

From Historical Concerts to Monumental Editions: The Early Music Revivals at the Viennese International Exhibition of Music and Theater (1892)

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Abstract

This article investigates the genesis, programming patterns, and transnational impact of the series of early music concerts (*Historische Concerte*) performed on the occasion of the Viennese International Exhibition of Music and Theater of 1892. Guido Adler was the co-organizer of those concerts, and this article will focus on the impact of this set of twelve historical performances on Adler's epistemological perspective. Through this case study, I also aim to reassess the intersections between the history of monumental music editing and the historically informed musical practices in the context of international events at the turn of the 20th century.

Introduction

[1] Music, like all performing arts, is mediated by the temporary dimension between the creation and the performance. In the Western musical tradition, music notation has served not only as a mnemonic tool but also as a long-lasting cultural artefact countering the ephemerality of sonic events. Throughout history, there have been very different methods of graphically encoding sound, and yet we do not know how music sounded before the invention of mechanical recording and reproduction technologies at the end of the 19th century. Musicology, a young academic discipline coetaneous to those technological advances following the philological methodology, tended to consider musical texts as its main object of study.^[1] As Nicholas Cook has pointed out, since musicology in its early stage pursued the pioneering task of retrieving ancient music, it narrowly linked the concept of musical work mainly with its textual dimension.^[2] That is, the score was conceived more as a literary text than as a dramaturgical guideline with manifold interpretive options, both during the creation process and for successive performances—or recreations.^[3] As a consequence of this disciplinary focus, histories of Western music have been traditionally more interested in compositional milestones than in conservation and interpretation practices throughout history. Nevertheless, there is enormous research regarding historically informed performance practices, but this scholarly interest has been focused especially on sacred and canonical repertoires.^[4]

The retrieval and rediscovery process of music that has suffered a performative rupture is known as revival. Musical revival practices have been intermittent throughout history, but Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's (1809–47) recovery of the *Matthäus-Passion* by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) in 1823 is considered the beginning of contemporary conscious and systematic practices of early music revival.^[5] Throughout the 19th century, religious institutions and choral societies led initiatives to recover historical music, especially Gregorian chant and music repertoires composed before the 18th century. Besides those initiatives, music scholars inaugurated a new type of concert: the historical one, which became a kind of corporative event in which they began to show themselves publicly as specialists. At the same time, some renowned performers or virtuosi included old, out-of-use instruments and historical repertoires in their tours in order to revamp their own concert programs and show their stylistic versatility.^[6] Most of those practices were addressed to a minority audience claiming its distinction from the taste and values of the mass musical market of the time. In both cases (the historical concerts organized by scholars and the concerts of renowned performers with early music repertoires), didactic and outreach activities were parallel activities complementary to concert programming. Other musical revival practices were participatory, that is, without a clear distinction between performers and audience.^[7] With the exception of the tours of virtuosi, most of the early music revivals at the turn of the 20th century flourished in the amateur or semi-professional spheres and far from the professional musical market.

On the contrary, after World War II the early music revival movement became highly professionalized. Due to a fully institutionalized musicology, the academic study of musical sources offered a theoretical basis for sustaining a paradigm of authenticity in performance practices. Many of the informed performance practices of that time aimed to clarify the original textual state of a work and to investigate the original contexts and interpretive traditions in order to eradicate successive historical re-interpretations. Through the texts, the performance had to emulate the sound of the “primitive creation” and first receptions, and in the case of a known author, it had to follow the author's alleged intentions. These musical initiatives based on textual

authenticity offered no room for the creativity of the interpreters. Richard Taruskin, among others, revised the premises of the paradigm of authenticity during the last decades of the 20th century. He argued that the concern for authenticity was a reflection of the anxieties of the time, that it was irremediably linked to the textual dimension of music, and that it represented only one of the legitimate ways to approach early music repertoires.^[8] As a consequence of that turn in the interpretation of early music, it was accepted that the acoustic recovery from the past is an unattainable dream. However, the research and interpretation of this type of historically informed practice and the commercial demand for it have not been discouraged since then but have rather increased enormously. All these activities are currently circumscribed in highly specialized professional fields in which amateur participation is disregarded.

