

Curating Exhibitions, Ordering Disciplines: Theater Studies and Musicology in the Vienna Rotunda, 1892

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ABSTRACT

The International Exhibition of Music and Theater, held in Vienna in 1892, hosted national displays of special expertise at a time when theater studies and musicology were not yet considered disciplines in the narrower institutional sense. Through a comparative study of the exhibits on theater studies and musicology, both of which were located in the joint Austrian and German display in the Rotunda building, this article addresses the role of exhibitions in discipline formation in the humanities. The preparation, implementation, and documentation of the two exhibits laid foundations for the disciplines to come. To exemplify that process, I examine proposals for the structure of theater studies and musicology that were drawn up for the Viennese exhibition. The librarian Karl Glossy launched a comprehensive inventory project for a future discipline of theater studies. Musicologist Guido Adler used the music exhibit to test his theoretical draft of a systematic overview of the subject. In the run-up to the exhibition, scholarly inventories and schemata were generated that articulated and reinforced the two disciplines' different ordering principles.

In summer 1891, more than 400,000 Austrian museums, libraries, archives, collections, universities, and schools received an appeal to lend objects to be displayed in the scholarly division of an international exhibition of music and theater to be held the following

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year in Vienna.¹ The exhibition committee accompanied the call with a draft program outlining the exhibition. Based on the classification systems of world's fairs, the scholarly division was to include forty-five classes of objects, divided into the seven groups: "Memorable Biographies," "Musical Instruments and Their Historical Development," "The Graphic Representation of Music," "Musical Literature," "Music Teaching," "Theater," and "Objects of Ethnographical Interest" (fig. 1).²

The exhibition project to which the scholarly division belonged was equally far-reaching in its scope. Following the encyclopedic ideal of the world's fairs, the International Exhibition for Music and Theater aimed to present the two arts through every imaginable kind of object—historical, ethnographic, artistic, technical, didactic, commercial, industrial—from different countries, as well as performances from all eras and cultures. It was held from May to October 1892 in Vienna's Prater park and the Rotunda, which had been the central building of the Vienna World's Fair in 1873. Fifteen European countries and the United States took part, offering either scholarly and trade exhibitions in the Rotunda or performances in the park's specially built theater and concert hall.³

A few weeks after the appeal for loans went out, the exhibition committee tasked librarian Karl Glossy and musicologist Guido Adler with designing specialized scholarly divisions (*Fachabteilungen*) on theater and music history for Austria and Germany. At this time, theater studies as a subject did not yet exist in the German-speaking world in the narrower sense of institutional history. For musicology, there were a handful of professorial positions, specialized journals, and methodological blueprints, but not any university departments in which teaching and research could have been carried out with

1. "Die internationale Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung Wien," *Neue Freie Presse*, Morgenblatt, September 8, 1891, 6.

2. "Biographische Denkwürdigkeiten," "Musikinstrumente in ihrer historischen Entwicklung," "Graphische Darstellung der Musik," "Musikliteratur," "Musikunterricht," "Theater," "Ethnographisch interessante Gegenstände." "Internationale Ausstellung für Musik und Theaterwesen Wien 1892. Programm" [July 1891], Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Schriftgut des Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht (1848–1940), Teilbestand Unterricht-Allgemein, box 3295, no. 13802.

3. On Vienna's 1892 International Exhibition for Music and Theater, see Martina Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien: Die Konstruktion eines Images* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2007), 315–53; Julia Danielczyk, "Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen in Wien 1892 und ihre imagebildende Funktion," in "Theater/Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert: Beiträge zur Fachgeschichte," ed. Stefan Hulfeld and Birgit Peter, special issue of *Maske und Kothurn* 55, no. 1–2 (2009): 27–38; Katharina Wessely, "... dies 'Ragout aus Anderer Schmaus': Die Neuerungfindung des Alt-Wiener Volkstheaters im Rahmen der Internationalen Musik- und Theaterausstellung in Wien 1892," in *Spettacolo barocco—Performanz, Translation, Zirkulation*, ed. Andrea Sommer-Mathis, Elisabeth Großegger, and Katharina Wessely (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2018), 189–205. Important work on the exhibition has been carried out by the research project "Vienna 1892: The Emergence of 20th Century 'Musical Experience,'" <http://vienna1892.unibe.ch>.

<h1>CLASSIFICATION.</h1>	
<h2>A. Fach-Ausstellung.</h2>	
I. Gruppe. Biographische Denkwürdigkeiten.	
1. Classe.	Erinnerungen an berühmte Musiker, dramatische Dichter, darstellende Künstler der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.
2. „	Bildnisse. (Gemälde, Stiche, Photographien u. s. w.)
3. „	Autographen.
4. „	Manuscripte.
5. „	Medaillen.
6. „	Specialliteratur.
II. Gruppe. Musikinstrumente in ihrer historischen Entwicklung.	
7. Classe.	Tasteninstrumente: Orgel, Clavier, Harmonium, nebst älteren und Zwischengattungen.
8. „	Saiteninstrumente: a) Harfen, Zithern, Gitarren, Mandolinen, Lauten etc.
9. „	Saiteninstrumente: b) Geigen, Violin, Violoncelle, Contrabässe.
10. „	Hilfsmittel zum Spiele auf Saiteninstrumenten.
11. „	Blasinstrumente aus Holz und Blech.
12. „	Schlaginstrumente.
13. „	Special-Abtheilung für Militär-Instrumente.
14. „	Sonstige Instrumente: Harmoniken, Holz- und Strohinstrumente, Spieluhren, Orchestrions etc.
15. „	Hilfsmittel für Musikaufführungen: Stimmgabeln, Metronome, Pulte etc.
III. Gruppe. Graphische Darstellung der Musik.	
16. Classe.	Noten-Handschriften: Aelteste geschriebene Noten, Missale, Mensuralmusik, Tabulaturen, Codices; nicht eilrte Werke aus der Zeit nach Erfindung des Notendruckes.
17. „	Bildliche Darstellungen ältester Musikübung.
18. „	Aelteste und ältere Notendrucke.
19. „	Neuere Notendrucke von den ersten Ausgaben Bach's und Haendel's bis 1873.
IV. Gruppe. Musikliteratur.	
20. Classe.	Literatur der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: Musikgeschichtliche Werke und Zeitschriften, Werke über Kirchenmusik, Musik-Lexica.
VIII. Gruppe. Moderne Musikinstrumente.	
46. Classe.	Tasteninstrumente: Orgeln, Claviere, Harmoniums.
47. „	Saiteninstrumente: a) Harfen, Zithern, Gitarren.
48. „	Saiteninstrumente: b) Geigen, Violinen, Violoncelle, Contrabässe.
49. „	Hilfsmittel: Stimmvorrichtungen, Bogen etc.
50. „	Blasinstrumente aus Holz und Blech.
51. „	Schlaginstrumente.
52. „	Specialinstrumente für Militärmusik.
53. „	Sonstige Instrumente: Harmoniken, Holz und Strohinstrumente, Spieluhren, Glockenspiele, Orchestrions, musikalische Spielwaaren.
54. „	Hilfsmittel für Musikaufführungen: Stimmgabeln, Metronome, Pulte, Pultbeleuchtung etc.
55. „	Nicht besonders benannte, mit der Musikpflege zusammenhängende Gegenstände.
IX. Gruppe. Graphische Darstellung der Musikliteratur.	
56. Classe.	Neue Notendrucke (aus der Zeit von 1873 an).
57. „	Neuere Musikliteratur (von 1873 an).
21. Classe.	Fachblätter, Verlags-Kataloge, Jahresberichte von Körperschaften und Anstalten.
22. „	Programme und Affichen.
23. „	Pläne und bildliche Darstellungen, sowie Modelle von Concertsälen und Musik-Instituten.
V. Gruppe. Musikunterricht.	
24. Classe.	Theoretische und praktische Werke.
25. „	Lehrmittel und Lehrbehelfe für Gesang, Instrumentalspiel und Theorie.
26. „	Organisationsstatute, Statistiken und Jahresberichte von Musikschulen und Conservatorien.
VI. Gruppe. Theater.	
27. Classe.	Theaterbauten, Pläne, Darstellungen und Modelle von Theatern.
28. „	Maschinenwesen.
29. „	Beleuchtung.
30. „	Beheizung.
31. „	Ventilation.
32. „	Theater-Requisiten.
33. „	Decorationen (auch Maquettes).
34. „	Costüme (in Natur oder bildlichen Darstellungen).
35. „	Figurinen.
36. „	Theaterwaffen.
37. „	Theaterschmuck.
38. „	Bildliche Darstellungen theatralischer Aufführungen.
39. „	Künstlerische Ausschmückung der Theater (Gemälde, Sculpturen).
40. „	Dramatische Werke aller Gattungen inclusive Opernlibretti und Ballet-Sujets.
41. „	Illustrationen zu dramatischen Werken.
42. „	Dramaturgie und Literatur, Fachliteratur, Zeitschriften.
43. „	Theaterzettel, Affichen, Programme.
VII. Gruppe. Ethnographisch interessante Gegenstände.	
44. Classe.	Ethnographisch charakteristische Gegenstände aus dem Gebiete der Musik.
45. „	Ethnographisch interessante Gegenstände aus dem Gebiete des Theaterwesens.
B. Gewerbliche Specialausstellung.	
X. Gruppe. Gewerbe und Kunstgewerbe im Dienste des modernen Theaters.	
58. Classe.	Bühnen-Einrichtung, Garderoben u. s. w.
59. „	Zuschauerraum-Einrichtung.
60. „	Theatersicherung.
61. „	Beleuchtung.
62. „	Beheizung.
63. „	Ventilation.
64. „	Die Electricität im Dienste des Theaters.
65. „	Theater-Requisiten.
66. „	Decorationen (auch Maquettes, Versetzstücke, Möbel u. s. w.).
67. „	Costüme, moderne Bühnentolletten, Stoffe hiezu etc.
68. „	Theater-Interieurs.
69. „	Theaterwaffen.
70. „	Theaterschmuck.
71. „	Frisuren.
72. „	Operngläser.
73. „	Nicht besonders benannte, mit dem Theater zusammenhängende Gegenstände.
XI. Gruppe.	
74. Classe.	Neuere Theaterliteratur.

