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Between Nationalism, Transnationalism, and Cosmopolitanism in *Daniel Deronda's* Klesmer

VICTORIA C. ROSKAMS

ABSTRACT: The composer Julius Klesmer in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda,* 'a felicitous mix of the German, the Sclave, and the Semite', and a self-confessed 'Wandering Jew', embraces a mode of transnational living and working that challenges the English narrowness of Gwendolen Harleth at the same time as it complicates the novel's overall journey towards proto-Zionism through Mordecai and Daniel. In this paper, I show how central the figure of the composer is to the novel's negotiation of nationalism, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism. The novel's musical allusions, especially comparisons to specific historical composers, strengthen Klesmer's identity as, simultaneously, a representative of an array of Jewish musical talent and a proponent of cosmopolitanism which transcends national and racial boundaries. Moreover, Klesmer provides an intersectional counterpoint to the female Jewish musicians in the novel, exposing the allowances of the Zionist project – which I also consider in tandem with Eliot's essay 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!'.

KEYWORDS: George Eliot; Cosmopolitanism; Music History; Composers; Wagnerism; Judaism

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COMPOSERS, EVEN BEFORE the advent of recorded music at the end of the nineteenth century, might be the most transnational of artists. Across nineteenth-century Europe, writers of music travelled to conduct and perform. Even when they could not travel somewhere, their music could. Audiences who could not read the works of renowned European authors because of a language barrier, or who could not travel to the galleries of Paris and Florence to view paintings and sculptures, could nonetheless experience the music of Beethoven. It was Beethoven's music, primarily, which prompted writers to

talk about music as the ideal form for promoting universal humanism, traversing geopolitical and linguistic boundaries. It was the 'universal language'.[1] Yet paradoxically, Arthur Symons wrote that Beethoven's music 'becomes a universal language, and it does so without ceasing to speak German'.[2] From mid-century, claims that musical compositions could communicate national identity as recognisably as verbal languages gathered momentum, loosely constituting what is now termed musical nationalism. It is into this mixture of musical nationalism and transnationalism that George Eliot places her composer, Julius Klesmer, in *Daniel Deronda,* a novel concerned with the universal, communication, and difference.

Klesmer, 'a felicitous combination of the German, the Sclave, and the Semite', and a self-confessed 'Wandering Jew', embraces a mode of transnational living and working that challenges Gwendolen Harleth's English narrowness at the same time as it complicates the novel's overall journey towards proto-Zionism through Mordecai and Daniel.[3] While the nascent nationalism of the novel's other Jewish characters is mediated through Italian music and the fervour of the Risorgimento's precedent for socio-political unification, Klesmer's music – especially his original compositions – occupies a more ambiguous position. As a figure of mediation between racial identification and cosmopolitan indeterminacy, the composer is, I will conclude, most representative of the tensions of modernity as Eliot saw them in 1876, as she surveyed the globalising impulses of both culture and capitalism, and the expansionist imperialism of European countries in the name of nationalism. Through this admittedly marginal figure, Eliot encourages reflection on the problems of nationalism and cosmopolitanism more prominently embodied in the novel's protagonists.

In taking Klesmer as my focus for thinking about this negotiation in *Daniel Deronda*, I engage with and expand upon existing critical debates. Much has been written about the novel's exposition of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, yielding seemingly opposite interpretations as to its affirmation of a universal humanism or a narrowly defined particularism. Most have acknowledged that if Eliot condones

[1] For some instances, see Joseph Bennett, 'English Music in 1884', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 25 (1884), 324-326 (p. 324); H.R. Haweis, *Music and Morals* (New York: Harper, 1912), p. 105; George Bernard Shaw, *The Perfect Wagnerite* (Champaign, Ill: Project Gutenberg, 1998), p. 4.

[2] Arthur Symons, *Studies in Seven Arts* (London: A. Constable, 1907), p. 220.

[3] George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, ed. by Graham Handley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 41, 224.

cosmopolitanism, it is not without awareness of its complexities.[4] Particularly through Daniel's encounters with Gwendolen and Mirah, Eliot articulates a cosmopolitanism which does not merely assume commonalities between self and other, but is mindful of, and accepting towards, difference. By retaining this notion of difference, moreover, Eliot achieves a balance between cosmopolitanism and her support for Jewish separatism in Daniel's discovery of his heritage and eventual Zionist mission. This interpretation is drawn from Daniel's stated ethos of maintaining 'the balance of separateness and communication', whereby he will discard the traditional exclusivism of his Jewish ancestors, but give precedence to the Jewish community in all his doings.[5] Amanda Anderson therefore wrote, in her influential 2001 work, *The Powers of Distance*, that *Daniel Deronda* 'ruminates powerfully on the relation between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, promoting an ideal of Jewish nationalism informed by cosmopolitan aspiration'.[6] Thomas Albrecht has extended Anderson's argument (and applied to the novel that of Kwame Anthony Appiah in *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers,* 2006), suggesting that cosmopolitanism in *Daniel Deronda* accommodates both 'a universal obligation to all human beings regardless of citizenship or kinship' *and* 'a particular obligation to one's fellow citizens, neighbours, or kinfolk'.[7] Cosmopolitanism and nationalism need not be oppositional, since the latter demands 'cultivated partiality', which eschews the generalising tendencies of cosmopolitanism but retains its emphasis on 'dialogue, reason, and self-critique'.[8]

Aleksandar Stević, on the other hand, has argued that Eliot's endorsement of nationalism has been misinterpreted. He considers that critics have wished to 'dissociate the great Victorian moralist that was George Eliot from the charge of slipping into [a] narrow nationalist worldview' and have accordingly adapted her definition of

[4] This is, for example, Sophie Gilmartin's assessment in the section on 'nationalism' in the *Oxford Reader's Companion to George Eliot,* ed. by John Rignall, *The Complete Works of George Eliot,* 36 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), XXXIV, pp. 291-292; and in the dedicated articles and monographs discussed below.

[5] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 672.

[6] Amanda Anderson, *The Powers of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 119.

[7] Thomas Albrecht, '"The Balance of Separateness and Communication": Cosmopolitan Ethics in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*', *ELH*, 79 (2012), 389-416 (p. 389).

