Brahms’s Poetic Allusions through
Hanslick’s Critical Lens

Positioning Hanslick the Critical Historian

Writing in the pages of this Newsletter in 2004, and later in his monograph Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History: Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late-Nineteenth Century Vienna, Kevin C. Karnes identified three phases in the output of Eduard Hanslick. The first, that of the “critic and writer of aesthetics,” was marked by the publication in 1854 of Vom Musikalisch-Schönen, on account of which Hanslick gained his reputation as a formalist advocate of absolute music; the second, from the 1860s, saw the emergence of a “cultural historian,” aspiring to the positivist model of Philipp Spitta, Gustav Nottebohm, Otto Jahn, and Friedrich Chrysander; and the third, from 1870 onward, witnessed Hanslick become a “critical historian, obsessed with documenting the day to day unfolding of contemporary musical life and avowedly unconcerned with the ‘scientific’ objectivity in historical writing” of his contemporaries. Hanslick had found his niche and would remain in this third role until his death in 1904. During this time, he published one volume of music history and nine volumes of collected criticisms, the latter collated from his writings as music critic for Vienna’s liberal daily newspaper Neue Freie Presse.

Each of these phases, in turn, Karnes argues, reflects the changing currents of musicology as a discipline throughout the twentieth century; their “underlying assumptions,” he writes, “would only need to wait a few decades longer for their own eventual institutionalization.” Karnes draws an analogy between Hanslick’s second phase and the positivist musicology of the first half of the twentieth century, and another between Hanslick’s third phase as a “critical historian” and the period of the New Musicology of the late twentieth century.

Notwithstanding James Garratt’s circumspection at the risk of recreating nineteenth-century musicology in our own image, and his caution at viewing “Hanslick and his contemporaries through the lens of current disciplinary turf wars,” there is much merit in Karnes’s approach. His system of analogy is particularly perceptive and astute when taken in relation to Hanslick’s writings on Brahms. Although the critic and composer struck up a lifelong friendship following their meeting in 1862, it was during his third phase as a “critical historian” that Hanslick penned the majority of his Brahms reviews, most of which are to be found in the 1886 text Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, with many also appearing in Aus dem Tagebuch eines Musikers (1892), Fünf Jahre Musik (1896), and Aus neuer und neuester Zeit (1900).

Despite the paradigm shift in musicology in the late twentieth century toward the New Musicology, Hanslick’s reputation as the “chief polemicist for the absolutists” as one New Musicologist would have it—remained firmly in place. According to this view—perpetuated as recently as 2010 in a monograph on Brahms—“Hanslick saw in many of Brahms’s works a posterior and unexpected confirmation of the aesthetic theory he proposed […] in 1854.” For Hanslick, Brahms’s compositions were “models of the ‘pure, absolute music’ he tirelessly promoted.” The situation arises, therefore, that at a time when musicology had taken a turn toward the cultural study and criticism of music akin to Hanslick’s writings on Brahms, and at a point where the image of Brahms as a composer of absolute music was being steadily eroded in favor of a more nuanced assessment of the composer’s output, scholarly positions on Hanslick’s view of Brahms have not moved in step with these developments.

This formalist view of Hanslick’s writings on Brahms goes hand in hand with what Daniel Beller-McKenna describes as a “nationally neutral view of Brahms” that “largely persisted” throughout the second half of the twentieth century. When comparing the more openly nationalistic Brahms reception of pre-World War II with that of the later twentieth century, Beller-McKenna sees the latter as “an attempt to neutralize [Brahms’s] legacy, an endeavor born of the need to salvage something good, noble, and pure from the German cultural tradition in the wake of National Socialism.” In a parallel scenario, Hanslick’s hermeneutic style descriptions of Brahms’s music fit less comfortably than a discussion of the formalist aspects of Vom Musikalisch-Schönen. The result is that Hanslick’s multifaceted discussion of Brahms’s works, including his engagement with the extra-musical aspects of these compositions, be it poetic, cultural, nationalistic, or socio-political, was to be silenced.

