

Aesthetics, Education, Liberalism: Eduard Hanslick's *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (1854) and Its Socio-Political Contexts*

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Introduction

Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* is generally considered the definitive historical depiction of certain political, scientific, and aesthetic conditions in Vienna 1900, which are rooted partly in the unsuccessful revolution of 1848/49.¹ Schorske's explanatory paradigm suggests a failure of liberalism in respect of radical changes in the nineteenth-century landscape of mass politics that have led to aesthetic escapism in the liberal circles of 'high culture.' More recent studies by Steven Beller,² Pieter Judson,³ or Johannes Feichtinger⁴—among others—establish, however, that this narrative is one-sided. By analysing the intricate network of politics, science, culture, aesthetics, and education in nineteenth-century Austria, these scholars have illustrated how discourses that were seemingly dissociated from day-to-day politics had decidedly political implications. Matthew Rampley, for example, recently explored how key methodological characteristics of the Vienna School of Art History—e.g. Rudolf von Eitelberger (1817–85), Moritz Thausing (1838–84), or Alois Riegl (1858–1905)—were conceived in view of the complicated background of Austrian culture and science policies and the multi-ethnic makeup of its culturally diverse inhabit-

* This chapter presents several of the chief ideas of a research proposal I am currently developing. I want to thank Barbara Boisits, Christoph Landerer, and Meike Wilfing-Albrecht for productive criticism on earlier sketches of this text and for being involved actively in establishing this sociocultural perspective on Hanslick's aesthetics. My text was made possible by financial support from the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, project number P30554-G30). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

¹ Carl E. SCHORSKE, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, New York: Knopf, 1980.

² Steven BELLER, ed., *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, Austrian Studies 3, New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.

³ Pieter JUDSON, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914*, Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

⁴ Johannes FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt: Von Bolzano über Freud zu Kelsen; österreichische Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1848–1938*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010.

ants.⁵ A similar account of Eduard Hanslick's *On the Musically Beautiful* or OMB, arguably the most influential contribution to musical aesthetics emerging from the nineteenth century, is missing.⁶

Assessing the sociocultural foundations of Hanslick's thinking process, recent studies by David Brodbeck⁷ and several scholars contributing to *Rethinking Hanslick* (2013)⁸ focused chiefly on Hanslick's critical reviews, his memoirs *Aus meinem Leben* (1894), and their mutual origins in the ideology of Viennese liberalism. OMB, however, has not been explored in respect to its political subtext, its embeddedness in social factors, and its relations to liberalist mentality with similar scrutiny.⁹ The seemingly apolitical character of Hanslick's aesthetics, which distinguish aesthetic analysis from questions of general history, politics, and cultural contexts, has therefore effectively concealed its applicability to certain political issues of nineteenth-century Austria that will be explored as part of my text. Broadly speaking, my chapter will have two parts: part 1 will encompass a brief sketch of nineteenth-century Habsburg education, culture, and science policies and will furthermore demonstrate how these specific policies were based upon peculiar problems of the multi-ethnic Austrian Empire; part 2 will then show how Hanslick's classic treatise, which is commonly considered the supreme example of formalist aesthetics, detached entirely from political concerns, is subtly shaped by these issues and how the ostensibly apolitical character of Hanslick's argument is itself a vehicle of Habsburg culture policies. My text will thus explore the scientific framework of OMB's positiv-

⁵ Matthew RAMPLEY, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.

⁶ Eduard HANSLICK, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Aesthetik der Tonkunst*, Leipzig: Weigel, 1854. For a critical edition of all ten versions of OMB published during Hanslick's lifetime, see E. HANSLICK, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Ästhetik in [sic] der Tonkunst; Teil 1: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Dietmar Strauß, Mainz: Schott, 1990. In the course of my article, I will quote from the latest English-language translation of this book: *Eduard Hanslick's 'On the Musically Beautiful': A New Translation*, trans. Lee Rothfarb and Christoph Landerer, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

⁷ David BRODBECK, Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna: Language Ordinances, National Property, and the Rhetoric of 'Deutschtum,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 60/1 (2007), 71–132; D. BRODBECK, Hanslick's Smetana and Hanslick's Prague, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 134/1 (2009), 1–36; and D. BRODBECK, *Defining 'Deutschtum': Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna*, New Cultural History of Music Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

⁸ Nicole GRIMES – Siobhán DONOVAN – Wolfgang MARX (eds.), *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, Eastman Studies in Music 97, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013. I am referring in particular to the articles written by D. BRODBECK, Lauren FREEDE, Dana GOOLEY, Nicole GRIMES, and David KASUNIC in this book.

⁹ For an important exception, see Michael B. WARD, 'Absolute' Philosophy? Gender, Nationalism, and Jewishness in Eduard Hanslick's Formalism, in: Teresa Cascudo García-Villaraco (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism*, Music, Criticism, and Politics 3, Turnhout: Brepolis, 2017, 337–54. Also see my recent article upon which my current chapter is partly based: Alexander WILFING, 'Absolute' Aesthetics in Context: The Sociopolitical Fundamentals of Eduard Hanslick's Scholarly Activities; Towards a Cultural Turn in Hanslick Scholarship, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 50/1–2 (2019), 175–90.

istic orientation, motivated primarily by the sweeping education and school reform of nineteenth-century Austria, thereby showing how the political subtext of Hanslick's 'absolute' aesthetics is rooted firmly in its temporal and spatial setting.

I. Habsburg Science Policies and its Positivist Orientation, 1750–1850

Scholarship and philosophy in Austria have a lengthy history of being geared towards positivist scientific practices. In 1752 and 1774, Empress Maria Theresa directed two in-depth reforms of Habsburg education in general that were supposed to generate an educated but loyal class of public servants in order to modernize, rationalize, and rejuvenate bureaucracy, the efficiency of which was rapidly falling behind Austria's Prussian rivals.¹⁰ These thorough reforms saw the centralization of government administration and crucially curtailed the influence of Catholicism on Habsburg universities, formerly managed by Jesuit staff.¹¹ Furthermore, these years also produced what nowadays is called the 'popular' version of rationalist philosophy—in particular Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Leibniz (1646–1716), and Christian Wolff (1679–1754)—consequently abandoning scholasticism for a secular edifice of ideas while replacing rationalist metaphysics by psychology as the central subject of academic reasoning;¹² a move that will ultimately facilitate the ascension of Herbartianism as the essential philosophical movement in mid-nineteenth-century Austria. While Maria Theresa's reforms released Habsburg education from clerical control, the ensuing decades proved that religious restraints were increasingly compensated by strict state rule.¹³ Whereas the early phase of Joseph II's reign was marked by so-called enlightened absolutism,¹⁴ the aftermath of the French revolution and the accession of Francis II augmented reactionary forces and led to the advancing relevance of positivism. Aristocratic, conformist, and clerical voices—the traditionalist journalists Leopold Hoffmann

¹⁰ On the general history of Habsburg education, including Maria Theresa's key school reform, who implemented compulsory primary schools, see Peter STACHEL, *Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918*, in: Karl Acham (ed.), *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften*, Vienna: Passagen, 1999, 1, 115–46.

