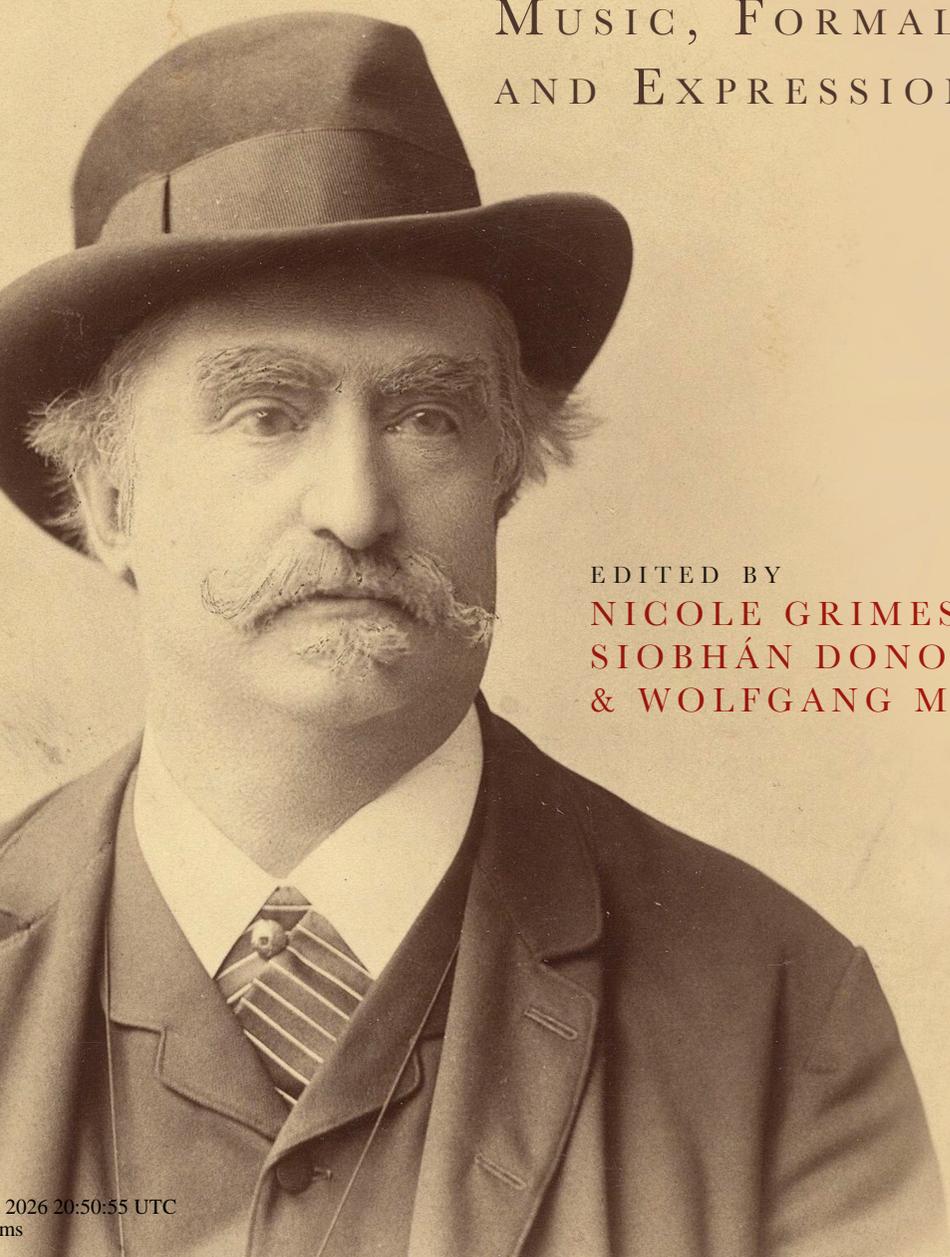

RETHINKING HANSLICK

MUSIC, FORMALISM,
AND EXPRESSION

EDITED BY
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Rethinking Hanslick



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Chapter Six

Waltzing around the Musically Beautiful

Listening and Dancing in Hanslick's Hierarchy of Musical Perception

Chantal Frankenbach

Hanslick's 1854 treatise *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* entered the canon of musical aesthetics as an essentially negative formulation of musical beauty, claiming more what beautiful music *is not* than what it *is*. Thus, in order to demonstrate what he could not clearly posit in terms of pure sound, Hanslick employed a theory of musical perception as a more substantive criterion of judgment, drawing on various manifestations of listening to describe the *effects* of musical beauty. This approach led Hanslick to examine the incompetent musical listener as thoroughly as he did the competent listener, the true disciple of the beautiful. As Nicholas Cook puts it, Hanslick's aesthetics was, more than anything else, "a polemic against what he saw as the inadequate manner in which most people listen to music."¹ Taking his place among a series of critics who discuss the listener's responsibility for musical meaning, Hanslick proposed a hierarchy of listening types that contrasts the intellectual nature of "true listening" with a less admirable, "pathological" type of listening.² He refers to the primitive elements of music—sound and motion—as "elemental," and further brands listeners who are satisfied with a merely sensual relationship to these elements as "enthusiasts." Their sensitivity is the direct opposite of rational, pure contemplation, "which alone is the true and artistic method of listening."³ Offering a model of perception that required educated, attentive listening, Hanslick's treatise contributed to a standard for musical experience that upholds—even to the present—a uniquely suspicious attitude toward human movement.

Although the carefully observed immobility of Western concert audiences is now accepted as axiomatic to “serious” musical understanding, its emergence out of the dance-infused traditions of baroque and classical music bears investigation.⁴ Hanslick’s treatise expresses a nearly uniform disapproval of dance, yet many of his reviews and essays written for the press bring more conflicted opinions to light; here Hanslick often expresses genuine affection for the waltz, both as a musical tradition and as a vibrant element of Viennese social life. In this essay, I examine Hanslick’s writing on dance music to assess his view of dance as an impediment to musical listening.⁵

In nineteenth-century Vienna, the waltz was a beloved pastime that formed a potent counterpoint to the emerging standard of immobility required in the theater or concert room. Several caricatures from the Viennese press illustrate the tension between dancing and seated listening among the audiences of Johann Strauss Jr. The first is a comic depiction of the Viennese audience’s incapacity to sit quietly through an operetta in the presence of Strauss’s music (see fig. 6.1).

Another image appearing seven years later declares that Strauss, as a member of a fictional “rescue squad,” will not be called to save people from fire or flood, but from a far worse fate in the theater. “For example in the Theater an der Wien, when a very boring piece has been played . . . he must rush to the orchestra, reach for his baton, begin a waltz, and then play his repertoire until ten. Everything comes alive, everyone cheers, they push the chairs aside to dance and when they leave, they shout out: We have never been so entertained!” (see fig. 6.2) The extreme postures of cramped stillness (and drooping inattention in the boxes) during an operetta, compared with the physical exuberance of dancing, amply demonstrate this audience’s preference for waltzing over listening. Figure 6.3, which compares Strauss Sr. in the ballroom with his son in the theater, further suggests that the restriction of movement in the theater was broadly felt—even among the educated elite—as a betrayal of the Viennese love for dancing. The words *piano* and *moderato* written on the subdued Strauss’s score in the second image contrast soberly with the flying tails and broken fiddle strings of the first. In addition to the musicians, the “listeners” in the background—waltzing in the first image, sitting (and leaving) in the other—tell a tale of longing for physical engagement regardless of venue, genre, or class.⁶

Because the waltz was popular among all strata of Viennese society, its practice threw a wrench in Hanslick’s hierarchy of listening types, which linked the musical elite with cerebral listening and the lay listener with movement.⁷ In the Viennese ballroom physical engagement with music crossed barriers of both class and education, proving especially resistant to the paradigm of intellectual musical enjoyment favored by Hanslick. Charlotte Moscheles, wife of the famous composer and pianist Ignatz Moscheles, writes in 1873 that the effect of Strauss’s music was not easy to suppress and persisted even among seated concert listeners:

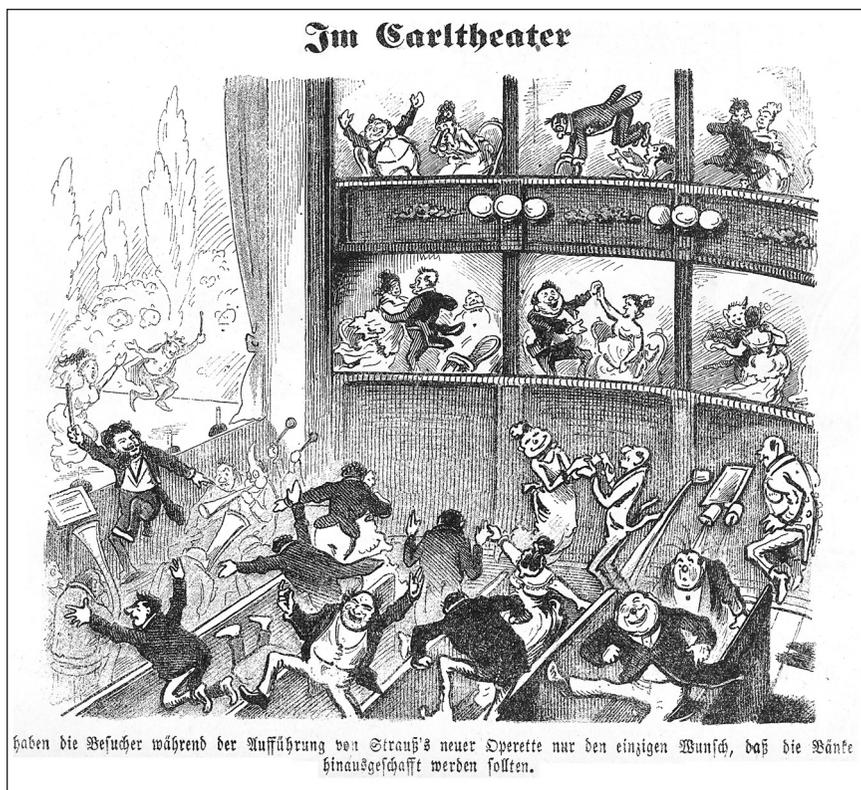


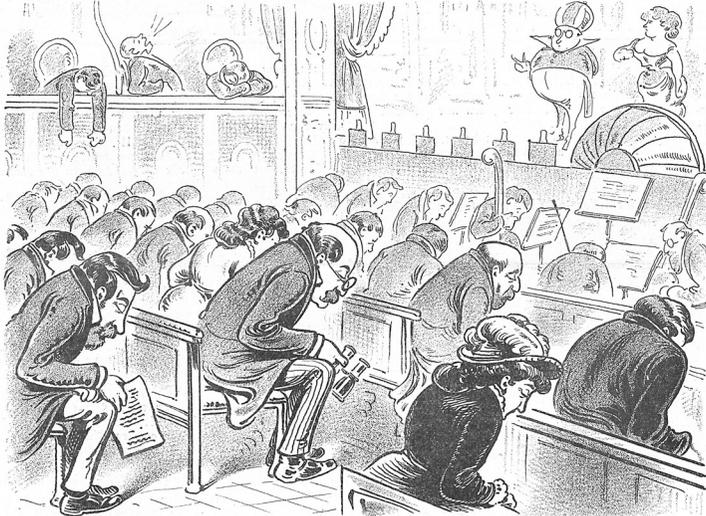
Figure 6.1. *Kikeriki*, January 7, 1877. “In the Carltheater, the audience, during the performance of Strauss’s new Operetta, has only a single wish: that the seats be moved out of the way.” Reproduced with permission from the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, W. E. B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Where he fiddles, all dance—dance they must. In the concerts which he gives with his small orchestra, people dance as they sit; at Almack’s, the most fashionable of all the subscription balls, aristocratical [*sic*] little feet hop to his tunes, and we too the other night at a party had the good fortune to dance to his fiddling, and, old married folk as we are, felt ourselves young again.⁸

It is to be expected that dance music would induce many listeners to dance in a ballroom, yet critics offer further evidence of this broadly felt impulse among theater and concert audiences as well. From a review of Strauss Sr.’s concert tour to Leipzig in 1834, we learn that his audiences were deeply susceptible to the physical pull of his music: “Voices were raised from those who felt that with Strauss’s departure they saw the disappearance of the highest

Johann Strauß erhielt anlässlich seines 40jährigen Jubiläums neben zahllosen anderen Auszeichnungen auch das Diplom eines Ehrenmitgliedes vom Lebensrettungs-Verein.

Nun, mit dem Retten von Menschen aus Feuer- oder Wassergefahr wird sich der nervöse, schwächliche Komponist wohl nicht befassen, aber in anderer Beziehung kann er doch im Sinne des Rettungsvereines arbeiten;



so zum Beispiel im Theater an der Wien, wenn wieder einmal ein recht langweiliges Stück gegeben wird, welches schon durch seinen Akt das gesammte Publikum einschläfert,



da soll er als Rettender Hinfinkende erheben, indem er in's Orchester eilt, den Taktirhod ergreift, einen Walzer dirigirt und dann bis 10 Uze sein Repertoire abspielt und Alles wird, erwacht, jubelt, zum Leben erweckt sein, die Sperrreih' wegräumen, so tanzen anfangen und beim Fortgehen ausrufen: „So hab'n wir uns noch nie unterhalten!“

Figure 6.2. *Kikeriki*, October 23, 1884. Reproduced with permission from the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, W. E. B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts Amherst.



Figure 6.3. *Kikeriki*, January 5, 1879. “While Strauss Sr. found satisfaction and happiness in charming the Viennese people with native melodies, his son is convinced that the Viennese idiom should be denied. He seeks refinement in an operetta which reminds the Viennese of anything but their wonderful homeland.” Reproduced with permission from the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, W. E. B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

musical pleasure their legs had ever experienced. His electrifying bowing had penetrated deep into their bodies, where they would otherwise never see this light.” The soul of this orchestra “is Strauss, whose spirit controls the bodies of everyone who participates. . . . No one who actually carries true music in his body can stand pure dance rhythms for hours without dancing to them, or watch dancing without at least eating or drinking.”⁹ Confirming the physical responses evoked by Strauss’s music in the concert hall, a reviewer by the name of Joseph Oppenheim wrote in the *Neue Freie Presse*:

In the front rows of the lower seats, some people who are too close to the magician start to jerk up as if electrified. The musical current infects others very quickly. People unwillingly beat the time with their hands and feet, and before they know it the entire house wants to rise up, sing along, dance, fly, and float, and the theater becomes a ballroom and everyone screams: “Strauss! Strauss!”¹⁰

According to Oppenheim, only a very few are not affected in this way. As Strauss threw out one waltz after another, “even the forehead of the strictest judge would gladly have relaxed its frown. And if he didn’t dance with this music himself, at least he observed the electric effects of the [music] with a hearty laugh.”¹¹

The waltz-crazed atmosphere of Vienna, where Strauss Jr. was arguably the last European composer to regularly inhabit both the ballroom and concert hall, gave Hanslick abundant opportunities to consider the relationship of listening and dancing. His often contradictory responses to dance indicate that he struggled to reconcile his philosophical position on aesthetic listening with the milieu of dance that surrounded him. Yet a careful examination of Hanslick’s writings on dance reveals that throughout his life he ultimately dismissed the physical experience of dance in favor of intellectual listening.

Kevin C. Karnes’s study of Hanslick’s career—and the shifts in critical values that drove it—suggests that Hanslick’s early effort to employ the methods of the natural sciences to the aesthetics of music led to his adoption of a paradigm for listening that privileged a rational, intellectual approach to music available only to a select group of initiated listeners.¹² Karnes chronicles a series of methodological “epiphanies” Hanslick experienced that dramatically altered the tone of his writing over his long career.¹³ Hanslick reversed his position on formalist musical aesthetics in the mid-1860s, turning briefly from aesthetic to historical modes of inquiry, and then devoting the remainder of his career to journalistic criticism.¹⁴ While many modern scholars have accepted his initial treatise as his most important work, contemporary accounts of Hanslick indicate that his true passion was, in fact, for the work that came after the treatise: the criticism that allowed him to embrace the values of a *feuilletonist*, reviewing the musical life of Vienna from the basis of his own tastes and setting down his opinions of Viennese concert life for posterity.¹⁵ Hanslick’s views on dance music—in which delight in the genre as a cornerstone of Austrian music consistently accompanies scorn for its failure to meet his formalist aesthetic standards—are not adequately explained by the methodological shifts Hanslick experienced over the course of his career. I suggest that they are better understood when viewed within a hierarchy of musical perception that contrasted the intellectual with the pathological as manifested in listening and dancing.