Figure 1. Draft program of the International Exhibition for Music and Theater, Vienna 1892. "Internationale Ausstellung für Musik und Theaterwesen Wien 1892. Programm" (July 1891), Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Schriftgut des Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht (1848–1940), Teilbestand Unterricht-Allgemein, box 3295, no. 13802, <http://www.oesta.gv.at>. Color version available as an online enhancement.

secure state funding. Glossy and Adler were thus curating exhibits on theater studies and musicology—and presenting them to a public of experts and nonexperts alike—at a time when the two fields were just beginning to define themselves as scholarly disciplines.

As I will show, the 1892 International Exhibition of Music and Theater in Vienna gave rise to outlines of the disciplines of theater studies and musicology that were not

framed purely in terms of the university but instead bore the stamp of exhibition curation, with its emphasis on accessibility and cooperation. Karl Glossy presented an object-based history of drama and theater that staked a claim to completeness, having been preceded by an attempt to draw up a comprehensive inventory of all the collections relevant to German-language theater. Guido Adler trialed a systematically ordered musicology that covered several sections of the scholarly division as a collective undertaking. Whereas Adler was able to put his plan into practice at the University of Vienna some years later, the ambitious project conceived by Glossy remained an unfulfilled dream.

New research on the early history of germanophone theater studies has highlighted a long-standing tension in the discipline between historical, philological expertise and approaches based on performance and materiality.⁴ As for German-language musicology, historians of the discipline once focused on the “philologization” that commenced in the nineteenth century, but their emphasis is currently moving to forms of practical knowledge and links with nonuniversity institutions that were equally characteristic of the nascent discipline.⁵ Musicological exhibitions have received some, if patchy, attention in that process.⁶ This essay aims to illuminate the importance of exhibitions for a historiography of late nineteenth-century theater studies and musicology that is comparative in perspective and informed by the history of knowledge. I discuss two divisions located side by side in the exhibition—one on theater studies, one on musicology—to show the role that large-scale exhibitions may play in the formation of disciplines in the humanities.

In the Vienna Rotunda, by far the largest of the country-specific scholarly displays in the inner gallery was jointly presented by Austria and Germany (fig. 2). It was separated into a theater division and a music division, music being further divided into two: music history, and musical teaching, societies, and concerts. The theater division reached from the south transept to just beyond the east transept, complemented by a pavilion on Vienna’s

4. These studies emphasize the influence of artistic and collecting practices on teaching and research in early theater studies departments. See Chiara Maria Buglioni, “Das strittige Gebiet zwischen Wissenschaft und Kunst”: Artur Kutscher und die Praxisdimension der Münchner Theaterwissenschaft (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2016); Nora Probst, “Der Gegenstand (in) der Theaterwissenschaft,” in *Episteme des Theaters: Aktuelle Kontexte von Wissenschaft, Kunst und Öffentlichkeit*, ed. Milena Cairo et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2016), 45–48.

5. Wolfgang Auhagen, Wolfgang Hirschmann, and Tomi Mäkelä, eds., *Musikwissenschaft 1900–1930: Zur Institutionalisierung und Legitimierung einer jungen akademischen Disziplin* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2017); Christian Scholl, Sandra Richter, and Oliver Huck, eds., *Konzert und Konkurrenz: Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2010). Contributions to both these volumes approach the history of musicology and its institutionalization through case studies of instrument collections, conservatories, opera and concert culture, or journalism.

6. Daniel Laqua, “Exhibiting, Encountering and Studying Music in Interwar Europe: Between National and International Community,” in *European Encounters: Intellectual Exchange and the Rethinking of Europe 1914–1945*, ed. Carlos Reijnen and Marleen Rensen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 208–23.

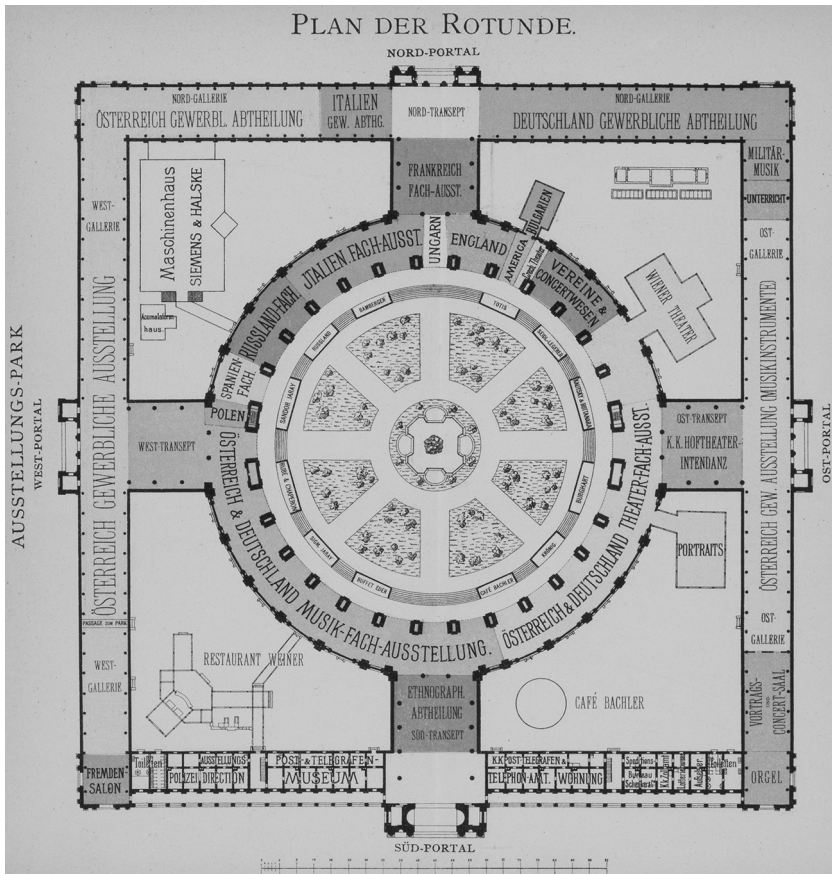


Figure 2. Plan of the Rotunda, *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen, Wien 1892: Führer durch die Ausstellung und Katalog der gewerblichen Special-Ausstellung*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Verlag der Ausstellungs-Commission, 1892), Universität der Künste, Universitätsbibliothek, Mag 02348. Color version available as an online enhancement.

theater history and one with portraits of actors. Next to it, stretching from the south to the west transept, was the music history division; the musical teaching, societies, and concerts division was spread between the inner gallery and the outer gallery. Each of the three divisions had its own curator and was organized and designed independently.