This article will explore Hanslick’s writings on a number of Brahms’s compositions to which the notion of allusion is central, including Brahms’s Violin Sonata No. 1 in G major, Op. 78, and the late piano pieces, Opp. 116–119. We will encounter two types of allusion: the first is musical allusion, intended by the composer and hinted at afterwards to the initiated among his friends; the second is literary allusion, the exploration of which is admittedly more tenuous, but the results of which are no less illuminating. At issue here is not only what Brahms intended at the time of composition, but also how his works were received by Hanslick and his broad readership. Underpinning this study is the conviction that throughout the twentieth century, Hanslick has fallen victim to what Ludwig Finscher referred to in 1979 as the “terrible simplification of absolute music.” Hanslick continues to bear much responsibility for Brahms’s reputation as a formalist composer of absolute music, despite this view of the composer having been significantly undermined. This article, therefore, shows the traditional image of Hanslick as a formalist to be problematic, while arguing that his critical writings are key to understanding how Brahms’s music was received in the late nineteenth century.

Hanslick’s Reflections on Brahms’s Poetic Overtones

Brahms’s Violin Sonata No. 1 in G Major, Op. 78, as is well known, is called the Regenlied Sonata, on account of its thematic connection with two Klaus Groth Lieder from Brahms’s Op. 59: “Regenlied” and “Nachklang.” In his review of this work, which he ranks “among the pearls of Brahms’s chamber music,” Hanslick compares the violin sonata to the F-Minor Piano Quintet, Op. 34. There is a “more peaceful landscape” in the sonata, “where we rest with a kind of melancholic pleasure; instead of a storm in the heart, a reconciled resignation; instead of the thundering waterfall, the quiet trickle of warm summer rain.” Although the first movement of the sonata opens with the same three repeated notes as “Regenlied”—which he refers to as “the first slow raindrops . . . pounding at the window”—it is not until the Finale that the theme and accompanimental figure are taken from “Regenlied.”
Hanslick regards Brahms’s approach to setting this work as a further development in the history of song setting. He does not see it as “a literal repetition of the song as we had in Schubert’s well-known instrumental works with their songs: ‘Der Wanderer,’ ‘Die Forelle,’ ‘Der Tod und das Mädchen’;” rather, “Brahms abandons himself to the resources of his forward-working subconscious memory, to create a new motive in the same mood, from the same main motive.” Turning to the Finale, Hanslick observes that “the storm of feeling is held back, in that particular, superior, reflective way . . . .” He then suggests that there is a further facet to the sonata, noting that “something undecided, blurred, or hazy lies therein.” The Neue Freie Presse review of November 1879 ends here, but in the version published in 1886 in his collected writings Hanslick adds one more section implying in no uncertain terms that the work has an expressive context: “It seems to us that the sonata is produced much more for the intimate benefit of the private circle than produced for the effect of the concert hall. A completely sensuous, not to mention secret piece requires a certain frame of mind from the players!”

Dillon R. Parmer has argued recently for a dual reception history of Brahms’s works, whereby clues to the musical meaning are restricted to a select private circle of recipients chosen by Brahms, while such clues are withheld from the wider public. Hanslick’s review of Op. 78 supports such a theory of dual reception. In February 1879 Brahms wrote to Clara Schumann that the slow movement of the sonata was written with her son—and her godson—in mind. He was referring, of course, to Felix Schumann, who died aged 24 on 16 February 1879. Michael Struck gave extensive consideration to this chapter in the Brahms/Clara relationship in this Newsletter in November 1879. Michael Struck gave extensive consideration to this chapter in the Brahms/Clara relationship in this Newsletter in 1991. On the reverse side of the undated leaf of ornamental music paper on which Brahms sent Clara measures 1–24 of the slow movement of Op. 78, he wrote: “If you play what is on the reverse side quite slowly, it will tell you, perhaps more clearly than I otherwise could myself, how sincerely I think of you and Felix—even about his violin, which however surely is at rest.”

We know that Hanslick had some knowledge of this private musical meaning. Billroth wrote to him that Op. 78 “is a piece of music entirely in elegy. The feeling and the motifs are an echo of the ‘Regenlied,’ Opus 59. . . . The remembrances of innocent youth are emphasized in almost religious fashion. . . . The feelings are too fine, too true and warm, and the inner self is too full of the emotion of one’s heart for publicity.” We know that Hanslick had some knowledge of this private musical meaning. Billroth wrote to him that Op. 78 “is a piece of music entirely in elegy. The feeling and the motifs are an echo of the ‘Regenlied,’ Opus 59. . . . The remembrances of innocent youth are emphasized in almost religious fashion. . . . The feelings are too fine, too true and warm, and the inner self is too full of the emotion of one’s heart for publicity.”