[8] Ibid., p. 395.

cosmopolitanism in counterintuitive and – as his title signals – 'convenient' ways.[9] Stević urges reading the novel alongside Eliot's last published work, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (1879), particularly the essay 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' (which I similarly consider vital to understanding Eliot's concerns in her final novel, although we must be attentive to her assumption of a character, Theophrastus Such, whose voice and opinions are not necessarily contiguous with the author's). For Stević, 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' elucidates Eliot's conviction, also palpable in *Daniel Deronda,* that national identity should remain unaltered by encounters with the other. Ultimately, I find Stević's summation of cosmopolitanism's lasting difficulties to be representative of Eliot's own perspective in this novel:

> While we continue to be drawn to cosmopolitanism as an ideological project invested in overcoming tribal loyalties and in celebrating the encounter with the other, we are also resistant to its universalizing logic which we often see as complicit with the hegemonic tendencies variously present in the intellectual legacy of the European Enlightenment and in contemporary global capitalism.[10]

However, there is a further position to which existing criticism has not given great attention, due to its predominating focus on central characters such as Daniel and Gwendolen: that of *trans*nationalism. While I do not argue that Eliot presents transnationalism as an idealised alternative to either nationalism or cosmopolitanism, such a mode of living is made patent in the novel, primarily through Klesmer. In the following, I show how the novel's musical allusions, especially comparisons to specific historical composers, position Klesmer as, simultaneously, an exemplary Jewish musician; a spokesman for German cultural superiority; and a proponent of cosmopolitanism which transcends national and racial boundaries. I distinguish between the *transnationalism* by which other characters, and at times Eliot's narration, perceive him (the 'trans' prefix suggesting movement across national boundaries), and the *cosmopolitanism* by which he identifies himself in his speech and music (a universalist stance that effaces national boundaries).

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[9] Aleksandar Stević, 'Convenient Cosmopolitanism: *Daniel Deronda,* Nationalism, and the Critics', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 45 (2017), 593-614 (p. 593).

[10] Ibid.

Transnationalism is less rooted in an ideology than nationalism or cosmopolitanism, having neither term's implications of a firm foundation for identity, but instead connoting an ever-changing state of being. It accommodates multiple identities, whether assumed willingly by the individual or imposed upon them by others in specific contexts. It is produced, in this novel, by assimilation and racial mixing, as well as the globalist nature of modern industry (in Klesmer's case, the music industry). What the wealth of existing critical debate about *Daniel Deronda*'s cosmopolitanism has made clear, more than anything, is that Eliot could not resolve the conflicts of 'universalizing logic', 'cultivated partiality', and 'cosmopolitan aspiration', especially in a novel validating the proto-Zionist claims of diasporic Jews.[11] Transnationalism appears not as a resolution of this conflict, but a likely alternative. As I argue, Klesmer's significance as a counterexample to Daniel's separatism depends importantly on the resonances of certain musical allusions, as well as the transnational potentialities of music in general.

This focus on Klesmer and his associated musical context is not new. Delia da Sousa Correa has focused comprehensively on his character in her chapter in John Rignall's *George Eliot and Europe* (1997), then continuing this discussion in her own *George Eliot, Music and Victorian Culture* (2003), where she covers his 'role as a critic of bourgeois British culture'; his various national connotations and connections to historical composers; the significance of his political zeal and composers' social status in this period; and his Hoffmannesque qualities.[12] He has received attention in studies by Beryl Gray, Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, and Ruth A. Solie, as well as shorter pieces by Allan Arkush and Gordon S. Haight.[13] Recently, da Sousa Correa has heralded the productive

[11] Stević, p. 593; Albrecht, p. 395; Anderson, p. 119.

[12] Delia da Sousa Correa, 'George Eliot and the Germanic "Musical Magus"', in *George Eliot and Europe,* ed. by John Rignall (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 98-112; Delia da Sousa Correa, *George Eliot, Music and Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 131-39.

[13] Beryl Gray, *George Eliot and Music* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989); Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs: Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2002); Ruth A. Solie, '"Tadpole Pleasures": *Daniel Deronda* as Music Historiography', in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations,* ed. by Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) (pp. 153-86); Allan Arkush, 'Relativizing Nationalism: The Role of Klesmer in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*', *Jewish Social Studies*, 3 (1997), 61-73; Gordon S. Haight considers Klesmer's possible real-life prototypes in 'George Eliot's Klesmer', in *George Eliot's*

approach of considering the novel's music through the lens of cosmopolitan studies in her chapter for the *Edinburgh Companion to Literature and Music* on, 'George Eliot, Schubert, and the Cosmopolitan Music of *Daniel Deronda*' (2020). Accordingly, this article builds on an already rich tradition of study of Eliot's musical allusions, especially in this most musical novel, as well as engaging the perhaps even richer debate as to the novel's endorsement of nationalism or cosmopolitanism. As da Sousa Correa's chapter makes clear, the study of nineteenth-century music history necessitates an approach which is mindful of transnational and cosmopolitan possibilities. By implementing this music-historical understanding, I contend, we can situate Klesmer as an intermediary between the novel's national and cosmopolitan attitudes. Klesmer is perceived as alternately transnational and cosmopolitan in his identity, and, as a composer, connotes the shifting metaphorical identification of music as particularised and universal. My reading emphasises Klesmer's importance (when contrasted with characters who are similarly Jewish and musical, but also female), for gauging the limitations of nationalism and cosmopolitanism for women, as well as highlighting Klesmer as representative of the complex ramifications of transnational and cosmopolitan livelihoods in the modern world. In contrast to existing readings of Klesmer, I assert that he does remain in England at the end of the novel, and that this remaining has wider implications for our understanding of the novel's separatism.[14] Rather than 'mov[ing] toward a conclusion in which alien races are removed from England', as in Susan Meyer's reading, I contend that the novel actively questions the terms on which Jewish people were accommodated in England, by way of contrast to the Zionist conclusion.[15] What has not been previously emphasised is that Klesmer's

Originals and Contemporaries: Essays in Victorian Literary History and Biography, ed. by Hugh Witemeyer (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 68-77.

[14] Several critics have interpreted Hans Meyrick's comment, in a letter to Daniel, that 'the Klesmers on the eve of departure have behaved magnificently' (p. 601), as indicating Klesmer and Catherine leave Britain for good. da Sousa Correa notes his 'magician-like appearances in and disappearances from the text', suggesting his fate is uncertain (*Victorian Culture*, p. 180). Given the appellatory associations of his name (*klezmer* refers in Yiddish to itinerant musicians), and a prior reference (p. 564) to his house in Grosvenor Place, I have interpreted this 'departure' as merely temporary.