Echoing the spatial and organizational distinction between theater and music studies, my article is divided into two narrative strands, one on the theater division and one on the music history division, which come together at the end in a discussion of their context within the history of humanities and science. Starting from the Austro-German exhibits, I trace the projected schemas for ordering theater studies and musicology as they surfaced in the exhibition planning and organization and became manifest in a diverse range of media—from the exhibition committee's object classification, to the curatorial

blueprints of the subject specialists in the form of lists or outlines, to the spatial implementation within the Rotunda and subsequent textualization in catalogs and reviews.

KARL GLOSSY'S WISH LIST FOR THEATER STUDIES

At the time of the International Exhibition of Music and Theater, Karl Glossy (1848–1937) was director of the Vienna City Library and the municipal museum. One year earlier, he had curated a successful exhibition on Austria's national dramatist, Franz Grillparzer. The expertise of this exhibition maker and librarian crucially influenced the preparation of the exhibition's theater division and its design. Through the media and methods of librarianship, Glossy aspired to produce a full inventory of theater-related objects as an ambitious advance toward a future theater studies, or, to use the German term, *Theaterwissenschaft* (science of theater).

Glossy's endeavors began in October 1891 with his appointment as subject specialist for the exhibition's German Drama and Theater division. With his colleagues from the City Library, he trawled for possible exhibit content in the various collection catalogs, primary source anthologies, theater and literary history, theatrical periodicals, specialized journals, and exhibition catalogs.⁷ The outcome was a pair of printed lists of desiderata, which Glossy called *Wunschlisten* (wish lists), with a total of 2,161 entries.⁸ These registers, which excluded Viennese collections, specified objects that had not yet been submitted in response to the general appeal or to a separate appeal for the theater division.⁹ Taking stock of existing work and creating a systematic overview, they constituted an important step in Glossy's expansive quest for theater-related exhibits. Glossy presented the lists at an Austro-German conference held in Vienna in January 1892 to plan the joint scholarly exhibition, after which around 600 copies were sent out to relevant individuals and institutions across the German-speaking world and beyond.¹⁰

The wish lists are divided by theatrical or dramatic genre, following an approximately chronological sequence.¹¹ More important than this form of classification, though, was

7. Karl Glossy, ed., *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892: Fach-Katalog der Abtheilung für deutsches Drama und Theater* (Vienna: Verlag der Ausstellungs-Commission, 1892), iii–iv (hereafter *Fach-Katalog*).

8. [Karl Glossy], *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892. Abtheilung für dramatische Literatur, Theater und Ballet: I. Wunschliste (Dramatische Literatur – Wandernde Truppen – Aesthetik und Kritik)* (Vienna: Verlag der Internationalen Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen, 1892) (hereafter *I. Wunschliste*), and *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892. Abtheilung für dramatische Literatur, Theater und Ballet: II. Wunschliste (Dramatische Darstellung)* (Vienna: Verlag der Internationalen Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen, 1892) (hereafter *II. Wunschliste*).

9. [Glossy], *I. Wunschliste*, preface.

10. Glossy, *Fach-Katalog*, v.

11. The wish lists were organized as follows: "I. Geistliches Schauspiel, II. Weltliche Schauspiele des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts (Fastnachtsspiele etc.), III. Gelehrten-Drama, IV. Hof-Drama, VI. Wandernde Truppen (Extemporirte Comödie), VII. Dramatische Dichtung von Opitz bis Lessing, VIII. Dramatische

the division by object type. Glossy wanted his exhibition to represent history in a way that was immediate and sensual, aiming to appeal to both experts and lay visitors by privileging images and three-dimensional exhibits.¹² The call accompanying the lists therefore set great store by objects of historical value, such as manuscripts, first editions, and playbills, and items of illustrative value, such as set designs, portraits, and illustrated books.¹³ Arranged in groups and classes, the wish lists echo the exhibition's draft program, which followed a classificatory system originally developed for juries to compare and judge the exhibits in trade exhibitions and world's fairs.¹⁴ Unlike the exhibition committee's draft program, however, the lists' taxonomy was guided not by commercial considerations but rather by the value of the objects as historical and illustrative testimonies. The lists are also defined by their lacunae—implicit invitations to fill the gaps by offering the listed objects, or other ones, for display. Throughout each booklet, the left-hand page lists particular objects that the addressees are asked to supply, or the names of particular people about whom they are submitting relevant objects. The lists also give the location and inventory numbers of the objects, if known, though in many cases the supposed locations were no more than speculation. Each right-hand page is left empty for notes and comments (fig. 3).

When he chose the wish list medium, Glossy was making use of an established tool of scholarship typified by collaboration and an orientation on the future. Under the more technical name of desiderata lists or books, these were a resource much used in the nineteenth century as a way of expanding collections or libraries. A handbook for autograph collectors from the middle of the century, for example, recommends the desiderata list as acquisition tool,¹⁵ and an introduction to librarianship suggests displaying desiderata books in reading rooms so that the readers' wishes can be considered when

Dichtung von Lessing bis um Goethe's Tod, IX. Dramatische Dichtung der neueren Zeit, XII. Dramatische Darstellung, XIII. Aesthetik und Kritik" [I. Religious plays, II. Secular plays of the fifteenth and sixteenth century (Shrovetide plays, etc.), III. Humanist drama, IV. Court drama, VI. Traveling players (extemporized comedy), VII. Dramatic poems from Opitz to Lessing, VIII. Dramatic poems from Lessing to the death of Goethe, IX. Dramatic poems of modern times, XII. Dramatic performance, XIII. Aesthetics and criticism]. The missing groups, "V. Oper (literar. Teil)," "X. Posse, Singspiel," and "XI. Mimisches Drama" [opera (literary part); burlesque, musical comedy; mimetic drama], were not included in the wish lists because it was hoped that particular specialized collections would supply the required items. In the end, opera was mainly allocated to the music section; see [Glossy], *I. Wunschliste*, preface.

12. Glossy, *Fach-Katalog*, iv.

13. [Glossy], *I. Wunschliste*, preface.

14. On the classificatory systems of world's fairs, see Anne Rasmussen, "Les classifications d'Exposition universelle," in *Les fastes du progrès: Le guide des Expositions universelles 1851-1992*, ed. Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus and Anne Rasmussen (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 21-38.

15. Johannes Günther and Otto August Schulz, *Handbuch für Autographensammler* (Leipzig: Otto August Schulz, 1856), 149-50.