The pioneering ventures of early music performing and editing practices at the end of the 19th century have been traditionally evaluated from the premises, categories, values, and paradigms of the post-war early music revival. Therefore, they have been considered misinformed, imperfect, and incomplete. The goal of this article is to re-evaluate those pioneering early musical revival initiatives in the framework of international exhibitions and to contextualize them in the values of their time. Some scholars have already highlighted the crucial role of international events, such as world fairs and international and national exhibitions, in the revival of early music repertoires and practices during the second half of the 19th century, especially in France.^[9] However, the *Historische Concerte* performed during the Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen (International Exhibition of Music and Theater) of 1892 have received little scholarly attention. In his monograph devoted to this exhibition, Theophil Antonicek described the repertoires of the concerts in an exhaustive study of the contemporary press but avoided further analysis or interpretation.^[10] Barbara Boisits, for her part, briefly mentioned the role of this set of concerts in the history of the series of monumental editions *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Monuments of Musical Art in Austria) or *DTÖ*.^[11] She also examined the two first performances of the *Historische Concerte* as part of her research on the impact of Gregorian chant studies for early musicological scholarship, taking Adler's academic interest in those repertoires as a case study.^[12]

[2] The pioneering role of Adler in the development of musicology as an academic discipline has been studied widely.^[13] However, the impact of Vienna 1892 on his own conceptualization of music history is still an issue to be studied. The deep influence of Adler's musicological paradigm in the United States has been a topic of recent publications,^[14] but the transnational impact of art management and programming trends related to this paradigm is still a topic neglected in research. As we have seen before, the performative dimension of music in history has been largely disregarded due to the philological paradigm that musicology adopted upon its own foundation as an academic discipline. This is the reason why, despite the fact that numerous musicologists were involved in sonic reconstruction initiatives, there is no documental evidence of their participation. Even in their biographies, those activities were minimized because they were considered not very relevant from an academic point of view.

Notwithstanding the lack of interest in and scholarly care for the twelve historical concerts performed during the International Exhibition of Music and Theater in Vienna of 1892, I will show that they constituted a crossroads of different international patterns of understanding and performing early music. This article aims to evaluate the impact of this set of concerts in the standardization not only of monumental musical editions but also of historically informed practices of early music.

Historical Concerts and New Agents: Music Historians as Concert Promoters and Mobilizers

During the six months of the International Exhibition of Music and Theater in Vienna (from May 7 to October 9, 1892), a lot of concerts were performed inside and outside the music hall of the exhibition.^[15] Twelve of those concerts were part of the series of the *Historische Concerte*. Adler and Albert Ritter von Hermann (1864–95) were the leaders of the commission that convened and organized these concerts.^[16] Von Hermann worked at that time at the Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht (Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Education) of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and had served since 1886 as director of the musical section of the journal *Das Vaterland*.^[17] Adler, besides his role as co-organizer of the historical concerts, was in charge of the overall scientific and historical aspects of the musical section of the exhibition. Furthermore, he reported on most of the musical events of the exhibition in the journal *Neue Freie Presse*.^[18] Both von Hermann and Adler also actively supported the DTÖ.^[19]

After the end of the exhibition, the commission edited a collection of all of the concert programs, the program notes, and a list of the composers whose works were performed during these concerts with consecutively numbered pages. Von Hermann, who was the main responsible person, wrote the introduction to this cumulative publication.^[20] The edition of all those materials is a sign of the commemorative purpose of this publication, which served as a witness of the practices executed. In addition to this compilation, there are a lot of references to those concerts in the local and national press, as well as in various international reports by travelers who assisted at the event. A German newspaper even pointed out that the *Historische Concerte* were the most interesting events of the Viennese Exhibition: “Among the most interesting musical performances during the exhibition were the Historical Concerts, and among these, the three concerts given by the a cappella choir of Amsterdam, conducted by Mr. D. de Lange, were of highest significance.”^[21]