¹¹ Rudolf HALLER, *Zur Historiographie der österreichischen Philosophie*, in: J. C. Nyíri (ed.), *Von Bolzano zu Wittgenstein: Zur Tradition der österreichischen Philosophie*, Schriftenreihe der Wittgenstein-Gesellschaft 12/2, Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1986, 43.

¹² Werner SAUER, *Österreichische Philosophie zwischen Aufklärung und Restauration: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Frühkantianismus in der Donaumonarchie*, Studien zur Österreichischen Philosophie 2, Amsterdam: Rodopi; Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1982, 27.

¹³ W. SAUER, *Von der 'Kritik' zur 'Positivität': Die Geisteswissenschaften in Österreich zwischen josephinischer Aufklärung und französischer Restauration*, in: Hanna Schnedl-Bubeniček (ed.), *Vormärz: Wendepunkt und Herausforderung: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Kulturpolitik in Österreich*, Veröffentlichungen des Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institutes für Geschichte der Gesellschaftswissenschaften 10, Vienna: Geyer, 1983, 17–46.

¹⁴ On the immanent discrepancy of this term, see for example H. M. SCOTT, *The Problem of Enlightened Absolutism*, in: H. M. Scott (ed.), *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe*, Problems in Focus Series, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990, 1–35.

(1760–1806) and Felix Franz Hofstätter (1741–1814), for example—held that the deposition and execution of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresia, were instigated by dangerous Freemasons and Enlightenment philosophers such as Kant,¹⁵ who had dared to judge the divinely ordained validity of religion, morality, and state rule by the intrinsic capacity of rational human reasoning.¹⁶ Kant was consequently considered the »grandfather of murderous philosophy,«¹⁷ the recital of which allegedly »induced atheism,«¹⁸ as Vienna Nuncio Severoli (1757–1824) claimed, who publicly opposed the »perverted principles of Kant's materialism.«¹⁹ Peter Miotti, the most notorious polemicist against Kant's system besides Benedikt Stattler's (1728–97) *Anti-Kant* of 1788,²⁰ even went as far as to demand an embargo on Kant's works and argued on behalf of scholars who »establish their philosophy according to the existing world, not the existing world according to their philosophy,« thereby decrying transcendental philosophy altogether.²¹

Dreading revolutionary movements in Habsburg territories, Francis II and Austrian minister of police Johann Anton Pergen (1725–1814) appointed a commission for study reform (*Studien-Revisions-Kommission*) in 1795, supervised by Heinrich von Rottenhan (1738–1809), who was supposed to reorganize Habsburg education according to the reactionary orientation of the new Emperor in order to »compensate for the damage inflicted on the minds of the Austrian populace by the Enlightenment.«²² Although the beginnings of an increasingly reactionary policy might date back to Joseph II, who in 1786 had founded the *geheime Dienst* (secret service) which remained in place until the end of the Habsburg Monarchy, Francis II is to be credited with perfecting an already well-oiled machine.²³ While Francis and his powerful chancellor

¹⁵ W. SAUER, *Österreichische Philosophie*, 282; and Sepp DOMANDL, *Wiederholte Spiegelungen: Von Kant und Goethe zu Stifter; ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Geistesgeschichte*, Schriftenreihe des Adalbert-Stifter-Instituts des Landes Oberösterreich 32, Linz: Oberösterreichischer Landesverlag, 1982, 40.

¹⁶ W. SAUER, *Österreichische Philosophie*, 286–93.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 283. Original wording: »Großpapa der Mordphilosophie.« On the widespread reception of Kant's works in the closing decades of eighteenth-century Vienna, however, see A. WILFING, *The Early Kant Reception in Austria: From Joseph II to Francis II*, in: *Detours: Approaches to Immanuel Kant in Vienna, in Austria, and in Eastern Europe*, ed. Violetta Waibel, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, 26–31.

¹⁸ J. FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 153.

¹⁹ Ernst TOPITSCH, *Kant in Österreich*, in: *Philosophie der Wirklichkeitsnähe: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag Robert Reiningers*, ed. Richard Meister, Vienna: Söxl, 1949, 243. Original wording: »perversen Grundsätze des Materialisten Kant.«

²⁰ Benedikt STATTLER, *Anti-Kant*, 2 vols., Munich: Joseph Lentner, 1788. Cf. Peter MIOTTI, *Ueber die Nichtigkeit der Kantischen Grundsätze in der Philosophie*, Vienna: Mathias Schmidt, 1798; and his *Ueber die Falschheit, und Gottlosigkeit des Kantischen Systems*, Vienna: Mathias Schmidt, 1801.

²¹ Silvester LECHNER, *Gelehrte Kritik und Restauration: Metternichs Wissenschafts- und Pressepolitik und die Wiener 'Jahrbücher der Literatur,' 1818–1849*, *Studien zur deutschen Literatur* 49, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977, 27. Original wording: »ihre Philosophie nach der existirenden Welt, nicht die existirende Welt nach ihrer Philosophie einrichten.«

²² W. SAUER, *Von der 'Kritik' zur 'Positivität'*, 31. Original wording: »den Schaden wiedergutzumachen, den die Aufklärung in den Köpfen der österreichischen Bevölkerung angestiftet hatte.«

²³ Paul P. BERNARD, *From the Enlightenment to the Police State: The Public Life of Johann Anton Pergen*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.

Klemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich (1773–1859) encouraged reactionary movements by expanding the legal power of this very secret service, leading to an actual police state;²⁴ they result from Joseph's dwindling reform vigour rather than from an abrupt change in policy. The *Studien-Revisions-Kommission*, born from this setting, was aiming at redirecting university education, which should serve solely to support the overall restoration movement by eradicating all allegedly subversive academic traditions and restricting university studies to purely propaedeutic instructions compatible with Catholic doctrine and state norm. While Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803), former leader of the education commission under Joseph II, had planned to instruct Austrian pupils »not merely in philosophy, but in philosophizing« in order to familiarize the prospective leadership with the »impartial reasoning« required to form part of the new government administration,²⁵ Rottenhan disclosed his contrasting philosophies from the very start and thus also laid the groundwork for Habsburg positivism:

The study of mathematics and physics and the positive sciences [shall] outweigh the so-called rational or speculative sciences in order to contain the scepticism of political and philosophical free-thinking.²⁶

Rottenhan's positivist doctrines, formulated at the end of the eighteenth century, were reiterated vehemently by Emperor Francis II in 1821 in an address directed towards an audience of teachers in which he advised to adhere to the »positive.«²⁷ What was intended initially as an impromptu retaliation to the political upheaval of 1789 and meant to deter from similar events occurring in Habsburg territories soon developed into what scholars have designated a semi-official Austrian philosophy.²⁸ While Francis and his immediate successor Ferdinand I could force this line of thought by sovereign authority, Francis Joseph I, who became emperor after his uncle had abdicated due to the 1848/49 revolution, and his government was faced with a different situation. Francis Joseph not merely was forced to accept an increase in civic rights, he

²⁴ Donald DAVIAU, Biedermeier: The Happy Face of the Vormärz Era, in: Robert Pichl – Clifford A. Bernd – Margarete Wagner (eds.), *The Other Vienna: The Culture of Biedermeier Austria*, Vienna: Lehner, 2002, 11–27.

²⁵ Ernst WANGERMAN, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung: Gottfried van Swieten als Reformator des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens, 1781–1791*, Österreich Archiv, Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1978, 71. Original wording: »daß man die Jugend nicht blos Philosophie, sondern philosophieren lehre, und sie zum eigenen Denken gewöhne.« Van Swieten, however, still held that the mature *Bürger* was honor bound to voluntarily submit oneself to the just rule of the Habsburg monarchy. Cf. S. LECHNER, *Metternichs Wissenschafts- und Pressepolitik*, 35–40.

²⁶ W. SAUER, Die verhinderte Kanttradition: Über eine Eigenheit der österreichischen Philosophie, in: Michael Benedikt – Reinhold Knoll – Josef Rupitz (eds.), *Bildung und Einbildung: Vom verfehlten Bürgerlichen zum Liberalismus; Philosophie in Österreich, 1820–1880*, Verdrängter Humanismus, Verzögerte Aufklärung, Klausen-Leopoldsdorf: Editura Triade, 1995, 3, 309. Original wording: »[D]as Studium der Mathematik und der Physik, dann die positiven Wissenschaften [sollen] das Übergewicht über die sogenannten rationalen oder spekulativen Wissenschaften gewinnen ... damit dem Skeptizismus und der politischen und philosophischen Freidenkerei ... Grenzen gesetzt werden.«

²⁷ Alois NIEDERSTÄTTER, *Geschichte Österreichs*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007, 173.

²⁸ J. FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 139, for example, mentions a prescribed »state positivism,« influencing the history of Austrian science well into the twentieth century.

was also set the task of appeasing mounting nationalist tensions rattling the Austrian empire. That Habsburg authorities were well aware of the degree to which nationalist sentiment jeopardized 'national' cohesion is evident not only from Francis Joseph's maxim »Viribus Unitis« (with united forces) but also from his inaugural statement in which he proclaimed the intention to »unite all areas and tribes of the monarchy in an overall nation.«²⁹

In respect of our current subject—i.e. Habsburg positivism, its reliance on certain socio-cultural factors, and their respective influence on Hanslick's aesthetic approach—the most crucial result of the political turmoil of 1848 was the occurrence of another complete overhaul of Habsburg education and science policy.³⁰ In 1849, the Bohemian politician Leopold Count von Thun und Hohenstein (1811–88) was appointed new minister of religion and education, a position he held for more than a decade. In cooperation with Hermann Bonitz (1814–88), a German philosopher and philologist, and Hanslick's former teacher Franz Serafin Exner (1802–53),³¹ Thun initiated a double-edged policy of outward academic freedom—the freedom of teaching and learning in particular—subtly steered by Thun's conformist convictions, who was critical towards idealism and philosophy altogether.³² Although a university professor no longer was forced to follow a pre-approved textbook in holding a lecture, Thun managed to retain control by deliberately appointing professors who had proved to be sceptical of idealistic or romanticist philosophy.³³ Thun's assignment following the 1848 revolution, however, was even more complex as he was charged with modernizing and practically reinventing Habsburg education according to Alexander von Humboldt's (1769–1859) paradigm of academic freedom whilst driving back liberal forces, which had fuelled the revolution. Furthermore, he had to cope with increasing

²⁹ Friedrich WEISSENSTEINER, *Die österreichischen Kaiser: Franz I., Ferdinand I., Franz Joseph I., Karl I.*, Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2003, 100.

³⁰ A recent and thorough analysis of the context, content, and impact of the Thun reform is to be found in: Christof AICHNER – Brigitte MAZOHL (eds.), *Die Thun Hohenstein'schen Universitätsreformen 1840–1860: Konzeption, Umsetzung, Nachwirkungen*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2017. For a more traditional exploration of this broad subject, see Hans LENTZE, *Die Universitätsreform des Ministers Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts 7, Vienna: Böhlau, 1962.

³¹ Geoffrey PAYZANT, *Hanslick on the Musically Beautiful: Sixteen Lectures on the Musical Aesthetics of Eduard Hanslick*, Christchurch: Cybereditions, 2002, 130–31; Ines GRIMM, *Eduard Hanslicks Prager Zeit: Frühe Wurzeln seiner Schrift 'Vom Musikalisch-Schönen'*, Saarbrücken: Pfau, 2003, 141–42; and Christoph LANDERER, *Eduard Hanslick und Bernard Bolzano: Ästhetisches Denken in Österreich in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur Bolzano-Forschung 17, St. Augustin: Academia, 2004, 37–43.