[15] Susan Meyer, *Imperialism at Home: Race and Victorian Women's Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 195.

ambiguities are contiguous with the very ambiguities critics continue to identify in the novel.

Early in *Daniel Deronda,* a musical scene takes place which hints at the wide horizons the novel will later pursue. Nineteenth-century England was infamously perceived, within and without its borders, as a 'Land Without Music' which failed to produce world-class composers and musicians.[16] Instead of fostering native talent, it had a reputation as the ideal place for foreign musicians to make a fortune: earlier in the century, because English patrons were keen to display their wealth through employing musicians, and later in the century, because English cities were home to ever-expanding audiences and ever more performance venues. *Daniel Deronda* exemplifies the former instance: the Arrowpoints of Quetcham employ Klesmer under the assumption that 'to have a first-rate musician in your house is a privilege of wealth'.[17] Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote of England's foreign musicians as 'showy commodities, which they buy at great price for pride', and this suggestion of philistinism is extended in Eliot's novel in the scene in which Klesmer critiques a performance by Gwendolen Harleth.[18]

The composer deems Gwendolen's Bellini aria 'a form of melody which expresses a puerile state of culture – a dandling, canting, seesaw kind of stuff – the passion and thought of people without any breadth of horizon'.[19] Ostensibly a comment on the Italian culture that breeds such music, this criticism by association addresses the limitations of British tastes. Moreover, the comment calls upon Gwendolen to broaden her own horizons. Klesmer's piano-playing imbues her with the 'sense of the universal' lacking in her own music:

[16] The phrase 'Land Without Music' was coined by Oskar Schmitz in a 1914 travelogue, *Das Land ohne Musik*, but the concept was prevalent in music journalism and music historiographies in the late nineteenth century; see Bennett Zon, 'Music History', in *Evolution and Victorian Musical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 226-59. See also Jürgen Schaarwächter, 'Chasing a Myth and a Legend: "The British Musical Renaissance" in a "Land without Music"', *The Musical Times*, 149 (2008), 53-60.

[17] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 220.

[18] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *English Traits* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1856), p. 251, n1.

[19] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 43.

> In spite of her wounded egoism, [she] had fullness of nature enough to feel the power of this playing, and it gradually turned her inward sob of mortification into an excitement which lifted her for the moment into a desperate indifference about her own doings.[20]

From his first appearance in the novel, Klesmer connotes universality. Like the 'universal language' he uses when he plays music, he encourages a broad outlook not limited by nationality. Repeatedly, he is associated with largeness of space and an all-encompassing humanism: his 'personality, especially his way of glancing around him, immediately suggest[s] vast areas and a multitudinous audience'.[21] His outlook will later be problematised when set against the narrower, yet fulfilling, potentialities of Jewish nationalism. The 'breadth of horizon' encouraged by Klesmer not only traverses national boundaries (transnational) but nullifies them (cosmopolitan), and I will later explore how Eliot shows that diasporic Jews may be disadvantaged by this tendency.

Klesmer's 'role as a critic of bourgeois British culture' is predicated on his specifically representing German musical culture.[22] As Symons wrote, classical music was dualistically considered both universal and discernibly German. The critical and aesthetic lexicon around music was honed in Germany in the early decades of the nineteenth century, notably in the work of E.T.A Hoffmann (whose fictional composer Johannes Kreisler influenced the characterisation not only of Klesmer, but of several nineteenth-century composers both real and fictional), and innovated in the journalism of Robert Schumann and Richard Wagner.[23] These composer-authors were both associated with the New German School, which advocated *Zukunftsmusik* or the Music of the Future, and fuelled a 'controversy between the declamatory and melodic schools of music', as Eliot herself wrote in an 1855 article, 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar'.[24] These 'schools' were represented on the whole by, respectively, German and Italian music. As Eliot's terms imply, Italian music was denigrated for over-reliance on beguiling *bel canto* melodies and spectacle, while German music – especially the Music of the Future

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., p. 450.

[22] da Sousa Correa, *Victorian Culture*, p. 131.

[23] See R. Murray Schafer, *E.T.A. Hoffmann and Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).

[24] George Eliot, 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar', in *Selected Critical Writings,* ed. by Rosemary Ashton, *The Complete Works of George Eliot,* 36 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), XVII, p. 85.

spearheaded by Wagner – was said to be based on firmer aesthetic ideals, prizing harmonic, rhythmic, structural, and formal innovation. Rather than mere spectacle for spectacle's sake, Wagner aimed for a synthesis of words, music, and staging, or *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art).[25]

This controversy finds its way into *Daniel Deronda*'s drawing-room scene. Klesmer's criticism of Bellini, as mentioned, addresses the limitations of Italian operatic conventions, at a time in which the preference for pure melody was being reassessed through an evolutionist lens as indicative of a lower stage of civilization.[26] In associating the Bellini aria with a 'puerile state of culture', Klesmer signals his allegiance to the New German School, progressivism, and Wagnerism, an allegiance Eliot reinforces through her description of his playing. His music suggests Wagner both in length – 'a four-handed piece on two pianos which convinced the company in general that it was long' – and unintelligibility: 'an extensive commentary on some melodic ideas not too grossly evident'.[27] The 'melodic idea', rather than melody pure and simple, recalls the more theoretical emphasis of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The narratorial voice espouses the bias of Klesmer – or more generally the New German School – by terming his melodic ideas 'not *too grossly* evident', in clear contrast to the 'canting' obviousness of Gwendolen's Italian melodies.[28] Klesmer's disciplining of Gwendolen in this scene marks the imposition of a recognisable Germanness, as the narrator interjects, referring to the Franco-Prussian war of 1871: 'Was there ever so unexpected an assertion of superiority? at least before the late Teutonic conquests?'[29] Klesmer is the novel's prime representative of the German culture in which Eliot and G.H. Lewes had been immersed during their visit of 1854, during which they notably met another proponent of the New German School – Franz Liszt, then employed as Kapellmeister in Weimar.[30]

[25] For more on Wagner's aesthetic theories, see James Treadwell, 'The Urge to Communicate: The Prose Writings as Theory and Practice', in *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner,* ed. by Thomas S. Grey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 177-91.