II. Weltliches Schauspiel des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. (Fastnachtspiele etc.)

Name	Biogr. Daten	Gegenstand	Beschreibung (Oelgemälde, Stich, Lithogr., Druck etc.)	Vermuthlicher Fundort	Festgestellter Erwerbungsart
84.		Schempart-Buch. In welchem v. 1449 Jar bis auf d. 1539 abgerissen vnd mit Farben eigentlichen aufgestrichen sein Was In jedem Jar für Schemparten vnd mit was Fation geloffen. Papierhs. Fol. 16. Jh. Mit 63 col. grossen Federzeichnungen.	Hs.		Nürnberg, Germ. Museum. Denkschriften I, pag. 192.
85.		Schöne Red u. widerred eins Ackermans vnd des todes mit scharpfer Entscheidung ins Kriegs ein jeglichen daß kurzweilig vnd nutzlich zu lesen. Gedr. durch Johannem Schott von Straßburg 1500. 20 Bl. 4.	Druck.		London, British Museum.
86.		Dasselbe. Druck a. d. J. 1520. (Göd. I. 322.)	dto.		München.
87.		Dasselbe. Druck a. d. J. 1547. (Göd a. a. O.)	dto.		dto.
88.		Schönbartbuch der Stadt Nürnberg 1457—1525 Msc. mit vielen col. Handzeichnungen. 2a	Original-Hs.		dto. Nat.-Museum, ausgestellt Saal I, 2. Stock, Katalog I, 120.
89.		Nürnberger Schempartbuch 1449 bis 1539 mit 66 gemalten Figuren. 17. Jh. 2 ^a .	Hs.		München, Nat.-Museum Katalog I, 16.
90.		<i>Schempart. Alte col. Handzeichnung. Notiz: 1539 ist der letzte Champert in Nürnberg gelaufen.</i>	Handzeichnung		dto. Nat.-Museum Katalog II, 75.
91.		Spiel von der Hester 1567 mit eingeklebten Holzschnitten. Copie aus dem 17. Jh. (Mone, Sch. M. II. 422.)	Original-Hs.		Bern, Helv. Museum. Schrank I, Nr. 83.
92.		Sterzinger Spiele Hs. d. 16. Jh.	dto.	München.	
93.		<i>Tanzender Narr, geschnitten von Erasmus Grasser um 1500. [?]</i>		Nürnberg, Altes Rathhaus.	
94.		<i>Tanzende Narren, geschnitten von Erasmus Grasser um 1500 f. d. Tanzhaus zu München.</i>	Plastische Gruppe.		Nürnberg, Germ. Museum. Wegweiser pag. 23.
95.	Possenreisser zu Nürnberg, XVI. Jh.	Porträt.	Radirung von ihm selbst		dto. Germ. Museum Denkschr. II, 9.

Figure 3. Desiderata list, section on secular plays of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892. Abtheilung für dramatische Literatur, Theater und Ballet: I. Wunschliste (Dramatische Literatur – Wandernde Truppen – Aesthetik und Kritik)* (Vienna: Verlag der Internationalen Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen, 1892), 16–17. Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig.

17

Bemerkungen des P. T. Empfängers.

J. Weidlich Schenkstein des H. und B. Landgerichts (Fachschrift Nr. 610)

Z. Nr.	Bemerkung	Datum	Ort	Anmerkung
101
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Figure 3. (Continued)

making new acquisitions.¹⁶ Another form of the desiderata list had been used since the seventeenth century to formulate requests for scholarly cooperation across geographical and temporal boundaries: the early modern desiderata book enumerated forgotten, existing, and projected arts, crafts, sciences, concrete or abstract inventions, discoveries both probable and improbable, and unwritten or unfinished treatises. Its publication issued a challenge to users to dedicate themselves to the phenomena listed during an undefined period of future time.¹⁷ With their bifurcated format—entries on the left-hand page and space for remarks on the right—Glossy’s lists also resemble a tool that Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and Georg Friedrich Benecke used for their scholarly exchange, the *Adversarium*. This consisted of folded sheets of paper, one half containing questions or hypotheses and the other left blank for answers and comments.¹⁸ *Adversarien* were a medium of cooperation for early German language and literature studies at a time when the discipline did not yet have access to established institutional resources.¹⁹ Similarly, Glossy may have hoped that the empty pages in his lists could foster the exchange of additional information about theater history.

The primary purpose of Glossy’s wish lists, however, was to generate an exhibition on the history of theater. By mid-April 1892, Glossy and his staff had received notifications for around 32,000 objects, 5,202 of which they selected for display.²⁰ Added to these were another 906 exhibits from the display on the history of Viennese theater in its dedicated pavilion, which were cataloged separately.²¹

The taxonomy of the Austrian and German theater division in the southeastern portion of the Rotunda’s inner gallery bears little resemblance to what was proposed in the original program, but the residue of the wish lists’ categorization remains discernible. As the catalog shows, the exhibition—like the wish lists—ordered the history of German-language theater in terms of dramatic and literary genres following a largely chronological

16. Edmund Zoller, *Die Bibliothekswissenschaft im Umriss* (Stuttgart: Julius Weise, 1846), 57.

17. Vera Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest, 1575–1725* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 95–166.

18. Lothar Bluhm, “Adnoten zum Gelehrtenbrief: Die Grimm-Beneckeschen ‘Adversarien,’” in *Der Brief in Klassik und Romantik: Aktuelle Probleme der Briefedition*, ed. Lothar Bluhm and Andreas Meier (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1993), 94.

19. On forms of communication and cooperation in early German language and literary studies, see Lothar Bluhm, *Die Brüder Grimm und der Beginn der Deutschen Philologie: Eine Studie zur Kommunikation und Wissenschaftsbildung im frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1997), esp. 129–81.

20. Glossy, *Fach-Katalog*, v–vii.

21. Karl Glossy, ed., *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892. Abtheilung für Drama und Theater: Theatergeschichtliche Ausstellung der Stadt Wien* (Vienna: Verlag der Bibliothek und des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien, 1892). This exhibition benefited from Glossy’s contacts with local institutions and private collectors. It contained numerous objects from the collections directed by Glossy himself, obviating the need for desiderata lists (*ibid.*, vii–ix).

arrangement. At the south entrance, the visitor's tour commenced along one wall with a section on religious plays from the Middle Ages onward. This was followed by a section on Shrovetide plays and other profane theater, emphasizing the sixteenth century, and one on humanist drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Two sections were devoted to individual dramatists up to the present day; between them was a section on Jesuit theater and related forms from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and one on itinerant players in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the opposite wall, there were separate sections on individual theaters and cities.

Additional individual displays interrupted the chronological flow. Originally, the city of Vienna was to have been the high point of the tour, but space constraints meant it was eventually housed in its own pavilion—where it was, of course, no less prominent. The pavilion with portraits of famous thespians presented the history of acting since the eighteenth century and included a section on ballet. Next to it, though not part of the scholarly exhibition, was the Viennese Hoftheaters' display in the east transept. Some of the separate sections had been resolved at the planning conference,²² but others were forced through later by individual directors determined to define their contribution and parade their own prestige.²³ This led to complaints that Glossy's exhibition lacked scholarly rigor. In reviews, musicologists found fault with the theater division's seeming chaos, a result of the multiplicity of individual displays. They compared it unfavorably with the academically commendable orderliness of the music division.²⁴

Planned or not, the chronological arrangement of the theater division and its spotlight on single theaters and personalities reflected a nationalist narrative of progress that was shared by German-language theatrical historiography at the time.²⁵ But unlike historiography, the exhibition told theatrical history using several thousand objects instead of written words. As the wish lists had requested, it contained a remarkable number of visual artifacts. The section on Weimar, for example, centered on a large oil painting of Goethe, surrounded by busts and portraits of Goethe and Schiller. Besides cabinets full of visual and textual sources, relics, and props, the section featured portraits of actors, playwrights, directors, and patrons and sketches of costumes, sets,

22. "Bericht über die vom 18.–23. Januar 1892 in Wien stattgefundenen Verhandlungen betreffend die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892" [January 1892], 3, University of Georgia Special Collections Libraries, Hargrett Manuscripts, Guido Adler papers, box 53, no. 11.

23. Glossy, *Fach-Katalog*, vii–viii.

24. Josef Sittard, *Kritische Briefe über die Wiener internationale Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung* (Hamburg: Boysen, 1892), preface (unpaginated), 7–8, 28–37; Josef Mantuani, "Internationale Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung in Wien," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 24, no. 12 (1892): 190–216, 208–9.

25. Stefan Hulfeld, *Theatergeschichtsschreibung als kulturelle Praxis: Wie Wissen über Theater entsteht* (Zurich: Chronos, 2007), 246–60.

and playhouses.²⁶ Taken as a whole, the theater division did not articulate a clear scholarly framework. Contingent and heterogeneous, it was influenced by Glossy's visual pedagogy and an admiration for celebrities—and always determined by the objects received on loan.