Hanslick again reviewed this work in 1889 and in this second essay alluded to the hidden musical meaning of nostalgia for lost youth, and an attempt to recapture the experiences of youth. Given Hanslick’s reference to the sonata’s “wondrously consoling strength” and his association of it with Goethe’s “An den Mond,” a central theme of which is lost love and lost youth, it is possible that Hanslick understood the sonata to have been written with the death of Clara’s son Felix in mind. In this second review, the contemporary reader would have been aware that there was a further facet to the sonata, without being privy to the expressive significance of it: “For me the Regenlied Sonata is like a dear and true friend whom I would never forsake for anyone else. In its soft, contemplatively dreamy feeling and its wondrously consoling strength, it is one of a kind. It moves me in more or less the same way as Goethe’s poem ‘An den Mond,’ and like the poem it is incomparable, irreplaceable—rather like our own youth, which indeed seems to peer out at us as from within, as if from the mists of a faraway landscape.” A comment made in a letter from Brahms to Hanslick in 1877 confirms that the critic was within Brahms’s circle of confidants; yet a note of caution against revealing the expressive significance of his works can also be detected. Of Symphony No. 2 in D Major Brahms wrote to Hanslick: “What’s behind this, however, does not want to be finely written up (stilisert) in the newspaper.”

It is beyond doubt that Brahms wanted the Regenlied allusion to be noticed, as is the fact that he intended the biographical significance to be known to only a select few.

In February 1893 Hanslick reviewed an all-Brahms recital given by the cellist Hugo Becker and the pianist Ignaz Brüll at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. On the program were the Cello Sonata No. 2 in F major, Op. 99, and the late piano works, Opp. 116–119. Hanslick later revised this review for inclusion in his 1896 book Fünf Jahre Musik, extending it to comprise two parts, the first addressing Opp. 116 and 117, the second Opp. 118 and 119. “The seven ‘Fantasies’” of Op. 116 are described as “short character pieces, roughly in the form of Schumann’s Nachstücke and Kreisleriana and so on, but without headings. The three intermezzi are of a similar nature and could be included under the title ‘Fantasies.’” This was not the first time that Hanslick compared the two composers. In an early review of a Brahms piano recital in the year they met (1862), Hanslick wrote that “in the form and character of [Brahms’s] music, he suggests Schumann,” venturing that their music had “in common, above all else, continence and inner nobility. . . . With Schumann’s music [Brahms’s] shares, to the point of stubbornness, a sovereign subjectivity, the tendency to brood, the rejection of the outside world, the introspection.” Although Schumann was seen to surpass Brahms at that time in his “richness and beauty of melodic invention,” the two were considered equal in terms of the “wealth of purely formal structure.”

The mention of both Nachstücke and Kreisleriana conjures up the notion of the poetic in these works, specifically related to E.T.A. Hoffmann, a figure who is central to Schumann’s aesthetic of the poetic, and who inspired both these compositions. The title Nachstücke is drawn from Hoffmann’s series of eight ghoulish tales under the same name, whereas the title Kreisleriana, along with its initial subtitle Phantasiebilder für Pianoforte, comes both from the “Kreisleriana” section of Hoffmann’s Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier, and from Hoffmann’s 1819 novel Lebensansichten des Katers Murr.