[26] See Solie, pp. 153-86.

[27] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, pp. 41, 43.

[28] Ibid., p. 43 (my emphasis).

[29] Ibid., p. 42.

[30] See Gerlinde Röder-Bolton, *George Eliot in Germany, 1854-55: 'Cherished Memories'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Yet at the same time, the scene reveals Klesmer's transnationalism in the eyes of the gathered English characters, who freely adjust their perception of his nationality based on their feeling towards him. Though we are told that 'his English had little foreignness except its fluency', when he disparages Gwendolen's song choice, he 'suddenly speak[s] in an odious German fashion with staccato endings, quite unobservable in him before, and apparently depending on a change of mood'.[31] Eliot's omniscient but shifting narration allows that the 'change of mood' may in fact come from Gwendolen herself: for her, Klesmer assumes 'odious' Germanness when criticising her on musical grounds. To be musically superior, then, is to be German. Yet later, Klesmer clashes with Mr Bult who, with his 'general solidity and suffusive pinkness of a healthy Briton' and 'strong opinions concerning the districts of the Niger', metonymically represents national imperial values. Subsequently, Klesmer 'suddenly mak[es] a mysterious wind-like rush backwards and forwards on the piano', of which 'Mr Bult felt this buffoonery rather offensive and Polish'.[32] Now, Eliot's shifting narrative consciousness identifies Klesmer's musical otherness as Polish (though Bult cannot be too sure whether he is 'a Pole, or a Czech, or something of that fermenting sort').[33] Moreover, when Bult labels him a 'Panslavist', Klesmer smilingly asserts that he is in fact 'the Wandering Jew', countering attempts to discern his national allegiance by referring instead to this mythological figure of liminality (further discussed below).[34] Klesmer's transnational identifications, like his 'wind-like' movements at the piano, throw into relief the 'general solidity' of Britishness. As Andrew Thompson describes, 'the English, with their increasingly insular discourse and the prejudices, misconceptions and arrogance to which this gives rise, are repeatedly exposed and condemned for their separateness without communication'.[35] Both Klesmer's intimidating Germanness and his mutable transnationalism, then, expose English cultural shortcomings. His musicality analogises his ability to move between national identities: in both instances cited here, his chastising of Gwendolen and his argument with Bult, his transnationalism occurs in

[31] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, pp. 41-42.

[32] Ibid., p. 224.

[33] Ibid., p. 223.

[34] Ibid., p. 224.

[35] Andrew Thompson, *George Eliot and Italy: Literary, Cultural and Political Influences from Dante to the Risorgimento* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 182.

conjunction with a display of musical ability. By this logic, therefore, British musical inferiority bespeaks the nation's staid insularity.

As critics have pointed out, Eliot was not as sympathetic to Wagnerism as was her fictional composer, and there is some irony in the depiction of his music whose melodies are 'not too grossly evident'. In 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar', although Eliot provides one of the earliest English-language defences of Wagner, she also expresses ambivalence towards *Zukunftsmusik*, continuing to prefer melody even if it is 'only a transitory phase of music', representative of 'tadpole pleasures' or a lower evolutionary stage than that attained in German music.[36] Her partner Lewes, too, later wrote: 'the Music of the future is not for us – Schubert, Beethoven, Mozart, Gluck, or even Verdi – but not Wagner – is what we are made to respond to'.[37] *Daniel Deronda*'s music on the whole balances progressive German music against ostensibly conservative, even atavistic, Italian music; two poles represented in this early scene by Klesmer and Gwendolen.

Yet as the novel continues, Eliot reassesses this perception of Italian music and applies it incisively to the Jewish narrative. Through Mirah's performances of Rossini, as well as Schubert, Beethoven, and the fictional composer Leo (who sets music to Leopardi's 'O patria mia'), Eliot suggests the significance of both Germany and Italy to her narrative. Both, after all, were countries which had unified not long before the publication of *Daniel Deronda*, though Italy's quest for unification was generally viewed more positively in Britain than Germany's.[38] Critics have suggested that Risorgimento revolutionaries such as Giuseppe Mazzini inspired the characterization of Deronda, who aims to unify a Jewish nation.[39] 'Mirah and Daniel's singing', writes Thompson,

> Of settings of Italian texts is part of a more sustained association of Jewish characters with Italy and its culture, in what amounts to a deliberate and carefully

[36] Solie, pp. 164-65 and da Sousa Correa, *Victorian Culture,* p. 134; Eliot, 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar', p. 87.

[37] Quoted in Introduction to 'Armgart', in *The Complete Shorter Poetry of George Eliot, Volume 1,* ed. by Antonie Gerard van den Broek, *The Complete Works of George Eliot,* 36 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), XXXV, p. 89.

[38] As Thompson discusses, Eliot's creation of the Viennese Leo, who sets texts by Leopardi, synthesises German and Italian revolutionary associations; see Thompson, p. 169.

[39] Thompson, p. 173; Solie, p. 179.

> calculated hermeneutic strategy whereby the Jewish part of the novel is often mediated through Italian cultural references.[40]

Through Italian culture, more familiar to Christian English readers than Jewish culture, the reader is brought to an understanding of the 'Jewish yearning for a national identity' which motivates Mordecai, Mirah, and Daniel.[41] Thompson remarks that even Klesmer is at one point identified with Italy, wearing 'a Florentine *berretta*' which calls to mind Leonardo da Vinci.[42]

Italian art and music provide a continual point of reference for Jewish characters, who are, by the novel's end, imagined as emulating the triumphs of Italian revolutionary nationalism. When Daniel visits the synagogue in Frankfurt, the chanted liturgy becomes a 'coherent strain' through comparison to 'the effect of an Allegri's *Miserere* or a Palestrina's *Magnificat*'.[43] As Beryl Gray observes, music here 'indicate[s] the kinship (and thus the possibility of future reconciliation) between Hebrew and Christian', by the use of 'the more accessible compositions' of these Renaissance composers.[44] Through Italian culture, specifically the Risorgimento, Eliot imagines a 'moral humanist, though essentially depoliticized, vision of the possibility of a Jewish nationalism', which she is careful to distinguish from 'the aggressive nationalism and arrogant imperialism which [she] saw emerging in Britain and Europe in the 1870s'.[45] Two very different nationalisms thus coexist in *Daniel Deronda:* expansionist British nationalism, with its insularity, philistinism, and violence; and Jewish nationalism, validated by a shared history and culture.[46] Eliot's composer exposes the accommodations and limitations of both

[40] Thompson, p. 171.