³² For a recent survey of Bonitz's and Exner's involvement in and contribution to Thun's reform, see for example Christof AICHNER, Franz Exner: Professor für Philosophie, Mitschöpfer der Universitätsreform nach 1848; and Franz Leander FILLAFER, Hermann Bonitz: Philologe, Mitschöpfer der Universitätsreform, in: Mitchell G. Ash – Josef Ehmer (eds.), *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft*, 650 Jahre Universität Wien 2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, 183–89 and 189–96.

³³ On Thun's successful stratagem of manipulating appointments instead of redacting curricula—thereby giving the appearance of academic freedom—see for example Susanne PREGLAU-HÄMMERLE, *Die politische und soziale Funktion der österreichischen Universität: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Vergleichende Gesellschaftsgeschichte und politische Ideengeschichte der Neuzeit 5, Innsbruck: Inn-Verlag, 1986, 101–7.

nationalist tensions between Austria's ethnic groups and therefore was seeking a 'nation-neutral' approach to education and research. The universal remedy for these ills—at least from the perspective of Habsburg authorities—was the fostering of formalism and positivism that were both perceived as objective scientific methods and thus as free of political or cultural prejudice. Thun therefore nurtured an »extreme cult of the positive,«³⁴ which should (1) dissuade from what he judged as 'romanticist speculation,' (2) generate 'nation-neutral' methods of scientific research, therefore appeasing nationalist sentiments, and (3) ultimately contribute to the unification of Habsburg territories, at least at the level of scholarship. The hole left behind by abolishing scholastic and rationalist philosophy on the one hand and modern idealist thinking on the other was about to be filled by the ascent of Herbartianism, which formed an appropriate alternative to both sets of ideas. Although Herbart's theories already gained traction in the 1820s and 1830s, it was not before 1848 and the ensuing education reforms by Thun that Herbartianism advances to become the flagship of Habsburg philosophy.³⁵ Furthermore, Herbartianism continued to dominate the Austrian school system well into the 1860s and 1870, largely because of Robert Zimmermann's schoolbook on philosophical propaedeutics (*Philosophische Propädeutik für Obergymnasien*), which saw three prints (1852, ²1860, and ³1867) and consequently contributed to the longevity of Herbartian philosophy by influencing generations of Austrian students.³⁶ As Herbart's works assert a categorical separation between philosophy and actual politics, they were suited ideally for the restorative atmosphere of post-1848 Austria by reminding intellectuals that they were supposed to be objective scientists along the lines of physics, not political activists.³⁷

II. The Thun Reform and the Advent of Musicology and Art History in Austria

Hanslick's various letters to the influential Viennese composer Vesque von Püttlingen (1803–83) suggest the genesis of *On the Musically Beautiful* might date

³⁴ J. FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 139.

³⁵ On Herbart's *Vormärz* reception, see for example Barbara OTTO, Der sezessionierte Herbart: Wissenschaftsrezeption im Staatsinteresse zur Zeit Metternichs, in: M. Benedikt – R. Knoll – J. Rupitz (eds.), *Bildung und Einbildung*, Vienna: Editora Triade, 1995, 141–53. On the overall import of Herbart in nineteenth-century Austria, see the introduction to Andreas HOESCHEN – Lothar SCHNEIDER (eds.), *Herbarts Kultursystem: Perspektiven der Transdisziplinarität im 19. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001, 9–22.

³⁶ P. STACHEL, Die Bedeutung von Bolzanos *Wissenschaftslehre* für die österreichische Philosophiegeschichte: Ein Baustein zu einer Geschichte der pluralistischen Tradition österreichischer Philosophie, in: Heinrich Ganthaler – Edgar Morscher (eds.), *Bolzano und die österreichische Geistesgeschichte*, Beiträge zur Bolzano-Forschung 6, St. Augustin: Academia, 1997, 121.

³⁷ W. SAUER, Die verhinderte Kanttradition: Über eine Eigenheit der österreichischen Philosophie, in: M. Benedikt – R. Knoll – J. Rupitz, *Bildung und Einbildung*, 312–13; J. FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 147; and Ch. LANDERER, 1848 und die Wissenschaften: Staatliche Bildungsplanung und der österreichische Weg in die Moderne, in: Barbara Boisits (ed.), *Musik und Revolution: Die Produktion von Identität und Raum durch Musik in Zentraleuropa, 1848/49*, Vienna: Hollitzer, 2013, 621–22.

back to at least 1851 as he at that time reports holding a public lecture on music and nature in Klagenfurt that will eventually transform into chapter 6 of *OMB* (»The Relation of Music to Nature«).³⁸ The inception of this book thus fell into a period in which the Austrian school system was remodelled completely.³⁹ Thun's reforms, however, did not only streamline established academic disciplines such as law by eradicating the teaching of natural law and replacing it with an appreciation for »the living positive,«⁴⁰ they were also geared towards prompting, installing, and regulating new scholarly endeavours.⁴¹ One of these novel academic disciplines, created chiefly in the spirit of the Thun reform, was the founding of the distinct subject of art history: in 1852, Rudolf von Eitelberger, who had edited the paper *Oesterreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst* (Austrian Magazine for Literature and Art) in which several chapters of *OMB* had been pre-published in 1853 and 1854,⁴² was appointed a professorship for art history, the first of its kind in Austria. The same year, Thun delineated the methodical orientation the new discipline was supposed to take by publicly endorsing approaches that were derived not from abstract idealist doctrines but from the analysis of artistic objects;⁴³ a stance shared by Hanslick, who was convinced that aesthetics cannot depend on a general concept of beauty and each art form must be assessed individually. Eitelberger's career formed a model for Hanslick's own ambitions to reach a similar position; an objective he achieved in 1856 with no academic training in music or philosophy whatsoever by getting *OMB*

³⁸ See the letter to Püttlingen from 12 December, 1851, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung I, HIN 31038. Cf. D. STRAUSS, *Eduard Hanslick: Vom Musikalisch-Schönen; Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Ästhetik in [sic] der Tonkunst. Teil 2: Eduard Hanslicks Schrift in textkritischer Sicht*, Mainz: Schott, 1990, 74.