This set of historical concerts was not something new in Vienna. At that time, there was a well-documented tradition of early music concerts in the city. Between 1859 and 1869 Leopold Alexander Zellner (1823–94) organized public “Historische Konzerte” with repertoires from the Middle Ages to classicism.^[22] Following Zellner’s idea, Robert Hirschfeld (1857–1914) promoted *Renaissance-Abende* (Renaissance Evenings) starting in 1884. In addition, in 1883, Josef Böhm (1841–93) founded the *Chorakademie des Ambrosius-Vereines*, a choir specialized in early sacred music under the influence of the Cecilian Movement. Böhm had acted as musical mentor for von Hermann since 1882, and he animated him to write an essay about the reform of sacred music.^[23] Both Böhm and Hirschfeld were also active participants of the *Historische Concerte* of 1892. In addition, Böhm became a member of the Leitende Kommission (executive commission) of the DTÖ, as will be discussed later in this article. Therefore, the initiative to program a set of historical concerts within the framework of the exhibition was rooted in Viennese local practices and served to strengthen the ties of a network of people who already cherished activities fostering early music in Vienna and beyond.

A group of music scholars was involved and intensively collaborated to plan the corpus of the historical concerts of 1892, but they followed heterogeneous criteria. These concerts presented them with an opportunity to showcase themselves in the public sphere as managers, keynote speakers in the introductory talks, authors of the concert notes, and promoters of musical editions related to the concerts. The introduction to the edited book of concert programs lists the

names of key speakers (*Referenten*). According to this source, the key speakers of the concerts were Adler, Böhm, Hirschfeld, Rudolf Edler von Larisch (1856–1934), and Moritz Prunlechner. In his introduction, von Hermann also quotes Albert J. Gutmann (1851–1915) as advisor for the conception of the program. Gutmann was a German music dealer and concert agent who in 1873 (the year of the World Exhibition of Vienna) founded a music shop and music publishing house in Vienna. Only two years before the International Exhibition of Music and Theater of Vienna, in 1890, he had established the *Volkskonzerte*, a series of concerts with inexpensive tickets to attract a working-class public.^[24] His influence was crucial for the balance between the cultural, the didactic, and the economic interests of the *Historische Concerte*.

[3] Böhm, who, as we have seen before, was the founder and director of the *Chorakademie des Ambrosius-Vereines*, wrote the introduction to the first and third concert, both performed by his own choir.^[25] Prunlechner, along with Larisch, wrote the introduction to the second concert, dedicated to popular music of the 15th and 16th century outside Germany and performed by the *Wiener Sing-Akademie*.^[26] This same choir, directed by Max von Weinzierl (1841–98), performed the fourth concert, devoted to music of 15th- and 16th-century Germany.^[27] For that occasion, Prunlechner penned the introduction on his own and transcribed some of the repertory into modern notation.

Despite the fact that Hirschfeld appeared as “Referent” in von Hermann’s introduction, his name does not appear in any of the concert programs. As we know, Hirschfeld was the promoter of the *Renaissance-Abende*, so perhaps he was responsible for presenting the seventh concert, devoted to German sacred songs from the 11th to the 17th century, performed by a group of pupils of two orphanages.^[28]

Daniël de Lange (1841–1918), who was not listed by von Hermann as a “key speaker,” was in charge of the introductory talk to the concerts that he directed with his *Amsterdam a cappella-Chor*.^[29] He was also the author of the substantial program notes of the three concerts (the fifth, sixth, and eighth of the historical concert series), which were dedicated to Flemish music masters from the 14th to the 17th century.^[30] On May 29, 1892, de Lange sent a letter to von Hermann accepting the invitation to participate in the *Historische Concerte* and answering several requests. Attached to this letter, de Lange sent his curriculum vitae, the preliminary program of the three concerts of the *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor*, and a detailed musicological and historical introduction to them. Adler discussed and corrected the program and the historical introduction. Adler preserved all those materials, which are in his personal archive, the Guido Adler Papers at the University of Georgia.^[31]

An introduction by Heinrich Reimann (1850–1906) preceded the three concerts performed by Amalie Joachim (1839–99), devoted to the German lied. As we will see later, he was also the musicologist who had helped Joachim to select the sources, arrange them, and design the program of her cycle of German songs.^[32] Von Hermann did not mention Reimann as “key speaker” in his introduction, but we can infer his role through the programs of the three concerts: “The introductions and notes to the individual songs are being taken from the original programs edited by H. Reimann.”^[33] These three concerts were the ninth, tenth, and eleventh of the historical series.

