in Dvořák's Later Chamber Music', *Music Theory Spectrum*, 40.2 (2018), 248–79 (p. 252).

[81] Hepokoski and Darcy, pp. 350–51; discussed in Benedict Taylor, 'Feinting Repeats, Repeating Feints: The Developmental "Double Return" in Brahms and Sonata Theory Typology', *Journal of Music Theory*, 67.1 (2023), 71–98 (p. 72). On this formal manoeuvre, which has often been described as the 'Brahmsian deformation', see also Julian Horton, *Brahms' Piano Concerto No. 2, Op. 83: Analytical and Contextual Studies* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), p. 268.

tonal resolution when TR segues into S-C.[82] Both perspectives are persuasive for different reasons. But they suggest competing interpretations of which part of the piece is deformational, and as such they suggest that P material and the development uncannily deform each other. If this moment topically suggests a ghost train, consequently, then its form disorients us spatially. What is normative becomes deformational, and vice versa. It points to new, uncanny understandings of space and time under nineteenth-century modernity, in which speed and efficiency (of the kind found in B. 45) compress distant locations together, and which 'move' us in ways that are frightening. All this is to say that '[i]f "mobility has been central to the constitution of the modern"', as Ralph Harrington argues, 'then the uncanny mobilities that constitute the geostructures of the spectral equally constitute the inevitable but unacknowledged dark side of modernity.'[83]

The ghost train reappears in the material that follows, which continues to blur industrial sounds with the uncanniness of *ombra*. This blurring is most intensely felt in the displaced development (bb. 88-133). Here, the mechanical topic dynamizes a series of

[82] This reading is convincing for rhetorical reasons, since the tonal and thematic return (b. 76) feels less like the onset of a new rotation than a memory of what came before: A♭$^{+}$ lingers for little more than five bars before *c*♭ returns (b. 81, followed by a modulation to C♭$^{+}$ at b. 83), and the theme sounds at a slower tempo and an octave lower. It should briefly be noted that the return of the tonic key would, for Hepokoski and Darcy, disqualify this piece from the 'type 2' category. But this would be to ignore the idiosyncrasies of Dvořák's own sonata form practice, in which developmental returns of the tonic key are commonplace but often have no rhetorical or formal weight.

[83] Ralph Harrington, 'Transport and Trauma: Uncanny Modernities', in *The Routledge Handbook to the Ghost Story*, ed. by Scott Brewster and Luke Thurston (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 301–11 (p. 302). His quote is drawn from Cresswell, *On the Move*, p. 18. On Enlightenment modernity and the uncanny, see John Jervis, 'Uncanny Presences', in *Uncanny Modernities: Cultural Theories, Modern Anxieties*, ed. by Jo Collins and John Jervis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 10–50 (p. 40). See also Jo Collins and John Jervis, 'Introduction', in *Uncanny Modernities: Cultural Theories, Modern Anxieties* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 1–9 (p. 2).
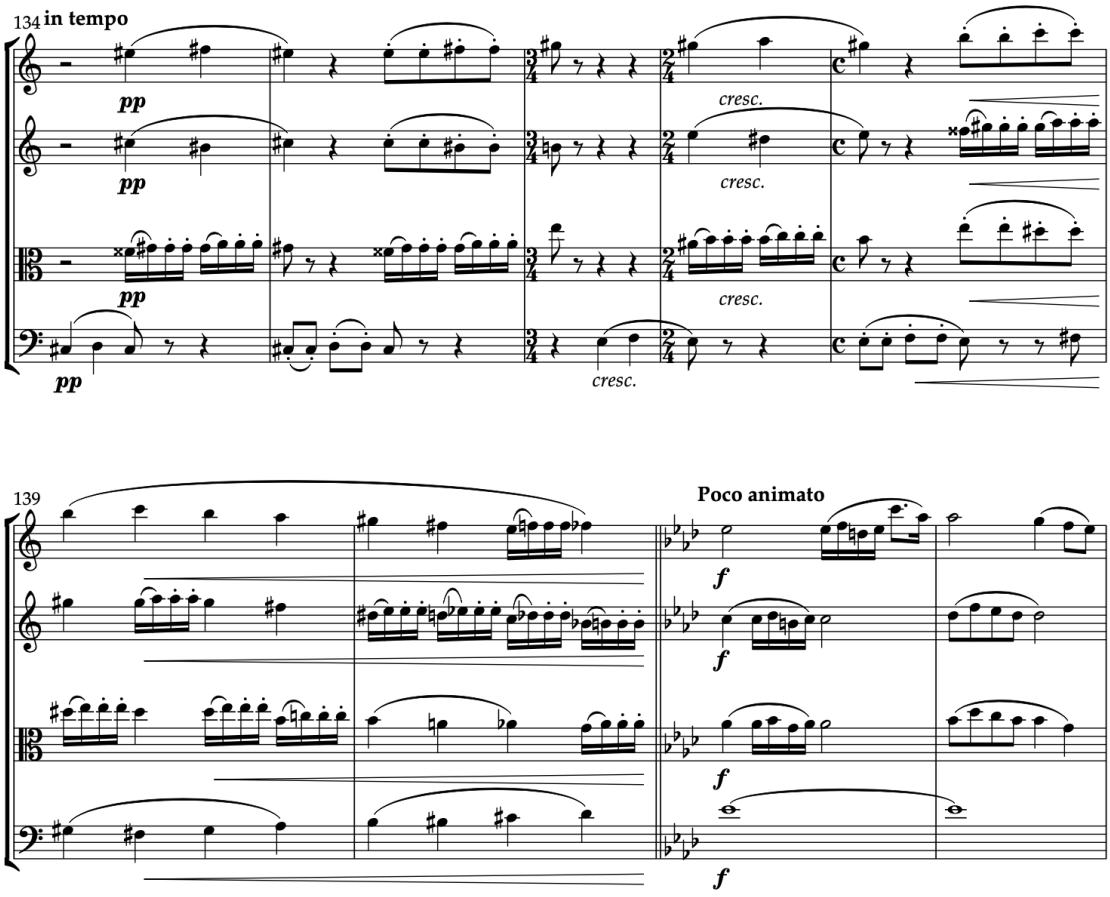
enharmonic respellings, commonly associated with the uncanny in music.[84] Characterised by *forzando* markings and clamorous semiquaver repetition, the development quickly modulates from one side of the cycle of fifths (E♭-, b. 88) to almost exactly the other (E-, b. 91), whilst its *e* enharmonically alludes to the *ombra f*♭ of the introduction. A similar strategy can be found in bb. 112-18, which oscillates by tritone (from E♭- to A- and back again), and which modulates rapidly whilst uncannily going nowhere at all. However, the piece becomes uncannier still in the TR. Especially disorienting is the return of the global tonic in bb. 140-41, which is approached via C♯+ (see example 3.7). Locally, this C♯+ respells the repressed D♭- chord of the *ombra* introduction. It also accommodates a range of other enharmonic shifts, not least a *b*♮ in the second violin (which respells the *c*♭ that began the displaced development). Globally, this passage returns to the tonic key via a fifth progression that is itself enharmonically respelled (C♯+→A♭+ rather than D♭+→A♭+), and that at one point even leads to *d*♭ and *c*♯ being played simultaneously. Visualised in figures 3.1a and 3.1b, this passage tonally dislocates the listener.[85] Energised by mechanical semiquavers in the second violin, it moves us from one region of tonal space to another. In all these ways, the piece attenuates the sonata's sense of direction. It turns sonata space into an uncanny zone, where repressed chromatic pitch classes are continually reintroduced. More important than the form's destination is the generalised mood of disorientation. Directed motion gives way to a motoric *klang*, which feels rhetorically mobile and functionally

[84] Richard Cohn, 'Uncanny Resemblances: Tonal Signification in the Freudian Age', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 57.2 (2004), 285–324 (p. 304).

[85] For his assistance in creating figure 3.1b, I am grateful to Owen Price.

immobile at the same time, and which reimagines the mechanical topic as a spectral presence.[86]

Example 3.7: Dvořák, B. 193/1, bb. 134-42



[86] On ghosts in relation to the kinds of presence that I discussed in Chapter Two, and in relation to Gumbrecht's understanding of presence more specifically, see Ethan Kleinberg, *Haunting History: For a Deconstructive Approach to the Past* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2020), chap. 2.

Figure 3.1a: Cylindrical visualisation of Dvořák, B. 193/1, displaced development

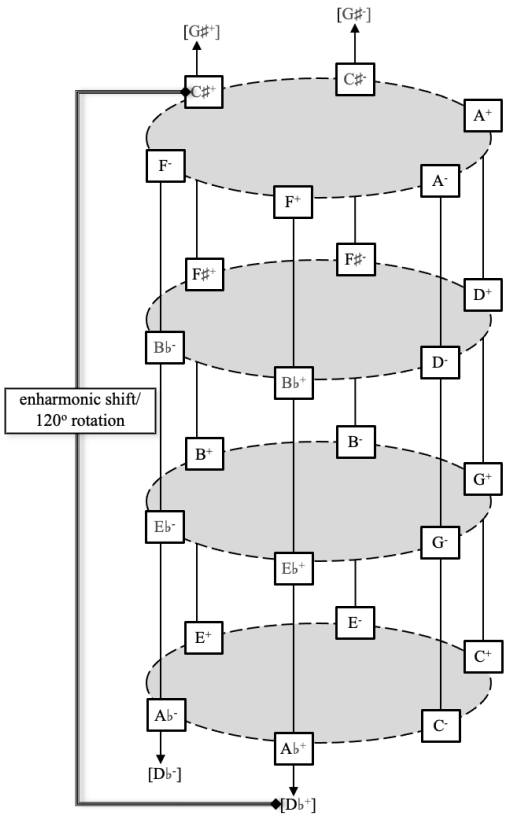
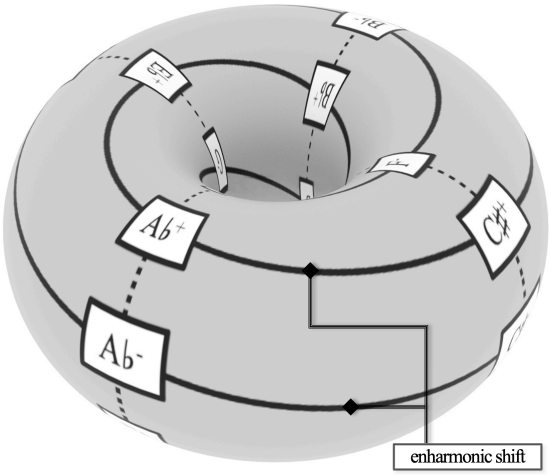


Figure 3.1b: Toric visualisation of Dvořák, B. 193/1, displaced development



Ultimately, the piece thus responds to the same problems as B. 45/1, but in a different way. It highlights the difficulties of writing a sonata form in the late nineteenth century, not by re-functionalising the fragments of late Beethoven, but by reanimating them as a corpse. In a way, its ghost train exemplifies late style. Concerned with death, it pairs *ombra* and the mechanical topic to collapse familiar formal boundaries, to attenuate any clear sense of mobility through formal spaces, and to render the sonata form uncanny. It may not display any of the characteristic markers of lateness, as Campo-Bowen rightly suggested. But it critically reflects upon the historical (rather than biographical) challenges of writing a form whose moment seemed to have passed, by challenging the form's own bases in Enlightenment modernity.[87] Nowhere is this uncanniness clearer than in the coda. After an ESC at b. 171-72, the coda recalls *ombra* once more. This parageneric space reintroduces *f*♭ in b.172, which negates the enharmonic resolution as E^{-} (b. 91), and which anticipates the reintroduction of *c*♭ from b. 190 (itself a negation of a *b*♮ from earlier in the coda). From b. 178, it pairs the angular, chromatic motif of the introduction with the more lyrical melody from P^{2}, uncannily blurring the distinction between parageneric and generic material further. The piece ends ambiguously. Motoric semiquavers return (b. 198) alongside the *ombra c*♭ (b. 201), and the movement concludes with a forced and unpersuasive attempt to reassert the tonic major (bb. 203-4). In this moment, it is unclear where we have been transported. Is this material generic or parageneric? Is it supernatural or mechanical? Have we borne witness to a further apparition or, if we were brought here by ghost train, then

[87] On the collapse of musical forms, see also James Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 9. On late style as a historical category, see Robert Spencer, 'Lateness and Modernity in Theodor Adorno', in *Late Style and Its Discontents: Essays in Art, Literature, and Music*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Sam Smiles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 220–34.

were we the ghosts ourselves? As both the case studies show, then, to apply a train metaphor to Dvořák's music is not just opportune, nor is it a way of infantilising his music. By decoupling Dvořák's interest in railways from these kinds of value judgements, it prompts a more challenging series of stylistic, generic, and critical questions about his music. It points to transformations in how time and space were understood under nineteenth-century modernity. But its uncanniness also points to an ambiguous disenchantment that (as the second case study shows) *re*-enchants the listener under new signs, however terrifying that experience may feel. Notably, this is not Dvořák's only expression of re-enchantment. In fact, re-enchantment is a recurring feature of his music more generally. It is to this experience, and to its relationship with Dvořák's musical mobilities, that I now want to turn.

IV

Water

Antimodern Mobilities in Dvořák's Aquatic Music

Dvořák in New York City

One of the most striking examples of mobility in Dvořák's output was his unrealised 'Ocean' Symphony (B. 420, 1893). Dvořák made plans for an 'Ocean' Symphony following his voyage to New York in 1892, aboard the *SS Saale*. His voyage had lasted nine days (his longest to date) and, apart from the seasickness of many of his fellow travellers, was mostly pleasant. As Josef Jan Kovařík (an assistant to Dvořák) recounted, the composer 'proved an excellent sailor; the whole day, it might be as stormy as you like, he walked up and down the deck. Several times it happened that he was the only one to put in an appearance in the dining-room, and when Capt. Rinck saw him so alone, he invited him to his table.'[1] The 'Ocean' symphony, which he planned in the latter half of 1893, would have drawn upon the sounds of ship horns. More specifically, it would have represented those horns as a *c-e-g#* augmented triad—a sonority that calls into non-diatonic space and, in its

[1] Šourek, *Letters and Reminiscences*, pp. 148–49.

need for diatonic resolution, provokes onward tonal motion. Across the four movements, this symphony would not simply have been a distanced depiction of maritime space, as if painted from the land, but would have conjured up the turbulent and often stormy experience of transatlantic travel itself.[2]

Dvořák's 'Ocean' Symphony never materialised, but his plans nonetheless provide an opportunity to contemplate the links between mobility and modernity in greater depth. From one perspective, the symphony can be understood as a direct response to his voyage, and to the experience of steamship travel more generally.[3] Dvořák had a personal interest in modern technologies, having 'viewed the progress of the machine, particularly in transportation, and [the] "shortening" of geographical distance through the railroad and steamship, as a miracle of progress.'[4] The piece may also have been shaped by a popular interest in nautical travel technologies, which for many were emblematic of modern conquest over nature. At this time, many artists and composers from landlocked Bohemia-Moravia were influenced by exotic, affective tales of ocean adventures, including by North American writers such as Herman Melville, Edgar Allan Poe, Frederick Douglass, and Maturin Murray Ballou.[5] But from another perspective, the symphony can be understood as a response

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[2] Ondřej Šupka, '"Ocean" Symphony ("Neptune"), B420', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <http://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/b420> [accessed 20 July 2021]. On a similar tonal strategy in Liszt's music, see R. Larry Todd, 'The "Unwelcome Guest" Regaled: Franz Liszt and the Augmented Triad', *19th-Century Music*, 12.2 (1988), 93–115. For a brief discussion of Dvořák's sketches for the symphony, see Smaczny, *Dvořák, Cello Concerto*, p. 29.

[3] This interpretation has been pursued by Ondřej Šupka, who argues that Dvořák's symphony was 'probably inspired by his voyage across the Atlantic'. Šupka, '"Ocean" Symphony ("Neptune"), B420'.

[4] Botstein, p. 36.

[5] Those influenced include František Kupka, Jan Konůpek, and František Kobliha. These themes were the subject of a 2020 exhibition at the National Gallery in Prague, entitled 'A dream within a dream—Edgar Allan Poe and art in the Czech lands' ('Sen ve snu—Edgar Allan Poe a umění v českých zemích'). In a later context, musical examples include the Arctic Ocean of Jaroslav Křička's *Severní noci* (1909-10), the shipwreck of

to New York's shipping culture, and to its famed status as what Walt Whitman once described as the 'City of Ships'.[6] Biographical evidence supports this interpretation of his plans. One of Dvořák's first impressions of the city was 1892's Columbus Day, which included a large naval parade in the harbour,[7] and by which he was deeply impressed.[8] Though Columbus Day was not the only time that Dvořák had encountered so many ships—during a visit to the English seaside resort of Brighton in 1885, he made a point of praising 'the vast quantity of great and small ships: all this so enchanting and fascinating that whoever has seen it will never forget it'[9]—he thereafter pursued it with an intensity that almost seemed to rival his fabled interest in steam trains. Having found that Grand Central Station wouldn't admit him without a ticket, Dvořák turned his attention instead to

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Vítězslav Novák's *Bouře* (1908-10), and the choppy fantasy of Novák's 'Moře' ('The Sea', Op. 43/3, 1910). On the ocean's appeal to people in Bohemia, see also Jan Mrázek, *On This Modern Highway, Lost in the Jungle : Tropics, Travel, and Colonialism in Czech Poetry* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2022), p. 23.

[6] Walt Whitman, 'City of Ships', in *The Complete Poems of Walt Whitman*, ed. by Stephen Matterson (Ware, Hertfordshire, 1995), p. 222. Though Walt Whitman's maritime poems were not available in Czech translation until 1895, incidentally, they had been available in Ferdinand Freiligrath's German translations from 1869. It is therefore not impossible that Dvořák should have known Whitman's description of New York City before his arrival. On translations, see William E. Harkins, 'Walt Whitman and Jaroslav Vrchlický', in *Xenia Slavica: Papers Presented to Gojko Ružičić on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, 2 February 1969*, ed. by Rado L. Lenek and Boris O. Unbegaun (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1975), pp. 55–60.

[7] This day marked the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in North America and occurred just a fortnight after Dvořák's arrival. The proceedings in New York City attracted spectators that numbered the hundreds of thousands, with much of the excitement centring upon the large naval parade (11th October). The following day, the *New-York Daily Tribune* ran a headline reporting 'A Grand Sea Spectacle', lauding the display of 'some of the country's new battle ships, those marvels of American skill and science from which foreign lands may learn something new of marine architecture, construction and armament. They saw the vessels of the French people, allies of this land's revolutionary forces; of Italy, birthplace of Columbus, and of Spain, which sent him upon his voyage of discovery. They saw fleet steam yachts, abodes of wealth and luxury, and they saw a great flock of merchantmen, representing a leading industry of the chief gateway of the New World. All these ships were a-flutter with flags and bunting, with the Stars and Stripes, the red, white and green of Italy, the red and yellow of Spain, and the rainbow hues of fanciful ensigns.' For this description, see 'A Grand Sea Spectacle', *New-York Daily Tribune*, 12 October 1892, p. 1.

[8] 'Dvořák's Arrival', *DAHA: Dvořák American Heritage Association*, 2022 <https://www.dvoraknyc.org/dvoraks-arrival> [accessed 20 October 2023].

[9] Letter from Antonín Dvořák to Antonin Rus on August 9th 1885, quoted in Fischl, p. 7.

transatlantic steamships, which he regularly explored at the harbour before their departures.[10] In a letter recounting the 'Ocean' symphony's conception, moreover, Kovařík suggests that Dvořák's plans arose not during his voyage itself, but when walking around the harbour: having heard a ship's horn, Kovařík says that Dvořák exclaimed, '[d]arn, that'll be a symphony in C major, "Ocean".'[11] Dvořák was also an avid reader of the shipping forecasts in the *New York Herald* and, on the whole, the bustle of the New York harbour seems to have made a substantial impression on him.[12]

That the proposed 'Ocean' Symphony was just as likely a response to the harbour as to the voyage—to a specific place rather than to an experience of mobility—is important for two reasons. The first reason is biographical. Dvořák was often far less keen to leave *terra firma* than Kovařík's romanticised account of the *SS Saale* voyage might suggest. During a visit to the Niagara Falls, for example, following a stay in Iowa over the summer of 1893, Dvořák refused to take a boat up to the Falls for fear of capsizing.[13] Similar anxieties surrounded his children's trip to North America, in May of 1893: as Kovařík recounted, '[t]hat tense expectation, the uncertainty of whether they would survive the trip in safety, whether or not they were suffering from sea sickness, whether the boat would not be delayed by a storm—thus postponing the day of their arrival—all this brought about a

[10] For details, see the letter from Josef Jan Kovařík to Otakar Šourek on 21st July 1927, presented in Vejvodová and Nová, p. 40.

[11] Letter from Josef Jan Kovařík to Otakar Šourek, No. 6, presented in Vejvodová and Nová, p. 75. Piece names are capitalised in their edition (i.e. 'OCEAN'), an editorial practice that I have not adopted here.

[12] John Clapham, *Dvořák* (Newton Abbot and London: David & Charles, 1979), p. 118. For further details, see Otakar Šourek, *Antonín Dvořák: Letters and Reminiscences*, ed. Otakar Šourek, trans. Roberta Finlayson Samsour (Prague: Artia, 1954), 149.

[13] Letter from Josef Jan Kovařík to Otakar Šourek, No. 6, presented in Vejvodová and Nová, pp. 75–76. On Dvořák's journeys around this time, see Clapham, 'Dvořák, Antonín', p. 769.

mood that was not of the rosiest complexion'.[14] Although Dvořák clearly liked the idea of aquatic travel, evidenced by the 'Ocean' symphony and the time he spent at the New York harbour, he thus seems to have enjoyed its reality less than Kovařík would have us believe. The second reason is compositional. Aquatic travel is a recurring feature of Dvořák's later music, but it is often bound up with a sense of leaving modern life behind. In other words, his aquatic music is generally *not* concerned with the spirit of nautical adventure, or the 'steamship, as a miracle of progress'.[15] In many cases it does not even represent a boat at all. Rather, it expresses a kind of *anti*modern escapism—a journey into the wilderness, and an encounter with the (super)natural creatures who dwell therein.

This chapter further seeks to enrich our understanding of how Dvořák's mobilities are entangled with modern life. Against the examples of previous chapters, it argues that not all Dvořák's mobilities are modern. Some, such as those found in his aquatic music, are overtly antimodern. They promise to remedy the kinds of disenchantment that I addressed in Chapter Three, not by becoming enchanted by modernity itself, but by becoming (re-)enchanted by nature. Dvořák's most famous aquatic piece is *Rusalka* (B. 203; 1900), and many of the ideas that I will raise can be applied to this opera. Yet the opera has already received a great deal of attention from scholars,[16] and I have therefore chosen to address two pieces whose aquatic themes have received less attention: the Symphony No. 9 (B. 178, 1893) and *Der Wassermann* (*The Water Goblin*, B. 195, 1896). Both pieces were

[14] Letter from Josef Jan Kovařík to Otakar Šourek, No. 5, presented in Vejvodová and Nová, p. 50. On their voyage, see also Vejvodová, p. 140.

[15] Botstein, p. 36.

[16] For just a few prior studies, see Campo-Bowen, 'Ježibaba's Ambiguities'; Beveridge, 'A Rare Meeting of Minds'; Kopecký, 'Karl Goldmark and Czech National Opera'; Otakar Šourek, *Antonín Dvořák a jeho Rusalka* (Prague, 1952). On Campo-Bowen, Beveridge, and Kopecký, see also Chapter One.

composed during and shortly after Dvořák's time in New York and, though neither represents a cityscape, both use sites and figures of water to convey an experience of leaving modern life behind: the symphony was based on a poem that depicts a canoe journey across the prairies, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855); *Der Wassermann* depicts a merman-like creature who draws a girl into his lake. These pieces show that, although there is evidently a close link between mobility and modern life in Dvořák's music, not all his mobilities are modern. Moreover, they further show that his music's antimodern mobilities can also be dangerous. Though the symphony conveys the pleasures of being (re-)enchanted by nature, *Der Wassermann* is concerned with its dangers—some of which are catastrophic.

Mobility in Dvořák's Ninth Symphony

I begin with the Ninth Symphony. The symphony is a challenging case study, arguably more so than any other piece that I discuss in the thesis, because of the sprawling web of prior reception and scholarship that surrounds it. One of the most immediately recognisable parts of Dvořák's output, the Ninth Symphony was composed when he first arrived in the United States, between January and May 1893, and it was greeted enthusiastically at the time. As his son Otakar later described,

> [t]here was such demand for tickets for the gala premiere of the New World Symphony that, in order to fully satisfy the potential audience, Carnegie Hall, huge as it is, still had to increase the number of seats severalfold. All the newspapers competed with one another in their commentaries, reflecting on whether father's symphony would determine the further development of American music and, in doing so, they succeeded in enveloping the work in an aura of exclusivity, even before the premiere had taken place. Its success was so immense that it was beyond ordinary imagining, and it is surely to the credit of the American public that they are able to appreciate the music of a living composer. Even after the first movement the audience unexpectedly burst into lengthy applause. After the breathtaking *Largo* of the second movement, they would not let the concert proceed until father had appeared on the podium to receive

> an ovation from the delighted audience in the middle of the work. Once the symphony had ended, the people were simply ecstatic.[17]

This popular interest can largely be attributed to the newspaper articles that I mentioned in Chapter Two, which debated the influence that African- and Native-American communities should have on an American national music. Indeed, academic interest in the symphony has generally focused on the symphony's racialism, in different ways. For example, John Clapham has discussed how Dvořák was influenced by Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, noting the ways in which certain musical features of that show (notably the tendency for songs 'to be pentatonic, lacking leading tones in minor keys, [to have] a strong rhythmic sense and a tendency towards syncopation and dotted rhythms') may have informed the development of the symphony.[18] Michael Beckerman has discussed the symphony in relation to the series of newspaper articles, as well as Henry Krehbiel's complimentary, even hagiographical discussion about the symphony's racialism after its premiere.[19] Richard Taruskin has also addressed the racialism of Dvořák's symphony, and in fact it is the only part of Dvořák's output that his *Oxford History of Western Music* deems worthy of proper discussion.[20]

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[17] Quoted in Ondřej Šupka, 'Symphony No. 9 in E Minor, Op. 95, B178 "From the New World"', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/work/symphony-no-9/> [accessed 17 October 2023]. I have added italics to the word 'Largo' for continuity with the formatting choices elsewhere in the thesis.

[18] John Clapham, 'The Evolution of Dvorak's Symphony "From the New World"', *The Musical Quarterly*, 44.2 (1958), 167–83 (p. 169).

[19] Beckerman, 'The Real Value of Yellow Journalism: James Creelman and Antonin Dvorak', pp. 752–53; Michael Beckerman, 'Henry Krehbiel, Antonin Dvorak, and the Symphony "From the New World"', *Notes*, 49.2 (1992), 447–73.

[20] Taruskin, pp. 751–66.