[41] Ibid.

[42]Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 92.

[43] Ibid., p. 339.

[44] Beryl Gray, 'Music', in *Oxford Reader's Companion to George Eliot,* ed. by John Rignall, *The Complete Works of George Eliot,* 36 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), XXXIV, p. 284.

[45] Thompson, p. 181.

[46] The relationship between Gwendolen and Grandcourt has been compellingly read as a microcosmic representation of British colonialist violence; see Kathleen R. Slaugh-Sanford, 'The Other Woman: Lydia Glasher and the Disruption of English Racial Identity in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*', *Studies in the Novel*, 41 (2009), 401-17.

nationalisms: like music, he fluctuates multivalently between national, transnational, and cosmopolitan meaning.

Eliot's introduction of Klesmer as 'a *felicitous* combination of the German, the Sclave, and the Semite' suggests that the composer comfortably identifies with multiple national and racial identities at once.[47] For all that the English characters associate him with Germany, his own statements, his music, and moreover the real composers with whom he is compared, encourage a more cosmopolitan view. Considering Klesmer from a music-historical angle clarifies Eliot's assessment that Klesmer's personality suggests 'vast areas and a multitudinous audience', after which she notes: 'we all of us carry on our thinking in some habitual *locus* where there is a presence of other souls, and those who take in a larger sweep than their neighbours are apt to seem mightily vain and affected'.[48] This ambivalent assessment of a cosmopolitan worldview – one which discards local allegiances in favour of the 'multitudinous audience' of mankind as a whole – is extended in the novel's musical allusions which have a similarly broad scope. Even to be Wagnerian is not necessarily to be strictly German. Although the composer dubbed himself the 'most German of all [...] the German spirit', the *Gesamtkunstwerk, Zukunftsmusik,* and the composer's distinctive aesthetic had a pan-European reach, as Alex Ross explores in *Wagnerism: Art and Politics in the Shadow of Music* (with chapters on French, Celtic, and Russian Wagnerites).[49] Likewise, Klesmer's music accommodates a range of (inter)national interpretations. The title of his fantasia, *Freudvoll, Leidvoll, Gedankenvoll*, refers to words by Goethe, most famously set by Beethoven in his *Egmont,* Op. 84 – a consummately German combination. Yet the words were also set by three other composers, to all of whom Klesmer is compared within and without the novel: Schubert, Liszt (Klesmer is "not yet a Liszt"), and Rubinstein (to whom Lewes referred in his diary by the name 'Klesmer').[50] Alongside the

[47] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 43 (my emphasis).

[48] Ibid., p. 450.

[49] Richard Wagner, *Das braune Buch: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1865 bis 1882*, ed. by J. Bergfeld (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1975), p. 86; Alex Ross, *Wagnerism: Art and Politics in the Shadow of Music* (London: 4th Estate, 2020).

[50] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 220; For an exploration of Schubert's inclusion in the cosmopolitan milieus of Eliot's London, see Delia da Sousa Correa, 'George Eliot, Schubert, and the Cosmopolitan Music of *Daniel Deronda*', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Literature and Music,* ed. by da Sousa Correa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 437-46; for Rubinstein as Klesmer, see *The George*

Germanness conveyed in the fantasia's title, Liszt and Rubinstein suggest a rootless cosmopolitanism which the latter identified with his Jewishness: 'To the Jews I am a Christian. To the Christians – a Jew. To the Russians I am a German, and to the Germans – a Russian'.[51] Such pluralistic identification, resulting seemingly in nullification, suggests why Lewes saw Rubinstein as a real-life Klesmer, and indicates the inspiration behind Klesmer's (partially) tongue-in-cheek description of himself as 'the Wandering Jew'. This frequently pejorative appellation draws together the itinerant lifestyle of the musician with the national homelessness of nineteenth-century Jewish people.

Although itinerancy is akin to vagrancy in the eyes of the novel's English characters – Mrs Arrowpoint suspiciously terms Klesmer 'a gypsy, a Jew, a mere bubble of the earth' – as David Conway points out, not everyone viewed the touring lifestyle negatively, especially within the Jewish community.[52] The nineteenth century marked the first time that Jewish musicians could fully participate in Western music, with the decline of aristocratic and clerical patronage and rise of a more democratic market. Within this market, the time-honoured 'need of the Jewish trader to travel widely, and to accommodate himself amongst the different societies he encountered', put Jewish musicians at an advantage.[53] Klesmer's self-appellation as 'the Wandering Jew' not only registers his awareness of the challenge his identity poses to the British characters, but could be considered a reclamation of the term in defence of a mode of living which eschews place-based identification. Eliot registers this by later mentioning Klesmer's home 'on the outskirts of Bohemia' – referring to the region then under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian empire – before referring additionally to the 'figurative Bohemia'.[54] In this period, the idea of a 'figurative Bohemia' drew together disparate transnational

Eliot Letters, ed. by Gordon S. Haight, 9 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954–78), IX, pp. 176-77.

[51] Anton Rubinstein, *Gedankenkorb;* quoted in James Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 15; For Liszt's more consciously assumed cosmopolitanism – or, by my definition here, transnationalism – see Joanne Cormac, 'Liszt, Language, and Identity', *19th-Century Music*, 36 (2013), pp. 231-47.

[52] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 229; David Conway*, Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 35.

[53] Conway, p. 35.

[54] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 450.

identities, particularly the 'gypsy' and 'Jew' labels given Klesmer by Mrs Arrowpoint.[55] Eliot's reference to Bohemia as both a geographic location and a mode of living reveals Klesmer's position at the intersection of national and transnational identities. Like its near-synonym 'cosmopolitan', the term 'Bohemian' might be considered inimical to the aims of nationalism, as it allows geographical and – contradictorily – metaphorical definitions to coexist, at the potential expense of the former.