The last event of the *Historische Concerte* featured the official presentation of a musical edition published in two volumes by Adler between 1892 and 1893.^[34] The concert had the same name as the edition and comprised parts of its repertory: a selection of vocal and instrumental works composed by the emperors Ferdinand III, Leopold I, and Joseph I.^[35] In the concert program, Adler

is not explicitly mentioned. Nevertheless, his contribution as author of the detailed program notes and key speaker of the introductory conference can be inferred.

The active collaboration of different music scholars in the introductory talks and in the program notes of the concerts obviously followed a didactic agenda. In most cases they were also actively engaged in the selection of the repertory and in the management of the musical associations and groups of musicians that performed the music. Most of the scholars who collaborated on the organization of the historical concerts reinforced their social visibility as a consequence of this event. Therefore, the *Historische Concerte* held in Vienna in 1892 served as an arena for negotiating the programming criteria, the repertory, and the scope of what was considered early music at that time.

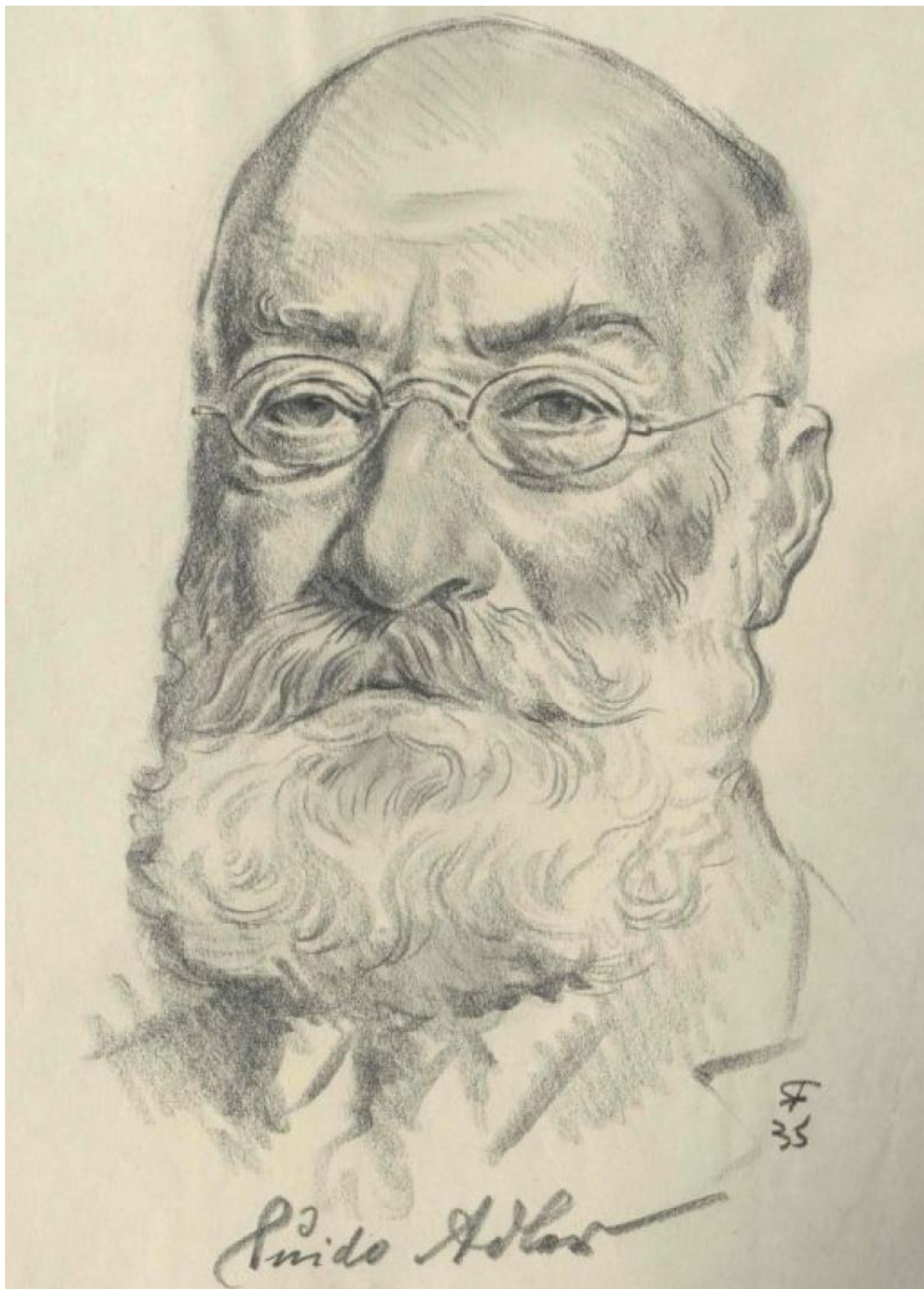


Figure 1: Guido Adler, drawing by Robert Fuchs; by courtesy of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, [Bildarchiv Austria](#)

Early Music Concert Programming Trends

With regard to the aims, institutions, and interpreters involved in the corpus of *Historische Concerte*, we can say that it did not adhere purely to any programming pattern but presented an amalgam of four different trends of programming early music. The first trend is represented by amateur choirs led by music scholars focusing on the revival of early sacred and national repertoires. The agents of the second trend are pedagogical and religious institutions that had continuously preserved early music performance practices throughout history as part of their own idiosyncrasy and internal activities, disregarding the public entertainment aspects related to them. The third category is represented by renowned performers who decided to introduce old instruments and repertoires as a tool to modernize their own programs and to brand their career profiles as performers specializing in early music. The fourth programming trend responded to the musical publishing business and served as a marketing strategy to sell music editions.