These prior discussions have completed useful work, especially regarding the symphony's racial appropriations. However, they have also come along with significant risks. One such risk is that they have overprivileged questions of style and influence, without properly considering how the symphony was received. The symphony's reception is one of the more politically challenging aspects of this research area, as Lori Lynne Brooks has noted, not least because of 'Dvořák's influence on racial thought in the U.S. [and] the public's instantaneous association of his statements about African American music with black face minstrelsy.'[21] A second risk of these prior discussions is that they have reproduced the music's own racialism by taxonomizing its otherness. By seeking to identify where African- or Native-American influence can be heard, often by looking for evidence of pentatonic flavouring, they have resorted to what Matthew Head has termed a 'safari mentality'. That is to say, their attempts to taxonomize otherness have 'replicated within [their] own discursive and rhetorical strategies imperialism's will to govern and control.'[22] Perhaps the biggest risk of these prior discussions, however, is that they have narrowed the range of potential hermeneutic enquiry. Like many discussions of Dvořák's music, they have been limited by a focus on authorial intention, which in this case they have sought to recover from the series of newspaper articles by Dvořák and others. Without wishing to argue that authorial studies have nothing to offer, I do want to suggest that they have offered an overly narrow understanding of musical meaning. In this sense, then, they return us to some of the problems that I outlined in the literature review of Chapter One.

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[21] Lori Lynne Brooks, 'The Negro in the New World: The Cultural Politics of Race, Nation, and Empire, 1885-1911' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 2001), p. 44.

[22] Matthew Head, 'Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectre of Postcolonial Theory', *Music Analysis*, 22.1–2 (2003), 211–30 (p. 213).

Closer scrutiny of the symphony's programmatic basis, *The Song of Hiawatha*, can allow us to clear new space for hermeneutic enquiry. Broadly speaking, the poem—which comprises twenty-two chapters and an introduction—narrates the birth of Hiawatha, his journey to meet his love interest, Minnehaha, and her subsequent death in the winter months. Its themes are complex and have been the subject of many studies.[23] However, most scholars agree that the tale can be read as an American foundation myth. It depicts a mythical past, like many nationalist tales, and its ending can be read as a moment of national instantiation. 'Ending as it did,' Kirsten Buick observes, 'with the death of Minnehaha, Hiawatha's vision of the arrival of the Europeans, and his subsequent departure, the poem became part of the American mythology, a kind of genesis for the European American in the New World.' In this way, 'Hiawatha's absence metaphorically signalled the European's right to own and inhabit the land.'[24]

Dvořák first read a translation of Longfellow's *Hiawatha* by a friend (Josef Sládek) about three decades prior to his voyage to the United States, when he may also have become familiar with Václav Juda Novotný's 'Písně amerických indiánů' essay in *Dalibor* ('Songs of the American Indian', 1879) and Theodore Baker's *Über die Musik der Nordamerikanischen Wilden* (*On the Music of the North American Indians*, 1882).[25]

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[23] For two studies, see Kirsten Buick, *Child of the Fire: Mary Edmonia Lewis and the Problem of Art History's Black and Indian Subject* (New York: Duke University Press, 2010), chap. 3; Tom Nurmi, 'Writing Ojibwe: Politics and Poetics in Longfellow's Hiawatha', *The Journal of American Culture*, 35.3 (2012), pp. 244-57.

[24] Buick, p. 78.

[25] On Dvořák and Sládek, see Michael Beckerman, 'Dvořák's Pentatonic Landscape: The Suite in A Major,' in *Rethinking Dvořák: Views from Five Countries*, ed. David R. Beveridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 245-54, at 251. For a brief discussion of Dvořák, Novotný, and Baker, see John Clapham, 'Dvorak and the American Indian', *The Musical Times*, 107.1484 (1966), 863–67 (p. 863). For original Novotný and Baker publications, see Václav Juda Novotný, 'Písně amerických indiánů', *Dalibor*, 1.24 (1879), 191–93; Theodore Baker, *Über die Musik der Nordamerikanischen Wilden* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882).

However, Jeannette Thurber, the founder of the National Conservatory, encouraged him to engage with *Hiawatha* more directly having arrived. Interests in 'the noble savage' had grown significantly by that point in the century, not least because of the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 (which overlapped with Dvořák's composition of the symphony by about a month). Indeed, *Hiawatha* had also become enormously popular in its own right, to such an extent that Jack Sullivan has described the nineteenth century an era of 'Hiawatha fever'. In fact, *Hiawatha* was set to music by composers including Robert Stoepel (*Hiawatha*, 1861), Frederick Delius (*Hiawatha*, 1888) and—in a later context—Samuel Coleridge Taylor (*The Song of Hiawatha*, 1898-1900).[26] A *Hiawatha*-inspired piece by Dvořák therefore promised to be popular, and potentially lucrative. Especially given the Conservatory's financial struggles at this time, it is unsurprising that Thurber should have pushed him to write one.[27]

Precisely how *Hiawatha* may have informed the Ninth Symphony has been the subject of some debate. Dvořák offered some clues in an interview with the *New York Herald*, on 15th December 1893, in which he stated that the second movement 'is in reality a study or a sketch for a longer work, either a cantata or an opera which I purpose [sic] writing, and which will be based upon Longfellow's "Hiawatha."' He further suggested

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[26] On 'Hiawatha Fever', see Jack Sullivan, *New World Symphonies: How American Culture Changed European Music* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), chap. 2. For a more general introduction to musical settings of *Hiawatha*, see Michael Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), chap. 4. On Coleridge-Taylor's setting specifically, see Simeon A. Smith, 'Compositional Structures and the Coloniality of Power: Analysing Musical Works by Samuel Coleridge-Taylor and Gustav Holst' (PhD thesis, University of London, 2024).

[27] On wider interests in 'the noble savage', see Michael Broyles, 'Art Music from 1860 to 1920', in *The Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. by David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 214–54 (p. 250). For a discussion of Dvořák's sketches based on *Hiawatha*, initially for an opera, see John Clapham, 'The Operas of Antonín Dvořák', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 84.1 (1957), 55–69 (p. 64).

that '[t]he *scherzo* of the symphony was suggested by the scene at the feast in Hiawatha where the Indians dance'.[28] Yet these comments are vague, and they have prompted a range of responses in prior scholarship. Some scholars have recognised that the poem influenced Dvořák but avoided any in-depth discussion of the symphony. For example, John Clapham has discussed Dvořák's sketches for a *Hiawatha* opera, which ultimately came to nothing, but he mostly avoids discussing how the poem influenced the symphony itself.[29] Other scholars have addressed the symphony more directly. For example, Beckerman has discussed how the poem influenced the symphony's middle movements (the *Largo* and the *Scherzo*) and I will return to his work below.[30] Going one step further, James Hepokoski has suggested that the whole piece can be understood as a '*Hiawatha* symphony'. Consistent with some of his work on multi-movement forms in the same year (1993), Hepokoski argued that many of the middle-movement themes are also heard in the other movements.[31] For him, it thus makes little sense to consider any programme for the middle movements in isolation, since all the movements are thematically interconnected. All these readings are useful in different ways. However varied they may be, moreover, all are valid given the vagueness of Dvořák's comments. But suffice to say that the question of how

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[28] Antonín Dvořák, 'Dvorak on His New Work', *New York Herald*, 15 December 1893; discussed in Michael Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo and "The Song of Hiawatha"', *19th-Century Music*, 16.1 (1992), 35–48 (p. 36). Consistent with the formatting choices elsewhere in this chapter, I have applied italics to 'scherzo'. However, I have remained faithful to the formatting of the original source, which refers to *Hiawatha* without italics.

[29] Clapham, 'The Operas of Antonín Dvořák', p. 64.

[30] For Beckerman's views on the *Scherzo*, see Michael Beckerman, 'The Dance of Pau-Puk-Keewis, the Song of Chibiabos, and the Story of Iagoo: Reflections on Dvořák's "New World" Scherzo', in *Dvořák in America, 1892-1895*, ed. by John C. Tibbetts (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1993), pp. 210–27 (p. 211). I discuss his views on the *Largo* more below.

[31] James Hepokoski, 'Culture Clash: James Hepokoski Revisits Dvořák's New World Symphony', *The Musical Times*, 134.1810 (1993), 685–88 (p. 685). On multi-movement forms, see also Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, p. 7.

Hiawatha informed the Ninth Symphony remains open, and there is much scope for new, revisionary accounts of the symphony that take the poem as their basis.

Of special note in my own revisionary account is the title character's love interest: Minnehaha ('Laughing Water'). Readers may be familiar with Minnehaha Falls, a popular tourist site of the time that is located deep in the Minnesotan prairies, and the fact that Hiawatha's love interest shares their name is no accident. Rather, Longfellow is concerned precisely with exploring the ambiguous relationship between Hiawatha's lover and the physical site whose name she shares.[32] In the midst of Hiawatha's journey through the meadows, for instance, the poem states that Hiawatha 'Heard the Falls of Minnehaha / Calling to him through the silence. / "Pleasant is the sound!" he murmured, / "Pleasant is the voice that calls me!"' As the two depart for his home by canoe, she is once again associated with the Falls: we are told that they 'Heard the Falls of Minnehaha / Calling to them from the distance, / Crying to them from afar off, / "Fare thee well, O Minnehaha!"'[33] In the context of Dvořák's symphony, the characters' travel across the prairie is noteworthy because Dvořák was contemplating the 'Ocean' symphony around the same time. Both the 'Ocean' Symphony and Longfellow's poem (upon which the symphony was based) are to do with aquatic travel, even as Hiawatha travels by canoe rather than steamship, and even as he travels across a prairie rather than an ocean. This moment in the poem is even more

[32] Though Longfellow advances a heavily mediated account of Native American culture, it should be noted that Minnehaha's linkage of water and personhood is common to many indigenous epistemologies. For a wide-ranging discussion of this issue, see Brendan Kennedy, 'I Am the River, and the River Is Me: The Implications of a River Receiving Personhood Status', *Cultural Survival*, 2012 <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/i-am-river-and-river-me-implications-river-receiving> [accessed 26 October 2022].

[33] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha* (Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons, 1855), pp. 46, 49.

noteworthy, however, because the idea of 'calling' is a characteristic marker of enchantment.

Enchantment was a recurring trope of European music and poetry from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a named trope of music and poetry, leaving aside the enchanting effects of the string quartets that I addressed in Chapter Three, 'enchantment' generally refers to an experience of being called into the landscape, often by a natural or supernatural Other, and being affectively transformed in the process. Many pieces that convey an enchantment are marked by musical titles such as 'enchantment', 'enticement', 'bewitchment', or 'lure'. One such piece is Edvard Grieg's 'Det Syng' ('The Enticement', Op. 67/1, 1895), in which a siren—a mysterious 'blue troll'—ominously sings 'med meg skal du bu' ('you'll live with me'). A further example is Jean Sibelius's 'Fågellek' (literally translated as 'Bird Play', but conventionally rendered 'Enticement', Op. 17/3, 1891). Moreover, pieces entitled 'The Lure' ('Lockung') were composed by Fanny Hensel and Josef Rheinberger—both based on poetry by Joseph von Eichendorff—and (in a later context) Arnold Schoenberg and Gustav Holst.[34] In general, these tales invite their protagonists and their readers or listeners to be enchanted by nature, and to recover some aspect of the human experience that had been lost to modern life.

These pieces are the most obvious repertoire for discussion because of their titles, but under the 'enchantment' umbrella also falls a larger collection of folkloric tales about being lured or seduced into remote locales—many of which cannot be identified by

[34] Fanny Hensel, 'Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen' ('Do you not hear the trees rustling?'), which is often referred to as 'Lockung' (Op. 3/1, 1847); Josef Rheinberger, *Lockung* (Op. 25, 1869); Arnold Schoenberg, 'Lockung' (Op. 6/7); Gustav Holst, *The Lure* (H. 149, 1921).

musical title alone. Perhaps the most well-known example of this trend was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's ballad, 'Erlkönig' (1782), which developed the themes of 'Der Fischer' ('The Fisherman', 1779). 'Erlkönig' narrates the tale of a boy, whose father carries him by horseback in the woods. They encounter the title character, the king of the elves, who tries to lure the boy into the woods with the promise that his daughters will look after the boy. They refuse, and the elf tries to take the boy by force. Fleeing the woods, the two arrive at their destination—but the boy has been killed in the process. The most well-known musical setting of Goethe's poem was Schubert's Op. 1, but it was actually set to music by over a hundred composers.[35] In various ways, enchantment also featured in the poetic outputs of Karel Jaromír Erben (for example, *Kytice z pověstí národních*, 1853), Gottfried August Bürger (for example, *Lenore*, 1773), Elias Lönnrot (for example, *Kalevala*, 1835), and the folktales collected by Asbjørnsen and Moe. Many of these examples responded to one another. For example, Erben's *Kytice* was largely fashioned in the image of Bürger's *Lenore*, and it was further influenced by Goethe (whose 'Erlkönig' Erben had translated into Czech).[36] Yet leaving questions of authorial influence aside, all these examples derive from a single corpus of folktales that circulated across national boundaries. For example, Goethe's 'Der Erlkönig' was itself based on Johann Gottfried von Herder's 'Erlkönigs Tochter',

[35] Werner-Joachim Düring, *Erlkönig-Vertonungen: Eine historische und systematische Untersuchung* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1972); cited in Christopher H. Gibbs, '"Komm, geh" mit mir': Schubert's Uncanny 'Erlkönig"', *19th-Century Music*, 19.2 (1995), 115–35 (p. 115).

[36] Jan Smaczny, 'Goethe and the Czechs', in *Goethe: Musical Poet, Musical Catalyst*, ed. by Lorraine Byrne (Dublin: Craysfoot Press, 2004), pp. 159–84 (p. 167). For a discussion of how *Kytice* was influenced by *Lenore*, in relation to 'Svatební košile' specifically, see Gudrun Langer, '„Weit ritt ich her von Böhmen...": Zur nationalen Transformation des Lenorenstoffes in der tschechischen Romantik (K. J. Erbens Ballade „Svatebni Kosile")', *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, 45.1 (2000), 49–72 (pp. 57–58).

whose own provenance was a Danish folksong of a similar name.[37] Though they circulated in a range of national contexts, then, these poems and pieces were part of a single tradition.

Enchantment was also an important operatic trope. A good example from Dvořák's music is *Armida* (B. 206; 1902-3), whose title character enchants the opera's hero.[38] Surely the best-known operatic example is Richard Wagner's *Parsifal* (WWV 111, 1882), in which Kundry entices the eponymous hero from Klingsor's garden.[39] A further operatic example is Wagner's *Das Rheingold* (WWV 86A, 1851-54), which begins with the Rhinemaidens both tempting and mocking Alberich from deep in the Rhine, and in fact enchantment was often associated with mermaids and sirens: other pieces of this ilk were written by Bedřich Smetana (*Vltava*, T. 111, 1874), Johannes Brahms ('Eine Meerfahrt', Op. 96/4, 1884), and Jean Sibelius ('Under strandens granar', Op. 13/1, 1891).[40] Many of these tales are gendered or racialised, and they associated the material otherness of water with various kinds of social otherness.[41] Just as important are their geographies. Against the common nineteenth-

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[37] Gibbs, pp. 117–18.

[38] For an overview of these aspects of the opera, see Clapham, 'The Operas of Antonín Dvořák', p. 68.

[39] On Kundry's seduction, see Laurence Dreyfus, *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 154–55.

[40] See also Sibelius's setting of Gunnar Wennerberg's *Näcken* (Op. 57/8, 1888), and the 'Elfin land' of Edward Elgar's 'Sea Slumber-Song' (Op. 37/1, 1899). On Sibelius's enchantments, see Daniel M. Grimley, *Jean Sibelius: Life, Music, Silence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2021), 57–58. On Elgar's enticements, see Karen Leistra-Jones, '"The Deeps Have Music Soft and Low": Sounding the Ocean in Elgar's "Sea Pictures"', *Music & Letters*, 97.1 (2016), 61–99. For later examples of the same trope, see Alexander von Zemlinsky's *Die Seejungfrau* (*The Little Mermaid*, no opus number, 1902-3). See also Maurice Ravel's 'Ondine' from *Gaspard de la nuit* (M. 55/1, 1908), based on a poem by Aloysius Bertrand. In this piece, a water sprite lures a man to her liquid palace ('mon palais est bâti fluide') at the bottom of a lake.

[41] On similar issues, see Béatrice Laurent, *Water and Women in the Victorian Imagination* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2021); Béatrice Laurent, 'Fluidités Victoriennes', *Cahiers Victoriens & Édouardiens*, 71 (2010), 211–28. For an excellent review of Laurent's book, and a useful discussion of some other scholarship on this topic, see Georgia Toumara, 'Béatrice Laurent, "Water and Women in the Victorian Imagination"', *Romance, Revolution and Reform*, 5 (2023), 137–41.

century perception of oceans as frictionless surfaces, which for G.W.F. Hegel made them the 'natural element for industry',[42] many of these tales explore what happens when one is enticed beneath the waves—away from modernity and into a premodern realm of superstition. They exemplify a trend that Steve Mentz has discussed elsewhere, in which 'the poetics of maritime depth became an index of subjective depth and emotional power.'[43] Like the tale of Odysseus, they make us aware of siren calls' capacity to totalise, as our sense of self is unmoored, liquified, and diluted.[44] With all this in mind, it is unsurprising that the Czech word for enticement, *lákadlo*, refers to fishing bait as well as seduction. As the listener is tempted by the *lákadlo*, they are reduced to an animal like any other. The unlucky victim becomes beholden to primordial, animalistic instincts, withdrawing from enlightened reason into the sensuous body. The effects can be distressing and, if they take the bait, potentially fatal.

To a certain extent, the category of enchantment has been addressed in prior musicology. Some of these tales have been the focus of scholarship on nineteenth-century music and literature. For example, Daniel Grimley has discussed enchantment in Edvard Grieg's work. He has described how Grieg's *Den Bergtekne* (Op. 32, 1877-78) conveys an experience of being 'taken into the mountains' through a 'pagan quality' that seems to suspend

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[42] G.W.F. Hegel, *Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, ed. & trans. by T.M. Knox (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 151; quoted in Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2021), p. 1.

[43] Steve Mentz, 'Shakespeare and the Blue Humanities', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 59.2 (2019), 383–92 (p. 387).

[44] On sirens, mobility, and modernity, see Alexander Rehding, 'Of Sirens Old and New', in *The Oxford Handbook of Mobile Music Studies*, ed. by Sumanth Gopinath and Jason Stanyek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), II, 77–106.

time, and that enchants and disorients both the protagonist and the musical listener.[45] For him, *Den Bergtekne* not only conveys an experience of being transported into the Norwegian mountainscape. Its 'pagan quality' also evokes a sense of being transported into the past, which returns the listener to a primordial state of being. Other scholars have addressed enchantment not as a poetic trope, associated with geographical mobility, but as a more exclusively historical process. In a twentieth-century context, for example, James Savage-Hanford has discussed enchantment in George Enescu's music, which 'allows us to consider what promises (or "auratic returns") the past holds for our lived experience of the present.'[46] Since enchantment is often a response to a broader historical condition of disenchantment, he notes, it always already amounts to a *re*-enchantment, 'which necessitates the invention of new strategies by which the secularised and intellectualised world could once again be made mysterious, wondrous, redemptive, purposeful, epiphanic, and a locus for the infinite.'[47] But the most notable discussions of musical enchantment were conducted by Vladimir Jankélévitch, who made a historical point about the disenchantments of modern scholarship itself. '[W]hen a human being reaches the age of reason,' Jankélévitch describes, 'he struggles against this unseemly and illegal seizure of his person, not wanting to give in to enchantment […] A man who has sobered up, a demystified man,

[45] Grimley, *Grieg*, pp. 79–86. He draws the 'pagan quality' phrase from Sutcliffe, 'Grieg's Fifth', pp. 179–80. Benedict Taylor has likewise discussed enchantment in Grieg's 'Kulokk' (Op. 66/1), and Christopher H. Gibbs has discussed it in Schubert's *Erlkönig* (Op. 1, 1815) and other *Erlkönig*-related music and poetry. On these points, see Benedict Taylor, *Towards a Harmonic Grammar of Grieg's Late Piano Music: Nature and Nationalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 1–2; for an overview of this music and poetry, see Gibbs, pp. 117–20. On literary enchantments, see also Fez Silk, 'A Faërie Ring: Poetry and the Metaphor of Music as Devices of Enchantment in Tolkien's Fiction', *Tolkien Studies*, 19 (2022), 85–111.

[46] James Savage-Hanford, 'Memory, Enchantment, Dream: The Later Chamber Works of George Enescu' (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2019), p. 17.

[47] Ibid., p. 135.

does not forgive himself for having once been the dupe of misleading powers.'[48] In response to this problem, he suggests that scholars become (re-)enchanted by the sensuous experience of musical listening—its *charme*. Thus, (re-)enchantment has been described both geographically and historically. But in both cases, it promises to remedy the existential dislocation that has often been associated with modernity—what Amanda Anderson has termed the 'alienation and rootlessness that accompanied modern disenchantment, industrialisation, and the globalisation of commerce'[49]—and that I discussed in the previous chapter.

In music and poetry, enchantment was principally a trope of European rather than North American folklore. However, the metaphor of Minnehaha 'calling' across the prairie suggests that Longfellow's poem is in dialogue with this trope. This interpretation of Longfellow's poem is supported by its similarities with other examples of enchantment. Like other examples, Minnehaha's call is vocal. It is literally an en*chant*ment. Also like other examples, her call has a performative effect on the world around her. Much as *Kalevala*'s Väinämöinen 'creates things and alters the physical world through song', as Fez Silk has noted,[50] Minnehaha's voice induces Hiawatha to find and collect her. These similarities can be explained by the fact that Longfellow's poem was largely based on Lönnrot's *Kalevala*, which contains many enchantments of its own, and the poem's resemblance to European tales of enchantment is therefore not a coincidence.[51] Rather, it points to a causal

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[48] Vladimir Jankélévitch, *Music and the Ineffable* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 2–3; quoted in Gallope and others, p. 228.

[49] Anderson, *The Powers of Distance*, p. 4.

[50] Silk, p. 109.

[51] The links between *Hiawatha* and *Kalevala* are by now well-established, even as they have historically been a matter for some debate. For some early debates about the precise nature of these links, see Waino Nyland,

link between them. That Longellow's poem is in dialogue with this trope suggests, firstly, that enchantment may also be an important category for understanding Dvořák's symphony. Whether and how the symphony may express (re-)enchantment cannot yet be said. But given that the symphony was based on Longfellow's poem, it seems productive to take this possibility seriously. That Longellow's poem is in dialogue with this trope further suggests, secondly, that mobility may be important in the symphony, but in ways that differ from the case studies of previous chapters. In different ways, all the previous chapters' mobilities have been modern, or otherwise defined against social tradition: the fugitives of the first chapter challenged the traditional gender roles associated with home, and the mobilities of the second and third chapters were the product of modern life. Yet the poem's enchantment is not modern. After all, Hiawatha travels not by the steamships that so enthralled Dvořák, but by canoe, which at one point Hiawatha describes using similes with nature: 'I a light canoe will build me, / Build a swift Cheemaun for sailing, / That shall float on the river, / Like a yellow leaf in Autumn, / Like a yellow water-lily!'[52] In its experience of being called into the landscape, and in its promise to recover a more authentic mode of existence, Longfellow's enchantment is overtly *anti*modern. As such, the poem's dialogue with the trope of enchantment may have important consequences not just for how we understand Dvořák's symphony, but also for how we understand Dvořák's mobilities

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'"Kalevala" as a Reputed Source of Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha"', *American Literature*, 22.1 (1950), 1–20; Ernest J. Moyne and Tauno F. Mustanoja, 'Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha" and "Kalevala"', *American Literature*, 25.1 (1953), 87–89.

[52] Longfellow, p. 32. Incidentally, this feature of *Hiawatha* is also shared with other enchantments. For example, Hensel's 'Lockung' (Op. 3/1, 1847) can easily be heard a call to re-sensitise oneself to a primordial aurality derived from nature itself: the text begins, 'Do you not hear the trees rustling / through the quiet air?' ('Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen / Draußen durch die stille Rund?') For the original poem, see Joseph von Eichendorff, 'Lockung', in *Gedichte* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1837), p. 109.

more generally. To understand how, it will now be useful to consider how the poem and its enchantment are conveyed musically.

Enchantments in the Ninth Symphony

In so doing, the first task is to provide a musical overview of the symphony. Consistent with Longfellow's poem, all the symphony's four movements are bucolic in tone. This bucolic quality is immediately suggested by the horn calls and woodwind emphasis in the first movement's introduction, and it is intensified by the broad spacing of the instrumentation. Akin to other expressions of landscape in music, these features create an impression of open space. Also noteworthy are the symphony's *Klangflächen*, including from b. 189 of the first movement. These *Klangflächen* create a shimmering sense of internal motion, facilitating a gradual gain and loss of energy that, in the first movement, might easily evoke a storm.[53] This feeling of energy gain is also expressed thematically. In the first movement, for example, the exposition's P space material neatly segues into S space, via a series of thematic variations in TR space.[54] These thematic variations are accompanied by a lack of any strong MC,[55] which creates a sense of internal thematic generation—as if one theme creates another in a single rush of melodic energy. The symphony's bucolic qualities are also suggested tonally, moreover, often by functionally reinterpreting the predominant ii^6_5

[53] On *Klangflächen*, see Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 307.

[54] Beveridge, 'Romantic Ideas in a Classical Frame', p. 384. I have adopted Hepokoski and Darcy's terminology to summarise Beveridge's work: this terminology aligns my summary with previous chapters of the thesis, even as it post-dated Beveridge's own study. On developing variation in the symphony, see also Norbert Jers, 'Dvořák, der Progressive: Entwickelnde Variation in der 9. Symphonie', *Musica*, 33.3 (1979), 258–62.

[55] Daniel J. Partridge, 'Harmony, Form, and Voice Leading in the Mature Works of Antonín Dvořák' (PhD thesis, The City University of New York, 2012), p. 173.

chord. Whereas this chord might ordinarily be heard within the context of a $ii^6_5 \rightarrow V \rightarrow I$ progression, as Daniel J. Partridge has noted, in the 'New World' symphony it often supplants the dominant chord entirely. This technique is most evident in the symphony's *Largo*, the Dvořákian landscape *par excellence*, which uses $ii^6_5 \rightarrow I$ cadences at bb. 18-19 and bb. 39-40. One consequence of this technique is that the symphony's cadences often rely upon $\hat{6} \rightarrow \hat{5}$ voice leading. As such, they eliminate the leading note, and they imbue the pentatonic colour implied by $\hat{6}$ with structural significance.[56] More significantly, however, the $\hat{4} \rightarrow \hat{1}$ bass movement that underwrites these $ii^6_5 \rightarrow I$ progressions imbues them with a quasi-plagal feel, which alludes to the subdominant chord in a common pastoral strategy.[57]

Even more important to the symphony's overall effect, however, are its thematic repetitions. These repetitions often occur within the boundaries of specific formal spaces. For example, P space of the fourth movement, which is also a sonata form, comprises a statement of the theme followed by three repetitions (bb. 18, 26, and 34) that are modified registrally, harmonically, and texturally.[58] These repetitions also occur across the larger-scale trajectories of individual movements. For example, the first movement reintroduces P space material towards the close, creating a discursive coda that reflects back upon the material that has just gone.[59] Most significantly, however, these repetitions also occur between movements. Multiple themes from the first movement return towards the end of the

[56] Partridge, pp. 124–25.