³⁹ On the historical evolution of Hanslick's treatise, see Ch. LANDERER – A. WILFING, *Eduard Hanslick's Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Text, Contexts, and Their Developmental Dimensions; towards a Dynamic View of Hanslick's Aesthetics*, *Musicologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies* (2018); www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/51.

⁴⁰ J. FEICHTINGER, *Positivismus in der österreichischen Philosophie: Ein historischer Blick auf die frühe Positivismusrezeption*, *Spezialforschungsbereich Moderne: Wien und Zentraleuropa um 1900*, 7/2 (2004); <http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/moderne/heft13f.htm>.

⁴¹ Ch. LANDERER, *Eduard Hanslick und die österreichische Geistesgeschichte*, in: Theophil Antonicek – Gernot Gruber – Christoph Landerer (eds.), *Eduard Hanslick zum Gedenken: Bericht des Symposiums zum Anlass seines 100. Todestages*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 43, Tutzing: Schneider, 2010, 59.

⁴² Chapters 4, 5, and 6 consist of articles that had appeared previously in this very journal: Hanslick reworked the three-part essay of 1853 (»On the Subjective Impression of Music and Its Position in Aesthetics,« 25 July, 1 August, and 15 August) into chapters 4 and 5, whereas the article of 1854 (»Music in its Relations to Nature,« March 13) became chapter 6 of *OMB*. Chapters 1–3 and 7 were presumably written subsequent to these essays that thus form the core of Hanslick's argument: Ch. LANDERER – A. WILFING – Lee ROTHFARB, *Origins, Publication, and Translation History of the Treatise*, in Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, xv–xxx.

⁴³ See for example Martin SEILER, *Empiristische Motive im Denken und Forschen der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte*, in: Martin Seiler – Friedrich Stadler (eds.), *Kunst, Kunsttheorie und Kunstforschung im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs: In memoriam Kurt Blaukopf, 1914–1999*, Wissenschaftliche Weltauffassung und Kunst 5, Vienna: ÖBV & HPT, 2000, 54; and Georg VASOLD, *Alois Riegl und die Kunstgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte: Überlegungen zum Frühwerk des Wiener Gelehrten*, Edition Parabasen 4, Freiburg: Rombach, 2004, 87.

retroactively acknowledged as a habilitation dissertation.⁴⁴ With Eitelberger's professorship getting tenured in 1864 and Hanslick's position reaching similar heights in 1870, musicology and art history were thus developed into full-fledged subjects in post-1848 Vienna as part of Thun's agenda in order to bring about the »Herbartization« of the two new disciplines concerned with the arts.⁴⁵ In the early 1850s, Hanslick was furthermore attempting to move on from his post as a fiscal public servant in order to attain a lectureship in aesthetics. On 15 May 1851, Hanslick wrote a letter to Püttlingen indicating his prospective resignation from public service to »entirely dedicate myself to musical aesthetics« (»mich ganz dem musikalisch-wissenschaftlichen Fach zu widmen«) as he observed how the university »did almost nothing for musicology and musical aesthetics, which gives free rein to someone who gladly spends day and night studying these subjects.«⁴⁶ As Hanslick attained a position at the ministry of religion and education in early 1854, which brought him into direct contact with Thun's reform, it is highly likely that Hanslick recognized the principles of his new superior.

It is difficult to overrate the influence of Thun's positivist viewpoint on OMB as Hanslick knew first hand that he had to comply with Habsburg science policies in order to achieve his academic goals. This significant influence, however, has typically been analysed only with regard to the historical evolution of OMB. Scholars such as Dietmar Strauß, Christoph Landerer, and Mark Evan Bonds have correctly drawn attention to a crucial review of Hanslick's treatise by Robert Zimmermann—the most influential Herbartian philosopher of mid-nineteenth-century Austria—that prompted Hanslick to delete several idealist passages for the second edition of OMB, published in 1858.⁴⁷ At this point, the career paths of Eitelberger and Hanslick align once more: prior to advocating positivism, Eitelberger had publicly endorsed Hegelianism

⁴⁴ Hanslick did, however, receive private musical training at the hands of Václav Tomášek (1774–1850) prior to his move to Vienna in 1846. On Hanslick's education, see Jitka LUDVOVÁ, *Zur Biographie Eduard Hanslicks*, trans. Anna Urbanová, *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 37 (1986), 37–46; and I. GRIMM, *Eduard Hanslicks Prager Zeit*, 23–24.

⁴⁵ Kevin KARNES, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History: Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna*, AMS Studies in Music, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, 31–32. Cf. Kurt BLAUKOPF, *Pioniere empiristischer Musikforschung: Österreich und Böhmen als Wiege der modernen Kunstsoziologie*, *Wissenschaftliche Weltauffassung und Kunst*, Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1995, 105–6; and M. SEILER, *Denken und Forschen der Wiener Schule*, 55.

⁴⁶ Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung I, HIN 31038. Original wording: »Für Musikwissenschaft und musikal[ische]. Aesthetik geschieht noch weniger etwas, da gäb' es noch ein freies Feld für Jemand, der Tag und Nacht gern mit dem Studium dieser Wissenschaften zubringt.« Cf. A. WILFING, *Re-Reading Hanslick's Aesthetics: Die Rezeption Eduard Hanslicks im englischen Sprachraum und ihre diskursiven Grundlagen*, *Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft* 49, Vienna: Hollitzer, 2019, 107.

⁴⁷ For recent studies on these decisive changes, see Ch. LANDERER, *Aesthetica longa, ars brevis: Vergänglichkeit des Schönen und Zeitlosigkeit der Ästhetik bei Eduard Hanslick*, *Musik & Ästhetik*, 53 (2010): 10–19; Mark Evan BONDS, *Aesthetic Amputations: Absolute Music and the Deleted Endings of Hanslick's Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, *19th-Century Music*, 36/1 (2012), 3–23; and A. WILFING, *Eduard Hanslick zwischen Deutschem Idealismus und Österreichischem Realismus: Eine Fallstudie zur österreichischen Kantrezeption*, in: Violetta Waibel (ed.), *Ausgehend von Kant: Wegmarken der Klassischen Deutschen Philosophie*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2016, 319–42.