Hanslick’s allusion to these two poetic cycles for piano in the context of Brahms’s late piano pieces further puts one in mind of the eccentric Kapellmeister Johannes Kreisler of Hoffmann’s Kater Murr, Brahms’s alter ego in his youth. Although Brahms used the pseudonym Johannes Kreisler, Jr. in connection with the Piano Sonatas Opp. 1, 2 and 5, the Opp. 3 and 6 songs, and the Piano Trio, Op. 8, the work we associate most strongly with Brahms’s erstwhile identification with Kreisler is the Variations on a Theme by Robert Schumann, Op. 9. Here, as George Bozarth neatly encapsulates it, “the mercurial Allegros are initialed Kr., the pensive Andantes Br.,” in a manner that is reminiscent of Schumann attributing alternate numbers to Florestan and Eusebius in his Davidsbündlertänze, Op. 6. In an 1858 review of Clara Schumann performing Kreisleriana, Hanslick evoked Goethe’s words to describe the spirit of this
works, but also extends the identification to apply to Brahms’s Kreisleriana in mind when he chose the title Fantasien, for Kreisleriana, Variations on a Theme by Robert Schumann, Op. 9, and the Fantasien, Op. 116, all share the extremes of mood that stem from identifying with Hoffmann’s characters. John Daverio and Erika Reimann have done much work in analyzing how Schumann’s music is influenced by the literary style of Jean Paul Richter and E.T.A. Hoffmann. Their findings have strong implications for Brahms, as the Hoffmannesque features they identify in Kreisleriana find a kinship in the formal, harmonic, and rhythmic elements of Brahms’s late piano pieces. Daverio makes a convincing case for the influence of the Romantic fragment on Schumann’s larger, more self-contained works, identifying the “Kater Murr principle” —an organizational mode based entirely on the principle of incompleteness. This resonates with the elements of incompleteness of the multi-piece that Jonathan Dunsby discerns in Op. 116, elements that find “their completion later in the collection.” Dunsby recognizes this set as reviving “from Brahms’s earlier life the Kreislerian world of the expressively bizarre.” Another feature, the internal fusing of disparate elements into one novel that characterizes Kater Murr provides a compelling model for understanding and interpreting Op. 118, No. 6. Hoffmann provides the following explanation for the fragmentary nature of the book: “When Murr the cat was writing his Life and Opinions, he found a printed book in his master’s study, tore it up without more ado, and, thinking no ill, used its pages partly to rest his work on, partly as blotting paper. These pages were left in the manuscript—and were inadvertently printed, too, as if they were part of it!” The result is that the full autobiography of the cat is fused with the fragmentary biography of Kapellmeister Kreisler. In Op. 118, No. 6 the performers and/or listeners are required to continually readjust their timeframe—in a manner similar to the reader of Kater Murr—if they are simultaneously to inhabit the two worlds presented in the temporal, metrical, and expressive oppositions between the archaic “Dies irae” melody and the sweeping diminished-seventh arpeggios. In this piece, as John Rink remarks, “the music’s tonal foundations are threatened to the very core,” epitomizing and taking to an extreme the harmonic ambiguity that characterizes these late pieces. (Think also, for instance, of the presentation of the opening measures of the Intermezzi Op. 118, No. 1, and Op. 119, No. 1 and the opening and closing sections of the Intermezzo, Op. 117, No. 2.) Such harmonic subversion is redolent of the instability that characterizes Hoffmann’s Kater Murr.

Hanslick would likely have been aware that, as Siegfried Kross notes, Brahms’s “process of identification with Kreisler was complete before [he] entered the Schumann circle,” and may also have known that Brahms claimed “this identification applied only to [his] artistic and poetic existence.” Nonetheless, he alludes to Hoffmann via Schumann in a manner that not only recalls the spirit of the youthful Brahms in these mature works, but also extends the identification to apply to Brahms’s biography. Just as, for Daverio, Schumann’s Nachtstücke is seen as one of the composer’s “attempts to capture lived experience in artistic form,” Hanslick views Brahms’s late piano pieces in similar terms—conscious, as was Schumann, that the music must also make sense on its own terms. “Almost throughout,” Hanslick writes, “Brahms speaks a harsh, hard language which, in its effect, also reaches a cutting dissonance. A strong proud nature steps before us here, at times unreconciled, at times deeply sad, as though bothered by secret pain.” Hanslick’s allusion to Schumann’s Kreisleriana refers to the subject of biography and autobiography via the full title of Hoffmann’s novel, the former by allusion to the fragmentary biography of Kapellmeister Johannes Kreisler, the latter by allusion to the life and opinions of the Tomcat Murr. In his review, Hanslick now assumes the role of biographer, while invoking Brahms’s late piano pieces as autobiographical fragments. The analogy between Brahms and Schumann and their attempts to capture lived experience is made even more explicit by Hanslick in a style that reflects the restless psychology of these pieces: “One could put a caption ‘Monologues at the Piano’ above both of these collections,” he writes, “monologues that Brahms holds with, and for, himself in the lonely evening hours, in stubborn, pessimistic rebellion, in meditative reflection, in romantic reminiscence, every now and then also in dreamy nostalgia.”