One of the century's most prominent Jewish composers, Felix Mendelssohn, considered music the best form for surmounting the conflicts of his Jewish ethnicity and Protestant faith, as well as his German nationality and English sensibilities. Mendelssohn is perhaps, within existing scholarship, an under-acknowledged inspiration for Klesmer, who is generally discussed as a 'Lisztian-Wagnerian composer', although da Sousa Correa notes that Mendelssohn provides a model for Klesmer's 'stature as a musician and noble being'.[56] Catherine Arrowpoint defends Klesmer by claiming that he 'will rank with Schubert and Mendelssohn'.[57] Prior to this, describing the development of Catherine and Klesmer's relationship, the narrator calls him:

> One whom nature seemed to have first made generously and then to have added music as a dominant power using all the abundant rest, and, as in Mendelssohn, finding expression for itself not only in the highest finish of execution, but in that fervour of creative work and theoretic belief which pierces the whole future of a life with the light of congruous, devoted purpose.[58]

These allusions grant Klesmer validity through the treasured mid-Victorian values of 'work', 'belief', and 'purpose', and presage his end in the novel: devoting himself mainly to teaching, he becomes a 'patron and prince' who inhabits 'one of the large houses in Grosvenor Place'.[59] Yet Klesmer is not Anglicised. Rather, music permits him, like Mendelssohn, to hold a universalist position that pays little heed to geopolitical and linguistic distinctions. Mendelssohn's statement of music's unifying power, in contrast

[55] See *On Bohemia: The Code of the Self-Exiled,* ed. by César Graña and Marigay Graña (Milton: Taylor & Francis, 2017).

[56] Ross, p. 264; da Sousa Correa, 'Cosmopolitan Music', p. 455, n3.

[57] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 224.

[58] Ibid., p. 222.

[59] Ibid., p. 564.

to the divisive nature of language, captures Klesmer's ethos: 'Only melody can say the same thing, can arouse the same feelings in one person as in another, a feeling which may not be expressed, however, by the same words'.[60] Eliot's interest in Mendelssohn some five years before the composition of *Daniel Deronda* is documented. Reading his letters, she and Lewes identified 'an eminently pure, refined nature'.[61] Beyond the distinctly Protestant work ethic and morality imputed to him in Victorian England, the letters revealed Mendelssohn's aesthetic credo to Eliot, one which chimed with her own belief that the best music 'stirs all one's devout emotions, blends everything into harmony – makes one feel part of one whole [yet] loving the sense of a separate self'.[62]

Against a contextual background of burgeoning proto-Zionism soon to be fronted by Theodor Herzl, Klesmer's assimilatory ending provides an ambiguous alternative to Daniel and Mordecai's separatism. As Catherine says, Klesmer 'has cosmopolitan ideas' and 'looks forward to a fusion of races'.[63] Notably, these ideas recur, contentiously, in the discussion between the Jewish characters at the Hand and Banner. Within and without the Jewish community, cosmopolitanism was considered by many, whether positively or negatively, the default position of Jewish people. Fichte and Hegel, among others, had written earlier in the century about German Jews as alien to the nation because of essential ethnic and religious difference. Across Europe, for Hegel, the Jew 'always was and remained a foreigner'.[64] Wagner's resumption of this idea in 'Das Judentum in der Musik' in 1850 was infamous. As a composer for whom 'the connexion with [one's] natural soil, with the genuine spirit of the Folk' was essential to creating art, Wagner attacked German-Jewish composers for their cosmopolitan

[60] Letter of 15 October 1842, in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Briefe*, ed. by Rudolf Elvers, 4 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), II, pp. 337-38.

[61] *The George Eliot Letters,* ed. by Gordon S. Haight, 9 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954), V: *1869-1873*, p. 107.

[62] Journal entry, 14 April 1858, in Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 256; see also Colin Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[63] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 224.

[64] G.W.F. Hegel*, Early Theological Writings*, trans. by T. M. Knox (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948), p. 186.

music which failed to evince Germanness.[65] Despite the different standpoints of Wagner and Eliot, ultimately the Hand and Banner scene in *Daniel Deronda* establishes a similar mistrust towards Jewish cosmopolitanism, with Mordecai's conviction that 'the effect of our separateness will not be completed and have its highest transformation unless our race takes on again the character of a nationality'.[66] The uniquely communicative powers of music are discarded in favour of the oratorical nature of Mordecai's Zionism. He makes several lengthy speeches, and his tutelage of Daniel in Hebrew indicates that language, not music, will be the organising principle of Jewish nationalism.

Yet the very presence of Klesmer, who not only states an opposing view but literally embodies transnational principles as a touring musician, challenges the Zionist project and, moreover, constitutes Eliot's acknowledgement of the globalising realities of modernity. Reading the essay 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' alongside the novel, we find Eliot's cantankerous speaker, Theophrastus Such, advocating a recognition of difference over an all-effacing sameness. Lamenting Anglo-Jews' 'separateness which is made their reproach' *and* their 'cosmopolitan indifference equivalent to cynicism', Theophrastus urges that they should attain 'the consciousness of having a native country', 'that sense of special belonging which is the root of human virtues', by founding their own nation-state.[67] For Theophrastus, native consciousness cannot survive assimilation, conversion, or interracial marriage, as he suggests in alarmingly xenophobic terms: 'it is a calamity to the English, as to any other great historic people, to undergo a premature fusion with immigrants of alien blood'.[68] Theophrastus particularly desires 'to keep our rich and harmonious English undefiled by foreign accent'.[69] As in Herder before him, language is the founding element of the nation.

As Stević suggests, undergirding this essay is the Herderian principle that 'it is perhaps useful to familiarize oneself with [...] others, but it is equally important to keep

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[65] Richard Wagner, 'Judaism in Music' in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. by William Ashton Ellis, 8 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1894), III: *The Theatre*, pp. 79-100 (p. 89).

[66] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 496.

[67] George Eliot, 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!', in *Impressions of Theophrastus Such, The Complete Works of George Eliot,* 36 vols (London: Pickering, 1994), XI, pp. 143-165 (pp. 155-56).

[68] Eliot, 'Modern Hep!', p. 158.