and his appointment had been rejected initially on these grounds in 1851.⁴⁸ It was merely in virtue of an intervention by Count Thun that Francis Joseph I reconsidered and ultimately appointed Eitelberger in 1852, who had already switched sides by vehemently advocating for Herbart's writings as in an address to Thun in which he stated that Herbart »nowhere came into conflict with established confessions or political systems« and therefore presented a perfect vehicle for supporting and promoting the positive sciences.⁴⁹ In order to attain a lecturer position himself, Hanslick underwent a similar transition: in the late 1840s, Hanslick had championed the »New German School,« in particular Berlioz, who was called the »most magnificent phenomenon in ... musical poetry« (»großartigste Erscheinung im Gebiet der musikalischen Dichtung«) and Wagner, who was proclaimed the »greatest dramatic talent among living composers« (»das größte dramatische Talent unter den lebenden Tonsetzern«).⁵⁰ At that time, Hanslick had equally argued for Hegelian aesthetics that apparently transcends the »inadequate perspective that saw in music merely a symmetrical succession of pleasing tones.« Music, according to Hanslick in 1848, is »more than music,« it is a »reflection of philosophical, religious, and political world-views of its time.«⁵¹ In *OMB*, which was supposed to stimulate his career, Hanslick had decidedly abandoned Hegelian aesthetics for his idea of 'scientific aesthetics' more akin to formalist and positivist scholarship expected by Habsburg authorities.⁵² Hanslick's Herbartian leanings, stressed explicitly in his habilitation application of 1856 and crucial for his future

⁴⁸ On Eitelberger's appointment, see for example M. RAMPLEY, *The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1873*, *Art History*, 34/1 (2011), 60–61; and his *Vienna School of Art History*, 15–18. Cf. J. FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 144.

⁴⁹ H. LENTZE, *Universitätsreform*, 251. Original wording: »nirgends mit den bestehenden Konfessionen oder politischen Staatsordnungen in Konflikt gekommen.« His repugnant ideological conviction notwithstanding, see Taras von BORODAJKEWYCZ, *Aus der Frühzeit der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte: Rudolf Eitelberger und Leo Thun*, in: Karl Oettinger – Mohammed Rassem (eds.), *Festschrift für Hans Sedlmayr*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1962, 335.

⁵⁰ E. HANSLICK, *Sämtliche Schriften: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, Dietmar Strauß – Bonnie Lomnäs, (eds.), (vols. 5–7), 7 vols., Vienna: Böhlau, 1993–2011, 1, 40 and 59. On Hanslick's *volte-face*, see Geoffrey PAYZANT, *Eduard Hanslick and Ritter Berlioz in Prague: A Documentary Narrative*, Calgary, University of Calgary Press, 1991, 107–15; and A. WILFING, *Richard Wagner in Eduard Hanslicks Schriften: Wagnerismus und Wagnerkultus*, *Musicologica Austriaca*, 32 (2014), 155–75.

⁵¹ E. HANSLICK, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 1, 157. Original wording: »Wir sind über die dürftige Anschauung hinaus, welche in einem Musikstücke nur eine symmetrische Aneinanderreihung angenehmer Töne und Tonfolgen sah ... Die Werke der großen Tondichter sind mehr als Musik, sie sind Spiegelbilder der philosophischen, religiösen und politischen Weltanschauung ihrer Zeit.« Cf. A. WILFING, *Eduard Hanslick, Censur und Kunst-Kritik*, in: Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann – Hartmut Grimm – Felix Wörner (eds.), *Lexikon Schriften über Musik*, Stuttgart: Metzler, forthcoming.

⁵² In addition to careerist concerns, discarding Hegelian aesthetics also resulted from the failed revolt of 1848 and the execution of Hanslick's colleague Alfred Julius Becher (1803–48). B. BOISITS, *Formalismus als österreichische Staatsdoktrin? Zum Kontext musikalischer Formalästhetik innerhalb der Wissenschaft Zentraleuropas*, *Musicological Annual* 40/1-2 (2004), 136; Ch. LANDERER, *Österreichische Geistesgeschichte*, 59; and M. E. BONDS, *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, 153.

career,⁵³ were thus motivated primarily by political concerns and are seldom rooted in aesthetic conviction, thereby making him a »strategic Herbartian.«⁵⁴ This is established by Hanslick's increasing confidence following his tenured position in 1870 that made it possible to publicly criticize Herbart for numerous »outlandish« assertions as of the sixth edition of *OMB* in 1881.⁵⁵

In contrast to the rather superficial influence Herbartianism had on the theoretical substance of Hanslick's approach, Thun's advocacy of positivistic scholarship lastingly affected Hanslick's methodology. As in Thun's outline of art history, Hanslick was interested principally in rooting aesthetic discourse in artistic objects instead of some sort of abstract principle (the idea, perfection, reason, and the like). As he claims in the second and all subsequent editions according to the new English translation provided by Rothfarb and Landerer:

The servile dependence of genre-specific aesthetics upon the uppermost metaphysical principle of a general aesthetics is yielding increasingly to the conviction that every art must be known on its own technical terms, grasped in and of itself. The 'system' is gradually giving way to 'research,' which holds firmly to the maxim that the laws of beauty of each art are inseparable from the characteristics of its material, of its technique.⁵⁶

The impact of Thun's positivist viewpoint on Hanslick's outlook becomes quite clear in the method adopted in the initial chapter of *OMB*, in which he states: »If the investigation [i.e. exclusively musical aesthetics] is not to become completely illusory, it will have to approach the natural-scientific method at least as far as trying to penetrate to the things themselves and to probe what in those things may be enduring, objective, detached from the thousandfold fluctuating impressions.«⁵⁷ Hanslick's reference to natural-scientific method, however, does not entail the genuine adoption of the corresponding set of research methods—empiricism, measurement, experi-

⁵³ Here, Hanslick contends »I am closest to Herbart's ... system« (»Am nächsten stehe ich jedoch dem ... System Herbarts«). Hanslick's petition is re-printed entirely in D. STRAUSS, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, Teil 2, 145. On these issues, see Ch. LANDERER – A. WILFING, *Dynamic View of Hanslick's Aesthetics*, section 4 (Politics, Institutions, Ideology).

⁵⁴ J. FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 150. Cf. Ch. LANDERER, *Eduard Hanslick und Bernard Bolzano*, 83–86; K. KARNES, *Shaping Modern Musical Thought*, 31; and M.E. BONDS, *Absolute Music*, 159.