The two concerts performed by the *Chorakademie des Ambrosius-Vereines* directed by Böhm, the first and third of the *Historische Concerte*, adhere primarily to the first trend: an amateur choir led by music scholars focused on the revival of early sacred and national repertoires. However, Josef Labor (1842–1924) played the organ and contributed with lectures about the history of music for organ followed by examples in both concerts.^[36] Labor was at that time a well-respected figure of the Viennese music scene: he was a composer, an organ and piano virtuoso, and a music teacher. At the time of the exhibition, he worked under the patronage of the Wittgenstein family, after having served as royal chamber pianist in Hanover and court organist in Vienna.^[37] Labor was a pioneer of research on early organ music, and he maintained a close relationship and collaboration with Adler, according to the numerous writings Adler devoted to him.^[38] Thus, these two concerts also contain elements of the third trend of early music programming practices, represented by renowned performers who decided to introduce old instruments and repertoires as a tool to modernize their own programs.

[4] The two performances of the *Wiener Sing-Akademie*, directed by Weinzierl, also mainly follow the first trend, but the string instruments of the *Ausstellungs-Orchester* (the official orchestra of the exhibition), directed by Hermann Grädener (1844–1929), accompanied these two concerts. Both of them were dedicated to secular music of the 15th and 16th century outside Germany and were accompanied by a modern piano, a Bösendorfer. In the first of them, the “Kammersänger” Gustav Walter (1834–1910) collaborated as soloist (we will see later that Walter was a pioneer in the programming of historical concerts focused on a single genre, the lied). Thus, these two concerts also blended elements of the first and third trend of early music programming practices.