[57] On the subdominant and pastoralism, see Davis, p. 275.

[58] On local thematic repetitions in the symphony, see Beveridge, 'Romantic Ideas in a Classical Frame', pp. 382–84.

[59] Partridge, p. 234.

Largo's middle section, for example, as well as at different points in the *Scherzo*.[60] In the final movement, likewise, the main themes of each previous movement return in order, at b. 275 (the first movement theme), b. 299 (second movement theme), b. 313 (third movement theme), and b. 321 (a modified version of the fourth movement theme).[61] These repetitions create a cyclical effect, like many late nineteenth-century symphonies and other multi-movement works.[62] They produce the kind of large-scale formal ambiguity that, as Hepokoski has described, characterises many symphonies from the late-nineteenth century, and that responded to an historical situation in which older forms of musical expression seemed increasingly unsustainable.[63] As Benedict Taylor has noted elsewhere, moreover, these kinds of repetitions may also evoke a sense of memory or recollection.[64] In the Ninth Symphony, they can hence be understood both as a response to the historical situation identified by Hepokoski—the third movement's famous reference to Beethoven's own Ninth Symphony certainly suggests an element of historical commentary—and a way of

[60] On these repetitions, see Jan Smaczny, 'The Czech Symphony', in *A Guide to the Symphony*, ed. by Robert Layton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 221–61 (p. 250).

[61] A. Peter Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire, Volume IV: The Second Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Brahms, Bruckner, Dvořák, Mahler, and Selected Contemporaries* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 431.

[62] Julian Horton, 'Cyclical Thematic Processes in the Nineteenth-Century Symphony', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Symphony*, ed. by Julian Horton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 190–231; for a broader overview of cyclicism in nineteenth-century music, see Taylor, *Mendelssohn, Time and Memory*, chap. 1.

[63] Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, chaps 1, 3. On similar ideas in a Czech context, see Lenka Křupková, 'The Concept of Multi-Movement Structure within a Single Movement in the Music of Vítězslav Novák', in *Czech Music Around 1900*, ed. by Lenka Křupková and Jiří Kopecký, trans. by David Beveridge (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2017), pp. 239–54.

[64] Benedict Taylor, 'Cyclic Form, Time, and Memory in Mendelssohn's A-Minor Quartet, Op. 13', *The Musical Quarterly*, 93.1 (2010), 45–89 (pp. 72–73).

expressing the retrospective character that so often defines musical landscapes.[65] However, the consequences of these thematic repetitions are not just temporal: they are also spatial. Like the examples of Chapter Three, they attenuate temporal direction in favour of bucolic spatialisation, as if Longfellow's landscapes rupture the symphony's formal limits from within. They further effect a sense of accumulation, which builds throughout the symphony and climaxes in the final movement's rapid succession of thematic recollections. To be sure, '[t]his is not the occasionally directionless repetition of ideas encountered in the early symphonies,' as Jan Smaczny has commented. Rather, it comprises 'a dynamic building of musical paragraphs from short, developmentally derived fragments. When piled sequentially to intensify the harmonic effect, these repetitions can be overwhelming.'[66]

Many aspects of the symphony thus seem to evoke the landscape imagery of Longfellow's poem, and we now have a broad sense of how it musically expresses some of *Hiawatha*'s key themes. To understand how Minnehaha's enchantment can be heard in the piece, however, we will need a clearer understanding of how Dvořák responded to the poem. Some indications were provided in the interview that he conducted with *The New York Herald*, published the day before the symphony's premiere, in which he suggested that the *Scherzo* was based on dancing in the forest (the eleventh chapter of Longfellow's poem). But Dvořák's overview tells us little about the enchantment, which is depicted in the tenth, rather than the eleventh chapter of Longfellow's poem. Of greater use than Dvořák's own statements is the symphony's reception. In a *New York Daily Tribune* article

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[65] On this Beethoven reference, see Döge, sec. 11. On these kinds of references more generally, see Hepokoski, 'Beethoven Reception: The Symphonic Tradition', pp. 436–39.

[66] Smaczny, 'The Czech Symphony', p. 249.

on the same day as Dvořák's *Herald* interview, Krehbiel (a renowned New York critic) explicitly stated that the *Largo* expresses 'the story of Hiawatha's wooing': this chapter, the tenth of Longfellow's poem, recounts Hiawatha's attempts to seek out his love interest in response to her vocal 'call'.[67] Krehbiel is a reputable source. Not only is his commentary the most significant of contemporary sources on the symphony. Having continued to discuss the symphony's links to Longfellow's text for many years, he later stated, as Beckerman has noted, that his source was the composer himself.[68] When paired with Dvořák's comment that the *Largo* was based on *Hiawatha*, the evidence is compelling. Without wishing to suggest that symphony can be reduced to only one meaning, it nevertheless seems safe to suggest that Minnehaha's enchantment, like the rest of 'the story of Hiawatha's wooing', finds expression in the *Largo*. The chapter's revised task is therefore to explore how the *Largo* conveys the tenth chapter of the poem.

One possibility is that the *Largo* represents Longfellow's tenth chapter in order. This possibility is entertained by Beckerman. Though Beckerman does not discuss enchantment, he notes that Dvořák's 'sketches for the *Scherzo* follow those of the *Largo* chronologically', and it is therefore possible that (since the *Largo* was based on the tenth chapter, and the *Scherzo* on the eleventh) Dvořák was 'working his way forward in the text'.[69] Taken further, this argument might also suggest that Dvořák's *Largo* follows *Hiawatha* on a line-by-line basis, in much the same way as he responded to Erben's poetry in

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[67] Henry Krehbiel, 'Dr. Dvořák's American Symphony', *New-York Daily Tribune* (New York, 15 December 1893), p. 7.

[68] That Dvořák was Krehbiel's source is impossible to verify but is entirely plausible. For discussion, see Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 37.

[69] Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 39. Italics have been added for the sake of formatting consistency.

his late symphonic poems. This argument is plausible but hard to sustain. Whereas Dvořák's sketches for the symphonic poems contain snippets from Erben's poetry,[70] his sketches for the *Largo* contain no equivalent evidence that might support a line-by-line interpretation of the piece. By pursuing this reading at all, moreover, there is a risk of falling back on an old overemphasis on authorial intention, and thereby negating some of the theoretical points that I made in Chapter One.

Another possibility, however, is that the *Largo* conveys Longfellow's tenth chapter in broader, more abstract terms. Beckerman also entertains this possibility, and he argues that of lesser importance than programmatic particulars could be the chapter's generalised 'mood'.[71] His suggestion is convincing because 'mood' is a recurring term in the sources that he discusses. As Krehbiel stated in his *Tribune* article, for example, '[i]n the larghetto [i.e., the *Largo*] we are stopped from seeking forms that are native and thrown wholly upon a study of the spirit. It is Dr. Dvořák's proclamation of the mood which he found in the story of Hiawatha's wooing, as set forth in Longfellow's poem.'[72] Not only is this suggestion convincing: it is also useful in the context of the present study, for two reasons. Firstly, it unburdens us from pursuing a line-by-line approach to the *Largo*. Whereas a line-by-line approach might feel speculative or reductive, a discussion of the *Largo*'s mood means, as Beckerman notes, that 'we need not look for specifics; indeed, it would be absurd to do so.'[73] In the broader context of this thesis, secondly, Beckerman's suggestion is useful

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[70] Clapham, 'Dvořák's Unknown Letters', p. 278.

[71] Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 40.

[72] Krehbiel, 'Dr. Dvořák's American Symphony'. For an excellent commentary on this article, see also Beckerman, 'Henry Krehbiel, Antonin Dvorak, and the Symphony "From the New World"', p. 461.

[73] Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 40.

because it invites us to place the *Largo* into dialogue with the *Stimmungmusik* that I have discussed elsewhere, and to consider how the chapter's enchantment is musically linked to expressive parameters such as timbre, voice, and affect. Indeed, there are many similarities between enchantment and mood. Though tales of enchantment foreground mobility to a greater extent, both have an antagonistic relationship with modern life. Moreover, they share a vocality that affectively transforms the musical listener from within, and that facilitates a more attuned state of being.[74] For all these reasons, it will be useful to consider how the *Largo* conveys the mood of Longfellow's tenth chapter. To accomplish this task, we will need an overview of the *Largo* more specifically.

The *Largo* comprises an introduction, bb. 1-6, followed by a loose ternary form. An A section arrives at b. 7, followed by a series of B sections: B^1 (b. 46), B^2 (b. 54), B^1 (b. 64), B^3 (b. 90).[75] The A section material returns at b. 101, and the movement concludes with a harmonically modified restatement of the introduction (b. 120). These sections vary in theme and character, but much about the *Largo* conveys mood. Out of all the sections, the most obviously affective is the A section of b. 7. This material has often been heard as the prairie described in Longfellow's poem, and for good reason: its harmonic stasis and expansive orchestration amount to one of the most vivid expressions of landscape in Dvořák's music. This material also evokes a sense of displacement or even loss, due to the opening

[74] On re-enchantment in relation to notions of tuning, see also Julian Johnson, *Out of Time*, chap. 5.

[75] Some scholars, including Beckerman, have deemed b. 46 to be a transition. This reading suggests that the B section is bipartite, with main themes at b. 54 and b. 90 being subdivided by a second transition at b. 64. On this point, see Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 40. This reading is plausible, not least because b. 46 feels rhetorically transitory. However, the fact that b. 46 introduces a new key and melody suggests that it is sufficiently important to constitute a B section in its own right. For this reason, I suggest that the B section comprises four subsections rather than two, but this distinction is taxonomical rather than substantive.

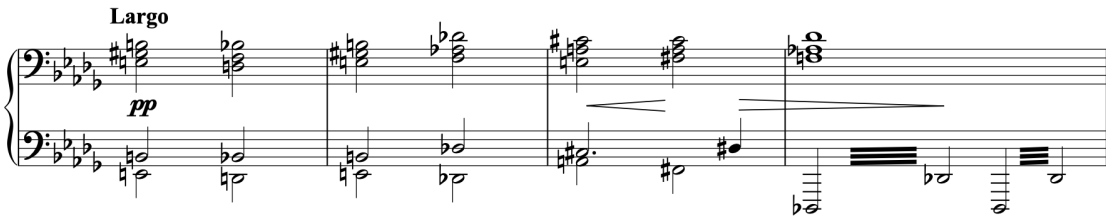
bars (see reduction in example 4.1).[76] After the E- tonic key of the first movement, the opening bars tonally disorient us by oscillating between E major and B♭ major chords. They proceed to reinterpret the *e* as the seventh of an F♯ minor chord, which they outline via a linear arpeggiaic descent through *e*, *d*♭ (enharmonically equivalent to *c*♯), *a*, and *f*♯. The F♯ minor chord is followed by the global tonic of the second movement, D♭+, in what amounts to plagal iv^7→I motion in D♭+. Yet all the pitch classes of iv^7 are harmonised independently: for example, *e* serves as the root of an E major chord, and the same can be said of *d*♭, *a* and *f*♯. Paired with the tritone oscillation of b. 1, the enharmonic respelling of the subdominant minor chord (G♭ minor becomes F♯ minor), and the fact that a *d*♯ passing note later transforms iv into ii$^6_5$, in a further instance of the plagal substitutions identified by Partridge, these opening bars produce a strong sense of disorientation. The effect is one of being geographically transported to a remote setting, displacing and emplacing the listener simultaneously, and crossing an affective threshold in the process. It might also seem to have a temporal dimension, as if we are revisiting a distant past. Indeed, Beckerman has pursued just such a reading. Following the opening bars, he suggests, the *Largo*'s main theme 'seems to symbolise a kind of timeless tableau: something that happened long ago and far away.'[77]

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[76] Piano reductions are drawn from Paul Juon's arrangement of the symphony, originally published in 1899 by Simrock. Full score excerpts are drawn from the Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění edition of 1955, edited by Otakar Šourek. To save space, blank staves have been removed from the full orchestral score excerpts throughout this chapter.

[77] Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 42.

Example 4.1: Dvořák, Symphony No. 9, *Largo* (B. 178/2, 1893) bb. 1-4
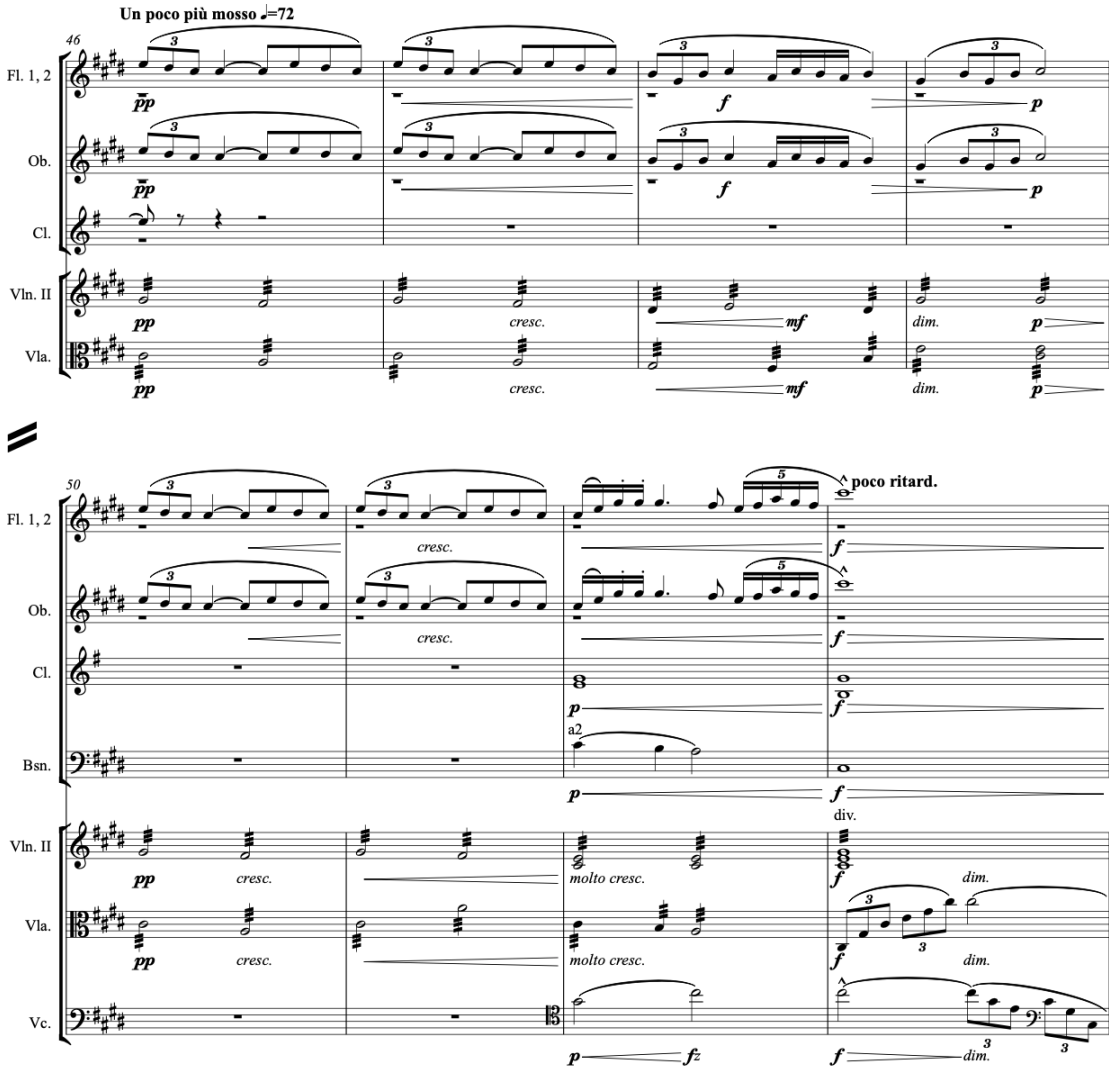


These opening bars and the A section are some of the most famous parts of the symphony, as well as Dvořák's music more generally. But of special note is the *Largo*'s C♯- theme, from the *Un poco più mosso* at b. 46 (example 4.2). This theme is marked by a further enharmonic shift, which returns us to the sharp-side harmonies of the introduction. More striking still is its shift in orchestral colour, especially the combination of string *tremolos* with the undulating clarinet ostinato that joins at b. 64 (example 4.3). Like much *Stimmungsmusik*, its emphasis is timbral, abruptly foregrounding the glimmering *tremolos* of *pianissimo* strings. Its shift in presence is palpable, a disruption to the prevailing 'mood' heard by Krehbiel. It summons forth a new 'voice', a flute and oboe line that reverberates through the prairie, and that wills into being a new key, tempo, and modal collection.[78] Phenomenologically, it might also suggest a change of scene, as the expansive Minnesotan prairie of the A section gives way to a new key and a shimmering sense of motion.[79]

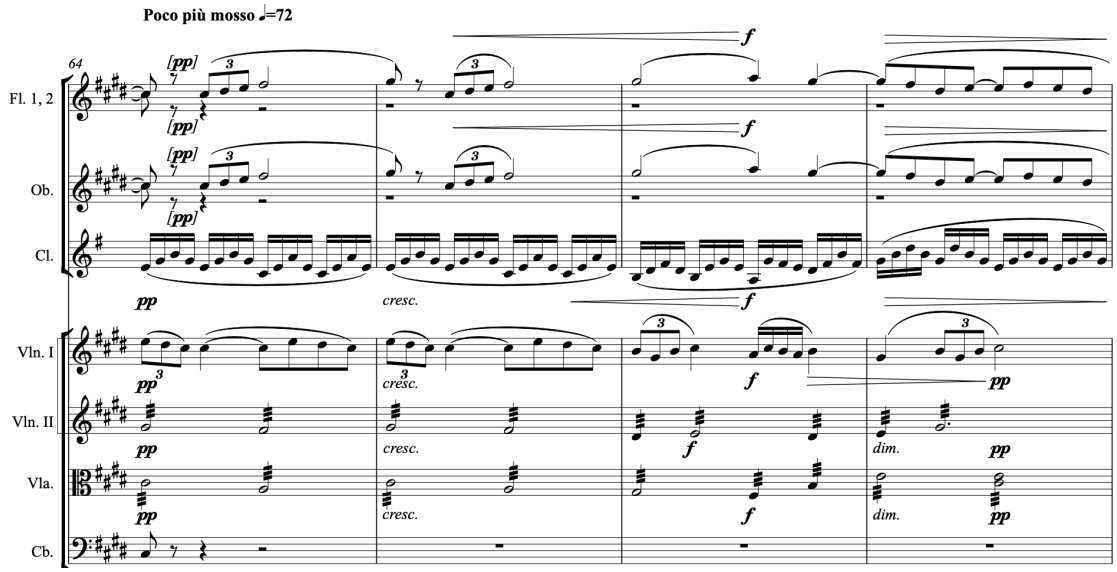
[78] On voice, presence, and rupture, see Julian Johnson, *Mahler's Voices: Expression and Irony in the Songs and Symphonies*, chap. 1.

[79] For a useful discussion of prairie pastorals more broadly, see Beth E. Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), chap. 5.

Example 4.2: Dvořák, B. 178/2, bb. 46-53



Example 4.3: Dvořák, B. 178/2, bb. 64-67



Less immediately clear is what the new 'voice' may be saying, how the *Largo*'s surroundings change, or where this material may be moving. One explanation for this passage is offered by prior scholarship. For Dvořák, Robert Bagar and Louis Biancolli note, the material from b. 46 represented 'the Indian girl's sobbing as she bids Hiawatha farewell'.[80] Their comment captures the melancholic character of these bars. But it is unsourced and unverifiable, and in any case (as Beckerman notes) there is no moment in Longfellow's poem that expresses what they describe.[81] Another explanation for the B section is that it is a funeral march. On one occasion, Dvořák stated that the *Largo* conveys

[80] Robert C. Bagar and Louis Biancolli, *The Concert Companion: A Comprehensive Guide to Symphonic Music* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947), p. 240. Emphasis added to indicate tempo marking. This reading corresponds with James Hepokoski's understanding of the second movement as a whole, which he reads as a 'feminine' counterpart to the 'masculine' main theme of the opening movement: Hepokoski, 'Culture Clash', p. 686.

[81] Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 44.

the 'Funeral in the Forest' from Longfellow's poem.[82] He said this about the movement generally, not the B section specifically. But as Beckerman notes, the B section uses a 'walking' bass line from b. 54, like the funeral march of Beethoven's *Eroica*. It also uses a 𝅗𝅥 = 66 tempo marking at b. 78, which is rare in Dvořák's music, but which he later used in the funeral march of *Die Waldtaube* (*The Wild Dove*, B. 198, 1896).[83] Beckerman sees no programmatic significance to the passage from b. 46, and in any case, he sees it as transitional rather than thematic. But this passage's melancholia is consistent with the rest of the B section, and it could easily be heard as a further expression of a funeral. This reading of b. 46 suggests that the passage conveys the twentieth chapter of Longfellow's poem, in which Minnehaha dies from famine, as much as the tenth. Whether we include b. 46 as part of the B section or not, moreover, it further suggests that 'the movement had various sources of inspiration'.[84] For Beckerman, it is therefore possible that Dvořák 'began his composition of the movement as a pastoral *Andante* [the movement's original tempo marking] depicting the wide expanse of the American prairie, and probably based on images from the pleasant homeward journey of Hiawatha and Minnehaha' but that he later 'decided to combine the primary tableau with a secondary one based on the forest funeral of Minnehaha.'[85]

However, there is also another explanation for the *Un poco più mosso* that instead finds its basis in the tenth chapter, 'the story of Hiawatha's wooing'. Especially notable

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[82] Smaczny, 'The Czech Symphony', p. 250.

[83] On funeral marches, see Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', pp. 44–46.

[84] Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák*, p. 34.

[85] Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 46. Italics added for formatting consistency.

about this passage are the dynamic markings, and the wave-like gain and loss of energy that they suggest: in semiotic terms, its transition passage is unmistakably aquatic. This aquatic imagery arises from its inner motion and '"rolling" feel', which are common aquatic signifiers in music.[86] In part, these signifiers in the *Largo* can be heard as a heightened expression of the A section's prairie surroundings. They evoke the flooded meadows surrounding the Mississippi river, which Hiawatha passes in his boat. But the *Largo*'s aquatic topics can more specifically be heard in terms of the 'sobbing' discussed by Bagar and Biancolli—not just as the lament of Minnehaha, but as a representation of the waterfall after which she is named. Of course, this aquatic reading might equally support Beckerman's view that the B section conveys Minnehaha's funeral. But these aquatic signifiers coincide exactly with the *Largo*'s shift to a new set of geographical surroundings, and with its introduction of a new musical 'voice'. If the movement does convey the tenth as much as the twentieth chapter of the poem, as Beckerman himself suggests, then it can be heard as the enchantment as much as the funeral. Both representationally and affectively, its enchantment is tangible. After the brief pause that separates the A section from B^{l}, it is easy to hear 'the Falls of Minnehaha / Calling […] through the silence.'[87]

That Dvořák should have been drawn to these themes of (re-)enchantment is unsurprising, given the biographical context in which he composed the symphony. Dvořák had lived in big cities back in Europe, and over his lifetime he witnessed a period of rapid urbanisation in Bohemia-Moravia. 'As late as 1843 only two cities in the Czech lands,

[86] Holly Watkins, 'The Pastoral After Environmentalism: Nature and Culture in Stephen Albert's Symphony: RiverRun', *Current Musicology*, 84 (2007), 7–24 (p. 10).

[87] Longfellow, p. 130.

Prague and Brno, had more than 20,000 inhabitants,' Derek Sayer has observed, 'and almost five-sixths (83.5 percent) of the Bohemian population still lived in settlements of less than 2,000 people. By the end of the century this latter figure had fallen to 57 percent.'[88] Yet Dvořák's experience of urbanisation was altogether more intense in New York City, due to the city's scale, and he soon developed an almost pathological fear of facing the city alone. Having returned to New York from Spillville (Iowa) in the summer of 1893, for example, he took to asking Otakar to join him on the twenty-minute walk from their house (near Stuyvesant Square) to the National Conservatory (near Madison Square). Ironically, given Dvořák's interest in railways and steamships, many of Dvořák's fears centred upon the modern travel technologies that were used to move around the city. As Otakar described, '[s]ometimes he was afraid of the tram's electric wire. Other times he was afraid of the wagons and other vehicles on the streets. Never before had he expressed so many fears to me.'[89] As Beckerman has argued, independently of his work on the symphony, these fears also symptomatized a wider set of cultural anxieties about the city at this time—a 'neurasthenia' ('nerve weakness') that many people believed was a symptom of the modern condition.[90]

Neurasthenia is not recognised by medical professionals today, but it was commonly accepted as a medical condition in the late nineteenth century. Belief in neurasthenia was particularly widespread in New York City, not least because of work by George M.

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[88] Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*, p. 85.

[89] On all these fears, see Michael Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2003), pp. 177–78.

[90] Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák*, p. 178. For a broader discussion of neurasthenia, see Mark Jackson, *The Age of Stress: Science and the Search for Stability* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chap. 1.

Beard—a prominent figure in the city's medical establishment who lectured on this topic (as well as on nervous diseases more generally) at New York University.[91] For Beard, neurasthenia was often caused by mobility. As he commented, 'the molecular disturbance caused by travelling long distances, or living on trains as an employé, would have an unfavourable influence on the nervous system.'[92] In this respect, Beard's work is comparable to that of Georg Simmel, whose 1903 essay 'The Metropolis and Modern Life' discussed the overstimulation that (in large part) stemmed from mass transportation systems in the city.[93] Both writers' work speaks to a widespread fear that mobility's affective consequences (or, as I put it previously, the links between motion and emotion)[94] may cause irreparable damage to the human body, especially when those mobilities are accelerated by modern technology. Yet Beard's focus is broader than mobility alone. He attributes neurasthenia to any number of different causes, including 'steam-power, the periodical press, the telegraph, the sciences, and the mental activity of women.'[95] When he did attribute neurasthenia to mobility, moreover, he principally attributed it to the temporal inflexibility that

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[91] For an overview of Beard's work in psychiatry, and his influence on others, see Charles E. Rosenberg, 'The Place of George M. Beard in Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 36.3 (1962), 245–59.

[92] George Beard, 'Causes of American Nervousness', in *Popular Culture and Industrialism*, ed. by Henry Nash Smith (New York: New York University Press, 1967), pp. 57–70 (p. 64); quoted in Cresswell, *On the Move*, p. 70.

[93] Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life (1903)', in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. & trans. by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 409–24. For a useful discussion of Simmel's work as it relates to mobility, see Ole B. Jensen, '"Facework", Flow and the City: Simmel, Goffman, and Mobility in the Contemporary City', *Mobilities*, 1.2 (2006), 143–65. For a useful introduction to metropolitan mobilities more generally, which touches on Simmel's work, see also Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 'Reflections on Mobilities', in *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, ed. by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), pp. 157–68.