⁵⁵ E. HANSLICK, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 38. Cf. M.E. BONDS, *Absolute Music*, 162; and Ch. LANDERER – A. WILFING, *Dynamic View of Hanslick's Aesthetics*, section 5 (Towards a Dynamized View of VMS).

⁵⁶ E. HANSLICK, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 2. Original wording: »Die knechtische Abhängigkeit der Special-Aesthetiken von dem obersten metaphysischen Princip einer allgemeinen Aesthetik weicht immer mehr der Ueberzeugung, daß jede Kunst in ihren eigenen technischen Bestimmungen gekannt, aus sich selbst [recte: selbst] heraus begriffen sein will. Das 'System' macht allmähig der 'Forschung' Platz und diese halt fest an dem Grundsatz, daß die Schönheitsgesetze jeder Kunst untrennbar sind von den Eigentümlichkeiten ihres Materials, ihrer Technik.«

⁵⁷ E. HANSLICK, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 1. Original wording: »Sie wird, will sie nicht ganz illusorisch werden, sich der naturwissenschaftlichen Methode wenigstens soweit nähern müssen, daß sie versucht, den Dingen selbst an den Leib zu rücken, und zu forschen, was in diesen, losgelöst von den tausendfältig wechselnden Eindrücken, das Bleibende, Objective sei.«

mentation, and so on—but rather reflects a certain objectivist attitude. For Hanslick, empirical sciences can merely guard against fallacies and are »of utmost importance for our understanding of auditory impressions« (»von höchster Wichtigkeit für unsere Erkenntniß der Gehörseindrücke«). As they only examine the physical elements of music and of the sensory apparatus of listening and processing, however, they miss the fundamental intellectual aspects of musical artworks and thus have to be regarded as ancillary disciplines, detached markedly from genuine aesthetic analysis.⁵⁸ Although Hanslick did thus not adopt an empiricist perspective, he nonetheless establishes an objective approach focused on the musical artwork that fits well with Thun's public demand for positivist research.⁵⁹

Conclusion: The Socio-Political Contexts of Hanslick's Aesthetics

What is overlooked frequently, however, is that Thun's positivist tendencies did not originate only from political concerns. While post-1848 Habsburg science policies certainly intended to push back any resurgence of revolution, they were furthermore rooted deeply in sociocultural circumstances. Nineteenth-century Europe saw the escalation of nationalist tendencies that appealed regularly to properties of language, culture, and ethnic unison. The multi-ethnic makeup of the Austrian empire, however, did not allow for any regular attempt at bonding together its peoples beyond the unifying authority of the Habsburg dynasty. By implementing Herbartianism and its emphasis on positive analysis as an endorsed state ideology, officials were able to counteract nationalist sentiments and established an alternative to Prussia's Hegelian paradigm, associated with German(ic) nationalism.⁶⁰ The *Kronprinzenwerk*⁶¹ is perhaps the most famous example of this kind of scholarship: directed by crown prince Rudolf (1858–89), it attempted to represent the Empire's ethnic groups in regard to their cultural qualities without ascribing priority to 'Cisleithania,' the Germanic segment of Austria-Hungary. This decidedly apolitical

⁵⁸ E. HANSLICK, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 78. On the distinction between aesthetics and the methods of natural science, compare A. WILFING, *Tonally Moving Forms: Peter Kivy and Eduard Hanslick's 'Enhanced Formalism,' Principia: pisma koncepcyjne z filozofii i socjologii teoretycznej*, 63 (2018), 15–18; DOI 10.4467/20843887PI.16.001.7640.

⁵⁹ On Hanslick's complex concept of 'scientific aesthetics', compare primarily Ch. LANDERER, *Ästhetik von oben? Ästhetik von unten? Objektivität und 'naturwissenschaftliche' Methode in Eduard Hanslicks Musikästhetik*, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 61/1 (2004), 38–53; B. BOISITS, *Die Gesetze des spezifisch Musikalischen: Eduard Hanslicks Rechtfertigung der Ästhetik gegenüber historischer und naturwissenschaftlicher Kunstbetrachtung*, in: T. Antonicek – G. Gruber – Ch. Landerer (eds.), *Eduard Hanslick zum Gedenken*, 21–27; and A. WILFING, *Re-Reading Hanslick's Aesthetics*, 83–115.

⁶⁰ See for example P. STACHEL, *Leibniz, Bolzano und die Folgen: Zum Denkstil der österreichischen Philosophie, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften*, in: Karl Acham (ed.), *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften*, Vienna: Passagen, 1999–2006, 1, 256; J. FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 116–17; and Ch. LANDERER, *1848 und die Wissenschaften*, 623–25.

⁶¹ The *Kronprinzenwerk*, disseminated concurrently in German and Hungarian in 24 volumes, is entirely available online at <https://austria-forum.org/web-books/kategorie/kronprinzenwerk>.

approach had tremendous political implications as it attempted to establish a unified cultural consciousness of Austria's diverse peoples with Francis Joseph I as a father figure that held together the realms of Empire.⁶² Hanslick, editor-in-chief of the musical segment of *Kronprinzenwerk*, understood the political subtext of this extensive publication: while generally attributing music in Vienna to Germanic tradition, he emphasizes the »stimulating and beautifying« contribution of »Slavic, Magyar, and Italian melodies« that were as welcome as »any kind of race mixture.«⁶³

Going beyond this overtly political project, the seemingly formalistic character of Hanslick's classic treatise, the acontextual methodology of which is focused entirely on music's aesthetic functions, detached markedly from moral, social, and political concerns, once more upholds the key policy of innerpolitical appeasement.⁶⁴ This line of thought is emphasized graphically by Hanslick's exemplary statement:

Whereas the historian ... may envisage in *Spontini* the 'expression of the French Empire,' in *Rossini* the 'political restoration,' the aesthetician must stick solely to the works of those men in order to investigate what is beautiful about them, and why. Aesthetic inquiry knows nothing, and may know nothing, of the personal relationships and the historical environment of the composer. It hears and believes only what the artwork itself articulates.⁶⁵

Rather than being an 'absolute' aesthetic treatise, concerned exclusively with music's aesthetic qualities, *On the Musically Beautiful* presents a »strategic project« reacting directly to the political realities of mid-nineteenth-century Austria.⁶⁶ Whereas current studies on the historical contexts of *OMB* are concerned principally with Hanslick's placement in the history of thought and his precise relation to Herbartian aesthetics,⁶⁷ upcoming research will have to demonstrate how his writings are con-

⁶² J. FEICHTINGER, *Wissenschaft als reflexives Projekt*, 40; and P. STACHEL, 'Mit Wärme und lebhafter Anschaulichkeit': Eduard Hanslicks Anteil am *Kronprinzenwerk*, in: T. Antonicek – G. Gruber – Ch. Landerer (eds.), *Eduard Hanslick zum Gedenken*, 225. On the similar attitude regarding art historical questions, see M. RAMPLEY, *Vienna School of Art History*, 81–95.