The priority given to objective inquiry in Hanslick’s academic milieu emerged along with a change in modes of musical contemplation, which encouraged concert listeners to bring their own intellectual apparatus to bear on the music they heard.¹⁶ Earlier rubrics for musical experience had obliged a listener only to react in conventionally appropriate ways to a musical stimulus: pastoral themes induced calm; minor modes produced melancholy; and dance music impelled people to dance. In the context of an emerging public awareness of musical listening as a specialized skill, however, dancing represented

the antithesis to listening. Indeed, to the extent that Hanslick's treatise aimed to improve "listening," it also aimed to denounce dancing.

Hanslick's Early Criticism of Dance Music

Vom Musikalisch-Schönen is the only work in which Hanslick's disdain for dance is undiluted. His abundant critical writings (later collected and published in eleven volumes) present a more complicated stance on the value of dance music. Hanslick's first publication to include a significant discussion of dance is found in an obituary for Johann Strauss Sr.¹⁷ This document, written in 1849, five years before the treatise, expresses keen enthusiasm for dance and dance music. Hanslick begins the article with a defense of the genre, which he says critics and composers have treated with unjust contempt. He argues for a broad view of musical form, noting that "even in small forms, great talent is proven, and it is this talent, this divine spark, which we honor first."¹⁸ Hanslick reminds his readers that even the most erudite mass, if poorly composed, cannot surpass the artistic worth of a charming waltz. How much better, he says, to be great in a small genre, than to be meager in a large one.¹⁹ Hanslick's tribute to Strauss becomes, in fact, a tribute to dance music. He asserts dance music's potential to surpass the "elemental" requirements of dancing and to attain a higher plane of artistic meaning:

The worth of each art form either rises or falls with the demands that are brought to it. Our request to dance music goes as such: that it not just keep the stamping beat of the dancers, but that it understand their souls, interpret their feelings and passions, and elevate and make these noble. The lowest level of dance music is only concerned with the feet, but on a higher level it should speak to fantasy, feeling, and spirit.²⁰

After this gesture of support for the genre of dance music, Hanslick calls for the dance composer to craft his music to dance's highest potential. This requires a modification of raw physicality to a more elevated plane of cultural life:

In order to command this higher level, it will certainly be necessary that the composer should raise his understanding of a merely gymnastic view of the dance to one that relates to a social meaning. In our highly civilized society, dance has already been lifted from its original meaning to bloom at a much higher one. If we only wanted to see dance as a physical exercise, then it would be practiced in gymnastic schools. Our present-day dance amusements, as often as they may be caricatured, are and remain the consecrated asylums of tender needs and goals.²¹

Although the association of “feeling” with physicality in this tribute is consistent with Hanslick’s position on dance music in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, the warmth he conveys for dance could not be further from the tone of the treatise that was to appear five years later.

Yet Hanslick’s obituary to Strauss is not an unalloyed encomium to dance. Just when it seems that Hanslick is calling for music and dance to be joined in a blissful, artistic union, he abruptly draws back. Hanslick accomplishes this turn of opinion by drawing a distinction between dancers and musical connoisseurs: a distinction founded on the way each of them listens to music:

Up to now we have viewed Strauss’s dance music only insofar as it serves the dance and its interests; if there were nothing else to praise, Strauss’s passing would affect only the dance world. . . . For the musician, Strauss could have meaning only if his dances, loosened from their purpose, still had enough of a musical foundation to interest a connoisseur. . . . Strauss never failed to present musical richness in rhythm, harmonization, and instrumentation, which the careful ear of the musician would listen to while the dancer became drunk on the sweet fire of the melody.²²

This is but one of Hanslick’s many characterizations of dancers as sensuously intoxicated and musicians as rational and deliberate. By separating the attentive listeners from the inebriated dancers, so to speak, Hanslick gives himself a platform from which to further criticize the formal frame of the waltz:

The form of the waltz presently acts as a hindrance to artistic development and to every composer who brings a talent or knowledge to it. The small, tightly closed framework of the waltz doesn’t allow for even the smallest development of a melody, which must end without a trace to make room for a second and third, and so forth, until all five waltzes are rolled out like an incoherent set of images in a peep show. . . . This is an unartistic waste which the most gifted mind must soon tire of.²³

Hanslick’s concern with principles of musical coherence and development now overrides any amiable sentiments he may have for dance. He turns to the formal characteristics of the waltz in order to clarify his view that dance music cannot participate in the rational, organic processes that are the mark of true art music. The parade of themes, each left “undeveloped,” offends Hanslick’s sense of music as an intellectual endeavor in which the elaboration of a musical idea over time is the highest achievement of musical art:

The waltz as a composition (as opposed to the individual waltz) should not be composed of five independent pieces strung together, each motive swallowed by the next. Instead it should form one complete, coherent, closed-off whole.

One or two main themes would be enough; these would have the freest musical development within the limits of dance. . . . Only through a unified form can the composer escape the double evil of inventing half a dozen new motives in order to waste them. Only through its form can the waltz develop artistic value and content and receive a character of its own.²⁴

After shifting incrementally toward a condemnation of the formal inadequacy of dance music, the obituary ends with an apology for the genre's failure to engage the musical mind. Hanslick's praise of the waltz is difficult to reconcile with his criticism of its formal simplicity. This review clearly demonstrates, however, that by 1849 he already had the solid belief in a hierarchy of physically and mentally opposed listening types that he would articulate in the treatise.

In November of 1853, Hanslick published a review of Strauss Jr.'s waltzes in which he touches on many of the themes from the 1849 obituary. Although it offers exuberant praise for the waltz as the quintessential music of Vienna, the review is fraught with contradictions. Hanslick claims that the waltz is both a "subordinate genre" and a "blank sheet" that offers composers freedom to write music of spirit and power.²⁵ Again demonstrating his belief in a dual system of listening—in which one set of listeners can be pleased with the elemental aspects of Strauss's music and another will require more rigorous forms of musical beauty—Hanslick makes explicit the two levels upon which dance music may be considered: "Naturally we think beyond the simplistic technique that is needed for dance music to its poetic soulfulness and independent musical beauty. From this standpoint we do not wish to judge the waltz as dance movement, but to listen to it in tranquil pleasure as music, a satisfaction we have gained with each composition of the older and the younger Strauss."²⁶ Regardless of the fact that Strauss's waltzes were intended for a dancing audience, Hanslick turns them toward an immobile listening experience. With the phrase "to listen to it in tranquil pleasure as music," he implies that to listen to this music while dancing would lower its status as music. Hanslick continues: "A beautiful waltz is one of the many easy things that not everybody can execute. The tight frame and the strict conditions that exist in its music require the waltz composer to invest the first downbeat with invention, to throw his invention away without having used it, and then again and again to create and discard. He who has few ideas cannot produce a waltz."²⁷ Hanslick grants the dance composer originality and fertility of ideas, but with a clear warning that this is not enough for the serious listener.

Dancing and Listening in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*

Hanslick fully articulates his theory of listening in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* where he separates music as an agent of emotion from music as an aesthetic

phenomenon. Admitting that music has the potential to operate either way, he puts the burden of this determination on the listener, who must direct his mental powers to the correct level of intellectual engagement:

*Mental activity is a necessary concomitant in every aesthetic enjoyment and often varies considerably in several individuals listening to one and the same composition. In the case of the sensual and emotional natures it may sink to a minimum, whereas in highly intellectual persons it alone may turn the scale. . . . To become intoxicated, nothing but weakness is required, but truly aesthetic listening is an art in itself.*²⁸

In Hanslick's theory of listening, emotional responses to music are closely linked with physicality. He states that with the feelings aroused by music "there always co-exists a strong physical agitation."²⁹ Both responses—the emotional and the physical—inhabit a category of musical enjoyment that obviates intelligent listening. According to Hanslick, "The more overpowering the effect is in a physical—i.e., in a pathological—sense, the less it is due to *aesthetic* causes."³⁰

Hanslick believes music's power to excite physical movement is an unfortunate by-product of musical perception: not the object of music but, nonetheless, an undeniable phenomenon. Seeking to explain the pathological listeners' affinity for dancing, he questions whether pleasant memories of dancing might compel them to maintain their association of music with movement, but concludes that this does not fully explain the phenomenon: "We cannot, without being one-sided, dispute the *physiological* action of martial or dance music, and attribute its effect solely to a psychological association of ideas. . . . The feet do not move because it is dance-music, but we call it dance-music because the feet move."³¹ Hanslick candidly abandons his attempt to explain how music can inspire movement, claiming that the physiological sciences are not and never will be able to demonstrate such an effect: "All this lies beyond the mysterious bridge which no philosopher has ever crossed. It is the one great problem expressed in numberless ways: the connection between mind and body."³² Lacking a scientific explanation for the connection between listening and moving, Hanslick, like many European thinkers in the Cartesian tradition of mind-body dualism, prefers to operate on the basis of their separation.