[94] On these links, see Chapter Two and Chapter Three. See also Mikkel Thelle, 'Feeling Motion: Revisiting Mobility History through Affect and Emotion', *Mobility in History*, 6.1 (2015), 63–69.

[95] George M. Beard, *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881), p. vi.

(as the previous chapter noted) mediated modern life more generally. As Beard described, '[t]he perfection of clocks and the invention of watches have something to do with modern nervousness, since they compel us to be on time, and excite the habit of looking to see the exact moment, so as not to be late for trains or appointments.'[96] The effects of being late could be catastrophic, leading to 'incomparably fewer experiences wherein a delay of a few moments might destroy the hopes of a lifetime.'[97] These temporal properties attend many aspects of modern life, and it is unsurprising that Beard, as a practitioner in the New York metropolis, should have been so attuned to them.

Dvořák's own development of this nervous 'condition' post-dated his composition of the Ninth Symphony by several months. However, the *Largo*'s enchantment can be read as a response to those fears of modernity that were so ubiquitous in New York at this time, that would surely have shaped Dvořák's understanding of the New World from the moment he arrived, and that may well have contributed to the premiere's inordinate popularity. From one standpoint, this antimodernism can be read in the context of Dvořák's American nation-building project. After all, these kinds of bucolic settings were a recurring feature of many nationalist musics, which Dvořák had been tasked with creating in the United States.[98] (Re-)enchantment lent itself well to this kind of project, granting access to a folk

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[96] George Beard, p. 61; quoted in Cresswell, *On the Move*, pp. 17–18. This 'condition' was also attributed to any number of other causes. For one medical study, which includes a list of causes and possible treatments, see Hugh Campbell, *Neurasthenia: Cerebro-Spinal Exhaustion*, 16th edn (Edinburgh and London: Ballantyne Press, 1883).

[97] George Beard, p. 61; quoted in Cresswell, *On the Move*, pp. 17–18.

[98] For an overview of similar interests in a different national context, see Georgia Volioti, 'Landscaping the Gaze in Norwegian Visual Art and Grieg's Op. 66 Folksong Piano Arrangements', *Music & Letters*, 98.4 (2017), p. 580. See also Emma Kavanagh, '"Qu'il est loin mon pays": Staging (Be)longing in Massenet's "Sapho"', *Dix-Neuf*, 27.4 (2023), 247–67.

idyll that was unmarked by processes of nineteenth-century urbanisation, and to affective capacities that modernity and its disenchantments seemed to inhibit.[99] Yet it also speaks to a broader strand of antimodern thought that developed in the late-nineteenth century, which many believed could remedy the kinds of modern ailments identified by Beard, and which functioned at the level of individuals rather than nations. Like many antimodernisms, the *Largo* 'recoil[s] from an "overcivilised" modern existence to more intense forms of physical or spiritual existence.'[100] Moreover, it seeks this remedial power in 'exotic' subject matters, exhibiting what Lynda Jessup has termed 'a desire for the type of "authentic," immediate experience supposedly embodied in pre-industrial societies—in medieval communities or "Oriental" cultures, in the Primitive, the Traditional, or the Folk.'[101] In its pentatonic melodies, the *Largo* conveys a distinctly racialised idyll, one that (as Nathaniel Sikand-Youngs has commented) 'shares Longfellow's evocation of romanticized nostalgia for a primitive, pastoral, yet innocent human existence.'[102] Hence, the *Largo*'s enchantment is surprising neither for personal reasons nor in the context of its broader political climate. Against the pathologies diagnosed by Beard and others, the canoe journey that

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[99] On disenchantment, see Daniel K. L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge [Eng.] and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12-13.

[100] T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), p. xv; quoted in Lynda Jessup, 'Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: An Introduction', in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience*, ed. by Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 3–9 (p. 3).

[101] Jessup, p. 3.

[102] Sikand-Youngs, p. 320. For a recent and useful discussion of race in the symphony, see also Douglas W. Shadle, *Antonín Dvořák's New World Symphony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), chap. 7. A similar aesthetic strategy was pursued by Edward MacDowell in his *Indian Suite* (Op. 48, composed 1891-92 but premiered only in 1896). As Kara Anne Gardner has commented, the *Indian Suite* drew upon the stereotype that 'close to nature, physically virile, and unencumbered by the greed that accompanies capitalism.' On this point, see Kara Anne Gardner, 'Edward MacDowell, Antimodernism, and "Playing Indian" in the "Indian Suite"', *The Musical Quarterly*, 87.3 (2004), 370–422 (p. 371).

Hiawatha took into the prairies has remedial effects, which for Dvořák, living in the sprawling urban metropolis, must have felt like a tantalising metaphor for escape.

What *is* surprising about the *Largo*'s enchantment, however, is that it is risk-free. By this, I do not mean to say that it is politically unproblematic. Ultimately, the piece locates an authentic mode of existence in a racialised depiction of Native American communities. More problematically still, it excuses that racialism from critique by privileging sensorial immediacy over rational thought.[103] By suggesting that the *Largo*'s enchantment is risk-free, rather, I mean that it poses no risk to Hiawatha. Unlike many other enchantments in the nineteenth century, and unlike all the previous mobilities of this thesis, the enchantment is enjoyable rather than dangerous. From the disorienting opening chords onwards, it merely produces a beguiling, sensuous feeling of itinerancy. This itinerancy lends support to popular accounts of the *Largo*, which have alternately conceived it in terms of both proximity and distance from Dvořák's native Bohemia. For Thurber, on the one hand, the *Largo*'s experience was one of loss. As she stated, 'the intense pathos of the slow movement of the New World Symphony was inspired by nostalgia—by longing for home.'[104] Indeed, the full subtitle of the symphony was '*From* the New World' (emphasis added), which suggests that it projects a sense of distance—consistent with the spirit of the Apollo 11 mission that I mentioned in the Introduction. For William Arms Fisher (a student of Dvořák's), on the other hand, the *Largo* was as much an experience of return. As he argued,

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[103] On this point, see Gallope and others, pp. 225–26. This idea also looms large over Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*, chap. 3.

[104] By making this point, Thurber followed Anton Seidl: Jeannette M. Thurber, 'Dvořák As I Knew Him', *The Etude*, November (1919), 693; quoted in Clapham, 'The Evolution of Dvorak's Symphony "From the New World"', p. 171.

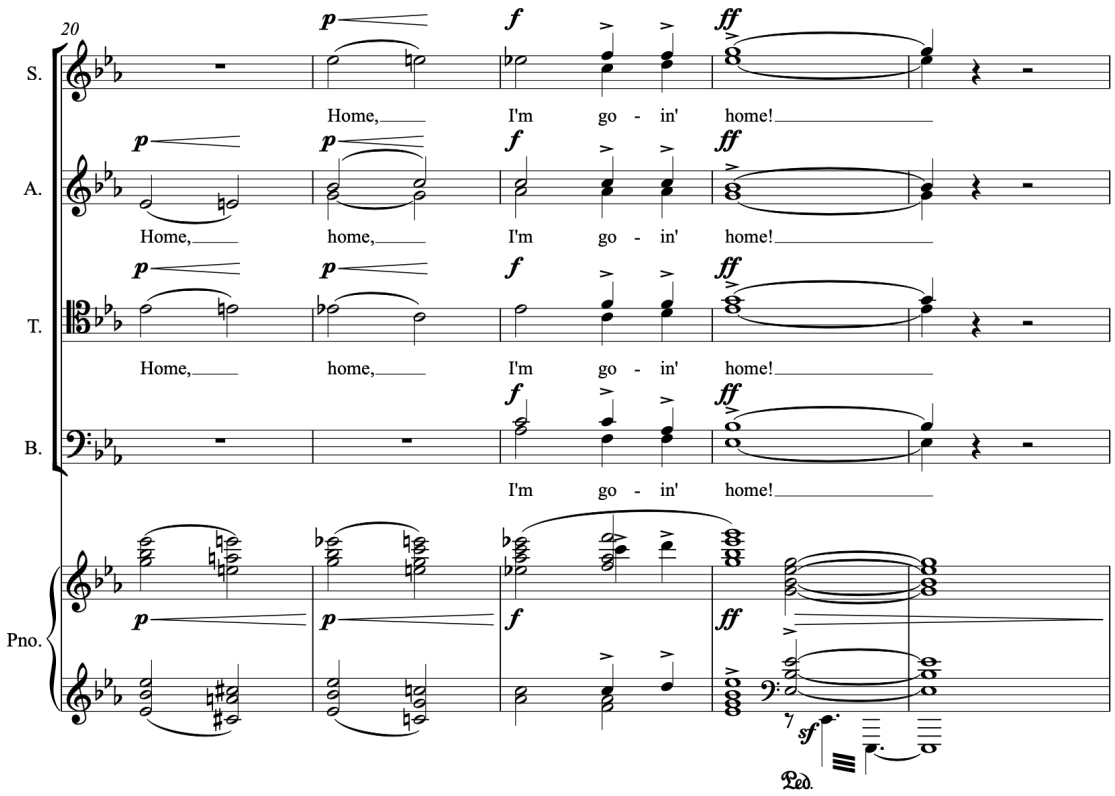
Dvořák's homesickness led him to seek out the small community of Czech expats in Spillville, Iowa, and he speculated that Dvořák may well have finished the piece amongst other members of his native Bohemia. In a famous arrangement of the *Largo*, in fact, Fisher set the A theme to the lyrics 'Goin' home, goin' home, / I'm a goin' home',[105] and he repeatedly set the movement's disorienting chordal progressions to the word 'home' (bb. 20-24, example 4.4). Indeed, the A section also conveys an experience of homecoming for Beckerman, who argues that it depicts the moment when Hiawatha and Minnehaha return home.[106] It is not my purpose to resolve these tensions. Less valuable than any single reading is the sense of itinerancy that invites all of them simultaneously, and the paradoxical feeling that the more we lose our bearings, the more closely we approach a familiar, homely state of being. But although the *Largo* has restorative effects, the same cannot be said of all Dvořák's (re-)enchantments. Some of his other expressions of this trope are more dangerous. Having introduced the category of (re-)enchantment more fully, and having shown how it comprises an antimodern kind of mobility, I can now explore its possible hazards in a further piece by Dvořák, written just three years after the *Largo* and likewise associated with water: *Der Wassermann* (*The Water Goblin*, B. 195, 1896).

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[105] For Fisher's speculation about Dvořák's completion of the symphony in Iowa, see the explanatory note at the front of the Oliver Ditson Co. SATB edition of 1922. The score excerpt is taken from this edition. For discussion of these lyrics, see Jean E. Snyder, *Harry T. Burleigh: From the Spiritual to the Harlem Renaissance* (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2016), p. 108. Note that the Ditson edition of 1922 has transposed the movement to E♭⁺. There is an obvious racial dimension to Fisher's lyrics, too, which Beckerman has addressed previously. On this point, see Beckerman, 'Is Czech Music White?', p. 29.

[106] Beckerman, 'Dvořák's "New World" Largo', p. 42.

Example 4.4: William Arms Fisher, 'Goin' Home' (1922), bb. 20-24



Bewitchments in *Der Wassermann*

Der Wassermann, the first of Dvořák's five late symphonic poems, is based on the ninth poem from Erben's *Kytice* (1853).[107] Dvořák began to draft the piece in January 1896, and he completed it remarkably quickly. In fact, he completed his initial sketches in little more than a fortnight—alongside those of *Die Mittagshexe* (*The Noon Witch*, B. 196, 1896) and *Das goldene Spinnrad* (*The Golden Spinning Wheel*, B. 197, 1896)—and finalised the piece

[107] A full version of the original poem can be found in Karel Jaromír Erben, *Kytice: Czech & English Bilingual Edition*, trans. by Susan Reynolds (Milton Keynes: Jantar Publishing, 2013), pp. 183–206. All poetry and translations are drawn from this edition, except where otherwise stated.

in the fortnight after that. Enchantment is an important component of Erben's poem. Variously translated as *The Water Goblin* or *The Water-Fay*,[108] the title refers to an amphibious, supernatural creature of the depths, akin to the Swedish *näck*, who drags unwary mortals beneath the water. The water goblin (*vodník*) has an extended basis in Czech literature and folklore, having featured in work by Karel Václav Rais, Karolina Světlá, and Josef Václav Sládek.[109] Depictions of the character vary. The water goblin featured in Dvořák's later *Rusalka*, for example, in which it was depicted as the title character's severe but well-meaning father.[110] Some versions depict the water goblin as a playful trickster, akin to the impish goblin in the eighth miniature of Dvořák's *Poetische Stimmungsbilder* ('Goblin's Dance', B. 161/8; 1889)—even as this goblin is not stated to be a water goblin specifically. However, many other versions of the water goblin depict it as a creature of dangerous or malicious intent. This certainly holds true for Dvořák's symphonic poem, in which the goblin abducts a girl who lives nearby.

Erben's story begins with the water goblin's enchantment. The girl is drawn to his lake, and she ignores her mother's premonition that tragedy will occur if she goes there. Sure enough, the bridge that the girl is standing upon snaps, and she is pulled to the bottom of the lake by the water goblin. According to Slavic mythology, the water goblin's victims tend to be drowned or enslaved, and the girl's fate in Erben's story is similarly disturbing. From the poetry, we infer that the goblin has raped her. The poem later introduces a child,

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[108] Though the most common translation today is *The Water Goblin*, it was referred to as *The Water-Fay* at the premiere and in Simrock's first edition.

[109] For further discussion, see Pavel Šidák, *Mokře chodí v suše: Vodník v české literatuře* (Prague: Academia, 2018). On the water goblin in Slavic folklore more generally, see also Margaret Frainier, 'A Tale of Three Rusalkas: Krasnopol'sky, Pushkin, and Dargomyzhsky', *19th-Century Music*, 45.2 (2021), 167–182.

[110] On *Rusalka*, and the aquatic precedents for its depiction of the water goblin, see Döge, sec. 7.

to whom the girl sings: 'Rockabye, my little son / born to one unwilling, / While you're smiling up at me, / Grief my heart is killing.'[111] Later, the water goblin grants the girl permission to visit her mother on the land, until the church bells strike that evening. However, she extends her stay beyond the time agreed and, in an act of vengeance, he leaves their baby dead at the mother's door.

Much about the piece resembles the *Largo*. Like the *Largo*, *Der Wassermann* explores an ambiguous relationship between the enchanter and their aquatic setting.[112] Its opening represents the goblin using an impish *staccato* melody (example 4.5).[113] This material might suggest a trickster: the sprightly woodwind melody and rapid string movement recall similar passages in Richard Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel* (Op. 28, 1894-5) and, in an earlier context, Mendelssohn's *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Op. 21, 1826). But the rapid string movement also evokes waves, and the enchanter and their aquatic setting thus seem to blur into one another. Also like the *Largo*, *Der Wassermann* represents the water goblin exotically, in this case by using some familiar 'Slavonic' musical signifiers. These signifiers include chromatic inflections (for example, the ♭/♮$\hat{2}$ from bb. 81), whole-tone collections (for example, b. 219), colourful orchestral effects (for example, triangle *tremolos* from b. 56), and a localised feeling of cyclicism (which also

[111] 'Hajej, dadej, mé děťátko / můj bezděčný synu! / ty se na mne usmívás / já žalostí hynu.'

[112] On a similar phenomenon in Goethe's poetry, see Benjamin Schluter, 'Unexpected Bodies of Water: On the "Blue" Goethezeit', *Goethe Yearbook*, 30 (2023), 147–54 (pp. 150–51). With Emma Kavanagh, I have discussed a similar ambiguity in *Rusalka*: Dylan Price and Emma Kavanagh, 'Review: Natalie Abrahami and Ann Yee (Dirs.), Rusalka (Royal Opera House, London), 21 February – 7 March 2023.', *Romance, Revolution and Reform*, 6 (2024), 161–65 (p. 164).
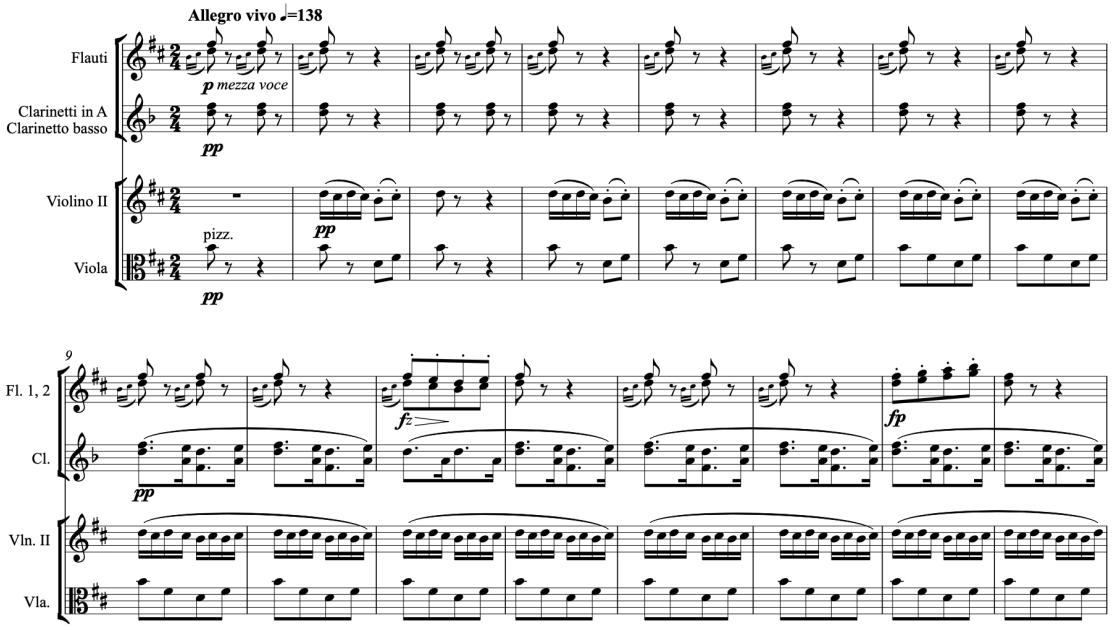
[113] All score excerpts from *Der Wassermann* are drawn from Simrock's 1896 first edition. The first edition contained only figure numbers, not bar numbers, but I have added bar numbers.

evokes the waves of the goblin's home).[114] No less symbolic is its key, B♭, which can be heard in dialogue with some canonical pieces of Russian music. Like Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony (Op. 74, 1893) from three years previously, which was also in B♭, *Der Wassermann* conveys a gloomy, suicidal mood that ends with a *morendo* ('dying away') in the final few bars.[115] Also in B♭ was Tchaikovsky's *Manfred* Symphony (Op. 58, 1885), whose fourth movement, similar to *Der Wasserman*, depicts an evil spirit in his underground lair. *Der Wassermann's* B♭ can be heard as a possible reference to these pieces and, by referencing a Russian musical tradition, as a further way of exoticizing the goblin.

[114] All these devices are particularly associated with Russian music. For an overview of whole-tone scales in Russian music, see Mary S. Woodside, 'Leitmotiv in Russia: Glinka's Use of the Whole-Tone Scale', *19th-Century Music*, 14.1 (1990), 67–74 (pp. 67–68). On colouristic effects and cyclicism in Russian music, see Benedict Taylor, 'Temporality in Nineteenth-Century Russian Music and the Notion of Development', *Music & Letters*, 94.1 (2013), 78–118 (pp. 85–86). See also Marina Frolova-Walker, 'Against Germanic Reasoning', in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), pp. 109–10.

[115] Indeed, Dvořák had become familiar with the Sixth Symphony after Tchaikovsky's death, and he had been close to Tchaikovsky earlier in his life. On Dvořák's familiarity with the Sixth Symphony, see Kuna, p. 151.

Example 4.5: Dvořák, *Der Wassermann* (B. 195, 1896), bb. 1-16



In a further similarity with the *Largo*, *Der Wassermann* mediates a real-life setting. Though Erben's poem is geographically nonspecific, unlike Longfellow's depiction of the Minnehaha Falls, Dvořák's setting of the poem was shaped by a specific place: Vysoká u Příbramě. The district of Příbram is best known for its historical mining industry (particularly for silver) and as a hub for tourism (located within easy travelling distance of Prague). But for Dvořák, Příbram was a place of semi-permanent retreat. He travelled regularly to a summer house in Vysoká u Příbramě between 1884 and 1904, which he had bought from his brother-in-law (Count Václav Kounic) who lived in the local castle. Close with both Kounic and his wife, the actress Josefina Čermáková, Dvořák also ingratiated himself with Vysoká's other locals. He spent a great deal of time in the local inn, U Fenclů, drinking and playing cards with the local miners. Notably, he also took walks around a small lake behind the house. Covered by water lilies and surrounded by conifers, this lake was a source of creative inspiration for both *Der Wassermann* and *Rusalka*. Dvořák's warmth towards

Vysoká was clearly reciprocated, moreover, and its residents have been keen to accommodate Dvořák's legacy. The village now serves as an important site of musical pilgrimage and, in a nod to his opera, the lake has now been renamed 'Rusalka's lake'.[116]

To a certain extent, Dvořák represents the lake idyllically in *Der Wassermann*, consistent with his relaxed, leisurely experience of Vysoká. When the girl is introduced, from b. 127, the piece uses some familiar pastoral markers. These markers include parallel third movement, a heavy emphasis on the woodwind, and a diatonic four-bar melody contained within a narrow range (ascending from $\hat{3}$ to $\hat{5}$, before descending again to $\hat{1}$). Like the *Largo*, *Der Wassermann* also conveys its tale using larger-scale, temporal strategies of landscape expression, which in this case derive from its arch-rondo form (ABACABA, outlined in figure 4.1).[117] Though the musical form does not align with Erben's poetic form, which comprises four sections of unequal length, both forms repeatedly contrast the water goblin—whose wave-like material is the basis of the A section refrain—with scenes that depict the girl, her mother, or her child.[118] They both juxtapose the water goblin with domestic scenes, which heightens our sense of how strange and unnerving the girl's encounter with him must feel. But via regular thematic and tonal returns to A section material, they also give rise to the sense of large-scale temporal stasis that (as I have previously noted) is

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[116] On the composer's relationship with Vysoká u Příbramě, see Ondřej Šupka, 'Vysoká', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/life/places/vysoka/> [accessed 14 April 2023]. For a list of the pieces that he wrote in Vysoká, see Šourek, 'Dvořák, Antonín', p. 834.

[117] This table is loosely based on a letter that Dvořák wrote to Robert Hirschfeld, in which he described the programme, and a range of sources discussed below. A reproduction of this letter, and a commentary, can be found in Clapham, 'Dvořák's Unknown Letters', pp. 279–81. For a more in-depth discussion of how Dvořák's music expresses the programme, see Šourek, *The Orchestral Works of Antonín Dvořák*, pp. 315–23. For a brief discussion of the form, see also Clapham, 'Dvořák, Antonín', p. 779.

[118] For discussion of the relationship between the ballad and the symphonic poem, see Šourek, *The Orchestral Works of Antonín Dvořák*, pp. 312, 314.

commonly associated with musical landscape, and that we earlier found in the symphony. In this way, the repetitive qualities of the original poetry gain added significance in Dvořák's setting, since they allow him to combine mimetic and temporal modes of landscape expression in a single rondo refrain. As much as the water goblin's material is thematically alien from the domestic scenes, then, the refrain imbues it with a feeling of homely familiarity or even emplacement, as we are continually drawn back to him—much like the girl.

Figure 4.1: Formal overview of Dvořák, *Der Wassermann* (B. 195, 1896)

Programme/Poetry	Form	Bar	Mood
The water goblin's theme *'Na topole nad jezerem / seděl Vodník pod večerem'* *'On a poplar by the pool / The Goblin sat at twilight cool'*	A	1	Mischievous
Introduction of the daughter *'Ráno, raníčko panna vstala, / prádlo si v uzel zavázala'* *'At first light a young girl rose, / In a bundle tied her clothes'*	B	127	Rural
The mother's dream *',,Ach nechoď, nechoď na jezero, / zůstaň dnes doma, moje dcero!["]'* *'"Don't go, don't go to the water, / stay at home today, my daughter!["]'*		151	Ominous
The girl falls into the lake *'První šáteček namočila— / tu se s ní lávka prolomila'* *'As the first dress she was soaking, / Under her the bridge fell broken'*	A	219/ 263	Fearful
The goblin's home *'Nevesely truchlivy / jsou ty vodní kraje'* *'Gloomy are those watery realms, / Desolate are they'*	C	328	Despondent
The girl sings a lullaby to her child *',,Hajej, dadej, mé děťátko, můj bezděčný synu!["]'* *'Rockabye, my little son, / born to one unwilling'*		404	Hopeful
The goblin and girl argue, but he lets her visit her home *',,Nuže—dovolím ti já, / dovolím ti zdůly["]'* *'"Well, then—I will let you go, / From my kingdom's borders["]'*	A	446	Belligerent
Return to the mother's home *'Celý den se v pláči těší / s matkou žena z jezera'* *'All day they console each other, / Though their tears fall like a shower'*	B	549	Joyful, but bittersweet
The water goblin returns *'Přišel večer.—Muž zelený / chodí venku po dvoře'* *'Evening's come. Outside, the green man / Stalks about within the yard'*	A	590	Vengeful
	Coda	756	Mournful

Der Wassermann's illustrative qualities much resemble the *Largo*, and they have been celebrated by critics and scholars alike. Premiered in London, *Der Wassermann* was widely praised by British critics of the time. A reviewer for *The Scotsman* praised its 'remarkably picturesque' representation of Erben's tale, for instance, and a critic for *The Irish Times* celebrated that Dvořák 'follows his story with perfect clearness'.[119] These features of *Der Wassermann* were also praised by Czech critics. Writing in *Světozor* the year after the piece's premiere, for example, František Hejda commended the fact that 'Dvořák follows Erben almost from verse to verse, analysing the details exactly, and even going so far as to imitate the rhythm and accent of the poetic word with recognisable figures.'[120] Some aspects of the piece's reception have been more contested, not least Dvořák's decision to write programme music at all. A critic for *Neues Wiener Journal* described this new direction as 'reckless' and, whilst otherwise praising Dvořák for the piece, a critic for London's *Observer* wished that he 'would employ his genius only on subjects of a loftier kind'.[121] No less contested have been the specifics of how Dvořák handles the programme. Whereas Leoš Janáček heard the goblin's *staccato* motif as the splashing of waves, for instance, Clapham later heard it as the croaking of frogs.[122] Whereas Dvořák suggested that the girl is pulled into the lake at b. 219, similarly, Otakar Šourek heard it at b. 263, and Janáček left

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[119] 'From Private Correspondence', *The Scotsman*, 16 November 1896, p. 7; 'London Correspondence', *The Irish Times*, 16 November 1896, p. 5.

[120] 'Dvořák sleduje v práci této verše Erbenovy takřka od sloky k sloce, analyzuje podrobnosti velmi přesně, ba jde tak daleko, že snadno postižitelnými figurami rytmickými přímo opětuje spád a přízvuk básnického slova.' František Hejda, 'Hudba: Koncerty', *Světozor* (Prague, 7 April 1897), p. 312.