The three concerts that the Dutch *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor*, directed by de Lange, performed between June and July of 1892 also respond primarily to the first trend in concert programming (a scholar behind a choir training to promote historical national repertoires), but they differed from the previous ones in that they were performed entirely by highly professional musicians with an international background. The repertoire of those concerts was based on the works of the main composers of the Flemish school between the 14th and the 17th century. At that time, there was a nationalistic discussion about the limits of the historical musical heritage of the Netherlands, supported by the discovery of new musical sources and scholarly research.^[39] The Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis (Society for Music History of the Netherlands) was created, coinciding with the publication of the third volume of the *Geschichte der Musik* by the Austrian music historian August Wilhelm Ambros (1816–76) in 1868. De Lange was a member of the society’s board, and he contributed to spreading the music of this national

label with different choirs and ensembles. The Vereeniging also reported on de Lange's musical activities abroad in its journal.^[40] Furthermore, Franz Xaver Haberl (1840–1910) discovered the Trent Codices in 1880,^[41] and one year later, in 1881, de Lange created the *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor* to disseminate the music discovered in those manuscripts.^[42] All concert programs of the *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor* displayed the same structure: sacred music in the first part and secular music in the second. In the first performance, the court organist Rudolf Bibl (1832–1902) played a fantasia by Sweelinck on a Kaufmann organ. In this same first concert, the soloists of the *Ausstellungs-Orchester* performed a suite by Jean Adam Reinken (1643–1722).^[43] The second and third concert of the *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor* included several old Dutch dances, arranged for piano four-hands by Johan Cornelis Marius van Riemsdyk (1841–95).^[44] Probably they used the edition of early Dutch dances that van Riemsdyk had published one decade before.^[45] Besides the participation of the court organist Bibl, these concerts featured an international collaboration between two professional institutions: a highly specialized Dutch vocal ensemble and the soloists of the official orchestra of the exhibition. In addition, these three performances incorporated elements of the fourth programming trend, since they were related to music publishing business strategies.

As we have seen before, Adler was especially involved in the preparation and promotion of the *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor* concerts. Besides his previous correspondence with de Lange in order to prepare the concert program and the concert notes, he wrote reviews in the press of every single performance led by de Lange. In his review of the first concert, published in the *Neue Freie Presse*, he described how Austrians had pioneered the musicological research of Dutch early music repertoires:

A society of art-loving singers from Amsterdam voluntarily undertook the task of transplanting native works of their ancestors to foreign soil. However, this had already been prepared. What the Dutch presented to us had to no minor extent been initiated long ago by Austrians: the Viennese music historians Kiesewetter and Ambros deserve the merit of having raised the appreciation of ancient Dutch art. In the hospitable home of the first [Kiesewetter], a small community met every Sunday and brought these dead works to new life. Here, Ambros became acquainted with the ancient compositions, for which he, following the epoch-making treatise of his uncle, "On the Merits of the Dutch in Music"—an award-winning essay with which Kiesewetter defeated his big competitor Fétis—advocated strongly.^[46]

In this same review, Adler stated that, despite the pioneering work made by Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850) and his nephew Ambros in Vienna, more research was needed in order to better understand those early musical periods:

Just like the prejudice in art history that the pre-Raphael period was barbaric and unenjoyable had to be removed, Kiesewetter and Ambros successfully intervened for the just appreciation of ancient Dutch art, the so-called pre-Palestrina period. In his *Geschichte der Musik*, Ambros lifted much of the old treasure, freed it from rubble and ashes, and helped it to renewed splendor. Still a lot of work must be done, still many drops of sweat will roll off from researchers' foreheads, if the work started should be completed. Indeed, single men, like Lommer in Berlin and Kade in Schwerin, followed the steps that Kiesewetter and Ambros have determined. Yet a great part is still awaiting completion.^[47]

Adler finished this review by interconnecting the relevance of de Lange's concerts with the recent acquisition of the Trent Codices by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Education of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As I will explain later in this article, one year before the exhibition, in 1891, Adler had convinced the highest representative of this ministry to bring the Trent Codices to

Vienna to have them studied and edited: "In the precious anthologies, which the Austrian Ministry of Education recently purchased from the Trento Cathedral Chapter with heavy sacrifices to preserve them for our country, there is still a considerable part of Old Dutch art buried."^[48]