There is much in these late piano pieces written between 1892 and 1893 that, while looking towards the future, speaks to reminiscence and nostalgia, a feature that was widely noted by Brahms’s contemporaries and later commentators. There is ample evidence to suggest that events in the early 1890s triggered recollections of the 1850s, a time when Schumann and Hoffmann inhabited Brahms’s intellectual world. Roger Moseley notes that when Brahms first wrote the Piano Trio, Op. 8, in 1854, he was “embroiled in narrative subtexts, in experiences that were later shaped into stories to be (re)told” in the reworking of Op. 8 in 1891. William Horne also constructs a bridge between the 1850s and Brahms’s late works in his compelling case that the Intermezzo of Op. 116, No. 2 might be a recomposition of the A-minor Sarabande of the mid 1850s. It is all the more fitting, therefore, that Hanslick’s allusion to Schumann’s Hoffmann-inspired works opens up a number of meaningful ways in which to understand and interpret the expressive world of Brahms’s late piano pieces.

The picture of Hanslick’s Brahmsbild that emerges from these reviews is entirely at odds with the received view of the formalist advocate of Brahms outlined at the start of this article. Furthermore, the inclusion of biographical elements in Hanslick’s discussion of Brahms is not isolated to these reviews. There is a disconnect, therefore, between theory and practice in Hanslick being labeled a formalist by the New Musicology—the very branch of the discipline that adopts a broadly contextualist or socio-political approach to music scholarship akin to Hanslick’s Brahms reviews. The question that remains, therefore, is how to account for these scholarly inconsistencies.

**East Meets West: Hanslick after the Cold War**

The tendency to favor “formalist” aspects of Hanslick’s writings is symptomatic of what Anthony Newcomb refers to as a “twentieth-century reaction away from an expressive aesthetic and toward a formal aesthetic.” Since the time of Hanslick—and until recent decades—a scholarly tradition was enforced that...
disregarded not only the extra-musical associations in Brahms’s music, but also Hanslick’s very discussion of precisely these features. This can be understood in the context of a formalism that until very recently still governed the broader reception of Brahms and the discussion of Hanslick.

This situation is bound up with the turn that musicological writings took in West Germany and Anglo-America in the Cold War era, whereby certain modes of thought (such as socio-political or literary readings of musical works) were considered extra-musical and thereby outside the concerns of musicological discussion. The reign of objective musical analysis and documentary studies in this period, with its emphasis on musical positivism, as Celia Applegate points out, “meant the exclusion of what Joseph Kerman calls ‘criticism.’” This is the very period considered by Beller-McKenna to have removed the aura of cultural significance from most repertoires, so that only those that were overt and explicit in their nationalist or political intent were understood to have such meanings. It was during this time that the view of Hanslick continued to focus on the first and second of Karnes’s three phases of Hanslick’s output—that is, on Hanslick the formalist writer of aesthetics, and Hanslick the positivist music historian.

East German musicology during this period can be understood as “theorizing music as social discourse.” In that sense, the Marxist musicology of East Germany is seen as anticipating the tenets of the North-American New Musicology. For Marxist music historians, the priority was to reconnect music with society. As Anne Schreffler argues, the fact that this East German discourse was carried out under a Marxist banner meant that it could be rejected out of hand by West Germans as they did not accept its basic premise.

Where musicological writings on Brahms and Hanslick are concerned, we cannot neatly draw a line under the end of the Cold War at 1989. The reaction away from an expressive and toward a formal aesthetic continues to exert an influence in writings on Hanslick, as we saw in the examples by McClary, and Floros (notes 5 and 6), for instance. In the Cold War climate of West-German musicological writings, where theorizing music as social discourse was viewed as suspect, and the Marxist musicology of the other side was unacceptable, the “aura of cultural significance” (to borrow Beller-McKenna’s phrase) of Brahms’s music was downplayed, as was Hanslick’s reputation as a “critical historian.” Perhaps with our distance from the Cold War, and in the aftermath of the “disciplinary turf wars” of recent decades, we are now in a position to take a fresh look not only at Brahms’s music, but also at Hanslick’s rich and multifaceted reflections on Brahms’s output.

Nicole Grimes


(Brahms News, continued from p. 4)

performance of Brahms’s Second Piano Concerto. The Brahms Fund at Ohio State was established by longtime ABS member Tony Pasquarello in memory of his son, A. Joseph Pasquarello, and in honor of Johannes Brahms. It is awarded annually to undergraduate students who excel in performance or studies relating to the music of Brahms.

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