[121] This part of the *Neues Wiener Journal* review reads as follows: 'Dvorak hat hier ganz rücksichtslos, das Gebiet der vielseitig verpönten Programmmusik betreten, nachdem er schon in seiner Ouverture [sic] „Othello" und „In der Natur" recht bedenklich diesen Kurs eingeschlagen hatte'. See 'Theater und Kunst', *Neues Wiener Journal* (Vienna, 23 November 1896), p. 3. For the *Observer* review, see 'The Musical World: Promenade Concerts', *The Observer* (London, 15 November 1896), p. 6.

[122] Clapham, 'Dvořák's Unknown Letters', p. 282.

the matter ambiguous (though we can infer from his writing that it must have occurred by b. 328 at the very latest).[123] Yet although reception of the piece has varied, in both valuation and interpretation, critics have generally agreed about the music's attractive, picturesque expression of its tale. Even its negative reviews tend not to dispute this point. As Hejda astutely suggested in *Světozor*, in any case, the more negative reviews speak to debates about the status of programme music more generally—not to *Der Wassermann*'s compositional quality.[124]

Der Wassermann also resembles the *Largo* in its expressions of mood. Affect is important in many water goblin depictions from around this time: for example, the water goblin paintings of Jaroslav Panuška belong firmly within the tradition of *Stimmungskunst*.[125] It was also important in Erben's poem, which describes how 'the daughter cannot rest; / To the lake as if possessed, / To the lake as if pursued— / Home no longer suits her mood.'[126] Dvořák's setting of the poem begins with a tranquil, pastoral mood, which recalls

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[123] Otakar Šourek, *Dvořákovy skladby orchestrální* (Prague: Hudební matice umělecké besedy, 1946), II, p. 116; for discussion of Šourek's interpretation, see Clapham, 'Dvořák's Unknown Letters on His Symphonic Poems', pp. 281–82. Clapham also discusses Janáček's interpretation, but not the moment at which Janáček hears the immersion. However, Janáček tells us in his essay that b. 328 is the passage in which 'we are in the water goblin's yard' ('[j]sme na dvoře vodníkově'), and as such the girl's immersion must have occurred before this point. On this point, see Leoš Janáček, 'Ceské proudy hudební', *Hlidka*, 2.14 (1897), 285–92 (p. 287). My own translation.

[124] Hejda. For a useful introduction to some of these debates, see Vera Micznik, 'Music and Aesthetics: The Programmatic Issue', in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, ed. by Jeremy Barham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 35–48. For a discussion of how programme, form, and mood may interact, see Anthony Newcomb, 'Once More "Between Absolute and Program Music": Schumann's Second Symphony', *19th-Century Music*, 7.3 (1984), 233–50.

[125] For example, see Jaroslav Panuška's *Vodník*, 1896, held at the National Gallery, Prague.

[126] 'Nemá dceruška, nemá stání, / k jezeru vždy ji cos pohání, / k jezeru vždy ji cos nutí, / nic doma, nic jí po chuti.' Note that these lines of Erben's poem do not reference 'nálada' specifically: the word 'mood' is a feature of Susan Reynolds's translation, since it provides a good rhyme with 'pursued'. Yet the original Czech lyrics describe how the girl is transfixed by the lake, in ways that much resemble the affective qualities of mood,

some of those that I discussed in Chapter Two. But as the goblin's enchantment takes hold, the music shifts to convey a more varied and disturbing set of affective states: the girl's terror as she is pulled into the water, her despondency as she is enslaved, her joy as she is reunited with her mother and, ultimately, her grief at the murder of her child. Dvořák expresses these moods via a familiar emphasis on timbre and register. When the girl finds herself in the goblin's home, from b. 336, murky upper partials (particularly those of the low-register clarinet) come to evoke a low underwater field of vision (example 4.6). The held string notes create a sense of tonal immobility, supported by a repetitive chromatic melody, and any sense of tonal or melodic development is subordinated to subtle shifts in orchestral colour. Dvořák also highlighted the piece's moods in private correspondence. In a letter to Robert Hirschfeld, who wrote a programme for the Viennese premiere, he described the underwater passage as a situation in which 'everything is *sad* and *bleak*, *without sunshine*, *a stillness*, *a chilliness*, and in one's heart there is no hope.'[127] Aside from its emotive language, this comment exhibits the same blending of external setting ('*without sunshine*') and internal state of mind ('no hope') of many of the other moods that I have discussed in this thesis. Moreover, *Der Wassermann*'s moods have also been a recurring feature of its reception. For example, Janáček discussed how the mood of the goblin's theme ('nálada Vodníkova') closely parallels that of Erben's words,[128] and Šourek

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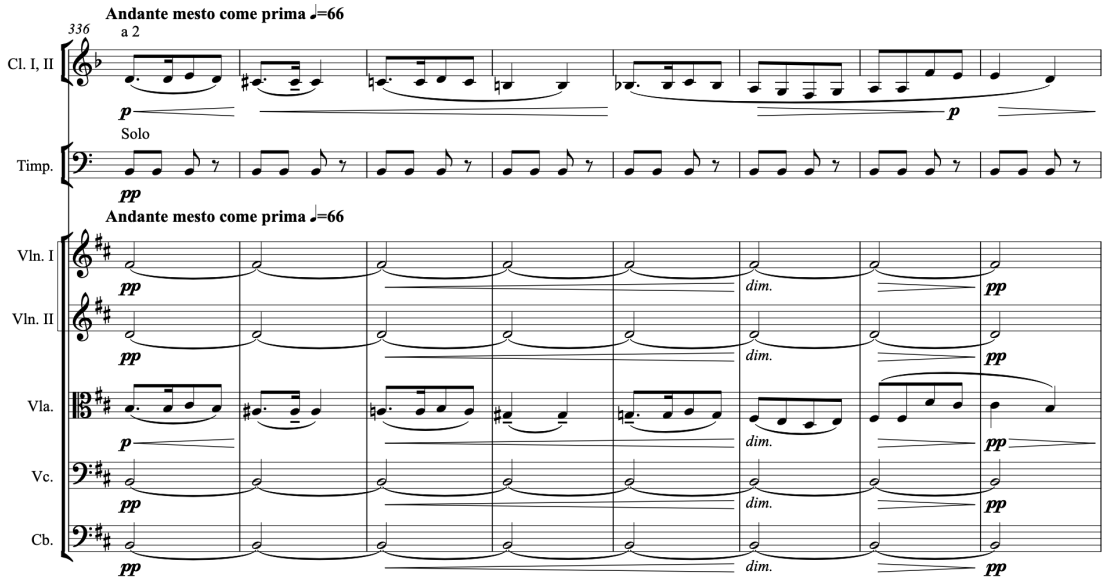
and it is therefore useful to understand these lines in terms of mood. On the transfixing qualities of mood, and how it might cause one to lose one's sense of Self, see Chapter Two.

[127] Quoted in Clapham, 'Dvořák's Unknown Letters', p. 280. Emphasis in original. Dvořák was paraphrasing Erben in this letter. Erben's original lyrics read as follows: 'There no sunlight spreads its warmth, / No breeze stirs the air, / Cold and silent, like a heart / Hopeless with despair.' ('Tu slunéčko nezahřívá, / větřík nezavěje: / chladno, ticho—jako žel / v srdci bez naděje.')

[128] Janáček, p. 286.

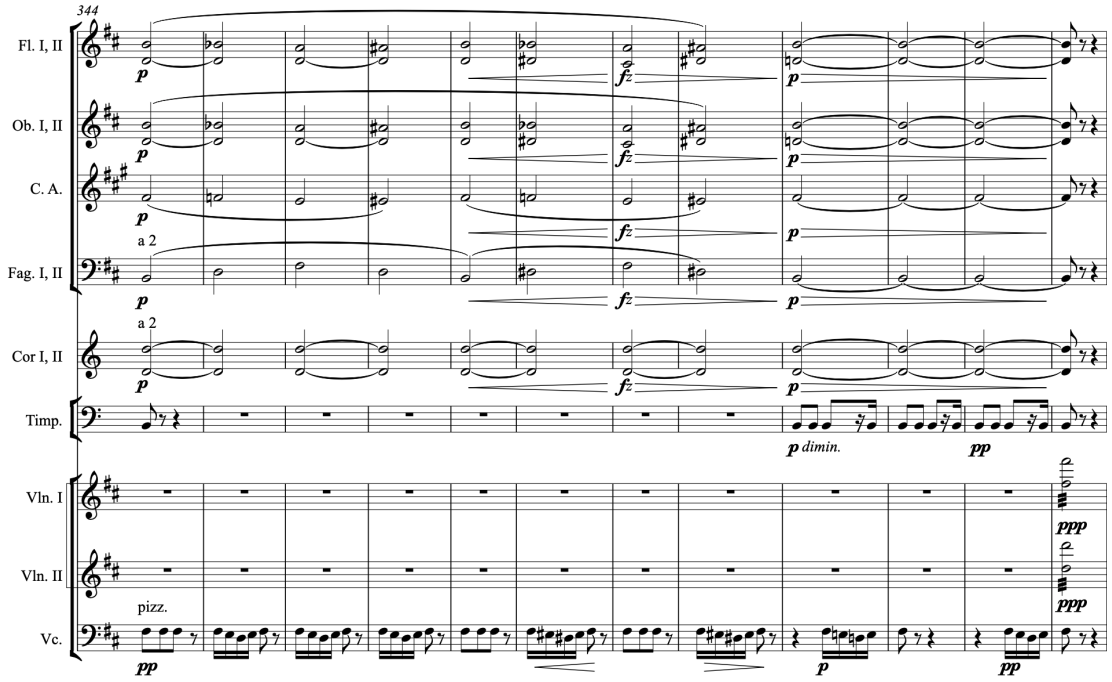
suggested that Dvořák's music evokes 'the uniformly gloomy mood of the poem'.[129] Likewise, Hejda conceived the piece as a collection of 'moody images' ('Náladové obrazy'), and he heard in the piece an almost overwhelming sense of anxiety. In the moments before the girl falls into the water, Hejda heard 'so much anxiety and terror that the listener watches the outline with extreme tension, almost breathlessly, and in their mind's eye they can see the mysterious circling in the water, the monster emerging from the pool, the gathering storm on a fateful evening.'[130]

Example 4.6: Dvořák, B. 195, bb. 336-55 *(cont. on next page)*



[129] Šourek, *The Orchestral Works of Antonín Dvořák*, p. 314.

[130] 'Náladové obrazy, v úzkých, ale zřetelných rámcích podané, rozechvívají hluboce; v těchto pianissimech, předesílaných momentům katastrofy, tají se tolik úzkosti a hrůzy, že svrchované napjat, takřka bez dechu, sleduje posluchač osnovu a duševním zrakem vidí tajůplné kroužení na vodě, nořící se z tůně příšeru, vznikající bouři v osudný večer.' Hejda.



But although the *Largo* and *Der Wassermann* resemble one another in some ways, they are hardly identical. There are also many differences between them. Some differences are relatively insubstantial. The pieces belong to different genres, for example, but their genres matter less than they might have done earlier in the century. As Marta Ottlová has argued, 'Dvořák's compositions of the 1890s illustrate the situation in orchestral music of the modern period, when the symphony and the symphonic poem drew from one another's traditions and converged on each other in compositional practice.'[131] The Ninth Symphony's programme and multimovement form exemplify her points, and to overdraw its

[131] Marta Ottlová, 'The "Other World" of Music at the Turn of the Century', in *Czech Music Around 1900*, ed. by Lenka Krupková and Jirí Kopecky, Studies in Czech Music (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2018), pp. 21–38 (p. 24). On this generic cross-pollination more generally, see Veijo Murtomäki, '"Symphonic Fantasy": A Synthesis of Symphonic Thinking in Sibelius's Seventh Symphony and "Tapiola"', in *The Sibelius Companion*, ed. by Glenda Dawn Goss (Westport, Conn.; London: Greenwood Press, 1996), pp. 147–63 (p. 148). See also A. Peter Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire, Volume IV: The Second Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony: Brahms, Bruckner, Dvořák, Mahler, and Selected Contemporaries*, p. 433.

generic differences with *Vodník* would therefore be a mistake. The pieces also originated in different national contexts, which matters for how we understand their relationship with modernity. Though treated with suspicion by many Europeans, not least because of the class inequalities it produced, modernity was celebrated by many American thinkers for its social and economic liberalisation.[132] This was certainly Dvořák's experience of the New World. As Leon Botstein has argued, Dvořák's correspondence from his time in the United States 'betray[s] a set of political views at once implicitly critical of practices back home and affirmative regarding the kind of rational modernity America seemed to display.'[133] But to prioritise questions of national difference would be to overlook the fact that Longfellow and Erben partook in a single poetic tradition, not limited to any one national context. It would also risk reinscribing the national categories that have policed so much prior Dvořák scholarship, and that I have used the category of mobility to escape.

However, some differences between these pieces *are* important. There are several differences between the pieces' enchantments, the first of which is geographical. Unlike the *Largo*, *Der Wassermann* conveys an experience of geographical depth. Whereas Minnehaha enchanted Hiawatha across the surface of the Minnesotan prairies, the water goblin pulls the girl beneath the water's surface. The piece conveys these aspects of the tale in two ways. Firstly, it conveys the lake's depth affectively. When the girl is pulled underwater, a clamorous lower-brass melody, *forte* untuned percussion (cymbals, bass drum, and *tremolo*

[132] For a useful comparative study of American and European modernities, see Jürgen Heideking, 'The Pattern of American Modernity from the Revolution to the Civil War', *Daedalus*, 129.1 (2002), 219–47. On similar issues in relation to national identity, see Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1992), chap. 5.

[133] On Dvořák's relationship with American modernity, and especially its social dimensions, see Botstein, pp. 36–37.

triangle), and swirling strings produce a feeling of sonic overload (b. 263). For good reason did Šourek hear this passage, rather than the *Allegro Vivo* stipulated by Dvořák (b. 219), as the moment of immersion proper.[134] By saturating our acoustic palette, this overstimulation creates a powerful sense of depth.[135] It is as if we are suddenly thrown into a new acoustic world, much as the girl is suddenly pulled into the water. Secondly, the piece conveys the lake's depth tonally. After the girl arrives at the goblin's home, from b. 336, the piece quickly descends through B, B♭, and A, then through E and E♭, and finally through C♯, C, and B. These tonal strategies have an obvious mimetic effect, and they represent the girl's mobility ever deeper into the lake. For the listener, they also activate the embodied feelings of 'falling' that can often attend this kind of tonal movement, and that feature in many musical enchantments elsewhere.[136] Paired with the despondent mood of b. 336, these compositional strategies lull the listener into a false sense of security. The music's timbral features create an expectation of the geographical immobility that, as I showed in Chapter Two, defines many musical moods. But at the same time, the music's tonal features disorient us almost imperceptibly. Its timbral presence disguises the growing absence of the home key, such that, much like the girl, the musical listener only realises how far they have

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[134] Šourek, *Dvořákovy skladby orchestrální*, 116; cited in Clapham, "Dvořák's Unknown Letters," 281–82.

[135] There is some debate about to what extent *Stimmung* conveys an impression of depth. In Gumbrecht's account, the pursuit of *Stimmung* 'is aimed at the sensual qualities of surfaces, rather than at spiritual depth': Gumbrecht, *In 1926*, p. 422. In contrast, Sebastian Wedler argues that depth is crucial to *Stimmung*, at least as it was conceived by Adorno in his essay on Schubert. For Wedler, 'the notion of *Stimmung* in Schubert comes to full articulation precisely where the "horizontal" musical movement is pulled into the "vertical"': Wedler, *Anton Webern at the Dawn of Modernism*, chap. 2.

[136] On these kinds of tonal embodiments, see Candace Brower, 'Paradoxes of Pitch Space', *Music Analysis*, 27.1 (2008), 51–106 (pp. 60, 70–71). On enchantments and depth in *Rheingold*, see Steven Rings, *Tonality and Transformation* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 139; for further discussion, see Wedler, 'The Tonal Webern', pp. 61–62; see also Wedler, *Anton Webern at the Dawn of Modernism*, chap. 2. See also Julian Johnson, *Webern and the Transformation of Nature*, p. 55.

travelled once it is too late. In both these ways, then, *Der Wassermann* conveys an experience of geographical depth, which differentiates its enchantment from that of the *Largo*. These aspects of the tale are important for symbolic reasons. Like many nineteenth-century examples, they associate geographical depth with malignant spirits, which (given Erben's Catholicism) can be read symbolically as a depiction of the underworld. They can also be read against the idea, described by Karen Leistra-Jones, 'of the ocean floor as a watery graveyard for those lost at sea'.[137] Indeed, lakes would have been the closest equivalent to oceans for people in landlocked Bohemia, and Erben even describes the goblin's lake as 'the open sea' ('širém moři'). But the lake can also be read as a locus of subjective depth, in which the girl is pulled ever deeper into her own psyche, and in which (much as Holly Watkins has argued elsewhere) geographical depth emblematises 'the lack of consensus regarding what might be found deep in the self should one go looking.'[138]

A second difference between the pieces' enchantments relates to their depictions of otherness. Whereas the *Largo*'s enchantment derives from nature, a waterfall in Minnesota, *Der Wassermann*'s enchantment derives from a *super*natural creature of the deep. Like many Czech water goblins, it functions as what Jana Pácalová has described as a 'border figure between human and mythological realms'.[139] Its antimodern significance thus derives not from primitivized Native American folklore, but from supernatural fantasy.

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[137] Leistra-Jones, 'Sounding the Ocean in Elgar's "Sea Pictures"', p. 71.

[138] On similar ideas, see Holly Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E.T.A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 23.

[139] Pácalová describes the 'ontologický vodník ako hraničná postava medzi ľudským a mytologickým svetom, personifikácia hranice'. In making this point, she follows Pavel Šidák: see Jana Pácalová, 'Šidák, Pavel: "Mokře chodí v suše: Vodník v české literatuře"', *Slovenská literatúra*, 5 (2018), 411–15 (p. 415). On boundary crossing and tricksters more generally, see also Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Makes This World: How Disruptive Imagination Creates Culture* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2008), p. 8.

Whereas the *Largo*'s protagonist is male, moreover, *Der Wassermann* depicts a female protagonist who is enchanted—and ultimately raped—by a male goblin. Like some of Dvořák's other pieces, including *Die Waldtaube* or *Das goldene Spinnrad*, it uses Erben's poetry to depict a female protagonist who is further marginalised by the plot. These aspects of the piece further exemplify the marginal subject positions that recur throughout Dvořák's output, and that I have used the category of mobility to amplify. They foreground one character, the girl, who is othered when she chooses to leave home, and another character, the goblin, who is othered by association with the supernatural. But these aspects of the piece also point to significant differences between the two enchantments of this chapter. Unlike the *Largo*, *Der Wassermann*'s enchantment has no restorative power. Instead, it transforms and corrupts the girl from within, both subtly (through affect) and violently (through rape).

These aspects of the pieces' enchantments point to the third and most consequential difference between them: unlike the *Largo*, *Der Wassermann*'s enchantment is abductive rather than seductive. It is hard to imagine the shadowy, menacing characteristics of *Der Wassermann*'s underwater scenes (b. 336), or the victorious brass melody as the goblin achieves his revenge (especially from b. 702), as part of Minnehaha's enchantment. The piece depicts kidnap, and its moods are more despondent and even alarming than the *Largo*'s as a result. The abductive features of *Der Wassermann* are consistent, on the one hand, with a wider trend of sinister enchantments in the nineteenth century, many of which Dvořák knew. The most obvious point of comparison is Goethe's 'Erlkönig', which undoubtedly looms large over Erben's poem,[140] and with which Dvořák was evidently

[140] Smaczny, 'Goethe and the Czechs', p. 167.

familiar by 1894 (when he praised Schubert's musical setting of the poem in his essay on Schubert).[141] But the abductive features of *Der Wassermann* are also consistent with nineteenth-century depictions of otherness more generally. A good point of comparison is the case study of Chapter Two: the *Zigeunermelodien* (*Gypsy Songs*, B. 104, 1880). Like the *Zigeunermelodien*, *Der Wassermann* conveys a feeling of being mobilised in relation to an exotic, abductive Other, who imperceptibly disorients both the girl and the musical listener. Just as the Gypsy Other was often associated with the abduction of children, so too does the goblin abduct a child and the listener from their critical faculties (via affect).[142] Just as many Gypsy tales conveyed the dangers of transgression to middle-class readers,[143] moreover, so too does *Der Wassermann*. When church bells chime at the piece's conclusion, in a moment of religious significance, the goblin leaves the dead baby at the girl's door. In Erben's tale, the baby's death is a consequence of the girl having disobeyed the goblin, and of having stayed in the overworld longer than he allowed. But consistent with some of the Gypsy tales described in Chapter Two, the baby's death is also a consequence of the girl having disobeyed her mother, and of having left home in the first place.[144] In all these ways,

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[141] Smaczny, '"Biding His Time"', p. 153. For the original essay, see Dvořák and Finck. Sinister enchantments can also be found in Erben's 'Svatební košile' (from *Kytice*), as a ghost lures a girl toward a distant graveyard, which later served as the basis for Dvořák's 1884 cantata of the same name. Enchantment also recurs throughout Bürger's *Lenore*, which informed a symphony by Joachim Raff (also entitled *Lenore*) that may also have informed Dvořák's cantata. For this insight, I am indebted to Beveridge's forthcoming book: David Beveridge, *Dvořák's Relations with Britain* (publication details to be confirmed). Goethe's 'Der Fischer' was also widely known in Bohemia-Moravia, and it was the subject of Smetana's orchestral piece of the same name (*Rybář*, T. 103, 1869). On Goethe's importance for Smetana, see Smaczny, 'Goethe and the Czechs', pp. 165–66.

[142] On Gypsiness and abduction, see Jodie Matthews, 'Back Where They Belong: Gypsies, Kidnapping and Assimilation in Victorian Children's Literature', *Romani Studies*, 20.2 (2010), 137–59.

[143] On this point, see Chapter Two. For further details, see also Matthews, 'Reading the Victorian Gypsy', p. 197.

[144] Incidentally, one reviewer compared this moment in the piece, when the church bells chime, to Matthew Arnold's *The Forsaken Merman* (1849): 'Our London Correspondence,' *The Manchester Guardian*, November 16, 1896, p. 5. More generally, there is further work to be done on the temporalities of Dvořák's music. For instance, the church bells of *Der Wassermann* invite comparison with the temporal qualities of the

Der Wassermann differs from the *Largo*. It presents a cautionary tale about transgression, whether of maternal or paternal authority, and of being drawn in by an Other who has malicious intent. Indeed, this aspect of the piece resembles many of Erben's tales, in which (as Geoffrey Chew has described) 'punishment [is] inflicted on women who breach the moral code, and authorial warnings issued to those who might be tempted to do so'.[145]

Thus, *Der Wassermann* shows that enchantment can be no less dangerous than other kinds of mobility. Whereas Minnehaha's enchantment in the *Largo* had restorative effects, the same cannot be said of the water goblin's enchantment. Quite the opposite: its consequences include rape and murder. These features of *Der Wassermann* significantly enrich our understanding of how Dvořák's mobilities are entangled with modern life. Like the *Largo*, they show that Dvořák's mobilities can often be antimodern, in contrast with the modern mobilities of previous chapters. They induce the sensorially immediate, affective connection to nature that modern life often seems to preclude, and they hence promise to remedy the kinds of disenchantment that I addressed in Chapter Three. But unlike the *Largo*, these features of *Der Wassermann* show that Dvořák's antimodern mobilities can also be dangerous. When the water goblin pulls the girl underwater, it demonstrates that Dvořák's mobilities are dangerous not because they are entangled with modern life, but

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string quartets that I addressed in the previous chapter, the new timekeeping technologies associated with railways, and the temporalities of different mobilities more generally. These kinds of temporalities might usefully form the basis of a future study, not least because temporality has been an important category of recent mobility studies research. On mobilities and temporality, see Vered Amit and Noel B. Salazar, 'Introduction: Why and How Does the Pacing of Mobilities Matter?', in *Pacing Mobilities: Timing, Intensity, Tempo and Duration of Human Movements* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2020), pp. 1-18.

[145] Geoffrey Chew, 'Introduction', in *Kytice*, ed. by Karel Jaromír Erben, trans. by Míla Fürstová (London: Jantar Publishing, 2020), pp. 9–25 (pp. 14–16). On social norms and niceties in Erben's poetry, see also Lucia Anna Trubačová, 'Jazykový obraz zdvorilosti v povestiach Pavla Dobšinského a rozprávkach Karla Jaromíra Erbena', *Romanoslavica*, 57.1 (2022), 148–57.

because they force an encounter with the unknown. Arguably, in fact, *Der Wassermann*'s enchantment is even riskier than any of the modern mobilities that I have discussed in previous chapters. It is so debilitating for the girl that it becomes a cautionary tale. Far from having transgressive effects, in other words, her mobility serves to reinforce the social norms that she leaves behind. These aspects of *Der Wassermann* are some of the most socially conservative parts of Dvořák's output. They espouse uncritical obedience to domestic hierarchy and traditional social norms, and they are noteworthy for two reasons.

Within the context of the current chapter, firstly, they refine our understanding of enchantment as a muso-poetic trope. More specifically, they suggest that it may be productive to differentiate between this trope's natural and supernatural variants, which seem to have very different effects. Their differences can be understood by returning to Jankélévitch, who distinguishes between enchantment and bewitchment. For Jankélévitch, as Carolyn Abbate has argued, '[e]nchantment […] is a state of continence and, often, of delight, at an opposite pole to bewitchment (*envoutement*) in which one is involuntarily transfixed and spiritually immobilised by "black magic" (*sortilèges*).'[146] Jankélévitch's distinction is productive because it illustrates why *Der Wassermann* is so disturbing. Whereas Hiawatha was affectively transformed during his voyage across the prairies, in ways that were pleasurable rather than dangerous, the girl is 'transfixed'. Far from remedying the disenchantments of modernity, the bewitchment creates new feelings of homesickness. Though she is geographically mobilised by the goblin, she is 'spiritually immobilised' in a state of fear. She loses her agency, such that (as the poem describes) she is pulled towards the lake, 'as

[146] Carolyn Abbate, 'Jankélévitch's Singularity', in *Music and the Ineffable* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. xiii–xx (p. xviii).

if possessed'.[147] It is not that the girl's experience is ineffable. Rather, there is something unsayable about her experience, and in fact the tale's most traumatic part—when she is raped by the goblin—is always implied rather than mentioned directly. When she sings to her son that he was 'born to one unwilling', she does not mention the rape directly. Consistent with Jankélévitch's understanding of bewitchment, this aspect of her experience cannot be spoken, (en)voiced, or (en)chanted. Only by holding it at a distance can it be tolerable.