In a curious twist of terms, Hanslick describes the physically moved listener as passive, reserving "activity" for the mental agitations of listeners who approach music intellectually. In this exchange of connotations, a dancer whirling to a waltz experiences musical "passivity" while an individual sitting still in a concert becomes "active." Of the physically moved listeners, Hanslick says: "While in a state of passive receptivity they suffer only what is elemental in music to affect them, and thus pass into a vague 'supersensible' excitement of the senses, produced by the general drift of the composition. Their attitude towards music is not an observant but a *pathological* one. They are, as

it were, in a state of waking dreaminess.”³³ Often using terms of diminished sensory awareness for passive listeners, Hanslick refers to their intoxication, their desire to be lulled, even to the clouded state of the near-dead, and coyly suggests some recently developed medical anaesthetics as a foil to aesthetic listening: “To recent times, by the way, we owe a discovery of the greatest moment for such listeners as merely wish their feelings to be played upon to the exclusion of their intellect, the discovery of a far more potent factor than music. We are alluding to ether and chloroform. There is no doubt that these anaesthetics envelop the whole organism in a cloud of delightful and dreamlike sensations.”³⁴ In Hanslick’s view, the passive, “anaesthetic” listener is the most easily satisfied member of the audience and the one who lowers the dignity of music, lacking “the criteria of intelligent gratification.”³⁵ Geoffrey Payzant concludes that “elemental” responses to music are, for Hanslick, “unmediated by intelligence. Tapping the foot or nodding the head in response to musical rhythm is for Hanslick a reflex similar to the kick of a dead frog’s legs in a saline solution with the administration of an electric current.”³⁶

Hanslick’s depiction of elemental listeners compares their musical pleasures to such things as a warm bath, a fine cigar, and a fondness for wine. This category of sensual pleasures also includes dancing. In *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, he frankly illustrates his distrust of dance with an anecdote about a debtor who induces his creditor to forgive his entire debt by plying him with music, which affects him, according to Hanslick,

in the same manner as one who by the tune of a waltz is suddenly roused from repose and impelled to dance. . . . Neither of them acts of his own free will, neither of them is overwhelmed by a superior mind or by moral beauty, but simply in consequence of a powerful nervous stimulus. Music loosens the feet or the heart just as wine loosens the tongue. But such victories only testify to the weakness of the vanquished. To be the slave of unreasoning, undirected, and purposeless feelings, ignited by a power which is out of all relation to our will and intellect, is not worthy of the human mind. If people allow themselves to be so completely carried away by what is elemental in art as to lose all self-control, this scarcely redounds to the glory of the art, and much less to that of the individual.³⁷

Hanslick notes that among those most susceptible to dancing are youth, who have not learned to control their physical impulses. In the presence of dance music they experience “a twitching of the whole body, and especially of the feet.”³⁸ Animals and “savages” are also vulnerable to the stimulus of dance music. The impulse to dance, in fact, grows in proportion to the crudeness of mind and character: the lower the level of culture, the more potent the effect. “It is well known that the action of music is most powerful of all in the case of savages.”³⁹ To those who would claim music’s effect on animals as proof of its

power to move the emotions, Hanslick responds: "It is true that the sound of the trumpet inspires the horse with courage and an eagerness for the battle, that the fiddle tempts the bear to waltz, and that both the nimble spider and the clumsy elephant move to its fascinating strains. But is it, after all, so great an honour to be a musical enthusiast in *such* company?"⁴⁰

Hanslick's listening categories are based, in part, on broad determinations of cultural development. The advanced state of musical understanding among northern Europeans, he says, gives them a heightened capacity for musical understanding. He maintains that contemplative listening, "demands, in fact, the keenest *watching* and the most untiring *attention*. In the case of intricate compositions, this may even become a mental exertion. Many an *individual*, nay, many a *nation* undertakes this exertion only with great reluctance."⁴¹ Among the "nations" that are less fit for musical understanding, Hanslick includes any "primitive" culture, generally invoking the figure of the "savage" to represent non-European cultures. Claiming that "our infants in the cradle sing better than adult savages," he writes of European musical advances as "slowly gained triumphs of the human mind."⁴² In Hanslick's view, the evolution of European musical culture rests on the special emphasis placed on melody, harmony, and the system of major and minor modes and equal temperament: the material ingredients of "tonally moving forms."⁴³

Hanslick further justifies his Eurocentric view of intellectual listening on the grounds that rhythm is, of all the elements in music, the only one present in nature. For this reason he assigns it the lowest level of musical sophistication: "When the South Sea Islanders rattle with wooden staves and pieces of metal to the accompaniment of fearful howlings, they are performing natural music, that is, no music at all."⁴⁴ Thus by separating the "natural" element of rhythm from the more culturally developed elements of melody and harmony, Hanslick implicitly distances music from dance and fortifies his argument for an immobile manner of listening.

Attitudes toward Dance in Hanslick's Coterie

Thus far, Hanslick's reviews and his writing on dance in the treatise reveal very mixed attitudes to the value of dance in music and in Viennese society. The opinions of his contemporaries further point out the apparent conflicts in Hanslick's tastes, where his love for the waltz seems to collide with his professional commitment to serious music. Given the denunciations of dance found in the treatise, it is surprising to learn that Hanslick was known to be thoroughly susceptible to the pleasures of dance. His autobiography contains enthusiastic reminiscences about both theater and ballroom dance. In one poignant example, Hanslick describes an evening at a gathering where the aged former ballerina Fanny Elssler was present. Impressed by her inef-

fable grace and beauty and her legendary fame, the assembled guests persuaded Ellsler to dance for them. Upon her request, Hanslick himself played the piano while she demonstrated the “Cacchucha” for the guests. Hanslick remarks on his good fortune that the music was simple enough for him to play at the piano without taking his eyes off Ellsler: “It was a sight that I cannot forget. Fanny Ellsler lifted her dress a little and danced, or rather floated, two or three times through the big room, up and down with such graceful, expressive bending and tilting of the head and upper body, with such round, undulating movements of the arms, that I understood for the first time the true ideal of dance.”⁴⁵ Despite Hanslick’s comments on the “simplicity” of the music, his impassioned description of Ellsler is difficult to accord with the indictment of dance in his treatise.

Even more surprising is the fact that Hanslick and his circle of friends, which included Brahms and Theodor Billroth, were avid players of four-hand waltz music and that this genre was considered Hanslick’s forte.⁴⁶ From a reminiscence of his friendship with the singer Adelina Patti, whom he befriended during her stay in Vienna in 1863, we learn that Hanslick enjoyed dancing as well. “After meals, I would play waltzes by Strauss and Lanner, which she loved to hear. Sometimes she would impulsively push tables and chairs aside, Strakosch [her brother-in-law] would take over at the piano, and we would dance as a single, enraptured couple around the room.”⁴⁷

Contemporary descriptions of Hanslick also call into question the sincerity of his aesthetic prescription for pure contemplative listening and of his interest in autonomous formal procedures in “serious” music. Richard Specht recalls attending one of Hanslick’s lectures on music at the University of Vienna. Noting that Hanslick’s course was delivered without luster until he played his musical examples at the piano, Specht writes:

It was amusing to see his short, quick fingers scurry across the keys and quite comical to see him tickle out of the keyboard . . . a strongly rhythmic, hopping polka or a merry, spruce little piece from a French comic opera, which he did with visible gusto, contentedly and coquettishly skipping with the music. . . . He loved tid-bits better than the sublime and grandiose in music. When he spoke of a Bach Passion or of Beethoven’s late period, one had the impression that he had to spur himself on. . . . Those he loved were composers like Auber, Rossini and Johann Strauss.⁴⁸

Specht’s belief that Hanslick was most comfortable with simple, entertaining music is borne out by several incidents in Hanslick’s relationship with Brahms. The most telling involves the single dedication Brahms granted to the critic: the op. 39 waltzes for four hands, published in 1865. Brahms wrote to Hanslick, explaining the dedication and the choice of genre:

While writing the title of the four-hand waltzes, which are to appear shortly, your name came to me spontaneously. I don't know why, I thought of Vienna, of the beautiful girls with whom you play four-hand music, of you yourself, a connoisseur of these and a good friend. Suddenly I felt the necessity of dedicating it to you. If it is all right with you that it remains thus, then I thank you most obediently; if, however, you for any reason do not desire the things, then give word and the engraver receives a contrary order. They are two books of little innocent waltzes in Schubertian form—if you do not want them and would prefer your name on a proper, four-movement work, then “Give the command, and I will follow.”⁴⁹

Brahms calls attention to Hanslick's musical tastes by calling him a “connoisseur” of four-hand music, likely implying the waltz genre Hanslick was known to love. Brahms biographer Max Kalbeck addresses the difficulty of interpreting these cryptic remarks in his discussion of the op. 39 dedication. He notes that “gifts from Brahms always had their clever connotation, which often times remained hidden from the receiver. What the dedication of his Op. 39 meant . . . couldn't possibly escape the addressee. Hanslick was a passionate four-hand player and waltz-playing was his particular strength.”⁵⁰ On the surface, Brahms's gift to Hanslick was a lovely set of pieces in a genre he loved. Hanslick's contemporaries, however, suggest that the dedication carried a message: the waltzes were more suitable for Hanslick than “a proper, four-movement work.”⁵¹ According to Max Graf, “Brahms dedicated to Hanslick, not one of his weighty works, but his *Liebeslieder* [*sic*] waltzes, as if he meant to say, ‘Waltzes—that is your music, my friend!’ The great composer was malicious even in his dedications.”⁵²

Brahms seems also to have doubted Hanslick's opinion of his own compositions, confessing to Specht just before his death “his belief that Hanslick never had any real feeling for his music.”⁵³ As a guest at Hanslick's seventieth birthday celebration, during a long speech in praise of Hanslick's embrace of the history of music from Bach to Brahms, Brahms was heard to grumble: “You must mean Offen-Bach!”⁵⁴ When it was Brahms's turn to speak in Hanslick's honor, he commended Hanslick's cleverness and discernment, yet noted their “pronounced tendencies to take different paths—so little do many things interest him that please me, and vice versa.”⁵⁵

These anecdotes suggest that Hanslick's colleagues accepted a clear division between the merits of dance music and serious music and held Hanslick accountable for them as well. Yet while they seem to disparage Hanslick for the breadth of his tastes, they may tell us more about his fellow critics' attitudes to dance than about Hanslick's or even Brahms's sentiments toward the waltz. David Brodbeck has convincingly shown Brahms's high regard for the waltz, his pride in its place in the musical life of Vienna, and his deep admiration for the dances of both Schubert and Johann Strauss.⁵⁶ Andrew Lamb

offers further compelling evidence of Brahms's admiration for Strauss's waltzes, his efforts to aid Strauss in his career, and their intimate friendship as fellow composers.⁵⁷ The subtle beauties Brahms employed in the op. 39 waltzes further indicate that he had every faith in the genre's potential for complex and nuanced musical sophistication. As for Hanslick, his reviews indicate that he believed any perceived antagonism between music and dance was generated as much by manner of apprehension as by genre. Hanslick believed, as we will see in his later reviews of Strauss Jr., that the waltz could absorb the harmonic and textural depth of serious music. He turned, rather, to its uses—whether for listening or for dancing—for judgments of musical quality, often switching from one to the other in the same review. His genuine love for the waltz, combined with his belief in true musical listening as an activity reserved for a “thoughtful”—and hence, immobile—musical elite, suggests that Hanslick wrote for two kinds of listener at once. And while Hanslick himself seems to belie the distinction by eagerly inhabiting both groups, he invariably upholds a hierarchy that ranks the moving dancer below the contemplative listener.

The Waltz and the Music of the Future

Several of Hanslick's reviews from the 1850s demonstrate how his attitudes to dance and serious music were tested by Johann Strauss Jr. Hanslick's principal complaint about Strauss Sr. was the “narrow” formal scope of his waltzes. Yet when Strauss Jr. tampered with the harmonic and timbral conventions of the Viennese waltz, Hanslick reacted with alarm. In 1854, Hanslick wrote of the “worrisome path” Strauss Jr. had taken:

In his new waltzes one can often find a misplaced pathos that does not belong in dance music and has an almost disturbing effect on the listener. . . . All spice must find its measure most of all in good taste and, beyond that, in the requirements of the genre. The deplorable chord progressions pushed out by the trombones, which form the second half of No. 1 of the “Schallwellen,” would be most at home in an opera finale . . . In a waltz they are offensive. . . . Not everything that plays in three-quarter-time is a waltz.⁵⁸

Hanslick reminds his reader that the waltz requires a lightness and charm that is spoiled by the heavy instrumentation and confusing harmonic digressions of Strauss's newest compositions. An unfamiliar defensiveness creeps into his writing as he negotiates this threat to the waltz by calling for a clear division of musical genres. This view appears to be in keeping with the listening categories established in the treatise, except that now the tables are turned and Hanslick seeks to protect the dancer's simple pleasures from the influence

of progressive art music: “A genre will not be enriched in either its content or form if one forces a pathos onto it that goes against its essence. Even though artificial magnificence is cheered everywhere, it will be the ruin of the lightly exhilarating pieces that exist to provide beautiful dancers with happiness, fun, and grace. May everyone then keep the boundaries pure, and try to prevent abductions from foreign territories.”⁵⁹ The “foreign territories” refer to the New German School, but the “boundaries” also divide “beautiful dancers” from serious listeners and enforce a distinction between physical and cerebral responses to music. Whether Hanslick is praising or reproving, dancers are not to be confused with musical connoisseurs.

In 1858 Hanslick published a review in *Die Presse* that extended his argument for “pure boundaries” and clarified his intolerance for mixtures of dance with serious music. Here again, Hanslick admonishes Strauss Jr. for incorporating “symphonic” elements into his waltzes, the very element he denounced them for lacking in previous reviews. Describing Strauss’s “enrichment” of the waltz as a compositional vindication of sorts, Hanslick suggests that the waltz composer is attempting to restore a balance that was lost when the symphony was “popularized” with dance motives in the late eighteenth century:

Strauss has apparently taken an act of great historic retribution as his goal. When, around the end of the last century, orchestra music became popular through the systematic lowering of the Haydnesque style, Pleyel, Wranitzky, Hoffmeister, Gyrowetz and Rosetti . . . went so far as to make the “merriest” Ländler the motives of their symphonies. Johann Strauss apparently wants to compensate for this disgrace of his Viennese ancestors, and he decorates his waltzes with motives that would rightly have their place of honor in the symphonies of the newest schools.⁶⁰

Once again, whether dance impulses invade the genre of the symphony, or symphonic techniques adorn the music of dances, Hanslick objects to their mixture on the basis of temporally correct listening. Dancing, which incapacitates the listener’s attention to the unfolding of musical ideas over time, requires music that makes no such demands. Hanslick believes that Strauss’s inclusion of a forward-looking ethos in his waltzes overlooks this relationship on both an individual listening level and an overarching historical one. Alluding to the “endless melody” of Wagner and his school, Hanslick writes that Strauss has calculated his newest waltzes “more for the Weimar ‘Court of Muses’ than for Vienna”:

In fact I have also noticed in Strauss’s new works the sharp, prickly aroma that wild game gives off when it is past its prime and that music gives off when it smells of the future. . . . Those of his waltzes which sound fresh and natural without “forward-looking” originality are still much better dance music

than those outspread motives whose endless periods combine with the most sought-after harmonization in order to confuse ears and feet.⁶¹

While Hanslick frequently contrasts the “ear” of the musician with the “feet” of the dancer as a way of distinguishing between aesthetic and physical listening types, in this review he implies that both the musician’s ear and the dancer’s feet are offended by Strauss’s innovations. Most significant in this response to Wagner is Hanslick’s defensive integration of the interests of the musical connoisseur with those of the dancer; each, he claims, is justifiably disturbed by Strauss’s mixture of physical stimulus with elite listening.