Not only was the projected chronological arrangement frequently interrupted by the separate sections and displays, but most of the objects coveted by the wish lists' author were never received. In practice, then, many of the aspirations manifested and disseminated in the wish lists remained unfulfilled. In his preface to the exhibition catalog, Glossy complains that although he received appreciative responses to his lists, they rarely complied with the actual requirements he had set out.²⁷ Of the seventy-two desiderata in the group "Religious Plays," for example, only eight items appear in the relevant section of the catalog.²⁸ Yet Glossy had hoped that his work on the exhibition would allow him to access and catalog the entire corpus of material on German-language theater and dramatic history.²⁹ Although he did not see himself as an academic, he believed he could blaze a trail for a future discipline of theater studies. In the official report on the exhibition, Glossy and his colleagues expressed their desire for the exhibition to generate a picture of "infinite variety" that, "influenced in its whole arrangement from an historical point of view," would offer many spurs to the still young domain of research on theater, whether by indicating sources or by suggesting particular themes.³⁰ Reviews praised the catalogs for their scope and their likely significance for future research. The journal *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik*, for example, called them "reference works for scholarship for many years to come."³¹

Just how important the catalogs actually were for contemporary and later scholars is difficult to determine in any systematic way and—like the wish lists themselves—remains a matter of isolated citations, speculation, and wishful thinking. In the 1905

26. Glossy, *Fach-Katalog*, 257–83.

27. *Ibid.*, v.

28. [Glossy], *I. Wunschliste*, 2–12, and Glossy, *Fach-Katalog*, 1–9.

29. Glossy, *Fach-Katalog*, vii.

30. "ein unendlich mannigfaltiges Bild entstehen werde, das in seiner ganzen Anordnung vom historischen Gesichtspunkt bestimmt, der noch jungen Forschung auf dem Gebiete des Theaterwesens vielfache Anregung geben werde, sei es durch Nachweise von Quellen oder durch Hinweis auf einzelne Themata" (Wilhelm Englmann, Karl Glossy, and Eugen Probst, "Die Fach-Ausstellung für deutsches Drama und Theater," in *Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892*, ed. Siegmund Schneider [Vienna: Moritz Perles, 1894], 285; available in English in Wilhelm Englmann, Karl Glossy, and Eugen Probst, "The Exhibition for German Drama," in *The International Exhibition for Music and the Drama, Vienna 1892*, ed. A[lfred] J[ames] Hipkins, Moritz Steinert and Siegmund Schneider, trans. Rosa Wohlmuth [Vienna: Moritz Perles, 1894], 285).

31. "wissenschaftliche Quellenwerke auf lange Jahre hinaus" ("Internationale Musik- und Theaterausstellung: Die Kataloge," *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik* 16, no. 21 [1892]: 522).

edition of Eduard Devrient's celebrated history of the German stage, *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst*, the two catalogs are cited several times.³² The catalogs thus made their way into a standard reference work that Glossy himself had consulted during his preliminary work on the exhibition. Another lasting legacy was an 1899 study of the history of Viennese theater, *Geschichte des Wiener Theaterwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zu den Anfängen der Hoftheater*, which includes numerous reproductions of sources to be found in the catalogs.³³ In more practical terms, the exhibition led to a near doubling of funds for the municipal collections directed by Glossy. The collections also attracted a remarkable number of gifts, enhancing the City Library's profile as a theater history collection.³⁴

Most of all, however, Glossy's exhibition and catalogs have inscribed themselves into the history of theater studies as an origin myth, occasionally serving the early historiography of the discipline as the grounds for ideologically charged claims to legitimacy. As late as 1966, the Viennese theater scholar Heinz Kindermann described the exhibition as an important stimulus for theater collections and departments of theater studies both in Austria and abroad.³⁵ Some years earlier, Kindermann's colleague Margaret Dietrich, who would inherit his professorial chair, wrote that the exhibition had created important preconditions for research on theater studies in Vienna.³⁶ Both these evaluations situate Glossy's project as an early step toward the 1943 establishment, at Kindermann's urging, of a central department of theater studies at the University of Vienna, a move that was intended to make Vienna the nexus of theatrical culture and theater studies in the Third Reich.³⁷

32. Eduard Devrient, *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (1848–74; Berlin: Otto Elsner, 1905), 521–22, 526, 529, 535, 542, 546, 548–49, 553.

33. The author Alexander von Weilen was involved in the theater section, and in the preface he names the catalogs as the main basis of his source material; see *Geschichte des Wiener Theaterwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zu den Anfängen der Hoftheater* (Vienna: Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst, 1899).

34. Danielczyk, "Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen," 36–37.

35. Heinz Kindermann, "Theaterwissenschaft," in *Das Atlantischbuch des Theaters*, ed. Martin Hürlimann (Zurich: Atlantis, 1966), 418–19.

36. Margaret Dietrich, "Das Institut für Theaterwissenschaft an der Wiener Universität," *Maske und Kothurn* 6, no. 2 (1960): 191.

37. Birgit Peter and Martina Payr, eds., "Wissenschaft nach der Mode"? *Zur Gründung des Zentralinstituts für Theaterwissenschaft an der Universität Wien 1943*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: LIT, 2008). Another founding father, too, ascribed Glossy's work long-lasting impact as the beginning of Germany's history of important theater exhibitions. Carl Niessen, later the founder of the theater studies department in Cologne, noted in the 1920s that the 1892 catalogs were used to prepare the Deutsche Theater Ausstellung in Berlin (1910) and the Deutsche Theater-Ausstellung in Magdeburg (1927); see "Die Deutsche Theater-Ausstellung in Magdeburg und ihre Vorläufer," *Das Deutsche Theater: Jahrbuch für Drama und Bühne* 3, no. 1 (1927/28): 1–6, 3.

Such aggrandizement aside, the sheer scope envisaged by Glossy's project of collection and systematization is remarkable. It would be fair to locate his work within the nineteenth-century emergence of Big Science, described by historians of science and humanities as being "born out of,"³⁸ or at least spearheaded by, the humanities.³⁹ Like the desiderata lists, various forms of which had been circulating since the seventeenth century, the large-scale research projects of the nineteenth century were essentially collaborative and future oriented. Yet they also pursued a nationalist agenda, the notion of the race for possession of scholarly preeminence for decades or even centuries to come.⁴⁰

In contrast to other Big Science projects of its day, Glossy's was not able to benefit from state funding, and neither did it take shape within the institutional framework of research academies. At the time of the exhibition, theater and drama history had occasionally been taught within philology, philosophy, art history, and archaeology at the University of Vienna,⁴¹ and in 1900, Max Herrmann began teaching theater at the University of Berlin, where he founded the first department of theater studies in 1923.⁴² In 1892, though, theater studies was not yet considered an academic discipline and as such received no direct support from the state. Instead, Glossy mined the resources, visibility, and prestige of the International Exhibition of Music and Theater to take at least the first steps toward a major project. He launched an all-embracing, systematic process of inventorying objects related to the history of German-language drama and theater. Even today there has been no comparable, fully realized project for germanophone theater studies. It is the wish lists in particular that capture Glossy's visions of the future. Fragmentary and questing, they hint at a collaboration across place and time that in many ways recalls the apparent naivete of the early modern desiderata lists. By invoking its own future relevance, Glossy's theater division contained the gesture of a discipline to come. But the articulation of that desire also nudged it toward realization, for desires can produce futures through language.⁴³ Glossy brought his dream theater studies into being in the Rotunda, at least for the duration of the exhibition.

38. Rüdiger vom Bruch, "Mommsen und Harnack: Die Geburt von *Big Science* aus den Geisteswissenschaften," in *Theodor Mommsen: Wissenschaft und Politik im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alexander Demandt, Andreas Goltz, and Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 121–41.

39. Lorraine Daston, "The Immortal Archive: Nineteenth-Century Science Imagines the Future," in *Science in the Archives: Pasts, Presents, Futures*, ed. Lorraine Daston (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 160.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Öffentliche Vorlesungen an der k.k. Universität zu Wien* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1885–91, Adolf Holzhausen, 1891–93).

42. Stefan Corssen, *Max Herrmann und die Anfänge der Theaterwissenschaft: Mit teilweise unveröffentlichten Materialien* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1998), 74.