⁶³ E. HANSLICK, Die Musik in Wien, in: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, vol. 1, *Wien und Niederösterreich*, sec. 1, *Wien*, ed. crown prince archduke Rudolf, Vienna: Druck und Verlag der k. u. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1886, 123. Original wording: »Leichte Anklänge slavischer, magyarischer, italienischer Weisen, belebend und verschönernd wie Racenmischung überhaupt, klingen leise herein, ohne den eminent deutschen Charakter der Wiener Musik zu beirren.«

⁶⁴ Ch. LANDERER, Österreichische Geistesgeschichte, 59; P. STACHEL, *Kronprinzenwerk*, 230; and A. WILFING, *Re-Reading Hanslick's Aesthetics*, 56.

⁶⁵ E. HANSLICK, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 55. Original wording: »Mag der Historiker ... in *Spontini* den 'Ausdruck des französischen Kaiserreichs,' in *Rossini* die 'politische Restauration' erblicken—der *Aesthetiker* hat sich lediglich an die *Werke* dieser Männer zu halten, zu untersuchen, was daran *schön* sei und warum? Die ästhetische Untersuchung weiß nichts und darf nichts wissen von den persönlichen Verhältnissen und der geschichtlichen Umgebung des Componisten, nur was das Kunstwerk selbst ausspricht, wird sie hören und glauben.«

⁶⁶ M. B. WARD, 'Absolute' Philosophy?, 352.

⁶⁷ For the most recent survey of Hanslick scholarship and its historical evolution, see Ch. LANDERER – A. WILFING, Dynamic View of Hanslick's Aesthetics. Cf. Ch. LANDERER, Eduard Hanslicks Ästhetikprogramm und die österreichische Philosophie der Jahrhundertmitte, *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 54/9 (1999), 6–20; James DEAVILLE, Negotiating the 'Absolute': Hanslick's Path Through Musical

nected intimately to Habsburg educational endeavours that in turn rely on the multi-ethnic makeup of the Austrian empire and how Hanslick's seemingly acontextual and apolitical approach is saturated by political concerns engrained in Austrian culture and science policies. This article intends to form a first step towards this goal.

Sažetak

Estetika, odgoj, liberalizam: O glazbeno lijepom (1854.) Eduarda Hanslicka i njegovi društveno-politički konteksti

Beč na kraju stoljeća: Politika i kultura (1980.) Carla Schorskea općenito se smatra autoritativnim historijskim opisom određenih političkih, znanstvenih i estetičkih događanja u Beču na kraju stoljeća. Schorskeova paradigma sugerira »neuspjeh liberalizma« u odnosu na radikalne pomake u suvremenom krajoliku masovne politike koji su doveli do estetičkog eskapizma u liberalnim krugovima »visoke kulture«. Recentnija istraživanja Stevena Bellera, Allana Janika, Pietera Judsona i Johannes Feichtingera pokazala su da je Schorskeova hipoteza, koju se često smatrali univerzalnim tumačenjem bečke moderne, jednostrana. Analizom zamršene mreže politike, znanosti, kulture, estetike i obrazovanja u Austriji u 19. stoljeću, ti su autori pokazali kako su diskursi, koji su se činili odvojenima od svakodnevne politike, imali izrazito političke implikacije. Matthew Rampley je, na primjer, nedavno istražio kako su se metodološke karakteristike Bečke škole povijesti umjetnosti razvijale u skladu sa složenom pozadinom austrijske kulturne politike i multi-etničkim sastavom njezinih kulturno različitih stanovnika. Još nije napravljen sličan prikaz djela *O glazbeno lijepom* (VMS, 1854.), nedvojbeno najutjecajnijeg doprinosa estetici glazbe u 19. stoljeću. Analizirajući društveno-političke temelje Hanslickova misaonog procesa, recentna istraživanja, koja su proveli David Brodbeck, Lauren Freede, Dana Gooley, Nicole Grimes i David Kasunic, usredotočila su se na njegove glazbene kritike, njegove memoare *Iz mog života* (*Aus meinem Leben*, 1894.) i njihove zajedničke korijene u ideologiji bečkog liberalizma. Djelo *O glazbeno lijepom* nije, međutim, proučavano sa sličnom pedantnošću s obzirom na politički podtekst djela i njegove odnose spram liberalnog mentaliteta. Stoga je naizgled apolitična priroda Hanslickovog traktata, koji odvaja estetičku analizu od pitanja opće povijesti, politike i društveno-kulturnih konteksta, uspješno prikrila njegovu primjenjivost na razne političke probleme u Austriji 19. stoljeća. Prema tome, ovaj članak istražuje opći politički podtekst djela *O glazbeno lijepom*, utemeljen u političkoj ideologiji bečkog liberalizma, povijesnu genezu Hanslickova traktata u odnosu na Hanslickovo zaposlenje u Austrijskom ministarstvu za obrazovanje, te znanstveni okvir njegove pozitivističke orijentacije, motivirane kulturnom politikom habsburške Austrije.

Keywords: Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, Habsburg Monarchy, aesthetics, education, liberalism, positivism, Herbartianism, Thun's reform, socio-political reforms, musicology

Ključne riječi: Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* / *O glazbeno lijepom*, Habsburška monarhija, estetika, odgoj, liberalizam, pozitivizam, herbartijanizam, Thunova reforma, društveno-političke reforme, muzikologija

History, in: N. Grimes – S. Donovan – W. Marx (eds.), *Rethinking Hanslick*, 15–37; and A. WILFING, *Re-Reading Hanslick's Aesthetics*, 17–75.