Hanslick’s Later Criticism

The issue of listening as a cerebral exercise in conflict with the physical pleasures of dancing remains in Hanslick’s criticism to the end of his career. Hanslick’s 1869 volume *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* contains a chapter titled “Charakter der Vormärzlichen Concertepoche” that describes the musical life of Vienna before the uprisings of 1848 and records Hanslick’s interpretation of that era from a point almost two decades after the publication of the treatise. Of particular interest in this work is the distinction, still intact, between intellectual and physical listeners. Hanslick praises the charm and “poetic life” of the waltz that could both “interest the musician” and “please the dancers.” Yet in the same paragraph, he reports: “It is clear that this sweet, numbing, three-four time, which dominated all heads and feet, necessarily pushed the great serious music into the background and made the audience more and more incapable of mental effort.”⁶² In order to counterbalance the appeal of the waltz to its devotees, Hanslick reiterates his criterion for ranking the two listening types: mental effort. In spite of his obvious delight in the genre of dance music, Hanslick the formalist is never far from view.

As if finally to account for his protean opinions of dance music, in 1884 Hanslick printed a remarkably thoughtful reflection on his attitude toward dance over the course of his career. First noting the audacity of Strauss Jr.’s endeavor to bring dance music into the concert hall, he directly confronts the clash of values between functional dance and seated listening: “Soon after his Vienna debut, he dared to embark on a grand tour with his orchestra. In this new undertaking, he was preceded by his father: the first to my knowledge, to venture on tours with dance music and to play his waltzes not in a dance hall for ball guests but in concert halls for a listening audience.”⁶³ Hanslick takes advantage of the physical displacement of genre and venue—the music of functional dance played in a setting that expressly discourages movement—to consider the inherent contradictions in this arrangement and his own views on dancing and listening, first confessing his early apathy for Strauss’s waltz

music: "In the mid-forties, Strauss played with his orchestra in my hometown of Prague at the municipal theater. I was a passionate young music lover, but I felt no interest for it and I only visited one Straussian production because of the overtures of Beethoven and Weber which graced the program. I barely paid attention to the waltzes. To me one seemed like the other."⁶⁴

Hanslick attributes his early indifference to dance music to his youthfulness, a topic he mentions often in his discussions of dance.⁶⁵ Writing as an older man, Hanslick reflects on young people's alertness to pathos and their tendency to dismiss what is not grand and majestic:

This pathetic sentiment brought all of us young people in those days to thirst after the plays of Schiller or the tragedies of Shakespeare, while it never occurred to us to go and see a comedy. In music it was Beethoven's symphonies, Mendelssohn's overtures. . . . They were the objects of our delight, our yearning. What were comic operas . . . that only had melody and temperament? Oh, this childish "only"! What importance could music have that was only for dancing?⁶⁶

From this candid reflection on the maturation of his tastes, it appears that the denunciation of dance in the 1854 treatise might have grown from his youthful fascination with the pathos of serious music and the specialized listening it required. Looking back on a lifetime of experience, Hanslick now allows, however, that a certain insight is also needed to appreciate what is possible in smaller forms and to understand the beauty of the miniature. The mature critic, he says, "finally understands that genius is in fact possible in dance music and that there is room on the narrow rose petal of a waltz for a clever and lovely thought."⁶⁷ But then, as he has so many times before, Hanslick circles back to listening. "I learned only later to listen to dance music not with the impatient ear of someone who wants to dance, but with the alert ear of the musician."⁶⁸ In the end, the question of dance music doesn't really rest with its value as music but with the act of listening. While a musician can learn to listen for the truly artistic in dance music, a dancer will continue to be guided by an "impatient ear": an ear not willing to listen over time for the formal developments that the aesthetic listener seeks. As the treatise generally relied on a hierarchy of musical perception for second-hand evidence of musical beauty, listening competence also forms the rubric for Hanslick's particular judgments on the merits of dance music.

Hanslick is not generally known or remembered for his confessions of fondness for the waltz. Nor is he remembered as a critic who wrote warmly of dance music while simultaneously questioning its value as art music. Instead, his treatise—which relegated dance to a category of inadequate listening—became his twentieth-century legacy, effectively serving the streams of thought that shaped musical modernism and its attendant listening norms. From his writing for the

press, we learn that the prescription for elite listening established in the treatise subtly but tenaciously persisted in his thought and prevailed in his critical voice, even over his delight for the dance culture that enveloped him in Vienna. Hanslick's struggle with the competing values of listening and moving—which Strauss manipulated so powerfully among the Viennese public—offers fascinating insights into a social milieu where popular and serious music were still caught up with one another and an audience that had not yet accepted hard boundaries between physical and intellectual genres of music. Hanslick himself waltzed brilliantly over these very boundaries that he, as much as any other critic, helped to establish.

Notes

All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. I thank Marcella Livi for assistance with the translations.

1. Nicholas Cook, *Music, Imagination, and Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 15.

2. On the emergence of this listening paradigm, which Bonds traces to E. T. A. Hoffmann, see Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 6-10.

3. Eduard Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music*, trans. from the 7th ed. by Gustav Cohen (1891; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), 134. While the Payzant translation is used throughout this volume, I have chosen the Cohen translation for its clarity on the topic of physical movement and for its more fluid syntax overall.

4. Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne have demonstrated the wide scope of functional dance values in music of the early eighteenth century in *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). Wye Allanbrook further points out the persistent residue of dance as a topical presence in music of the later eighteenth century in *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

5. Material from this paper was presented at the conference "Eduard Hanslick: Aesthetic, Critical, and Cultural Contexts," University College Dublin, 2009, and at the annual meeting for the American Musicological Society, 2010. A more extended discussion of attitudes toward dance in music criticism may be found in the author's forthcoming dissertation, "Disdain for Dance, Disdain for France: Choreophobia in German Musical Modernism" (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 2012).

6. Dana Gooley points out elsewhere in this volume that a divergence of musical genres—in this case between functional dance and operetta—is associated with a corresponding divergence of social class. Gooley understands Hanslick's concern with genre boundaries as a manifestation of his allegiance to the liberal ideals of the educated, elite Viennese bourgeoisie. This explanation for Hanslick's contradictions on dance relies on perceptions of the waltz as a social practice imbued with the values of the *Volk*. While the waltz did originate as a dance of the folk, I allow a wider social sphere for the waltz as it came to be practiced in Vienna—including the educated elite as practicing dancers—in my interpretation of its impact on Viennese musical life. For further discussion of the "elevation" of the waltz into "higher" genres, see David Brodbeck, "Primo Schubert,

Secondo Schumann: Brahms's Four-Hand Waltzes, Op. 39," *Journal of Musicology* 7, no. 1 (1989): 58-80.

7. Karl Kobald writes: "Whether poor or rich, young or old, peasant or nobility, washerwoman or duchess, prince or worker, Bohemian or German, Hungarian or Croat, all swayed and turned, forgetting sorrows and life in the dance." Karl Kobald, *Johann Strauss* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1925), 8. Cited in Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 34.

8. Charlotte Moscheles, *Recent Music and Musicians as Described in the Diaries and Correspondence of Ignatz Moscheles* (1873; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 248.

9. "Ja, es erhoben sich Stimmen, die mit Strauss den höchsten musikalischen Genuß scheiden sahen, den ihre Beine je empfunden, denen sein electricir Bogenstrich so recht bis in's Innerste gedrunghen war, wo es sonst nie Licht ward. . . . Die Seele davon ist Strauss, dessen Geist die Körper aller Mitwirkenden beherrscht; . . . Uebrigens kann Keiner, der wahre Musik im Leibe hat, reine Tanzrhythmen, ohne darnach zu tanzen oder tanzen zu sehen, oder wenigstens behaglich dabei zu essen und zu trinken." "Strauss im Norden," *Neue Leipziger Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 78 (December 29, 1834): 309-310.

10. "In den vorderen Parterrebänken beginnen einige Menschen, die zu nahe dem Zauberer sitzen, wie elektrisirt emporzuzucken, das musikalische Fluidum theilt sich blitzrasch den Anderen mit, man schlägt unwillkürlich den Tact mit Händen und Füßen, und alsbald will das ganze Haus sich erheben und mitsingen und mittanzen und fliegen und schweben, das Theater wird zum Ballsaal und Alles ruft: Strauss! Strauss!" *Neue Freie Presse* (March 3, 1875), 7. Joseph Oppenheim (1839-1900) was a journalist and satirist. Born in Darmstadt-Arheilgen, he came to Vienna in the 1860s and went to work for the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1872.