43. Stefan Willer, "Wunsch," in *Futurologien: Ordnungen des Zukunftswissens*, ed. Benjamin Bühler and Stefan Willer (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2016), 51–52.

GUIDO ADLER'S ORDERING OF MUSICOLOGY

The immense national and international contribution of the Viennese musicologist Guido Adler (1855–1941) to the methodological foundations of musicology has been much discussed by historians of music.⁴⁴ In 1885, Adler published a proposal to bisect the discipline into historical and systematic musicology, a notion that would become influential in Austria and internationally. In 1898, he was appointed professor of the theory and history of music at the University of Vienna, where he built up one of the world's first university musicology departments. What has hitherto been largely ignored is the fact that, exactly at the midpoint between these two milestones in the history of the discipline, Adler curated a musicological exhibit in which he tested his methodological principles spatially as part of a collective project. As curators of the Vienna exhibition's music history division, Adler and his colleagues set out a highly ramified musicological discipline based on carefully arranged distinctions.

From the outset, the music history division arose from direct dialogue between Austrian and German musical experts. The initial preparations took place at an exhibition office in Prague, where Adler was *Professor extraordinarius* of musicology at the German-speaking Charles-Ferdinand University, then in Vienna from the spring of 1892.⁴⁵ Among those working in the exhibition office was the Leipzig-based music librarian Emil Vogel. Another figure who joined the project at an early stage and remained involved for the duration of the exhibition was Oskar Fleischer, curator of the musical instrument collection at Berlin's Royal Academy of Music. Wilhelm von Weckbecker curated the displays on music teaching, societies, and concerts, the second part of the music division alongside music history. Unlike the theater division, the music division for Austria-Hungary and Germany included the non-German-speaking cultures of the Habsburg Empire.

44. For more recent studies of Adler's works and impact, see Markus Stumpf, Herbert Posch, and Oliver Rathkolb, eds., *Guido Adlers Erbe: Restitution und Erinnerung an der Universität Wien* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2017); Martin Eybl, "Guido Adler, die Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich und die Anfänge der Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Wien: Konzepte und Perspektiven," in *Musikwissenschaft 1900–1930: Zur Institutionalisierung und Legitimierung einer jungen akademischen Disziplin*, ed. Wolfgang Auhagen, Wolfgang Hirschmann, and Tomi Mäkelä (Hildesheim: Olms, 2017), 250–61; Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Wien und die Folgen für die deutsche Musikwissenschaft: Klärungen zur 'Münchener Schule,'" in *Wissenskulturen der Musikwissenschaft: Generationen – Netzwerke – Denkstrukturen*, ed. Sebastian Bolz et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2016), 41–57; Kevin C. Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History: Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

45. Guido Adler, ed., *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892: Fach-Katalog der Musikhistorischen Abtheilung von Deutschland und Oesterreich-Ungarn, nebst Anhang: Musikvereine, Concertwesen und Unterricht* (Vienna: Verlag der Ausstellungs-Commission, 1892), iii–v (hereafter *Fach-Katalog*).

Musical performances and musical instrument exhibitions had been a component of large-scale international exhibitions ever since the Great Exhibition in London, and a few years before the Vienna event, in 1888, an international exhibition dedicated to music had been held in Bologna. Nevertheless, Adler and his colleagues faced a pioneering task. The music history displays of past exhibitions had usually been restricted to instruments; they were often fragmented into separate collections and made no claims to offer a general survey of musical history.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the creators of the music history division did not have to draw up inventories comparable to those required by the theater division. This was because Adler and the Austrian Ministry of Culture and Education had for several years been inventorying music held by all Austrian libraries for the historical edition *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Monuments of Austrian music), so that at least these items were already cataloged and available in part to scholars.⁴⁷

Together, Adler and Fleischer worked out a plan for structuring the music history display and decided on potential groups of objects.⁴⁸ After consultation with the preparatory conference, the “planning sketch” was distributed. Rather than a long list of objects like that of the theater division, the institutions addressed by the music curators received a two-page chronological outline of various epochs and some important genres, with subcategories for particular schools and genres of music, selected composers, notation, and music publishing (fig. 4). As its preferred object types, the mimeographed appeal named printed and manuscript scores, instruments, objects associated with famous personalities, administrative files, certificates, and pictures.⁴⁹ The strongly conceptual and methodological foundations of the division were intended to contrast with previous exhibitions related to music, which had applied taxonomies based on industry and the trades. The new exhibition, claimed Fleischer, was to rest instead upon “historical-scientific principles.”⁵⁰

46. Malou Haine, “Expositions d’instruments anciens dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle,” *Revue belge de Musicologie* 42 (1988): 223–40; Alessandra Fiori, *Musica in mostra: Esposizione internazionale di musica (Bologna 1888)* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2004), 153–97.

47. Adler, *Fach-Katalog*, vi. On the inventory project, see Elisabeth Theresia Hilscher, *Denkmalpflege und Musikwissenschaft: Einhundert Jahre Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe der Tonkunst in Österreich (1893–1993)* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1995), 45–52.

48. Oscar Fleischer, *Die Bedeutung der internationalen Musik- und Theaterausstellung in Wien für Kunst und Wissenschaft der Musik* (Leipzig: Internationale Verlags- und Kunstanstalt, 1894), 14–15.

49. “Plan-Skizze der musik-historischen Abtheilung von Deutschland und Oesterreich bei der Internationalen Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892,” January 26, 1892, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, SM 63 HA SIM 1a/7/2,1, fol. 3.

50. “historisch-wissenschaftliches Prinzip” (Fleischer, *Die Bedeutung*, 16).

I. Vorchristliche Zeit.		
Aegypter, Perser, Araber, Hebräer, Griechen, Römer.		
II. Mittelalter, einstimmiger Gesang bis 1200.		
Weltliche Musik der romanischen Epoche. Jongleurs, Minstrels. Tanz. Singspiele. Minnesinger. Meistersinger.	Palltographie.	Geistliches Drama mit Musik (Oster-, Weihnachts-, Dreikönigs-, Marien-Spiele).
III. Mehrstimmigkeit.		
Deutsche, niederländische, englische, italienische, französische, spanische Schulen in Deutschland und Oesterreich.		
Geistliche Motette, Lied. Lautenmusik. Orlando Lasso in München.	Drucke seit der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts fortlaufend.	Russische Cantionale. Böhmisch-Mährische Bruderschaften.
IV. Protestantische Kirchenmusik <i>Süd- und norddeutsche Organisten-Schulen (Tabulaturen).</i>		
V. Weltliche Tonkunst im 17. Jahrhundert. (Vorläufer Madrigal.) Besondere Pflege der Oper, des Oratoriums. Hamburg, München, Dresden, Berlin, Wien fortlaufend bis ins	Einzelne Separata.	Schütz. Bach. Haendel. Gluck. Haydn. Mozart. Beethoven. Schubert. Mendelssohn. Weber. Meyerbeer. Wagner (Cornelius). Schumann. Chopin. Liszt. Cherubini. Spontini. Spohr. Marschner. Loewe.
VI. 18. u. 19. Jahrhundert. Kammermusik (Sonate, Suite, Symphonie, Cantate). Friedrich der Grosse. Alle jene Künstler des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts in Gruppen, welche nicht separat aufgestellt sind. Fortlaufende Darstellung des Notenstiches und Druckes in Deutschland und Oesterreich.		
VII. Volkslied.		VIII. Moderne Künstler.
IX. Militär-Musik.		
Separat aufzustellen.		

Figure 4. Planning outline of the music history division of the International Exhibition for Music and Theater, Vienna 1892 (Plan-Skizze der musik-historischen Abtheilung von Deutschland und Oesterreich bei der Internationalen Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892), January 26, 1892, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, SM 63 HA SIM 1a/7/2,1, fol. 4. Color version available as an online enhancement.