[69] Ibid.; see Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, 'Language Philosophy as Language Ideology: John Locke and Johann Gottfried Herder', in *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities,* ed. by Paul V. Kroskrity (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), p. 182.

them at bay so as not to disturb what Herder calls "the centre of gravity" that every nation finds within itself'.[70] Rather than solely understanding this in the context of British national identity, however, it is important to remember that Theophrastus is also here writing about Jewish people, long denied a 'centre of gravity' due to their diasporic existence. Klesmer's belief in the 'fusion of races', his marriage to Catherine, and his music constitute, for Theophrastus and Mordecai alike, a dilution of Jewish racial identity as much as a threat to British identity. Although Eliot distances herself from 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' through the use of a speaker (Theophrastus), its separatist invective can be identified in *Daniel Deronda.* Both urge the preservation of Jewishness in the face of cosmopolitanism: the idea of transcending one's nationality was only an appealing, and realistic, prospect for those whose nationality was already well assured. For those communities which existed at the boundaries of nation and race, cosmopolitanism was more likely to lead to erasure.

However, the Zionist ending of *Daniel Deronda* and the rhetoric of 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' should be considered merely speculative. Klesmer is a portentous character. The 'fusion of races' he anticipates, as well as the global capitalism he represents as a professional musician, are admitted in the novel and essay to be inevitable. Pash's prediction, at the Hand and Banner, that 'with us in Europe the sentiment of nationality is destined to die out', is not entirely allayed by the renewed faith placed in Jewish nationality by the novel's ending.[71] Nor is Gideon's opinion that 'there's no reason now why we shouldn't melt gradually into the populations we live among. That's the order of the day in point of progress', dispelled.[72] Klesmer, who represents musical progress, also represents this projected national progress. Meyer writes that the novel 'symbolically enacts racial and nationalistic separation, sending the Jews, who are the novel's "dark race", out of England into Palestine', yet this fails to take account of both Klesmer and the first Cohen family encountered by Daniel.[73] This is not to suggest, equally, that either example proves the viability of 'separateness and communication' for Jews in Britain. The Cohen family is steeped in mercantilism, while Klesmer settles as a music teacher, a more professionalised post than that of the

[70] Stević, 'Convenient Cosmopolitanism', p. 598.

[71] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda,* p. 488.

[72]Ibid., p. 489.

[73] Meyer, p. 195.

composer. Last seen recommending Mirah to a 'charitable morning concert in a *wealthy* house', living in Belgravia, and sending Daniel and Mirah 'a perfect watch' as a wedding gift (the Cohen family also deals in watch repairs), Klesmer's remaining in Britain at the end of the novel suggests that the coexistence of Jews and non-Jews can only be fostered under the auspices of global capital.[74] There is even a prophetic suggestion of this in the detail, earlier in the novel, of 'Klesmer's outburst on the lack of idealism in English politics, which left all mutuality between distant races to be determined simply by the need of a market'.[75] Cannily predicting the eventual means of his settlement in Britain, the composer is a casualty of the onset of capitalist cosmopolitanism, summed up in Gideon's maxim, 'A man's country is where he's well off'.[76] As such, Eliot's novel – the only one of her novels set in her present – bears affinities with Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (which she was reading during the composition of *Daniel Deronda*): its tracing of developments in contemporary Britain is as important as its gesturing towards a Zionist future.[77]

As well as exposing the shortcomings of assimilation under capitalist cosmopolitanism, Klesmer's positioning as a male Jewish composer conversely reveals limitations within nationalist separatism. The 'supra-national' position Klesmer occupies as a composer makes him, for Allan Arkush,

> Neither a direct threat to the novel's Jewish nationalism nor a minor deviation from it but an ideal against which it may ultimately be measured. Klesmer's 'supra-nationalism' is, for George Eliot, an attainable ideal, one that can be reached even today by exceptional individuals.[78]

It is worth exploring who may be counted among these 'exceptional individuals'. Nearly all the novel's musicians are Jewish, yet at the same time music represents their means of breaking away from strictly racialised separatism: so why is Mirah's ending

[74] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda,* pp. 685, 753 (my emphasis).

[75] Ibid.*,* p. 223.

[76] Ibid.*,* p. 489.

[77] Eliot read *The Way We Live Now* in monthly instalments from February 1874; see Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion: "The Jewish Question" & English National Identity* (London: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 234-35.

[78] Arkush, pp. 62-63.

circumscribed by her race – as she accompanies Daniel to the East and gives up her singing – while Daniel's mother Alcharisi ends as 'a dreamed visitant from some region of departed mortals', whose embrace of cosmopolitanism has led to alienation?[79] Firstly, Eliot acknowledges that race and gender intersect in constricting ways. Klesmer's ability to 'rise above national divisions without sinking beneath humanity' owes not simply to his being, in Arkush's estimation, a 'rare individual', but also male.[80] As Anderson writes, 'femininity in its ideal form enacts and transmits the affective bounds of the community, from the level of the family to that of the nation', so that Mirah and Alcharisi embody, respectively, the successful and unsuccessful fulfilment of familial, national, and racial ties through their performance of gender.[81] Anderson reads Alcharisi as 'a hypermodern subject' who 'aligns herself with the transnational force of art and seeks to divorce herself entirely from the stifling confinement of a tradition-bound cultural heritage', and it is only her gender that distinguishes her from Klesmer in this sense.[82] In fact, Alcharisi's loss of her singing voice means that, by the time we encounter her, she has lost her alignment with the 'transnational force of art' and is defined instead by a more static, effacing cosmopolitanism. The more transnational Mirah, who has travelled extensively prior to the novel's narrative, first meets Daniel by a river, and switches with ease between Italian and German music, is – despite all this movement – always indubitably identified with Jewishness. Alcharisi is encountered in just one location – Genoa – away from the bustling merchant city, endlessly trying to act a role which evades her, and defined by 'suppressed' speech and gestures.[83] This indicates – as 'The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!' would later confirm – Eliot's much darker view of cosmopolitanism, but neither a transnational nor cosmopolitan lifestyle ultimately coexists with musicianship for the novel's female Jewish characters. Klesmer's fulfilment of *both* transnational and cosmopolitan identities is a marker of his privilege as a male composer rather than a female performer.

Allusions to the real context of the fictional Klesmer's music-making further validate his pluralism. As I noted in exploring the national resonances of his music,

[79] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda,* p. 621.

[80] Arkush, p. 68.

[81] Anderson, p. 139.

[82] Ibid., pp. 139-40.

[83] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 646.