11. Da mochte auch die Stirn des strengsten Richters sich wohlgefällig entrunzeln, und wenn er nicht selber mittanzte, so hat er wenigstens mit herzlichem Lachen die elektrischen Wirkungen der specifisch wienerischen Operette an den Anderen beobachtet. *Neue Freie Presse* (March 3, 1875): 7.

12. Kevin C. Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History: Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 21-75. Dana Gooley discusses the conflict this created for the critic who strove to educate the public without alienating himself from the "average" listener. See Dana Gooley, "Hanslick and the Institution of Criticism," *Journal of Musicology* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 289-324.

13. Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History*, 34.

14. *Ibid.*, 48-75.

15. For discussion of the *feuilleton* and its implications in nineteenth-century Viennese music criticism, see Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna 1896-1897: Critically Moving Forms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1-4.

16. See Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 5-28.

17. Strauss died on September 25, 1849. The review appeared on October 6, 1849, in the *Beilage zum Morgenblatte der Wiener Zeitung*.

18. "Als Componist hat er bekanntlich die Tanzmusik gepflogen, eine Gattung, auf welche Tonsetzer und Kritiker gewöhnlich mit souveräner Verachtung herabsehen. Mit Unrecht. Auch in der kleinen Form bewährt sich das große Talent, und dieses, als der göttliche Funke, ist, vor dem wir uns zuerst beugen." Hanslick, *Sämtliche Schriften* 1/2, 124.

19. Der simpelste Dorfschullehrer, der einen contrapunktischen Cursus mitgemacht hat, bringt es dahin, eine Messe zu componiren, in welcher mehr sogenannte Gelehrsamkeit steckt, als in Strauss's sämtlichen Werken zusammen,—aber in alle Ewigkeit wird der schöne Walzer mehr Kunstwerth haben, als die schlechte Messe." *Ibid.*, 124.

20. "Der Werth jeder Kunstgattung aber steigt oder fällt mit den Anforderungen, die man ihr stellt. Unsrer Anforderung an die Tanzmusik geht dahin, daß sie nicht bloß das Stampfen der Tänzer im Takt erhalte, sondern deren Seelenleben verstehe, ihre Gefühle und Leidenschaften interpretire, steigere, veredle. Der unterste Grad der Tanzmusik hat nur mit den Füßen zu thun, auf höherer Stufe spricht er zur Phantasie, zum Gefühl, zum Geist." *Ibid.*, 124.

21. "Um diese höhere Stufe zu behaupten, wird freilich nöthig sein, daß sich der Componist von einer bloß gymnastischen Anschauung des Tanzes zu dessen geselliger Bedeutung erhebe. In unserer allerhöchst civilisirten '*bonne société*' ist der Tanz von seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung längst zu einer höheren gediehen. Wollte man in demselben nur körperliche Uebung sehen, so würde man ihn in Turnschulen pflügen. Unsere heutigen Tanzunterhaltungen, so oft sie auch zur Carricatur herabgewürdigt werden mögen, sind und bleiben die geweihten Asyle zärtlicherer Bedürfnisse und Bestrebungen." *Ibid.* 124–25.

22. "Wir betrachteten bisher noch immer die Strauss'sche Tanzmusik nur insofern sie dem Tanze und dessen Interessen dient; wäre nichts weiter an ihm zu loben, so träfe Straussens Verlust lediglich die Tanzwelt. . . . Für den Musiker konnte Strauss nur dann Bedeutung haben, wenn seine Tänze, abgelöst von ihrem Zwecke, also außer dem Ballsaal, noch musikalischen Fond genug gehabt, um den Kenner zu interessiren. . . . Strauss erwies sich in der Ausarbeitung seiner Musikstücke als ein feiner, künstlerischer Geist, dem Alles Rohe und Dilettantenhafte fern lag. . . . verfehlte er doch nie, im Rhythmus, im Periodenbau, und namentlich in der Harmonisirung und Instrumentation eine Fülle von Zügen niederzulegen, welchen das bedächtige Ohr des Musikers lauschte, während der Tänzer an dem süßen Feuer der Melodie sich einen Rausch trank." *Ibid.*, 125–26.

23. "Wie die Form der Walzermusik noch gegenwärtig beschaffen ist, erscheint sie als das größte Hemmniß für deren künstlerische Entwicklung, und für jeden Componisten, der ihr eine bessere Mitgift von Talent oder Kenntniß zubringt. Der kleine, festgeschlossene Rahmen des Walzers läßt auch die kleinste Entwicklung einer Melodie nicht zu, welche deshalb, so wie sie zu Ende gekommen, auch spurlos verloren geht, um einer zweiten und dritten u.s.f. Platz zu machen, bis alle 5 Walzer wie eine unzusammenhängende Bilderreihe in einem Guckkasten abgerollt sind. . . . Es ist dies eine unkünstlerische Verschwendung, welche die begabteste Produktionskraft bald erschöpfen muß." *Ibid.*, 126.

24. "Der Walzertanz (zum Unterschiede vom einzelnen Walzer) solle nicht aus fünf selbstständigen, zusammenhanglos aneinander gereihten Stücken bestehen, deren jedes 1 oder 2 neue Motive verschlingt, sondern er solle ja Ein abgeschlossenes, zusammenhängendes Ganze bilden. Dazu würden 1 oder 2 Hauptthemen hinreichen, denen (innerhalb der Grenzen der Tanzbarkeit) die freieste musikalische Entwicklung gegönnt und geboten wäre. . . . Nur durch die einheitliche Form kann der Componist dem doppelten Uebel entgegen, ein halb Dutzend neue Motive erfinden, und sie nutzlos vergeuden zu müssen, nur durch sie kann der Walzer als Musikstück sich zu künstlerischen Werth und Inhalt entwickeln, nur durch sie endlich kann er einen Charakter erhalten." The persistence of Hanslick's application of the values of absolute music to genres of dance music in modern scholarship is discussed further in my forthcoming dissertation, "Disdain for Dance, Disdain for France." *Ibid.*, 127.

25. "eine untergeordnete [Kunstgattung]," "ein weißes Blatt." Ibid., 267.

26. "Natürlich haben wir damit nicht die bloße Technik im Auge, die für Tanzmusik leicht genug erworben wird, sondern gerade deren poetische Beseelung, und selbstständig musikalische Schönheit. Dieser Standpunkt wünscht also nicht, den Walzer im Tanzesflug zu erproben, sondern in beschaulichem Genuß ihn als Musik anhören zu können, eine Befriedigung die uns in jeder Produktion von Alt- oder Jung-Strauss geworden ist, welcher wir beiwohnten." Ibid. This review appeared in the *Österreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst*, November 28, 1853.

27. "Ein schöner Tanz gehört zu den vielen leichten Dingen, die nicht Jedermann trifft. Der engste Rahmen und die unerbittlichsten Bedingungen, die es in der Musik gibt, heißen im Walzer den Komponisten mit dem ersten Taktschlag die volle Erfindung einsetzen, sie alsdann ohne fruchtbare Benützung frisch gepflückt wegwerfen, und so immer wieder neu gewinnen und vergeuden. Wem nichts einfällt, der kann keinen Walzer machen." Ibid.

28. Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music*, 136–37.

29. Ibid., 115.

30. Ibid., 122.

31. Ibid., 117.

32. Ibid., 119.

33. Ibid., 124.

34. Ibid., 126.

35. Ibid., 125.

36. Geoffrey Payzant, "Hanslick, Heine and the 'Moral' Effects of Music," *Music Review* 49, no. 2 (1988): 132.

37. Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music*, 128–29. David Gramit discusses this passage in "Between Täuschung and Seligkeit: Situating Schubert's Dances," *Musical Quarterly* 84 (2000): 221–37.

38. Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music*, 117.

39. Ibid., 130.

40. Ibid., 130.

41. Ibid., 136.s42. Ibid., 147.

43. Geoffrey Payzant, *Hanslick on the Musically Beautiful: Sixteen Lectures on the Musical Aesthetics of Eduard Hanslick* (Christchurch, New Zealand: Cybereditions, 2003), 29.

44. Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music*, 146.

45. "Aber es war ein Anblick, den ich nicht vergesse. Fanny Elssler hatte ihr Kleid ein wenig geschürzt und tanzte, oder vielmehr schwebte zwei- bis dreimal den geräumigen Saal auf und nieder mit so graziösen, ausdrucksvollen Beugen und Neigen des Hauptes und Oberkörpers, mit so runden, welligen Bewegungen der Arme, daß mir zum erstenmal klar wurde, was ein idealer Tanz sei." Hanslick, *Aus meinen Leben* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1894), 2 vols, vol. 1, 224.

46. Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft 1908), 189. On Hanslick's enjoyment of the waltz in the context of Viennese society, Max Graf notes: "Hanslick was Viennese to the core. He loved the facile sensuousness of Italian arias, the wit of the French *opéra comique*, the melodious stream of Strauss's waltzes and Offenbach's operettas, just as the careless, pleasure-seeking, brilliant, and elegant society of Vienna did. . . . One must have met the little old gentleman at parties, have seen him joking, paying compliments to the lovely Viennese ladies, retailing the latest witticisms, and finally, after a good meal, to which he did justice like a connoisseur, sitting down at the piano and playing Strauss waltzes; then one could realize that

he belonged to Viennese society in heart and mind and soul." Max Graf, *Composer and Critic: Two Hundred Years of Musical Criticism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1946), 246-47.

47. Eduard Hanslick, *Hanslick's Music Criticisms*, trans. Henry Pleasants (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1950), 170.

48. Richard Specht, *Johannes Brahms*, trans. Eric Blom (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1930), 171-72.

49. I use the translation in David Brodbeck, "Brahms as Editor and Composer: His Two Editions of Ländler by Schubert and His First Two Cycles of Waltzes, Opera 39 and 52" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1984), 183. See Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 2: 190 for original German text.

50. Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 2:189.

51. *Ibid.*, 2: 190, this translation from Brodbeck, "Brahms as Editor and Composer," 183.

52. Graf, *Composer and Critic*, 247.

53. Specht, *Johannes Brahms*, 172.

54. *Ibid.*, 172.

55. Cited in Ian Swafford, *Johannes Brahms: A Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 601. Swafford comments on Brahms's toast: "For history above all, he wanted to commend his friend and their friendship, and at the same time to distance himself from his best champion." Brahms had in fact communicated his dissatisfaction with Hanslick's views early in his life when, after reading over *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, he wrote to Clara Schumann that he had "found such a number of stupid things on first glance that [he] gave it up." *Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853-1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), 62.

56. David Brodbeck, "Primo Schubert, Secondo Schumann," 59-61.

57. Andrew Lamb, "Brahms and Johann Strauss," *Musical Times* 116, no. 1592 (October 1975): 869-71.

58. "In seinen neuen Walzern findet sich häufig ein falsches Pathos eingeschmuggelt, das in der Tanzmusik gänzlich ungehörig, beinahe verstimmend auf den Hörer wirkt. . . . Allein jede Würze muß ihr Maß finden, vor allem im guten Geschmack, dann überdies in den Bedingungen der bestimmten Kunstgattung. Die von Posaunen herausgestoßene klägliche Akkordenfolge, welche den zweiten Theil von Nr. 1 der 'Schallwellen' bildet, fände allenfalls Anwendung bei Opernfinalen, worin es besonders blutig zugeht; in einem Walzer ist sie abscheulich. . . . Nicht alles, was im Dreivierteltakt spielt, ist darum ein Walzer." Hanslick, *Sämtliche Schriften* 1/2, 380-81. This review originally appeared in the *Österreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst*, October 6, 1854. The "Schallwellen" waltz was Strauss's op. 148, written in 1854.

59. "Eine Kunstgattung wird weder im Inhalt noch in der Form bereichert, wenn man ihr ein Pathos aufzwingt, dem ihr Wesen widerstrebt. Ist aber erkünstelte Großartigkeit überall von Uebel, so wird sie geradezu Ruin für jene leicht beschwingten Tonwesen, deren Bestimmung es ist, schöne Tänzerinnen mit Frohsinn, Scherz und Anmuth zu umklingen. Halte darum Jeder die Grenzen rein und verhüte Verschleppungen aus fremdem Gebiet." Hanslick, *Sämtliche Schriften* 1/ 2, 381.

60. "Strauss hat sich offenbar einen Act großartiger historischer Vergeltung zum Ziel gesetzt. Als gegen Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts die Orchestermusik durch systematische Verflachung des Haydn'schen Styls populär gemacht wurde, gingen die Herren Pleyel, Wranitzky, Hoffmeister, Gyrowetz und Rosetti . . . die 'fidelsten' Ländler zu Motiven ihrer Symphonien und Quartetten zu machen. Johann Strauss will offenbar diese Schmach seiner Wiener Vorfahren durch Compensation tilgen, und schmückt

seine Walzer mit Motiven, deren Ehrenplatz von rechts wegen die Symphonien der neuesten Schule wären." Hanslick, *Sämtliche Schriften* 1/4, 235. See chapter 5 in this volume for further discussion of Hanslick's desire to regulate genre boundaries.

61. "Strauss scheine die neuesten Walzer mehr für den Musenhof von Weimar als für Wien berechnet zu haben. In der That bemerkte auch ich in Strauss' neueren Werken jenen scharf prickelnden Duft, den das Wildpret ausströmt, wenn es nach Vergangenheit, und die Musik, wenn sie nach Zukunft riecht. . . . Diejenigen seiner Walzer, welche ohne vorstechende Originalität wenigstens frisch und natürlich klingen, sind noch immer weit bessere Tanzmusik als jene gespreizten Motive, deren endlose Perioden sich mit der gesuchtesten Harmonisirung verbünden, um Ohren und Füße in Verwirrung zu bringen." Hanslick, *Sämtliche Schriften* 1/4, 235.

62. "Das dieser fuß betäubende Dreivierteltact, der sich aller Köpfe und Füße bemächtigt hatte, nothwendig die große, ernste Musik in den Hintergrund drängte und die Zuhörer zu einer geistigen Anstrengung immer unfähiger machte, begreift sich." Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, 2 vols. (1869; repr. Farnborough: Gregg, 1971), 1:365. An augmented version of this review is repr. in Hanslick, *AML*, 119.

63. "Bald nach seinem Wiener Debut wagte er schon wiederholte große Kunstreisen mit seinem Orchester. In diesem ganz neuen Unternehmen war ihm sein Vater vorgegangen—meines Wissens der Erste, der es gewagt, mit Tanzmusik auf Kunstreisen zu gehen, seine Walzer nicht in einem Tanzlocale für Ballgäste, sondern im Concertsaale vor einem zuhörenden Publicum zu produciren." Hanslick writes on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of Strauss Jr.'s debut at Domeyer's in 1844. *Neue Freie Presse*, October 15, 1884, repr. in *Musikalisches Skizzenbuch* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1896), 209.

64. "Um die Mitte der Vierziger Jahre spielte Strauss mit seinem Orchester in meiner Vaterstadt Prag, im ständischen Theater. Leidenschaftlicher junger Musikfreund, fühlte ich doch dafür gar kein Interesse und besuchte eine einzige Strauss'sche Production wegen der Ouvertüren von Beethoven und Weber, die das Programm zierten. Auf die Walzer achtete ich kaum; sie kamen mir einer wie der andere vor." Hanslick, *Musikalisches Skizzenbuch*, 209.

65. It was young people, we may recall, who were most susceptible to the nervous impulses of dance in *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, and the young again, in the obituary to Strauss Sr., who were in need of the sustenance dance could provide for their "inner life." Hanslick, *Sämtliche Schriften* 1/2, 124.

66. "Es ist derselbe pathetische Zug, der uns junge Leute damals nach allen Aufführungen Schillerscher oder Shakespearescher Tragödien lechzen machte, während es uns nicht einfiel, zu einem Lustspiel ins Theater zu gehen. In der Musik waren Beethovens Symphonien, Mendelssohns Ouvertüren. . . . Gegenstand unseres Entzückens, unserer Sehnsucht. Was sollten uns komische Opern, . . . die nur Melodie und Temperament hatten? O, über dies kindische 'nur'! Was sollte uns vollends Tanzmusik, außer um dazu zu tanzen?" Hanslick, *Musikalisches Skizzenbuch*, 210.

67. "Er kommt endlich dahinter, daß auch in der Tanzmusik Genialität möglich und auf dem schmalen Rosenblatt eines Walzers Raum ist für einen sinnigen und lebenswürdigen Gedanken." *Ibid.*

68. "Es gehört eben auch für die Kleinkunst, für die Miniaturschönheit eine gewisse Heranbildung; ich wenigstens lernte erst später Tanzmusik nicht mit dem ungeduldigen Ohr des Tanzlustigen, sondern mit dem aufmerksamen des Musikers anhören." *Ibid.*