Within the larger context of the thesis, secondly, these features of *Der Wassermann* force us to acknowledge the risks of studying mobility at all. This is because of the unclear distinction between mobility and immobility that they imply. Like previous chapters, these features show that mobilities are often hard to differentiate from immobilities, since their moral lesson holds only by assigning partial responsibility for the bewitchment to the girl herself.[148] Much as Goethe's 'Der Fischer' depicts a fisherman who is lured into the water by one of the very creatures that he was trying to catch, *Der Wassermann* implies that both parties are responsible for mobilising each other, and that the girl was responsible for mobilising the goblin by leaving home in the first place.[149] Consequently, these features also

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[147] Erben's words read 'k jezeru vždy ji cos pohání / k jezeru vždy ji cos nutí', which Reynolds translates as '[t]o the lake, as if possessed, / to the lake, as if pursued'. Her translation allows her to rhyme 'pursued' with 'mood' in the subsequent line, but a more literal translation of these lines might read, 'something always draws her to the lake, / something always compels her to the lake'. It is not that she is pursued by the goblin, in other words, but that she is drawn to him against her will. For the original poetry and Reynolds's translation, see Erben, pp. 186–87.

[148] On the slippery distinction between mobilities and moorings, see Adey, 'If Mobility Is Everything Then It Is Nothing', pp. 86–87. On the ambivalent ethics of Erben's nature representations, see also Josef Hrdlička, 'Ekokritika a fáze uvědomění v české literatuře', *Svět literatury*, pp. 100–101.

[149] That *Der Wassermann* holds the girl partially responsible is confirmed by its depictions of both the main characters. At one point, the poem describes how the goblin is mending fishing nets in his underwater lair, which implies that the water goblin has human qualities. 'Vodník sedí mezi vraty, / spravuje své sítě, / a ženuška jeho mladá / chová malé dítě'; 'Between the gates the Goblin sits, / Fishing-nets he's mending; /

show that to mobilise Dvořák's music is not necessarily a progressive act, since its critical power always works in multiple directions. Because *Der Wassermann* distorts our understanding of who mobilises whom, it also assigns partial responsibility to the girl for her own abduction and rape, in some of the most regressive politics imaginable. Hence, these features of *Der Wassermann* point to the risks of studying mobility. They point to the dangers of being bewitched by mobility as a critical category, since it can easily lead to a relativism that prompts us to lose our critical bearings. Ultimately, they show that to mobilise Dvořák's music may come along with significant political costs, and that mobility—though it has many benefits—is less appealing as a critical category than it initially seems.

While his young wife by his side / Her new baby's tending'. Conversely, Dvořák's choice to use the water goblin's theme for the A section refrain constitutes the girl as thematically Other. Something similar can be found in *Rusalka*, in which both Rusalka and the prince are enchanted or bewitched by the other at various stages of the plot. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter to address *Rusalka* in any depth, the opera's enchantments might productively serve as the basis of a future study.

V

Inn

Home and the Village Inn, in *Čert a Káča*

'Goin' Home'

Over the course of the preceding four chapters, this thesis has charted an extended journey away from home. Thematically, it has explored what it means to become a fugitive (Chapter One), to be 'moved' (Chapter Two), to become disenchanted (Chapter Three), and to become disoriented (Chapter Four). In so doing, all these chapters have conceived mobility in terms of its oppositional, but often ambiguous relationship with sites of immobility, and with places of home in particular. Following Birgitta Frello, in other words, they have addressed the 'specific discursive conventions according to which the distinction between mobility and immobility comes into being and according to which legitimate and illegitimate, meaningful and meaningless, good and bad forms of movement are assessed.'[1] The benefits of this approach have been threefold. Firstly, this approach has produced new hermeneutic readings of many pieces by Dvořák. It has shown how they elicit a sense of

[1] Frello, p. 47.

mobility, but in ways that are always unstable, contingent, and open to renegotiation. Secondly, this approach has shed new light on the politics of Dvořák's music. It has allowed me to trace the discursive boundaries that different mobilities transgress, and thus to challenge the assumption that his music is politically neutral—without reverting to old clichés about nationalism. Thirdly and most consequentially, then, this approach has allowed me to challenge prevailing terms of debate around Dvořák's music. Just as mobility contravenes many of the 'discursive conventions' within and around Dvořák's musical texts, so too does its study ask us to think beyond the familiar categories that have defined this research area. Similar to approaches that many geographers have espoused elsewhere, the category of mobility has thus allowed me to 'proliferat[e] difference by acting out the multiplicities of a mobile researcher', and to recover the marginal voices that prior Dvořák studies, this music's intellectual 'home', has policed, disciplined, and suppressed.[2] My approach has been useful in all these ways, and it has complicated our understanding of Dvořák's music in ways that are both necessary and long overdue. Yet however useful it has been, there is one final task left to complete. Homesick after the previous chapter, and with the thesis drawing to a close, it is tempting to fulfil the promise made by William Arms Fisher: 'Goin' home, goin' home, / I'm a goin' home'.[3] But for a composer as continually itinerant as Dvořák, where *is* home? Within the larger context of the thesis, moreover, would answering this question simply return us to our starting point? Or, conversely, might it lead us somewhere new?

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[2] Woodward, Dixon, and Jones III, p. 404.

[3] For discussion of these lyrics, see Chapter Four of this thesis, as well as Snyder, p. 108.

These are difficult questions to answer because the meaning of 'home' is not simple or straightforward. Some sense of its meaning has been provided by previous chapters, most notably Chapter One, which explored its gendered connotations in some of Dvořák's fugitive pieces. For the fugitives of 'Hostina', and 'Die Flucht', home was a dangerous place, whose unfreedoms could be resisted only by becoming mobile. A similarly exclusionary sense of home informed my discussion of Gypsiness, as well as my discussion of *Der Wassermann* (in which the mother's home was initially depicted as a place of discipline). These meanings remain important for the final chapter, but the full meaning of home needs further consideration. For although home accommodates all these meanings, it can also be a place of memory, fantasy, and authentication—a further creative point of departure. As many scholars have argued, home often resists easy geographical definition, and its relationship with experiences of mobility, displacement, and otherness can be complex.[4] The final chapter of this thesis seeks to understand its full significance for Dvořák's music. It considers how home is expressed musically, and the critical stakes that are involved in locating Dvořák at all.

Dvořák's reception offers a surprising but consistent answer to the question of where his music belongs: the village inn. In a range of national contexts, critics compared Dvořák's music to the inn and its drinking culture. Often, they used these comparisons as an ethnic slur. In a review for *The Magazine of Music* in 1895, for example, one critic compared Dvořák to a drunkard, and they heard 'barbarism' in a music that was—so the

[4] Yi-Fu Tuan, 'Epilogue: Home as Elsewhere', in *'Heimat': At the Intersection of Memory and Space*, ed. by Friederike Eigler and Jens Kugele (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 226–39 (p. 239).

reviewer claimed—'out of touch with Western nations'.[5] In a review for *Deutsches Volksblatt*, a Viennese critic likewise complained that Dvořák's final symphonic poem (*Píseň bohatýrská*, B. 199, 1897) 'deteriorate[s] into a potpourri of third-rate folk songs, such as those that sound on Sundays and public holidays, when the beer tankard and the stretcher beckon in the village inn.'[6] Their slur is subtler but no less highly charged, since it alludes to the ethnic composition of Vienna at this time. As Jason Weir has discussed, Vienna's Neulerchenfeld district was routinely labelled 'the largest inn of the Holy Roman Empire', in part because of the sheer number of houses that were allowed to serve beer or wine, but also as a euphemism for the district's ethnic diversity. Class was also a factor in this marginalisation: Neulerchenfeld was later to become 'one of the breeding grounds of the working-class riots in the 1890s', and it came to focus many of the city's ethnic and class tensions.[7] The *Deutsches Volksblatt* critic's reference to the inn can be read in this context, and towards the end of the review they even express a fear that the symphonic

[5] 'Musical Life in London', *Magazine of Music*, 12.7 (1895), 135–37 (p. 135). For drawing my attention to this review, I am grateful to David Beveridge for sharing a draft of his forthcoming book, *Dvořák's Relations with Britain*.

[6] A fuller version of the review reads as follows: 'Es ist ja selbstverständlich, dass sich eine symphonische Dichtung in freier Phantasie ergehen darf, aber eben so sicher ist es, dass sie nicht zu einem Potpourri minderwerthiger [sic.] Volksmelodien herabsinken soll, wie solche an Sonn- und Feiertagen erklingen, wenn in der Dorfschenke der Krug und die Baare [likely a misspelling of "die Bahre"] kreisen. Wir denken uns ein „Heldenlied" von höherem Gehalt erfüllt, von wahrhaft begeisterten und begeisternden Gedanken getragen. Und ebenso mochte wohl die Mehrzahl der Hörer denken, deren Theilnahme [sic] an dem zwar schön betitelten, aber unschön geformten, überlangen Werk ersichtlich immer geringer wurde. Entschieden anderer Meinung waren die zur Huldigung ihres Landsmannes in Masse [unclear text, but possibly 'ausgeruhten'] Freunde Dworschaks, denen der triumphierende Schluss vielleicht die Eroberung der noch deutschen Städte vorspiegeln mochte.' 'H.', 'Theater, Kunft und Literatur.: Philharmonisches Concert.', *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna, 5 December 1898), p. 5 <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=dvb&datum=18981205&seite=5&zoom=33>.

[7] Jason M. Weir, 'Music and Vernacular Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Suburban Vienna' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2023), chap. 2.

poem's 'victorious conclusion represents the conquering of the still-German city.'[8] For all these reasons, their review can be read as a veiled critique of the Neulerchenfeld underclass, and an attempt to condemn Dvořák by association.

Evidently, then, the inn comparison was not entirely positive. But although many critics have used these themes as an ethnic slur, others have used them in less pejorative ways. Many discussions of Dvořák's biography have referenced the inn, which they have used to validate Dvořák's folk credentials—despite the social mobility he was later to gain. For example, Rosa Newmarch's *The Music of Czechoslovakia* described Dvořák's origins as the son of an innkeeper and butcher in depth, before praising how he 'work[ed] night and day for a living wage' in order to make his way.[9] Her comment can be read in terms of a Victorian civilising mission, since it suggests that Dvořák (the backwards Other) was able to escape his lowly origins by embracing a liberal ideal of hard work, and that his roughest edges—in a narrative that was common under Victorian liberalism—could be smoothed

[8] 'H.'

[9] She also talks in depth about Dvořák's education at the Organ School he attended in the 1850s, highlighting how (as the school's Director commented) '[h]e takes pains to acquire executive skill and knowledge.' On these points, see Rosa Newmarch, *The Music of Czechoslovakia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 126–27. Just as he is associated with the inn in Newmarch's account, incidentally, Dvořák was elsewhere associated with butchers' wares. After one of Anton Bruckner's students praised Dvořák's orchestration, for example, Bruckner is said to have commented that 'when you paint a pair of sausages green or blue, they still remain a pair of sausages.' Julius Korngold, *Die Korngolds in Wien: Der Musikkritiker und das Wunderkind: Aufzeichnungen* (Zurich: Musik & Theater, 1991), p. 31; quoted in Botstein, p. 14. Likewise, Hermann Krigar had commented that '[t]he world may have one less sausage-maker, but in the process it has gained a high master of art.' Hermann Krigar, 'Antonín Dvořák: A Biographical Sketch', in *Dvořák and His World*, ed. by Michael Beckerman, trans. by Susan Gillespie (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 211–29 (p. 215). Henry Krehbiel likewise stated that '[t]he fate which gave the world a composer of music robbed Bohemia of a butcher': Henry Krehbiel, 'Antonín Dvořák', *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 44 (1892), 657–60 (p. 657). On Dvořák and butchery, see Jarmil Burghauser, 'Concerning One of the Myths about Dvořák: Dvořák the Apprentice Butcher', *Czech Music: Journal of the Dvořák Society*, 18.1 (1993), 17–44.

over by the redemptive power of education.[10] Likewise, John Clapham is often at pains to juxtapose the lowly origins of entertaining drinkers in the family inn with the 'higher' status that Dvořák was later to claim for himself.[11] As Hans Hollander has also claimed, '[t]he soil from which [Dvořák] sprang as an artist was that of the folksong and folk-dances of that robust and unadulterated kind still found in Bohemian villages—and his home had been a village inn, we must remember.'[12] More generally, the inn and its drink have also been valued as symbols of Czech national identity. For example, a *Humoristické listy* cartoon claimed that Bedřich Smetana 'was born in a brewery'.[13] Similarly, Leoš Janáček's fondness for the U Polenků inn on Česká Street has become something of an urban legend, as well as a lucrative mainstay of the Brno tourist trade. Likewise, Jaroslav Hašek made Prague's Kravín inn the headquarters of his satirical Czech political party, one policy of which was mandatory drunkenness.[14] Of course, it cannot be claimed that there is something *uniquely* Czech about either inns or beer in nineteenth- or twentieth-century culture,

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[10] On Newmarch's appreciation for education, see Philip Ross Bullock, '"That More Liberal Mode of Life": Rosa Newmarch, Aestheticism and Queer Listening in Victorian and Edwardian Britain', in *Music and Victorial Liberalism: Composing the Liberal Subject*, ed. by Sarah Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 108–26 (pp. 110–11).

[11] As Clapham states, there was 'no hint that the family would one day produce a musical genius'. Rather, '[t]he young boy's violin playing was popular with regular frequenters of the inn', but at that stage amounted to little more. Clapham, *Antonín Dvořák*, p. 85.

[12] Hollander, p. 313.

[13] '"—Co tady děláš? —Oslavuju Smetanu, neboť ten se přece—jak bys měla vědět—narodil v pivovaře...!"', *Humoristické listy*, 67.10 (1924), 119; discussed in Christopher Campo-Bowen, '"We Shall Remain Faithful": The Village Mode in Czech Opera, 1866-1928' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2018), pp. 249–50.

[14] On the party's policies, see Erica Weitzman, 'Imperium Stupidum: Švejk, Satire, Sabotage', *Law & Literature*, 18.2 (2006), 117–47 (p. 146); see also Jan N. Berwid-Buquoy's chapter about The Party of Moderate Progress Within the Bounds of the Law (PFGFIDSDG), in Jan N. Berwid-Buquoy, *Die Abenteuer des gar nicht so braven Humoristen Jaroslav Hašek: Legenden und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin: Bi-Hi Verlag, 1989), pp. 175–85.

since inns are found in any number of other national settings.[15] Even on its own terms, moreover, this national symbol is as much a locus of resistance as consensus. Though Bohemia has a long history of brewing, most prominently symbolised by the Pilsner Urquell (the first pale lager), Moravia is perhaps better known internationally for its vineyards. But the inn and its drinking culture have long been emblems of Czechness nonetheless, and they are no more unstable than any other national symbol.[16] In sum, then, 'the inn' can be understood as a floating signifier, capable of supporting multiple politics at the same time. For the *Deutsches Volksblatt* reviewer and others it was an ethnic dog whistle. For others, it was a source of national and biographical authentication.

Rather than reacting defensively to such critical patterns of reception, therefore, this chapter takes seriously the idea that Dvořák's music is at home in the inn. By this, I mean that Dvořák depicts the inn in ways that are homely, in a specific musical case study: *Čert a Káča* (*The Devil and Kate*, B. 201, 1899). But I also mean that the inn can help to define where we locate Dvořák's music critically, irrespective of whether the pieces in question depict the inn or not. The chapter develops this argument in three parts. The first part identifies why the inn is important in *Čert a Káča*, and it supplies an overview of prior scholarship about the opera. The second part considers the inn as a place of memory. It argues that the inn is a repository of national and autobiographical memory, and that for

[15] To consider just one other national context, inns were often depicted by English composers and writers. There are numerous literary examples by Charles Dickens, the most obvious of which is *The Holly-Tree Inn* (1855). In a later context, see also the Paradise Garden of Frederick Delius's *A Village Romeo and Juliet* (1907), and the Borough's inn of Benjamin Britten's *Peter Grimes* (1945). For a good overview of inn representations in an English-language context, see Haydn Ingram, 'Inns and Hotels in Fiction', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 5.1 (2013), 27–38.

[16] For one discussion of this instability, see Beckerman, 'In Search of Czechness in Music', p. 73.

these reasons it is a site of homely familiarity. The third part argues that within the broader context of the thesis, the inn invites us to relocate Dvořák's music, and to reenvisage the conceptual terms according to which the category of home can be understood in this music at all. This is because, whereas the previous examples of home were largely insular and exclusionary, the opera's inn is a meeting place that accommodates many kinds of mobility, and it hence asks us to reimagine the relationship between home and mobility that has underwritten this thesis since Chapter One.

Čert a Káča, and its Inn

The chapter's most preliminary task is to define its new term of reference: 'inn'. The meaning of this term is not self-evident, because inns can often be hard to differentiate from other kinds of drinking establishment. The Czech equivalent, *hospoda*, could be translated as either 'inn' or 'public house', for example, and in fact there are many similarities between inns and pubs. Most obviously, inns (like pubs) are places where people drink. They also tend to have landlords, which facilitates a more personalised relationship between staff and drinkers than the large beer halls found in many parts of Central Europe. Close-knit drinking communities may form as a result, and inns are not just buildings: much as other scholars have suggested about public houses, rather, inns are 'places where separate group identities are established and social boundaries maintained and legitimised'.[17] But although both kinds of establishment are associated with ethnic belonging and community, inns may

[17] D. Maye, B. Ilbery, and M. Kneafsey, 'Changing Places: Investigating the Cultural Terrain of Village Pubs in South Northamptonshire', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6.6 (2005), 831–47 (p. 834). On drinking establishments and illegal activity, see Anthony Cooke, *A History of Drinking: The Scottish Pub since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), p. 1.

also be directly associated with lodging. Though there are social codes associated with inns and their beer, associated partly with the working classes or peasantry,[18] they may also be places of respite for outsiders who have travelled from afar, and who come from very different backgrounds. I have adopted 'inn' rather than 'pub' as my term of reference in this chapter, for the translational reason that it better captures *hospoda*'s full range of meanings. In English, the word 'inn' is also etymologically related to the word 'in', and it usefully conveys a sense of location. Yet the inn's precise meanings are contextually specific, and it would be a mistake to define the chapter's principal term of reference too rigidly at this stage. Rather, the next task is to understand how the inn is depicted in *Čert a Káča*, and to understand its significance within the opera's plot.

Premiered on 23rd November 1899 at Prague's National Theatre, *Čert a Káča* is based on a fairy-tale that had a lengthy history in Czech folklore. Accounts of the tale's provenance differ, and it has been claimed that the tale originated in the south-west, south-east, and northern parts of Bohemia.[19] However, the provenance of the opera's libretto is easier to trace: it was written by Adolf Wenig, based on a comedy by Josef Kajetán Tyl that was itself based on an 1846 version of the tale by Božena Němcová.[20] Dvořák's opera

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[18] Of course, something similar could be said of taverns, drinking holes, and (for the middle classes) bars, and prior scholarship has grappled with these problems of definition: for instance, David M. Shaw is forced to define all drinking establishments (including inns) as subcategories of public house. This is because he defines 'pub' broadly, as 'a place that serves alcoholic drinks and has a place to sit'. The current discussion does not seek to establish any such conceptual hierarchy, but it is worth noting these definitional problems nonetheless. See David M. Shaw, 'Pub Philosophy', *Bioethical Inquiry*, 16 (2019), 7–12 (p. 8).

[19] Otakar Šourek, *Čert a Káča: veselá pohádka Antonína Dvořáka* (Prague: Orbis, 1954), p. 9.

[20] For one version of the complete story, see Božena Němcová, *Národní bachorky a pověsti* (Prague: Národní kněhtiskárna I. L. Kober, 1880), pp. 294–300. Though the current thesis is not about influence, authorial or otherwise, it should briefly be noted that the precise relationship between source tales, librettos, and operas has been discussed by other researchers. On these issues in relation to Dvořák's opera, see Šourek, *Čert a Káča*, chap. 1. On different approaches to these issues more generally, see Philip Ross Bullock, 'Dialogues with Pushkin: From Tchaikovsky to Stravinsky and "The Rake's Progress"', in *The Routledge Companion to*

comprises three acts, each of which is through-composed. The first act opens in the basement of an inn, located in a village named Dlouhá Lhota. It depicts the events of *posvícení*, an annual feast day devoted to honouring the local patron saint, and the occasion for communal drinking and dancing. In this opera, the celebrations serve as a holiday from *robota*, the daily forced labour that many Czech peasants were forced to complete in the fields, which is administered by a Princess who lives in the local castle. Dvořák introduces two characters at the celebrations: Jirka (a tenor) and Kate (a mezzo-soprano). The former is a shepherd. He shares jokes with the other villagers, a chorus, and the overwhelming impression is that he is one of them. In contrast, Kate is known for her rudeness, and she is marginalised by the other villagers. That she seems to lack any clear occupation establishes her as an outsider, superfluous to the proper functioning of the village. Moreover, her name, 'Káča', is a diminutive form of 'Kateřina', and she is the butt of many jokes—many of which are misogynistic. The villagers' marginalisation of her is noteworthy because it sets the plot in motion. Unable to find a dance partner, Kate becomes frustrated and suggests that she would rather dance with the devil than anyone at the inn. Sure enough, a devil named Marbuel (a bass, like many operatic villains) arrives. After he dances with Kate, a trapdoor opens in the stage. Marbuel jumps into the hole with Kate, taking her to Hell, and the act concludes with Jirka in pursuit.

The inn only features in the opera's first act, the primary focus of this chapter, but it is a reference point for subsequent acts too. The second act takes place in Hell, where Marbuel has taken Kate. Though Hell might initially seem to have little to do with the inn,

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Literature and Modern Music, ed. by Rachael Durkin and others (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), pp. 141–50 (pp. 141–43).

the two settings are depicted in ways that are strangely similar. Hell, in *Čert a Káča*, is a place for the devils to drink and gamble, much as the inn was for the villagers. In many productions, there are also similarities between the set designs of the inn and Hell. Unfortunately, the Prague National Theatre archives contain no photographs of the 1899 production's sets, but sources from subsequent productions reveal that the first two acts' sets have some uncanny resemblances.[21] In the 1918 production, for example, a large, semi-circular arch serves as the entrance of both settings, and they seem to contain much of the same furniture (albeit disguised by tablecloths in Hell).[22] These resemblances extend to the plot. In the second act, much like the first, Kate annoys those around her. But instead of bothering the villagers, Kate now shares her many complaints with Lucifer, and much of the act explores the comedic possibilities of their interactions with one another. By the time Jirka arrives to rescue Kate, the devils are only too happy to see the back of her, and they decide to let the two villagers go. In one of the opera's most striking moments, the second act concludes when Jirka, by dancing Kate through Hell's gates, manages to return her from the underworld.

The opera's third act brings about a further change of setting. It depicts the castle near the village, where the Princess laments her oppression of the serfs. Having administered *robota*, the Princess worries that she is destined for Hell, and upon hearing of Jirka's own return from the underworld, she asks him whether he can help her to escape such a

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[21] For the phrase 'uncanny resemblances', I am indebted to Cohn, 'Uncanny Resemblances'. I explore the full implications of this uncanniness later in the chapter.

[22] 'Čert a Káča - 07.06.1918, Josef Wenig - scéna (I. jednání)' (Archive of the National Theatre, 1918) <http://archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz/fotografie/11489/inscenace/1138>; 'Čert a Káča - 07.06.1918, Josef Wenig - scéna (II. jednání)' (Archive of the National Theatre, 1918) <http://archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz/fotografie/11489/inscenace/1138>.

fate. In response, Jirka asks her to end *robota*, and he hatches a plan. When Marbuel arrives for the Princess, Kate appears before him, as Jirka has asked her to do. Shocked, and recalling how Kate had tormented him in Hell, Marbuel flees in fear. Subsequently, the Princess frees the serfs and rewards Kate with wealth. At the opera's conclusion, the villagers celebrate with a banquet and beer. These celebrations happen in the castle hall, but their emphasis on drinking clearly resembles the first act's celebrations in the village inn. Though only the first act takes place in the village inn, then, it echoes throughout the second and third acts too. Not just a physical location, the inn can thus be understood as a discursive locus that informs the opera as a whole, and its importance in *Čert a Káča* cannot be overstated.

These features suggest that the opera affords great significance to the inn, and that (broadly speaking) the inn is a place of belonging for the villagers. But although the inn features centrally in *Čert a Káča*, its importance as a place of home has not been addressed by prior scholarship. In large part, this is because scholars have generally focused on the opera's stylistic features, by indulging in the kind of 'influence spotting' that has often characterised Dvořák studies.[23] For example, Otakar Šourek hears the opera as having been influenced by Wagnerian music drama, and Clapham hears its *leitmotifs* as evidence of Wagner's influence.[24] Alec Robertson shares this assessment but notes that *Čert a Káča* is largely 'symphonic in texture', which for him resembles Dvořák's own late symphonic

[23] For further discussion of 'influence spotting', see Chapter One of this thesis, as well as Smaczny, 'Dvořák and Wagner', p. 117.

[24] Šourek, *Čert a Káča*, p. 25; Clapham, 'The Operas of Antonín Dvořák', pp. 64–65.

poems,[25] and Jan Smaczny sees the influence of ballet in the opera's dances.[26] Collectively, these studies have shed light on the opera's rich variety of musical reference points. Yet they have not addressed the inn's importance in the opera, and they can therefore provide only limited instruction for the current study.

Other studies of *Čert a Káča* have offered perspectives that are more useful for this chapter. For example, Leon Botstein identifies a 'lyrical, populist, and economical strategy' in Dvořák's later works, which he links to 'the bridging of class and the narrowing of the social and political consequences of economic inequality.' Botstein thus invites us to consider how the opera's musical style may be linked to its class politics, even as he principally opts to focus on other case studies.[27] More productive still is work by Christopher Campo-Bowen. In an approach derived from cultural history and ideology critique, Campo-Bowen argues that the opera's village setting served as a microcosm of Czech national identity, insofar as it modelled an idealised set of social relations and behavioural norms.[28] His study provides much of the foundational knowledge from which this chapter proceeds, and I often return to it below. Yet its principal focus is the opera's village setting rather than the inn. As such, it offers only a partial basis for my discussion about the inn, and the inn's significance as a place of home.

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[25] Alec Robertson, *Dvorak*, The Master Musicians (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1964), pp. 136–37.

[26] Smaczny, 'Dvořák: The Operas', pp. 127–28.

[27] Botstein, pp. 36–38.

[28] Campo-Bowen, 'The Village Mode in Czech Opera', chap. 4.

Expressions of Home in *Čert a Káča*

Home can mean many different things, as Devika Chawla and Stacy Holman Jones have argued, and it 'is quite possibly one of the most definable and indefinable ideas that litter the landscape of our contemporary cultural lives.'[29] It can be a material building that offers shelter, and that (whether incidentally or by design) signals one's status to others.[30] As more than just a material building, home can also be a place of familial ties, nourishment, and subjectivity.[31] As the previous chapters have suggested, it can also be a place of danger, and its privacy can facilitate enclosure, hierarchy, or abuse. Home can also be all these things at once, not least because it functions at many different spatial scales. One's homeland, hometown, front door, and favourite armchair are all homely, but all may carry slightly different meanings.[32] In what follows, I show that the opera's inn is homely because it is a place of memory.[33] It offers a reassuring sense of familiarity with the past,

[29] Devika Chawla and Stacy Holman Jones, 'Introduction', in *Stories of Home: Place, Identity, Exile*, ed. by Devika Chawla and Stacy Holman Jones (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015), pp. xi–xxiii (p. xi).