It proved possible to implement the original outline almost completely in the Rotunda, as the catalog shows. Music history, in the southwestern portion of the inner gallery, began at the south entrance with a section on musical culture at the Austrian court. The plan then had visitors stroll through the history of music in the German-speaking lands, starting with a section on non-European and pre-Christian European music and culminating in displays on individual composers (including living composers) and a section on the musicologists and music critics of the nineteenth century. In the musical societies and concerts division, musical associations presented their work in individual stands, while the music teaching display presented music schools and conservatories.⁵¹ An additional music-related area was German military music, located in the outer gallery. The ethnographic division in the south transept, finally, was intended in part as a “comparative exhibition of the musical instruments of all the world’s peoples.”⁵² It included instruments from non-European cultures and European folk music instruments that did not form part of the national displays.⁵³

At the time of the exhibition, Guido Adler already enjoyed a reputation as a creator of methodological outlines. In 1885, in the first issue of the musicological quarterly he had cofounded, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, he published a crisply structured plan of the discipline in an article titled “The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology” (fig. 5).⁵⁴ The essay aimed to present musicology as a modern discipline that could be of equal value to the natural sciences.⁵⁵ In it, Adler divides musicology into a historical and a systematic branch, each further divided into subfields and complemented by music’s various auxiliary and neighboring disciplines. Historical musicology, in this model, encompasses musical paleography and genre history, the history of musical forms and styles, and more peripherally the history of musical instruments.

51. On this section, see Wilhelm von Weckbecker, “Instruction in Musik, Musik-Societies and Concert Affairs,” in *The International Exhibition for Music and the Drama, Vienna 1892*, ed. A[lfred] J[ames] Hipkins, Moritz Steinert, and Siegmund Schneider and trans. Rosa Wohlmuth (Vienna: Moritz Perles, 1894), 163–64.

52. “vergleichende Ausstellung der Musik-Instrumente aller Völker der Erde” (“Aufruf der ethnographischen Abteilung,” September 1891, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, SM 63 HA SIM 1a/7/2,1, fol. 5).

53. *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen, Wien 1892: Führer durch die Ausstellung und Katalog der gewerblichen Special-Ausstellung*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Verlag der Ausstellungs-Commission, 1892), 45–48.

54. Guido Adler, “Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885): 5–20; available in English in Erica Mugglestone, “Guido Adler’s ‘The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology’ (1885): An English Translation with an Historico-Analytical Commentary,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 1–21.

55. Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History*, esp. 27–29, 38–44.

The “system of music” covers musical theory and aesthetics, the general laws of music, and didactics, along with comparative musicology.

Adler’s tabular survey was put into institutional practice starting in 1898, when he was appointed professor at the University of Vienna, founded a musicology department, and quickly set about realizing his methodological convictions. Within the musicology department, Adler concentrated mainly on the historical aspect of his outline and to a lesser extent the systematic aspect; his colleagues taught comparative musicology.⁵⁶ Shortly after Adler’s retirement, the tabular survey found its way into the study guide issued by the philosophy faculty.⁵⁷ After World War II, Adler’s bipartite structure spread beyond Vienna—although in a tripartite form due to the addition of comparative musicology, which Adler had classified as a subfield. Despite changing terminologies and definitions, Adler’s basic structure underlies the constitution of musicological studies in universities worldwide even today.⁵⁸

Seven years before Adler moved from Prague to Vienna to take up his professorship, he presented his schematic outline of musicology to those who attended the International Exhibition of Music and Theater. The model of a “history of music according to epochs, peoples, empires, nations, regions, cities, schools of art, [and] artists” was demonstrated by the music history division in its generally chronological structure.⁵⁹ As projected in the early sketch, visitors to the Rotunda could make their way through a musical history of Austria-Hungary and Germany arranged by eras, genres, schools, composers, and regions. Two of the four subfields or peripheral fields of historical musicology were also on show, with sections on the history of notation and the history of musical instruments. Considerably less weight accrued to systematic musicology, in line with both the theme of the division and Adler’s own research interests in music history, but the music history division did include a section on historical and contemporary music theory and musical aesthetics. Subdomains of systematic musicology and its auxiliary disciplines were also to be found in other divisions. The music teaching division, for example, featured music pedagogy and a display case on acoustics. And the ethnographic division, which Adler

56. Eybl, “Guido Adler,” 252.

57. Richard Meister, ed., *Studienführer für die philosophische Fakultät der Universität Wien* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1928), 95.

58. Barbara Boisits, “Historisch/systematisch/ethnologisch: Die (Un-)Ordnung der musikalischen Wissenschaft gestern und heute,” in *Historische Musikwissenschaft: Grundlagen und Perspektiven*, ed. Michele Calella and Nikolaus Urbanek (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2013), 51–52.

59. The summary heading of historical musicology in the outline reads “Geschichte der Musik nach Epochen, Völkern, Reichen, Ländern, Gauen, Städten, Kunstschulen und Künstlern” (Adler, “Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft,” 16; Mugglestone, “Guido Adler’s ‘The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology,’” 14).

In tabellarischer Übersicht ergibt
Musik-

I. Historisch.

(Geschichte der Musik nach Epochen, Völkern, Reichen, Ländern, Gauen, Städten, Kunstschulen, Künstlern).

A. musikalische Paläographie (Notationen).	B. Historische Grundclassen (Gruppierung der musikalischen Formen).	C. Historische Aufeinanderfolge der Gesetze. 1. wie sie in den Kunstwerken je einer Epoche vorliegen, 2. wie sie von den Theoretikern der betreffenden Zeit gelehrt werden. 3. Arten der Kunstausübung.	D. Geschichte der musikalischen Instrumente.
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Hilfswissenschaften: Allgemeine Geschichte mit Paläographie, Chronologie, Diplomatik, Bibliographie, Bibliotheks- und Archivkunde. Litteraturgeschichte und Sprachenkunde. Geschichte der Liturgien. Geschichte der mimischen Künste und des Tanzes. Biographistik der Tonkünstler, Statistik der musikalischen Associationen, Institute und Aufführungen.

¹ Zum Vergleiche diene die synoptische Tafel nach Aristides Quintilianus, welche die die Übersetzung giebt die griechischen termini möglichst getreu, manchmal umschrieben,

System

I. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΝ

(Theoretischer oder spekulativer Theil).

A. φυσικόν (Physikalisch-wissenschaftlich)		B. τεχνικόν (Spezial-technisch)		
a. ἀριθμητική (Arithmetik)	b. φυσική (Physik)	c. ἁρμονική (Harmonik)	d. ῥυθμική (Rhythmik)	e. μετρική (Metrik)

Figure 5. Tabular survey of musicology, Guido Adler, "Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885): 16-17. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms; Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1966.

sich das Gesamtgebäude¹ also:

wissenschaft.

II. Systematisch.

Aufstellung der in den einzelnen Zweigen der Tonkunst zuhöchst stehenden Gesetze.

A. Erforschung und Begründung derselben in der			B. Aesthetik der Tonkunst.	C. Musikalische Pädagogik und Didaktik	D. Musikologie
1. <i>Harmonik</i> (tonal od. tonlich).	2. <i>Rhythmik</i> (temporär oder zeitlich).	3. <i>Melik</i> (Cohärenz von tonal und temporär).	1. Vergleichung und Werthschätzung der Gesetze und deren Relation mit den apperzipirenden Subjecten behufs Feststellung der <i>Kriterien des musikalisch Schönen</i> .	(Zusammenstellung der Gesetze mit Rücksicht auf den Lehrzweck)	(Untersuchung und Vergleichung zu ethnographischen Zwecken).
			2. Complex unmittelbar und mittelbar damit zusammenhängender Fragen.	1. Tonlehre, 2. Harmonielehre, 3. Kontrapunkt, 4. Compositionslehre, 5. Instrumentationslehre, 6. Methoden des Unterrichtes im Gesang und Instrumentalspiel.	

Hilfswissenschaften: Akustik und Mathematik.
 Physiologie (Tonempfindungen).
 Psychologie (Tonvorstellungen, Tonurtheile und Tongefühle).
 Logik (das musikalische Denken).
 Grammatik, Metrik und Poetik.
 Pädagogik
 Ästhetik etc.

Vollständigste Übersicht über das musikalische Unterrichtssystem der Griechen enthält; wenn der vollkommen deckende Ausdruck im Deutschen fehlt.

der Musik.

II. ΗΠΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ-ΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΟΝ (Unterricht oder praktischer Theil).					
C. <i>χρηστικόν</i> (Compositionslehre)			D. <i>εξαγγελτικόν</i> (Ausübung oder Execution)		
<i>μελοποιία</i> melodische Komposition)	<i>γ. ῥυθμοποιία</i> (rhythmische Composition oder angewandte Rhythmik)	<i>η. ποιησις</i> (Poetik)	<i>ι. ὀργανική</i> (Instrumental- Spiel)	<i>κ. φθική</i> (Gesang)	<i>λ. ὑποκριτική</i> (dramatische Aktion).

Figure 5. (Continued)

referred to as the “anteroom of the whole exhibition,”⁶⁰ accommodated comparative musicology, allocated only a peripheral place in Adler’s table.

Adler’s segmentation of musicology thus left clear marks on the exhibition’s various divisions and sections. Yet this was not the conceptual and organizational labor of one scholar alone. Adler’s music history division took shape in the course of collaboration between music scholars with very different forms of expertise. The other, associated divisions had separate curators who themselves collaborated with other individuals and institutions. Not least, the exhibition was in part the outcome of practical decisions and diplomatic negotiations. There were other, competing attempts to segment the discipline before and contemporaneous with Adler’s outline,⁶¹ and these may well have guided the other curators and the exhibition committee when planning the music division. Adler’s model was, though, widely acknowledged in expert circles. The curator of musical societies, teaching, and concerts, Wilhelm von Weckbecker, was a friend and colleague of Adler’s and would have been familiar with the tabular survey. Certainly, in the spaces of the Rotunda, visitors were offered a multipartite, systematically segmented, scholarly music division that corresponded with Adler’s schema in many respects. The great edifice (*Gesamtgebäude*) of musicology, as Adler dubbed his 1885 tabular overview,⁶² received its temporary roof in the Rotunda in 1892, well before Adler brought it to the University of Vienna in 1898.

MUSICOLOGY AND THEATER STUDIES IN THE SPACE OF A WORLD’S FAIR

Despite the differences in their organization and design, the theater and music divisions of the exhibition shared an aspiration to artistic and epistemological hegemony that was underpinned by the exhibition’s internationality and by the Rotunda building as the former centerpiece of a world’s fair.⁶³ The world’s fairs and international exhibitions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries pursued the encyclopedic ideal of presenting the whole world in one place.⁶⁴ They served Western nation-states as spaces for self-representation, identity formation, and economic growth.⁶⁵ Accordingly,

60. “Vorhalle der ganzen Fachausstellung” (Adler, *Fach-Katalog*, v).

61. See Boisits, “Historisch/systematisch/ethnologisch.”

62. Adler, “Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft,” 16; Muggleston, “Guido Adler’s ‘The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology,’” 14.

63. Martina Nußbaumer has explored this point with a focus on the music division, also discussing the performance program; see *Musikstadt Wien*, 315–53.

64. Alexander C. T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Exhibitions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 7.

65. Recent studies have, however, also pointed out the exhibitions’ impact on the establishment of international networks and have focused on representations of more marginalized states or cultures.

the expository location of the ethnographic division, introducing the exhibition as a whole, immediately separated non-Western from western European—and primarily German—musical and theatrical cultures. In the Austro-German scholarly divisions, the two states presented their musical and dramatic cultures as connected by a shared past and now striding into the future together—despite the fact that competition between them was rife. The question of what “Germanness” itself precisely involved, and how it manifested itself at the exhibition, is far more complex than can be discussed here,⁶⁶ but the music division may be read as a spatial manifestation of what contemporary discourse declared to be the pioneering role of German music and musicology.⁶⁷ The theater division, too, expressed a nationalist belief in progress, for theater had played a special role in the proclamation of national identities since the eighteenth century, advanced in Germany by a bourgeois movement and in Austria by the cultural policy of the court.⁶⁸ Even if the exhibition outwardly propagated the goal of a general scholarly and artistic exchange of views, such nationalist aspirations were bound to surface in a showcase so closely patterned on the world’s fair idea.

The space of a world’s fair also allowed two young and small disciplines to design large exhibits and initiate major projects. Historians of science and humanities have sufficiently shown how intellectual, theoretical ways of generating knowledge may interact with spatial, material approaches. Because science and scholarship rely on practices of showing and presenting, their history is inextricable from that of exhibitions, museums, collections, and archives, especially since the nineteenth century: presenting objects for research and teaching in collections, creating museums for the public, and integrating exhibition practices into research.⁶⁹ As this article has shown, the interweaving of scholarly and exhibition practices—previously studied primarily for the natural sciences—thus also shaped the fortunes of the humanities. In the early days of theater

See David Raizman and Ethan Robey, eds., *Expanding Nationalisms at World’s Fairs: Identity, Diversity, and Exchange, 1851–1915* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); Marta Filipová, ed., *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840–1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

66. Guido Adler’s musicology alone embedded an enormous range of concepts of German nationalism, as is shown by Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History*, 159–87.

67. Alexander Rehding, “The Quest for the Origins of Music in Germany circa 1900,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53, no. 2 (2000): 345–85; David Brodbeck, *Defining “Deutschtum”: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

68. See Stephen E. Wilmer, “The Development of National Theatres in Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in *National Theatres in a Changing Europe*, ed. Stephen E. Wilmer (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 10–13.

69. Anke te Heesen and Margarete Vöhringer, eds., *Wissenschaft im Museum—Ausstellung im Labor* (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2014).

studies and musicology, a large exhibition offered a public space outside academia in which the two young disciplines could experiment and present themselves. The sophisticated media applied to prepare, implement, and document the exhibition indicate that curatorial, collecting, and library practices had already been professionalized in the nineteenth century. When theater studies and musicology took shape in the Rotunda, then, they could make use of practices under development in another set of emerging disciplines, museum studies and librarianship.⁷⁰ As the International Exhibition for Music and Theater demonstrates, the very fact of being spatial constructs means large-scale exhibitions nurture spatial, material forms of knowledge; moreover, these exhibitions may generate financial resources and public visibility as conditions of concrete projects in the formation of scholarly disciplines.

Finally, musicology and theater studies in the Rotunda displayed a shared inclination to order and arrange—to desire, collect, list, organize, and complete sets of objects and fields of knowledge. The more than 13,000 exhibits in the Austro-German scholarly divisions, along with the projects of collection and organization directly connected to their construction, reveal musicology and theater studies to have been, in their emergent phases, disciplines of collection and orderly arrangement.⁷¹ Asserting its own scholarly status, the music division represented itself as systematic in its very essence, whereas the theater division demonstrated its disciplinary credentials primarily through the greatest possible abundance of illustrative sources. The claim to universality staked by theater studies and musicology, in turn, reinforced the space of a global exposition. The exhibition called for projective, descriptive, and retrospective orders—in space and on paper. It prompted theater studies and musicology to begin ordering, however different the two disciplines' orders ultimately proved to be.

70. The history of library studies in the German-speaking world can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, when the librarian Martin Schrettinger published the philosophical and theoretical textbook *Versuch eines vollständigen Lehrbuches der Bibliothek-Wissenschaft*, 2 vols. (1808–10; 1829) to solve the organizational problems of the growing libraries. The first university department was founded a century later, in 1928, in Berlin, to educate state library officials. Theoretical treatises on museums had already appeared in the sixteenth century, but the late nineteenth century saw the emergence of German-language specialist journals for exchange between museum officials. Library and museum studies in the nineteenth century were thus both primarily applied subjects, practiced outside universities. See Uwe Jochum, *Bibliotheken und Bibliothekare 1800–1900* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1991); Birgit Johler, “Museologie: Skizzen zu einer Wissenschaft und ihren Berufsfeldern,” *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 2 (2012): 186–97.

71. See Anke te Heesen and E. C. Spary, “Sammeln als Wissen,” in *Sammeln als Wissen: Das Sammeln und seine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, ed. Anke te Heesen and E. C. Spary (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), 7–21.

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