Klesmer is – somewhat ironically, given Wagner's anti-Semitism, as Solie points out – associated with Wagnerism: 'By adding a Semitic strain to Klesmer's mix, [Eliot] claims modernist musical practice for Jewish composers'.[84] This modernist musical practice was, as I have noted, both pan-European and nationally specific, depending on the intent of the composer. It suited nationalist composers such as Smetana and Dvořák at the same time as inspiring the work of Liszt and Mahler, more usually associated with cosmopolitanism.[85] Unlike Mirah, whose performances always express her racial and familial belonging, Klesmer – especially in *Freudvoll, Leidvoll, Gedankenvoll* – invokes nationalism but avoids committing himself to its overall project. Moreover, Klesmer's performances are instrumental rather than vocal. In Alcharisi, who 'acted as well as [she] sang', with her 'low melodious voice', we encounter a corruption of the musical vocality often celebrated by Eliot.[86] Alcharisi is an erstwhile opera singer whose remaining musicality is now solely concentrated on acting and spectacle, far removed from Dorothea Brooke's truly communicative 'voice of deep-souled womanhood' in *Middlemarch*.[87] Deronda perceives a 'subtle movement in her eyes and closed lips which is like the suppressed continuation of speech', and both interviews with her son are characterised by 'confessional coloratura' or a compulsive need to speak, but a failure to communicate.[88] Mirah and Alcharisi, as women and singers, contend with the suspicion of mere performativity commonly attributed to Jewish musicians, while Klesmer's music-making is permitted through its avoidance of spectacle and alignment with *Zukunftsmusik*. The 'homogeneous cosmopolitan ideal' represented by Klesmer not only 'complements the more specifically Jewish identities in the novel', as da Sousa Correa suggests, but forces a reassessment of the accommodations and limitations

[84] Solie, p. 169.

[85] See Marta Ottlová, Milan Pospíšil and John Tyrrell, 'Bedřich Smetana', *Grove Music Online,* <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-3000000151> [accessed 16 March 2021]; John Clapham, *Dvořák* (New York: Norton, 1979), p. 17.

[86] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda,* pp. 583-84.

[87] Ibid.; George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, in *The Complete Works of George Eliot,* ed. by David Carroll, 36 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), VI, p. 579.

[88] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda,* p. 583; Rosemarie Bodenheimer, *The Real Life of Mary Ann Evans: George Eliot, Her Letters, and Fiction* (London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 185.

inherent in both cosmopolitan ideals and specifically Jewish identities.[89] Through a mapping of Jewish musicality oriented around Klesmer (Mirah, like him, claims her Jewish identity, while Alcharisi, like him, claims a cosmopolitan identity) Eliot encourages reflection on the place of women in nationalist and cosmopolitan ideologies.

Ultimately, Klesmer is a focal point for understanding *Daniel Deronda* as Eliot's own version of *The Way We Live Now*. Although it has frequently been read as a visionary novel, *Daniel Deronda* is rooted in its contemporary context, addressing, like Trollope's novel, the twin threats to the modern state: capitalism and cosmopolitanism. Despite the ostensible success Klesmer makes of a cosmopolitan lifestyle, juxtaposing him with the novel's other characters reveals Eliot's concerns about uninhibited adoption of cosmopolitanism. It is Klesmer who first encourages Gwendolen to discover a 'sense of the universal', and a scene between Gwendolen and Daniel at the novel's end indicates the shortcomings of this worldview. After learning that Daniel is a Jew, Gwendolen responds, 'What difference need that have made?', Daniel points out, 'emphatically', 'It has made a great difference to me that I have known it'.[90] Gwendolen's newly acquired universalism now threateningly effaces the Jewish identity Daniel has discovered. In miniature, this scene dramatizes the interaction of Jewish nationalism and cosmopolitanism in the late nineteenth century. Eliot perceives that the growing trend towards cosmopolitanism will most endanger communities whose identities have been continually under threat of absorption or erasure. Into this dynamic, Eliot inserts a further concern that the accommodation of Jews in Britain is underscored by mercantilism rather than culture, even for those ostensibly elevated above commercial concerns, such as composers.

As a figure who profits through his art and is thus enabled to move from country to country, and communicating in a 'universal language', the composer is integral to the globalising processes Eliot exposes, and connotes their imminency. Allusions to real composers in relation to Klesmer have a distinct focus on futurity: he '*will* rank with Schubert and Mendelssohn', and is 'not *yet* a Liszt'.[91] As da Sousa Correa demonstrates, composers are 'those whose destiny it is to shape the future', a future with, as these

[89] da Sousa Correa, *Victorian Culture*, p. 171.

[90] Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, p. 746.

[91] Ibid., pp. 224, 220 (my emphasis).

specific composers connote, a distinctly cosmopolitan flavour.[92] In this future, Jewish people are integrated into British society on capitalist grounds, while the place of women in both nationalist and cosmopolitan ideologies is highly circumscribed. Klesmer's difficulty as a character rests on his resistance to incorporation within a distinct ideology, wavering between transnational identifications and seeming endorsement of cosmopolitanism.[93] The composer is crucially representative of the ideologically uncertain future (national, racial, cultural, economic) that Eliot's novel anticipates. A successfully transnational figure who encourages universalist thinking and advocates for the propagation of culture, yet also one whose success is predicated on masculinist, nationalist, and capitalist norms, Klesmer represents *Daniel Deronda*'s idealism and its concessions to reality. On one hand, Klesmer's is an aspirational model of relationality, balancing identification and transcendence. On the other, he reveals the complex intersections of different nationalisms and nebulous definitions of cosmopolitanism, and his dualism bespeaks Eliot's ultimate inability to resolve these issues – a struggle to which the continued critical debate testifies.

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BIOGRAPHY: Victoria C. Roskams is a DPhil candidate at Mansfield College, University of Oxford. Her thesis considers the representation and significance of the figure of the composer in nineteenth-century Anglophone novels including George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* and George du Maurier's *Trilby,* with supplementary material from across Europe. The thesis traces the development of this curious literary figure from Romantic to fin-de-siècle literature. Her work is interdisciplinary, combining literary criticism with musicology, and employing an understanding of music both as an aesthetic force within the novel and as a cultural-historical context interacting with the novel's production.

CONTACT: victoria.roskams@mansfield.ox.ac.uk

[92] da Sousa Correa, 'Cosmopolitan Music', pp. 442.

[93] Klesmer has been read as morally ambiguous by, e.g., da Sousa Correa (*Victorian Culture*, p. 178).