[30] On status, see Duojie Zhaxi, 'Shelter or Status? Housing and the Shifting Markers of Family Status in Tibetan Communities in China', *Cultural Geographies*, 30.4 (2023), 607–20 (pp. 609–11).

[31] On the distinction between home and house, see Håkan Berglund-Lake, 'Among Others in a World of One's Own: Appropriation of Space in Modern Apartment Houses in the Early Post-War Period', *Folklore*, 39 (2008), 109–20 (p. 112).

[32] Yi-Fu Tuan, 'Place: An Experiential Perspective', *Geographical Review*, 65.2 (1975), 151–65 (pp. 153–54). On home and scale, see Alison Blunt and Ann Varley, 'Introduction: Geographies of Home', *Cultural Geographies*, 11.1 (2004), 3–6 (p. 3).

[33] The links between home and memory have been discussed from a range of perspectives in prior scholarship. On home as the object of memory, as somewhere that has been left behind, see Andrew Demshuk, *The Lost German East: Forced Migration and the Politics of Memory, 1945–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 122. On the dwelling place as 'an enduring record of—and testimony to—the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it,' see Tim Ingold, 'The Temporality of the Landscape', *World Archaeology (Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society)*, 25.2 (1993), 152–74 (p. 152).

whose memories are neither fixed nor stable, but which return us to the nostalgic, parochial image of Dvořák that I previously used the category of mobility to critique.[34]

Memory's importance in the opera is immediately suggested by the opening bars, which evoke a powerful impression of retrieval. The first scene of Act I begins with barren open strings, a murky timbre, and little sense of tonal or harmonic security. Despite opening on the dominant chord, C, the harmony lacks a third. Resonant with overtones, this open fifth evokes a landscape that is bleak, remote, and void. The tonal ambivalence worsens at b.19/4, when a $d\flat^{dim}$ chord joins the fray.[35] Tonal security now seems increasingly remote, and the shifts in tempo and metre (from simple-quadruple to simple-triple time) intensify the feeling of disorientation. It is as if, on this summer night, we are being enticed ever further into the darkness. But out of the gloom, the inn emerges. It appears as a place of refuge, glimpsed from a distance at b.20/16 (the dominant preparation for F^{+}). Here, the range expands and the strings *crescendo*. We overhear snapshots of triplets, as the inn becomes closer, and a dance beckons. Though marked by a gestural opening-out, this material ultimately feels like a turn inwards. As the timbre becomes clearer, it assumes an almost psychotherapeutic quality, as if an old memory is being recalled and once more comes into view.

The opening bars' expression of memory is palpable, but it is hard to define precisely. This problem is common when studying categories like memory or landscape,

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[34] On home, memory, and familiarity with the past, see Peter Somerville, 'The Social Construction of Home', *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 14.3 (1997), 226–45 (pp. 235–37).

[35] Bar numbers (formatted as page/bar of page) refer to the 1926 vocal score (2nd edition), published by Hudební Matice in Prague. This piano reduction was arranged by Dvořák. It is in Czech and German, and all English translations of the lyrics are therefore my own.

which (as Benedict Taylor has noted) can often be hard 'to support analytically or phenomenologically'.[36] Yet the opera's expression of memory comes into sharper focus from the *Tempo di Marcia* of b. 21/1 and the curtain rise of b. 21/31, all of which (depicted in example 5.1) evokes the memories of a Czech national past. Most obviously, this passage represents the inn as a rural idyll, consistent with nationalist imagery more generally. It uses a pastoral F^{+} key, and many of the characters use a working-class dialect: as Campo-Bowen has noted, for instance, Kate 'uses colloquial Czech, such as the phrase *s těma* (with them) instead of the more formal *s těmi*.'[37] This passage also expresses nationalist sentiment via its *Stimmungen*, which (as I noted in Chapter Two) were often associated with nationalist nostalgia.[38] When the timbral austerity of the opening gives way to the richness of the brass at b. 21/1, the music becomes more strongly affective. It has a repetitive idiom, which cycles between *polka* and *gigue* topics, and which resembles the repetitiveness of much *Stimmungsmusik*. Indeed, most productions also depict the inn as a low-light environment, akin to many *Stimmungsbilder*. This passage also uses a chorus to represent the folk masses onstage, like many nineteenth-century operas, and its instruction that the chorus drinks and
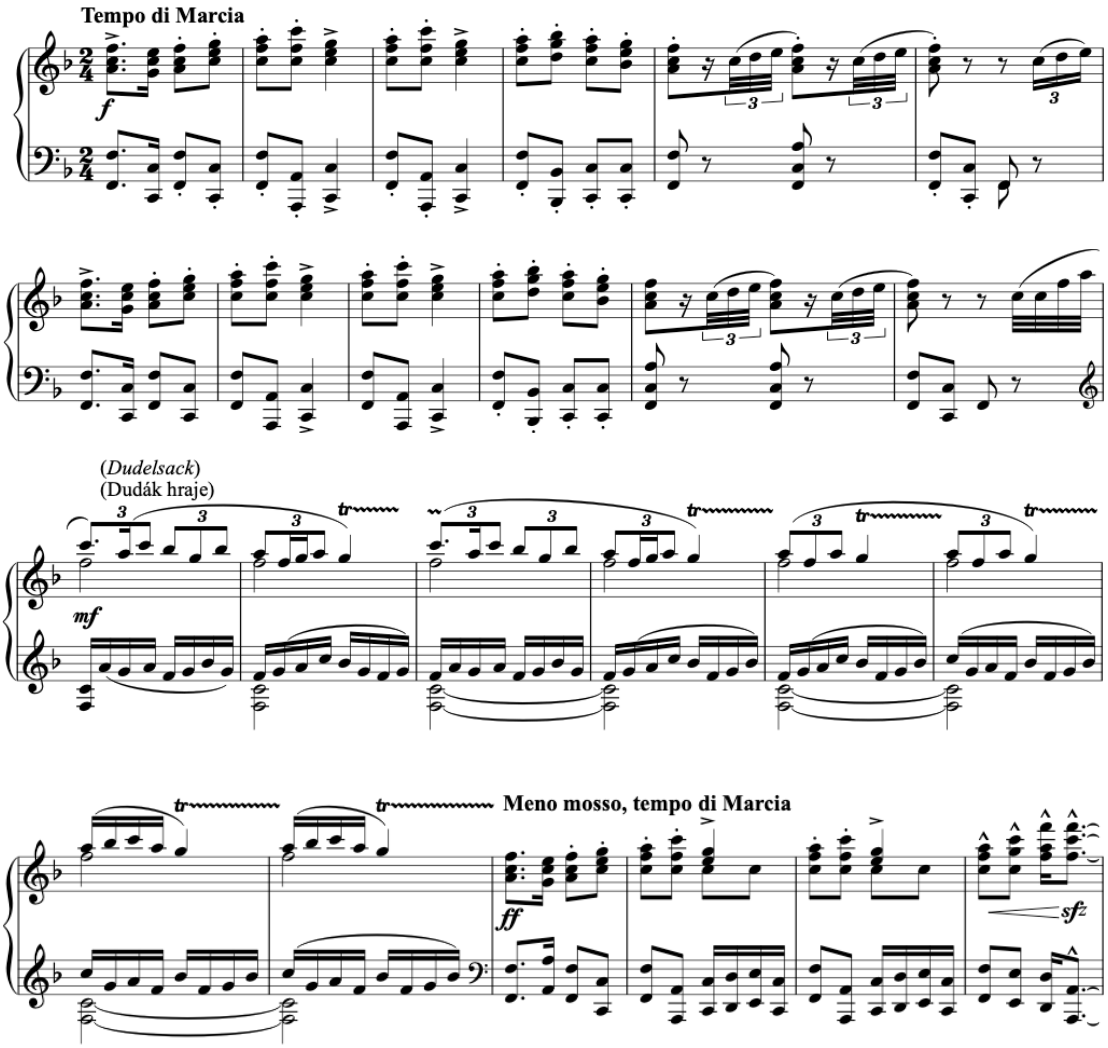
[36] For Taylor's point, see Benedict Taylor, 'Seascape in the Mist: Lost in Mendelssohn's "Hebrides"', *19th-Century Music*, 39.3 (2016), 187–222 (p. 188). The elusiveness of memory in music arguably underlies its appeal for scholars. For just some of the many studies of memory in music, see Benedict Taylor, 'Nostalgia and Cultural Memory in Barber's Knoxville: Summer of 1915', *The Journal of Musicology*, 25.3 (2008), 211–29; Kristina Muxfeldt, *Vanishing Sensibilities: Schubert, Beethoven, Schumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), chap. 3; Savage-Hanford, chap. 3; Thomas Peattie, 'In Search of Lost Time: Memory and Mahler's Broken Pastoral', in *Mahler and His World*, ed. by Karen Painter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 185–98; Scott Burnham, 'Schubert and the Sound of Memory', *The Musical Quarterly*, 84.4 (2000), 655–63.

[37] Campo-Bowen, 'The Village Mode in Czech Opera', p. 196.
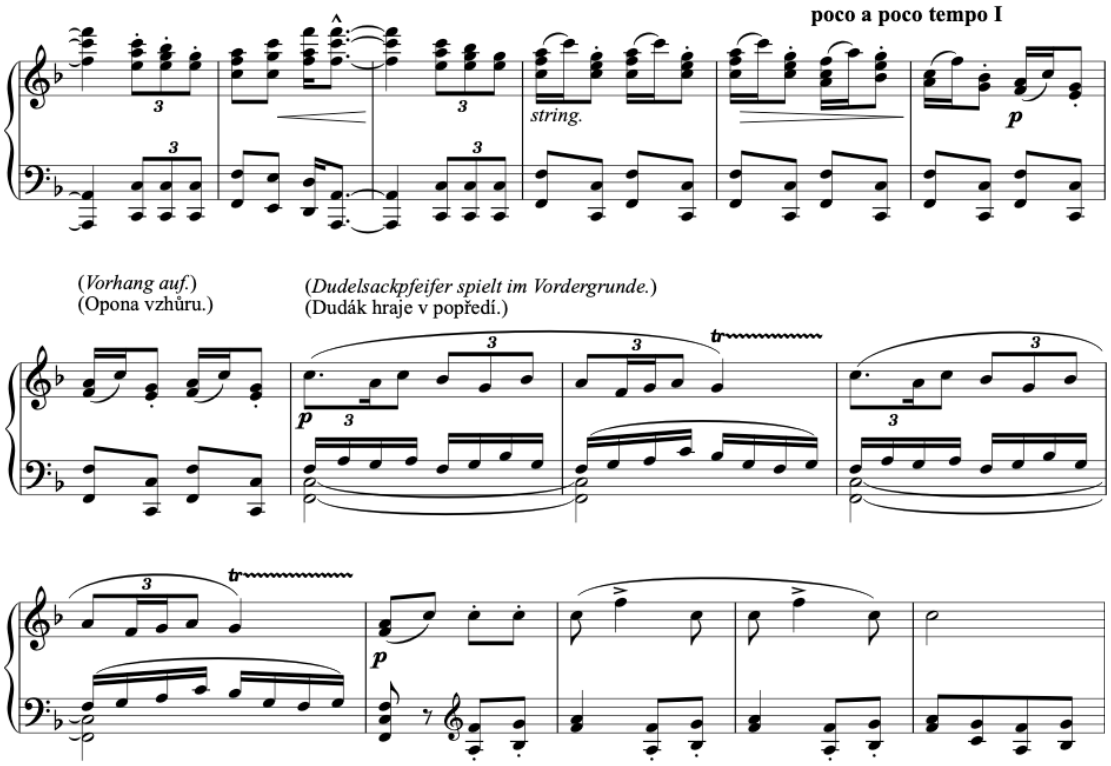
[38] For further discussion of the links between nationalism and mood, see Grimley, '"In the Mood"', p. 127.

dances further conveys the mood of a village celebrating together.[39] In all these ways, then, the opera's inn accommodates the memories of a Czech national past, however fictitious or idealised. It corroborates the inn's nationalist status in Czech culture more generally, and its ruralism (as a *village* inn, rather than just an inn) evokes a Czech homeland that is both historically and geographically remote.

Example 5.1: Dvořák, *Čert a Káča* (B. 201, 1899), bb. 21/1-22/8 *(cont. on the next page)*



[39] For a useful survey and discussion of the chorus's role in opera from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Suzanne Aspden, 'Opera and National Identity', in *The Cambridge Companion to Opera Studies*, ed. by Nicholas Till (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 276–97 (pp. 285–89).



Closer scrutiny of the opera's plot and original casting choices reveals other kinds of nationalist memory, beyond pastoral representation alone. Most obviously 'Czech' is the first act's emphasis on beer, which (aside from the connotations that I mentioned in the introduction) is a common marker of Czechness in music. Beer is a recurring feature of Czech folksongs. For example, 'Kde je sládek, tam je mládek' ('Where there's a brewer, there's a young man') praises beer at length, and it contains the line 'where beer is drunk, life is good'.[40] Since Bedřich Smetana's *Prodaná nevěsta* (*The Bartered Bride*, T. 93, 1866), beer had also been a recurring feature of Czech opera.[41] As Campo-Bowen has noted,

[40] For discussion, see Katz, p. 69.

[41] Dvořák's *Šelma sedlák* (*The Cunning Peasant*, B. 67, 1878) is one example of this trend. It depicts drinking scenes on a public holiday, complete with dancing around a Maypole. However, drinking and inns can also be found in other operas that played at the Provisional and National Theatres. These operas include Smetana's *Dvě vdovy* (*The Two Widows*, T. 109, 1874), *Hubička* (*The Kiss*, T. 115, 1876), and *Tajemství* (*The Secret*, T. 118, 1878), as well as in Janáček's *Výlety páně Broučkovy* (*The Excursions of Mr. Brouček*, JW. 1/6-7, 1920) and

'Dvořák's and Wenig's decision to set the first act of the opera on a day of *posvícení* in the village pub was in all likelihood a direct reference to *The Bartered Bride*—both these elements were typical of Czech stories and fairy tales, but in opera their combination was only explicit in one other instance—Act II of *The Bartered Bride*.'[42] These comparisons were further encouraged by aspects of the opera's casting and production design. For example, Bohumil Pták (who played Jirka) had also played Jeník in various Czech productions of *Prodaná nevěsta*. Moreover, the inns' set designs for the premiere of *Čert a Káča* and the Viennese production of *Prodaná nevěsta* in 1892 were very similar, and in fact the two productions shared many personnel (including the director, the choreographer, and the conductor).[43] As Campo-Bowen further notes, these features were interpreted nationalistically at the time—for example, a reviewer for *Hlas národa* described this second act (over which the inn looms large) as 'a very Czech department of hell'[44]—which was surely the point. Like other operas including *Šelma sedlák* (B. 67, 1877), it seems likely that Dvořák used

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Příhody lišky Bystroušky (*The Cunning Little Vixen*, JW. 1/9, 1923). In many of these operas, the choice to depict an individual drinking with the chorus (or not) became a crucial way to signal that individual's commitment (or lack of commitment) to their broader ethnic group. In Dvořák's *Der Bauer ein Schelm* (premiered in Prague as *Šelma sedlák*, translated as *The Cunning Peasant*; 1877) the villagers drink together, and their communal solidarity ultimately leads to great wealth for the opera's most impoverished character, Jeník. In contrast, *Výlety páně Broučkovy*, *Její pastorkyňa* (*Jenůfa*, JW 1/4, 1894-1903), *Káťa Kabanová* (JW 1/8, 1919-21), and *Věc Makropulos* (*The Makropulos Affair*, JW 1/10, 1923-25) all use drink to illustrate characters' lacklustre commitment to their ethnic and familial ties. Mr. Brouček is depicted as a boastful miser, wandering drunkenly through the streets of Prague alone, *Její pastorkyňa*'s Števa is depicted as a drunken, absent husband, *Káťa Kabanová*'s Dikoj is represented as a drunken, abusive merchant, and *Věc Makropulos*'s Emilia improperly arrives drunk in a courtroom. On operatic choruses as a way to 'articulat[e] the dynamic play of identity between the individual and varying types and levels of "national" representation', see Aspden, p. 288. Of course, these examples by Janáček post-dated both Dvořák and Smetana, and they did not inform either composer's process of composition or reception. Nonetheless, they exemplify the same, Smetanian operatic tradition, which can be traced back to *Prodaná nevěsta*.

[42] Campo-Bowen, 'The Village Mode in Czech Opera', p. 191.

[43] Ibid., pp. 188, 190.

[44] 'Čert a Káča', *Hlas národa*, 25 November 1899; quoted in Campo-Bowen, 'The Village Mode in Czech Opera', p. 199.

the inn and its beer not just to depict an idealised Czech peasantry, but also to associate himself with an operatic tradition inaugurated by Smetana.

That the opera's expressions of memory are largely nationalist is unsurprising, given the political significance that Dvořák afforded to this genre. We may recall Dvořák's comment that opera was 'the most suitable form for the nation',[45] to which *Čert a Káča*'s confluence of affect, pastoral symbolism, casting choices, production design, and generic history undoubtedly lends support. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the opera's expression of memory can be reduced to nationalism alone. There are many kinds of memory in music, as Taylor has noted, which can often overlap—even in cases that might initially seem straightforward.[46] Closer scrutiny of the opera bears out his point, for although the inn can be heard nationalistically, it can also be heard autobiographically. The most obviously autobiographical feature of the inn is its setting: Dlouhá Lhota. This name locates the audience in a setting that is both geographically and historically remote: the word 'Lhota' colloquially implies a rural backwater, and it legally refers to an archaic form of medieval land ownership.[47] That Bohemia-Moravia contains several villages named Dlouhá Lhota makes the setting ambiguous, moreover, and it suggests that the opera

[45] Šourek, *Letters and Reminiscences*, p. 223; quoted in Thornley, p. 1. For discussion, see Chapter One.

[46] As Taylor summarises, '[m]usic may quote or allude to past music—to a general earlier historical style, to a specific earlier historical composition, to an earlier work by the same composer, or to the piece's own musical "past" […] Furthermore, one might ask if there are semantic associations bound up with any of the categories above. Might the allusion involve a textual reference to something that creates further, verbal web of memory, or are we projecting a composer's supposed state of mind, his or her biography, onto the music's aesthetic subject? More awkward (but also more intriguing) is the question of how music, without alluding to anything which can be shown to have been heard prior to it, may already sound like a memory.' On these points, see Benedict Taylor, 'Schubert and the Construction of Memory: The String Quartet in A Minor, D. 804 ('Rosamunde')', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 139.1 (2014), 41–88 (p. 44).

[47] B. Havránka and others, 'Lhota', *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (Prague: Academia, 1989), 548. For this reference, I am grateful to Geoffrey Chew.

depicts a generic rural idyll. Yet this name is also autobiographically significant because Dvořák composed much of *Čert a Káča* in Vysoká u Příbramě, less than twenty kilometres away from one of the Czech villages named Dlouhá Lhota. Indeed, the opera's village largely resembles aspects of Příbram. Like the real-life Dlouhá Lhota and Vysoká, it features an inn and a castle. It also accommodates drinking and gambling, the two activities which most defined Dvořák's experience of Příbram. That the first act literally concludes with people jumping into a hole in the ground, in a chain of events that ultimately produces great wealth for the villagers, also invites comparisons with Vysoká's mining industry.[48] In these ways, then, the opera's setting is more than just a place of rural kinship. It can also be read as a musical *memoir*, which uses Wenig's libretto as an opportunity for autobiographical self-fashioning.[49]

Other features of the opera's setting also suggest an autobiographical reading, linked not to Příbram, but to Dvořák's upbringing in the Nelahozeves inn. Dvořák's upbringing was a recurring interest for biographers, as I noted at the beginning of this chapter. Yet it was an aspect of his life that Dvořák also seemed keen to emphasise. In an 1885 interview with *The Sunday Times*, for instance, Dvořák remarked that

> [t]he Slavs all love music. They may work all day in the fields, but they are always singing, and the true musical spirit burns bright within them. How they love the dance, too! On Sunday, when church is over, they begin their music and dancing, and often keep it up without cessation till early in the following morning. Each village has its band of eight or ten musicians—I belonged to ours as soon as I could fiddle a little. It is supported by the dancers, who pay nothing to go in, but in the middle of their polka or waltz a couple is stopped by one of the musicians and not allowed to continue until

[48] On mining and its relationship with nineteenth-century music, see Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth*, chap. 1.

[49] On *memoirs* and their study, see Paula S. Fass, 'The Memoir Problem', *Reviews in American History*, 34.1 (2006), 107–23.

> they have paid as many kreutzers as they can afford. When all is over, the band divide their earnings, and mine, of course, used to be handed forthwith to my father.[50]

Much about the opera's inn resembles Dvořák's childhood home, at least in the terms he chose to recall it. Like the Nelahozeves inn, the opera's inn houses a small village band. Its libretto instructs that the dances from b.21/1 should be played not just by the orchestra, but also by an onstage band comprising three musicians: a violinist, a clarinettist, and a trumpeter. (The opera's band is smaller, but that discrepancy might be attributed to restrictions of space onstage rather than to a difference in conception.) Also like the Nelahozeves inn, the opera's inn depicts a participatory relationship between the band and the drinkers. Though the opera's stage musicians are not fully-fledged characters, Jirka occasionally instructs them to play for him or to give him a musical send-off.[51] In a further similarity with Dvořák's upbringing, the opera's inn is characterised by *polkas* that recall some of his earliest pieces. Like the *Polka pomněnka C dur* (B. 1, 1854), the *Polka per pedes* (B. 2bis, 1859), and the *Polka E dur* (B. 3, 1860), the opera's *polkas* have a celebratory mood and a strong metric impetus, and they even share specific rhythms (e.g., ♩.♪♫ and ♫♩).[52] Thus, all these features suggest that the opera's inn can be heard in autobiographical terms, and as an attempt (further to the *Sunday Times interview*) to associate himself with a prominent national symbol. Just as Dvořák strenuously attempted to cast himself as Czech in the popular imagination, as Eva Branda has noted, so too does the inn scene combine nationalist

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[50] Paul Pry, 'Enthusiasts Interviewed. No. XVII-"Pann" Antonin Dvorak', *The Sunday Times* (London, 10 May 1885), p. 6.

[51] 'Hrajte, páni, hrajte, páni muzikanti! zahrajte mně mou!'; 'Alou, páni muzikanti, domů vy mne vyprovoďte hezky s veselou, s veselou!'

[52] Incidentally, the inn's *polkas* could also be heard as a further allusion to Smetana, whose piano arrangements of *polkas* were well known at this time. On Smetana and the *polka*, see Katz, pp. 68–69.

and autobiographical memories under a shared set of musical signs.[53] Indeed, Dvořák's biography has loomed large over much prior scholarship about *Čert a Káča*. For example, Šourek argued that 'there were many innate prerequisites for the [opera's] fairy-tale element' in Dvořák's psyche,[54] and Newmarch suggested that '[t]here is a good deal in the subject which must have appealed to the primitive side of Dvořák's nature'.[55] Though neither of these scholars reference the inn specifically, and though both discuss the opera in ethnically loaded terms, their comments allude to the autobiographical memories that I have located in the opera's inn, and that Dvořák sometimes recalled in discussions about his life and music.

Individually, of course, none of these expressions of memory are particularly remarkable. That Dvořák should have associated his fictitious Příbram with nationalist nostalgia is unsurprising because he composed many of his most stridently nationalist pieces in Příbram, including *Čert a Káča*.[56] The inn's autobiographical traits are also unsurprising.

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[53] For Branda's work, see Branda, 'Letting the Music "Speak For Itself"', p. 605.

[54] As Šourek states, '[v]ždyť tu šlo o jeden z nejcharakterističtějších a nejčarovnějších projevů poesie lidové a takovému se nemohl ubránit umělec, jakým byl právě Antonín Dvořák, jehož tvoření dávala lidová poesie tolik vítané a živné látky a v jehož čisté duši člověka z lidu, dobré a přímé povaze i bohatě vznětlivé fantasii bylo pro pohádkový živel mnoho vrozených předpokladů.' A translation might read as follows: 'After all, this was one of the most characteristic and magical expressions of folk poetry, which could not be resisted by an artist such as Antonín Dvořák, whose work was given much nourishment by folk poetry, and in whose soul—a man of the people's, with a good and straightforward nature, as well as a fiery imagination—there were many prerequisites for the fairy-tale element.' Šourek, *Čert a Káča*, p. 7. My translation.

[55] Newmarch, pp. 167–68.

[56] Other pieces composed in Příbram include *Svatební košile* (*The Spectre's Bride*, B.135, 1884), *V přírodě* (*In Nature's Realm*, B.168, 1891), and *Zlatý kolovrat* (*The Golden Spinning Wheel*, B.197, 1896). In fact, it was in Vysoká that he composed *Můj domov* (*My Home,* B.125a, 1881), a bombastic piece that adapts the song 'Where is my home?' (today, the Czech national anthem). Indeed, a later generation of writers and artists (including Karel Schadt, Bohumil Ullrych, and Quido Maria Vyskočil) idealised Příbram as a privileged site of Czechness. For them, Příbram was a creative and political resource that could be mined for nationalist authentication, just as it had been for silver.

After all, Němcová's rural settings are often autobiographical—for example, *Babička* (*The Grandmother*, 1855) and *Ženám českým* (*To Czech Women*, 1843)—and in this sense Dvořák simply took his lead from the original source material.[57] That the opera leaned so heavily on *Prodaná nevěsta* is no less surprising, given the critical context in which it was to debut. Though Dvořák often sought to position himself as a nationalist composer, his commitment to the nationalist cause had repeatedly been questioned by the Czech press. This resulted from a combination of his time abroad, frequent but unfavourable comparisons with Smetana (who had previously served as the Provisional Theatre's musical director, and whose influence pervaded the Praguian operatic establishment), and the unhappy coincidence that Dvořák's commercial success began just as Smetana's ended (such that one trend was often attributed to the other).[58] That *Čert a Káča* parallels *Prodaná nevěsta*, then, implicitly seems to rebut this criticism. The opera goes out of its way to comply with a genre that continued to be dominated by Smetana, following a stay in North America which had brought his commitment to the nationalist cause into question.[59]

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[57] On autobiographical meanings in Němcová's work, see Alfred Thomas, 'Form, Gender and Ethnicity in the Work of Three Nineteenth-Century Czech Women Writers', *Bohemia*, 38.2 (1997), 280–97 (p. 283).

[58] On Smetana's institutional power in Prague, see Eva Branda, 'An "Execution" at the Hofoper: Czech Perspectives on the Viennese Premiere of Dvořák's The Cunning Peasant', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 34 (2022), 67–96 (pp. 74–75). On Dvořák's ascendancy and its relation to Smetana, see Brian S. Locke, *Opera and Ideology in Prague: Polemics and Practice at the National Theater* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006), p. 30.

[59] Indeed, Otakar Šourek hears the opera's fairy tale aesthetic as Dvořák's response to 'the smell of home' following his trip to America: '[t]oto zaměření možno zjistit v leckterém údobí životní tvorby umělcovy, nejvýrazněji se však projevilo právě v jejím závěru, když po návratu z Ameriky byl Dvořák obzvlášť srdečně zaujat vůní domova a když také blížící se podzim života naplňoval jeho duši onou laskavou, povýšenou moudrostí, která hlubokou naivitu pohádky dovede nejbezprostředněji bez rozdílu věku sdělit s jinými.' Šourek, *Čert a Káča*, p. 8. Incidentally, *Čert a Káča* also invites similarities with other operas by Smetana: for example, the third act of *Čertova stěna* (*The Devil's Wall*, T.129, 1882) features a 'hellish dance' that much resembles *Čert a Káča*'s dances in Hell, and there are other similarities in setting (a castle) and character (the castle's Countess and steward). Indeed, Bohumil Pták (who played Jirka) had also played Jarek in *Čertova stěna* at the National Theatre earlier in 1899. For a useful discussion of *Čertova stěna* in the broader context of Czech

But although none of these memories are remarkable when taken individually, they amount to a striking assemblage when taken together. These memories are noteworthy, firstly, because they exemplify the nostalgic, parochial image of Dvořák that I previously used the category of mobility to critique. Within the project's journey of departure and return, in other words, they return us to square one. But these memories also speak to the performative dimension of all academic research, secondly, since they are premised upon a series of interpretative choices which ask scholars to 'construct the effects they purportedly merely name',[60] and which suggest that memory is a scholarly construction as much as a feature of the musical text. After all, the opera's inn scene could equally be heard in terms of any number of other musical memories. Its fairy-tale aesthetic could be heard in relation to Engelbert Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel* (1893), or against Wagner's operas. Indeed, Ralph Vaughan Williams, having seen the 1899 production in Prague, argued that the second act was largely 'bagged from the "Niebelheim" in Wagner's "Rheingold".'[61] In turn, these features could be heard against the Wagnerian style of Dvořák's early output,[62] and in fact Klaus Döge argues that *Čert a Káča* can be heard as 'a survey or concentrated résumé of his earlier career as an operatic composer'.[63] The inn's social hierarchies could also be heard against William Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* (1590-92), whose

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opera, see Jan Smaczny, 'Grand Opera amongst the Czechs', in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. by David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 366–82 (p. 377).

[60] This understanding of performativity, which I introduced in Chapter One, is drawn from Laketa, p. 65.

[61] *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams, 1895-1958*, ed. by Hugh Cobbe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 36; quoted in Smaczny, 'Dvořák and Wagner', p. 114. On Wagner and fairy tales, see John Deathridge, *Wagner Beyond Good and Evil* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2008), chap. 4. On Humperdinck, fairy tales, and childhood, see Coombes, 'Music and Childhood in French Culture, 1880-1914', chap. 1.

[62] On Dvořák and Wagner, see Chapter One.

[63] Döge, p. 789.

protagonist is also named Kate, and which both Dvořák and his Praguian audiences likely knew.[64] They could also be heard against Dvořák's unrealised sketches for a *Šárka* opera because Jirka's *leitmotif* much resembles that of Ctirad, who (similar to Jirka's encounters with Kate) is forced to resist the onslaught of rebellious female troops.[65] For current readers, the inn might even seem to recall some of my previous case studies, all of which predate the opera, and all of which the opera could feasibly be heard to memorialise. Whether any of these memories are encoded within the opera is not the point. More salient is the fact that all musical memories are contingent upon a choice to hear one (con)text in relation to another, and the more preliminary decision to listen for memory at all. Ultimately, then, these features of the opera invite us to reclaim our own interpretative agency, and they raise a more tantalising series of questions about how we conceive this music more generally. By exercising our interpretative agency to a fuller extent, can the inn also be understood in ways that are less nostalgic? Can it even be understood in ways that are dynamic, forward-looking, and progressive? Far from returning us to square one, can the inn allow us to

[64] Dvořák knew much of Shakespeare's work, having written overtures to *Romeo and Juliet* (B.35, 1873) and *Othello* (B.174, 1892), and having planned an opera based on *Twelfth Night* in 1884. Indeed, an extended series of Shakespeare productions at the National Theatre—where *Čert a Káča* was premiered—had lodged the plays firmly in the Praguian consciousness. On Shakespeare in Prague, see Jiří Kopecký, 'Shakespeare and Opera in the Czech Lands', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Music*, ed. by Christopher R. Wilson and Mervyn Cooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 866–93. On Dvořák's *Twelfth Night*, see p. 884. On misogyny in *The Taming of the Shrew*, see Velvet D. Pearson, 'In Search of a Liberated Kate in "The Taming of the Shrew"', *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, 44.4 (1990), 229–42 (p. 230). On Shakespeare in Bohemia-Moravia more generally, see also Martin Procházka, 'Shakespeare and National Mythologizing in Czech Nineteenth Century Drama', *Multicultural Shakespare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance*, 13.28 (2016), 25–33.

[65] Clapham, 'The Operas of Antonín Dvořák', p. 65. On Dvořák's *Šárka* sketches, see Ondřej Šupka, 'Šárka (Opera), B436', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/work/sarka-b436/> [accessed 22 March 2022].

*re*locate Dvořák thematically, conceptually, and historiographically, and hence to achieve a final critical advance as this thesis draws to a close?

Closing Time

Further consideration confirms that a more progressive reading of *Čert a Káča*'s inn is possible. For whilst the domestic settings of previous chapters have been private, insular, or exclusionary, the opera's inn is a public place. Though not without its social hierarchies, it is open to all. Its homeliness derives not from any individual claim to ownership (notably, the opera does not depict an innkeeper, and no characters are ever turned away because they have not purchased a drink) but from an impression of collective ownership and belonging. It is not only a place of belonging: it also belongs to all.[66] Due to the proscenium arch, in fact, the opera's inn is quite literally open to the audience as well. That the inn is a public place has two implications. Firstly, it allows the inn to facilitate a wide range of meetings, some of which (like *posvícení*) are habitualised as daily or annual routines, others of which (like Marbuel's arrival) happen by chance. These meetings can instantiate criminal subterfuge or transgression, as Marbuel's arrival suggests, and much as the *Deutsches Volksblatt* reviewer implied elsewhere.[67] Yet they can also instantiate religious encounters, given the Biblical significance of the inn, which the opera foregrounds using the religious connotations of *posvícení*, Jirka's job as a shepherd, his journey to rescue Kate from Hell,

[66] On these multiple definitions of belonging, see Naomi Waltham-Smith, *Music and Belonging Between Revolution and Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), chap. 1.

[67] On drinking establishments and subterfuge, see Cooke, p. 1.

and (in an echo of the resurrection) their ultimate return to Earth.[68] Secondly, and by extension, the inn is also a *mobile* place. It allows people to come and go, and its homeliness is constituted (rather than jeopardised) by patterns of mobility.[69] In what follows, I explore the idea that the inn is a mobile place, and I argue that it accommodates mobilities which are imaginative, bodily, and uncanny. These features of the inn further enrich our understanding of how it is homely. But they also enrich our understanding of Dvořák's mobilities, as well as where we might critically (re)locate his music as we approach closing time.

Of these mobilities, the most noteworthy are imaginative. By 'imaginative mobilities', I mean that the characters imagine becoming mobile, in ways that—since they may or may not come to fruition—amount to their own, categorically distinct form of mobility.[70] Two different imaginative mobilities feature in the opera's first act. Firstly, Kate dreams of becoming socially mobile, and of moving from one social stratum to another. Much as the fugitive of 'Die Flucht' dreamt of escape, so too does Kate dream of escaping

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[68] Incidentally, the translation of 'καταλύματι' as 'inn', in Luke 2:7, has been the matter of some debate. Though it is widely understood as 'inn', and though Dvořák's audiences may have seen similarities between Dlouhá Lhota's inn and Bethlehem's inn for this reason, 'καταλύματι' might also suggest 'guest room'. On these issues of translation, see Andy Mickelson, 'An Improbable Inn: Texts and Tradition Surrounding Luke 2:7', *Studia Antiqua*, 14.1 (2015), 1–19.

[69] For mobile accounts of home elsewhere, see Caitlin Buckle, 'Residential Mobility and Moving Home', *Geography Compass*, 11.5 (2017), sec. 1; Aurora Massa, 'Mobility and Immobility', in *Ethnographies of Home and Mobility: Shifting Roofs*, ed. by Alejandro Miranda Nieto, Aurora Massa, and Sara Bonfanti (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), pp. 67–90 (p. 67). On place as a mobile category more generally, and the way that places both constitute and are constituted by patterns of mobility, see Tim Cresswell, 'Introduction: Theorizing Place', in *Mobilizing Place, Placing Mobility*, ed. by Ginette Verstraete and Tim Cresswell (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 11–32 (p. 25); Massey, pp. 62–64. My use of the term 'progressive' is drawn from Massey, and it refers to a permeable, processual understanding of place as much as it does to progressive politics. On these ideas in a broader theoretical context, see Sheller and Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', p. 214.

[70] On imaginative mobilities, see Duncan Light and Lorraine Brown, 'Dwelling-Mobility: A Theory of the Existential Pull between Home and Away', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 81 (2020), p. 4. For a similar study, see Knut Petzold, 'Cosmopolitanism through Mobility: Physical-Corporeal or Virtual-Imagined?', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 68.2 (2017), 167–93.

the social boundaries that have been constructed for her by the other villagers. When she searches for a dance partner, she aims to gain a higher status within the village community, and to gain the social intimacy that she otherwise lacks. Though she is initially unsuccessful, she makes progress when she states that she would rather dance with the devil than any of the villagers. This is because her statement is a performative speech act, which summons Marbuel and sets the opera's events in motion. Secondly, the villagers imagine *themselves* as becoming socially mobile. Aided by drink, they dream of a future in which the serfdom is abolished. Their imaginative mobilities allow them to cope with the hardships of *robota*: to draw on Noel B. Salazar, their imaginaries are 'a necessary tool for [them] to work through the "real" issues they encounter in their daily lives.'[71] But their imaginative mobilities also establish the conditions for economic change. By recognising that their conditions can only improve—towards the end of Act I, Jirka states that he has 'nothing in the world, nothing to lose'[72]—the villagers prompt Jirka to pursue Kate, which ultimately facilitates the redistribution of wealth in the third act.[73] Of course, whether the villagers' imaginaries ultimately become a reality is open to debate. After all, the opera's second and third acts could easily be read as an extended drunken reverie or dream, akin to Janáček's later *Výlety páně Broučkovy*. This reading of the opera is supported by its emphasis on

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[71] Salazar, p. 770.

[72] 'Nemám ve světě, nemám co ztratit'

[73] Incidentally, this redistribution of wealth has an obvious nationalist subtext. *Robota* was abolished following the Prague uprising of 1848, and it would have gained new meaning in the context of late nineteenth century struggles for independence, not least given that a significant proportion of landowners in Bohemia were ethnically German rather than Czech at this time. On land ownership, see C. A. Macartney and A. W. Palmer, *Independent Eastern Europe: A History* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1962), p. 158. Much like Smetana's *Braniboři v Čechách* (*The Brandenburgers in Bohemia*, 1866), about a struggle to overthrow German occupiers in the Czech homeland, *Čert a Káča* thus draws upon opera's unique 'potential for constructing the Czech people as political victims against the background of Austrian domination'. On this latter point, see Smaczny, 'Grand Opera amongst the Czechs', p. 374.

memory (a common feature of dreams), the discontinuous, even sprawling nature of the libretto, the heightened affects, and the nocturnal setting.[74] This reading of the opera would also help to rationalise the fantastical plot, but it would suggest that all the opera's events are imaginative rather than realised. Either way, however, the villagers' imaginative mobilities loom large over the inn scene, and the villagers share a dream of ending the serfdom.[75]

No less important in the inn scene are the characters' dances—their bodily mobilities. Most productions are at their most visually striking during the group dances, which generally involve dozens of performers on stage. Dance also animates the opera's depiction of Kate, and her love of dance lies at the centre of the plot.[76] The opera's dances are noteworthy for the historical reason that opera houses have often invested heavily in choreography. In the 1899 production, for example, the National Theatre took the expensive step of hiring the famous ballet dancer Augustin Berger as choreographer, which helped to generate interest in the new opera, and which signalled the importance of dance to the wider

[74] On these themes around the turn of the century, see Jason Ciaccio, 'Waking Dreams: Modernist Intoxications and the Poetics of Altered States' (PhD thesis, The City University of New York, 2016), chap. 1. On dreams from a musicological perspective, see also Savage-Hanford, pp. 183–84.

[75] Arguably, it also accommodates the imaginative mobilities of audience members. It invites the audience members, affluent and urban, to undertake an imaginative journey to an impoverished rural setting. This amounts to nothing less than poverty tourism, which valorises the villagers' suffering as a source of nationalist authenticity, but which over the course of the opera turns an urban gaze from one rural stereotype (the oppressed feudal labourers) to another (the carefree village feast). However, this idea applies to any number of other operas too, and I have therefore opted to focus on imaginative mobilities that are more specific to the opera in question. On the urban gaze, see Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Vintage, 2016), p. 1.

[76] On the centrality of Kate's dance in the opera, see Šourek, *Čert a Káča*, p. 27.

public.[77] The opera's dances are also noteworthy because they are a leisure activity. Though at first glance they may therefore seem to differ from any previous mobility that I have discussed, they become almost mechanical during the rapid polka dance between Marbuel and Kate. Much like the case studies of Chapter Three, the supernatural and the mechanical thus seem to blur into one another, and what should have been a leisure activity uncannily comes to resemble the exhausting, mechanical activity of *robota*: by the end, Kate says, she can 'hardly breathe'.[78] Yet the opera's dances are most noteworthy because (as Derek P. McCormack has argued about dance more generally) they highlight 'the relation between the corporeal and cultural with particular intensity', and because they hence offer a new way to locate the opera in its broader cultural context.[79] More specifically, they invite us to hear the opera in relation to the tale of Faust, which was an inescapable part of cultural life in nineteenth-century Prague. Aside from Smetana's overture to *Doktor Faust* (JB 1:85, 1862), the Czech Dramatic Theatre staged Goethe's *Faust* (Part One) in 1861, and the St. Cecilia Music Society performed Schumann's *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* (*Scenes from Goethe's Faust*, 1844-53) in 1862.[80] Indeed, Charles Gounod's *Faust* (1859) was one of the grand operas that Smetana programmed at the Provisional Theatre, and it was immensely popular: in fact, Gounod's *Faust* was performed more than any other 'serious' opera at the theatre, and it received no fewer than 115 performances between its Prague premiere in 1867

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[77] Šourek, *Čert a Káča*, p. 39. For a more in-depth discussion of Berger's work, see Vladimír Vašut, 'Berger, Augustin', ed. by Selma Jeanne Cohen, *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[78] 'sotva dýchám'

[79] Derek P. McCormack, 'Geographies for Moving Bodies: Thinking, Dancing, Spaces', *Geography Compass*, 2.6 (2008), 1822–36 (p. 1826).

[80] Smaczny, 'Goethe and the Czechs', pp. 160–61.

and the theatre's closure in 1883.[81] (Only *The Bartered Bride* was performed more often, with 116 performances.)[82] *Čert a Káča* much resembles this tale, in which the demon Mephistopheles entices Faust into dancing with a woman, and which often features a village inn: for example, the first of Franz Liszt's *Mephisto Waltzes* (S. 514, 1859-62) is entitled 'The Dance in the Village Inn'. But although the opera's dances seem to recall this tale, they also imply that whereas Faust danced the woman out of the inn's door, Kate was so undesirable that the devil had to do it himself. Only in Hell does Jirka dance Kate through the door. In all these ways, the opera reflects humorously on the Faust tale, and in all these ways, its bodily mobilities assume new cultural significance.

The opera's inn also accommodates uncanny mobilities. Much as I argued about the second case study of Chapter Three, in other words, it creates an impression of having moved somewhere even when no mobility has occurred, and vice versa. The inn's most obviously uncanny effect derives from its resemblance to Hell. The set designs of the inn and Hell uncannily resemble one another in many productions, as I previously noted, and their uncanny resemblances are also suggested musically. For example, the main theme of the infernal dance in Hell derives from the bagpipe motif of the inn.[83] The dance is characterised by triplet dotted rhythms and a pastoral key (D^{-}), much like the first act, and it transforms the cyclical *Stimmung* of the inn scene into the endless, 'unintended repetition'

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[81] Smaczny, 'Grand Opera amongst the Czechs', p. 372.

[82] Smaczny, 'Goethe and the Czechs', p. 161; see also Jan Smaczny, *The Daily Repertoire of the Prague Provisional Theatre* (Prague: Miscellania Musicologica, 1994). This period overlapped heavily Dvořák's stint as a viola player at the theatre (1862-1871), and evidence for its influence on Dvořák can be found elsewhere in his oeuvre. For example, Smaczny has identified the opera's influence on Dvořák's *Vanda* (B.55, 1875): 'in temperament and treatment,' Smaczny notes, 'Dvořák's fourth-act victory march is close to the equivalent soldiers' march in Faust.' Smaczny, 'Grand Opera amongst the Czechs', p. 379.

[83] Šourek, *Čert a Káča*, pp. 29–30.

of the *unheimlich*.[84] The second act's uncanny qualities recall the goblin's lake in *Der Wassermann*, a paternal underworld whose social structures uncannily resembled the maternal overworld, and that Dvořák likewise expressed using a repetitive, (un)homely mood. The second act's uncanny qualities are underlined by the fact that the characters accessed Hell via a hole in the ground, which alludes to the uncanny motif of being buried alive, and which would have assumed new significance following a large mining accident in Příbram just seven years earlier.[85] Another uncanny effect in the inn relates to Marbuel. As a supernatural creature, he belongs firmly to the realm of 'dead bodies, necroanimism, reincarnation, magic, and spirits' that has long been associated with the uncanny.[86] Indeed, his entry into the inn is especially uncanny. From one perspective, it is incongruous with the rest of the scene. 'When Marbuel enters,' as Campo-Bowen has described,

> he is dressed as a hunter and thus marked as from a higher social class than the farmers in the tavern. His introductory theme outlines a fully diminished seventh chord on B, which resides a tritone away from the F-major world of Jirka and his peasant compatriots, and is moreover harmonically highly unstable […] Moreover, the fact that Marbuel's identifying chord itself is composed of two stacked tritones—the "diabolus in musica"—suggests that Dvořák may have been engaging in a little compositional in-joke.[87]

Yet from another perspective, Marbuel's entry is less incongruous than it initially seems, since it merely puts a new, uncanny complexion on the tonic key of the first act. After all, a constituent note of Marbuel's b^{o} entry chord is *f*, the tonal centre of the inn, which remains latent within Marbuel's entry chord even as it is suppressed.[88] Also uncanny, then, are the

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[84] On 'unintended repetition', see Freud, p. 149.

[85] On the uncanny connotations of being buried alive, see Freud, p. 150. For this information about the Březové Hory mine, I am grateful to an attendant in the minerals room of the National Museum, Prague.

[86] This quote is drawn from Cohn, 'Uncanny Resemblances', p. 287. By making this point, however, Cohn follows Freud (see above).

[87] Campo-Bowen, 'The Village Mode in Czech Opera', p. 197.

[88] On similar ideas in music, see Cohn, 'Uncanny Resemblances', pp. 317–20.

opera's social mobilities. They are facilitated by a devil who is an outsider to the inn, as the tonal features suggest, but who arguably belongs in the inn more than anyone else. Indeed, inns are surely where devils like Marbuel belong, and he drinks profusely throughout his appearance in the first act. He is summoned by someone who occupies a similarly liminal space, moreover, and who is both a member of the village but also an outsider. These features imbue the opera's social mobilities with an uncanny quality, akin to the revolutionary uncanny that Matthew Beaumont has identified in other *fin-de-siècle* culture. Via the chain of events that they set in motion, they end the serfdom not simply by making the village different, but by showing that the potential for difference (though unrealised) was always already immanent within the village setting.[89] In all three ways, then, the opera accommodates uncanny mobilities. The inn's uncanny qualities point to aspects of the opera's compositional devices, social context, and plot. Yet they also point to a utopian quality, which speaks to a broader trend of *fin-de-siècle* utopianism, and which further complicates our understanding of Dvořák's politics in the process.[90]

Thus, the inn accommodates imaginative, bodily, and uncanny mobilities. Always in transition, the inn does not simply offer continuity with the past. As somewhere for people to meet and dwell for a while, before moving on, the inn conveys a more progressive understanding of home than its memories may initially have led us to suspect. Constituted

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[89] On these ideas in the context of *fin-de-siècle* science fiction, see Matthew Beaumont, 'Red Sphinx: Mechanics of the Uncanny in "The Time Machine"', *Science Fiction Studies*, 33.2 (2006), 230–50 (pp. 230–33).

[90] On late nineteenth-century utopianism, see Matthew Beaumont, *Utopia Ltd.: Ideologies of Social Dreaming in England, 1870-1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), chap. 1. For a musicological perspective on similar ideas, see also Kevin C. Karnes, *A Kingdom Not of This World: Wagner, the Arts, and Utopian Visions in Fin-de-Siecle Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), chap. 1.

by patterns of mobility, which it authenticates rather than exiles or relativises, the inn invites us to reconcile the categories of home and mobility that (in various ways) I have held in a productive tension since Chapter One. As a critical exercise, then, to locate Dvořák's music at the inn need not amount to an ethnic slur, nor a designation of low aesthetic worth. Nor does it need to become another way of reclaiming his music's unitary Czechness, nor still a means of ghettoization. Rather, it can allow us to foreground the more hopeful, progressive, or even utopian aspects of his music, and to recover the marginal voices that prior scholarship has tended to devalue. If Dvořák's music can be located anywhere, then it is at the inn: a place of meeting, gathering, and instantiation. For to locate Dvořák's music at the inn is also to highlight its *dis*locations, and a belonging that is always transitory, provisional, and Other. However difficult scholars have found them to define, these aspects of Dvořák's music are not a shortcoming. Rather, they reveal the true potential of this research area, and the richness of a music that is perpetually caught in-between, often elsewhere, mobile to the end.

Conclusions

Dvořák died of unknown causes on 1st May 1904. He had spent the last month in bed, an incongruous end for someone whose life and music had been so persistently mobile. But following his death, he still had to complete a final journey—from his deathbed to his grave. A funeral procession was held four days later. From 10 Žitná street, where Dvořák had spent the last days of his life, his body was carried on a meandering route around Prague. The purpose of this journey was political as well as practical, serving to reaffirm Dvořák's nationalist status posthumously. Amongst the thousands of attendees were prominent members of the Czech political establishment, and the procession passed several places that were symbolically important for Czech national identity. It passed the National Theatre, for instance, where *Čert a Káča* had been premiered five years earlier, and which was an important site for the cultivation of Czech music more generally: as the procession passed, in fact, parts of Dvořák's own *Requiem* (B. 165, 1890) were played to attendees.[1]

[1] For an in-depth summary of Dvořák's death and funeral, see Ondřej Šupka, 'Death and Funeral', trans. by Karolina Hughes, *Antonin-Dvorak.Cz*, 2013 <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/life/death-and-burial/> [accessed 26 March 2024].

But of greatest symbolic importance was the cemetery itself, located at Vyšehrad. A former fort, Vyšehrad stands on a hill that overlooks Prague and the Vltava. A privileged site of Czechness, Vyšehrad was often understood to be the place where Prague was founded,[2] and for this reason it was the subject of Bedřich Smetana's first symphonic poem in *Má vlast* (T. 110, 1872-74). Indeed, Vyšehrad has since become the burial place of many prominent figures in Czech national culture, including Božena Němcová, Dvořák, and Smetana himself. Dvořák was buried in the northwest end of the cemetery at Vyšehrad, beneath the grand neo-renaissance arches that line the walls, guarded by an austere, frowning bust of his head by Ladislav Šaloun. His grave attests to his political status, and it offers support to a long tradition of nationalist historiography. But as this thesis has shown, these calcified accounts of his music tell only a partial story, since his music cannot be reduced to nationalism alone.

This thesis has used the category of mobility to enrich and complicate our understanding of Dvořák's music. It has argued that mobility (as a locus of discourse, meaning, and politics) is a recurring feature of Dvořák's music, and that his music's mobilities raise questions about power and identity which challenge more familiar, parochial accounts of this repertoire. In so doing, the thesis has addressed a range of symbols, figures, sites, and technologies of mobility. These include birds, 'Gypsies', trains, ships, and the village inn, which it has studied as literal features of musical expression, but which it has also used as productive metaphors, and as anecdotes that prompt more foundational questions about Dvořák's musical texts. Consequently, the thesis has also addressed what it might mean to mobilise this music. Rather than treating mobility solely as a feature of musical expression,

[2] For this insight, I am grateful to a guide at Vyšehrad.

it has addressed the benefits and risks of applying mobility as a critical category, and it has considered why, for whom, and to what ends we might want to perform an act of mobilisation.

By making this argument, the thesis has drawn upon a range of musical features. Firstly, it has referred to the poetic, literary, and folksong texts that Dvořák selected as a basis for composition. As many of the chapters have shown, these texts often depict people who are 'out of place', whether because they are displaced (as with the fugitives of 'Hostina' and 'Die Flucht', or the enchanted girl in *Der Wassermann*) or because they resist ostensibly normative patterns of dwelling (as with the Gypsy of the *Zigeunermelodien*). Secondly, the thesis has addressed Dvořák's compositional strategies, including representational devices like musical topics and exoticism. In many cases, as it has shown, Dvořák places these devices into dialogue with a broader set of generic and formal strategies, which would have been commonly understood in the nineteenth century, but which he often transforms in unexpected ways. Thirdly, it has shown how this music elicits nonrepresentational affects that produce a sense of 'being moved'. These affects destabilise our sense of listening or authorial subject position, in ways that (though they are no less meaningful) evoke a more radically mobile experience than poetic or representational strategies alone. They complicate our understanding of who is mobilising whom, in ways that are continually shifting and transitory, and that empower or disempower the listeners as much as they do the protagonists of Dvořák's musical texts. In all these ways, then, the thesis has used the category of mobility to enrich and complicate our understanding of Dvořák's music. It has reimagined a familiar but academically neglected musical repertoire, and it has expanded the range of approaches with which this music can be studied at all.

In so doing, my study has shown how Dvořák's music is entangled with a broader set of discourses, meanings, and politics surrounding mobility in the nineteenth century. It has placed Dvořák's musical texts into dialogue with their contexts, not for tautological purposes, but to show how each can shed light on the other. This strategy has allowed me to show that Dvořák's music is less conservative or nostalgic than we might initially have assumed. Though it was often opposed to modern life, there are many instances where it registers a more ambivalent or even positive relationship with modernity. This strategy has also allowed me to relegate familiar categories like nationalism and cosmopolitanism to a secondary status, and to locate Dvořák's music within a richer hermeneutic context. As such, this strategy invites us to consider whether we might also mobilise the work of other nineteenth-century composers, many of whom I have referenced over the course of my five chapters. It demonstrates how musicologists might contribute to broader discussions about human (and potentially non-human) mobilities, belonging, and power that will only become more important in the decades to come. As I have shown, Dvořák's music has much to offer these discussions, and it offers a cautionary tale about mobility's dangers. Yet it also points to mobility's pleasures, and ultimately, to hope.

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