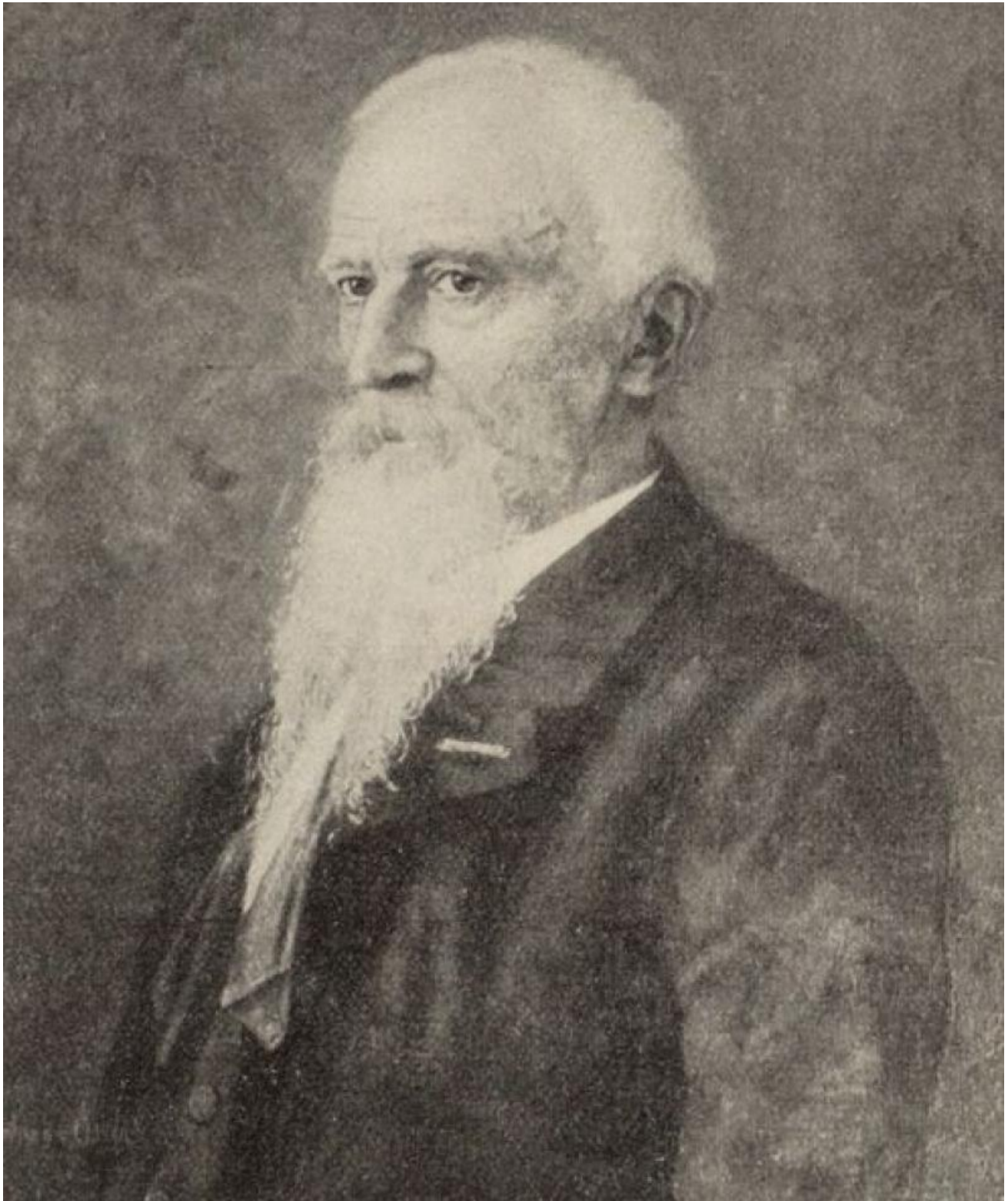


Figure 2: Daniël de Lange, oil painting by Adri Bleuland van Oordt (1862-1944); by courtesy of the [Netherlands Institute for Art History \(RKD\)](#)

[5] The single concert performed by 600 pupils of two orphanages and one private school led by the Catholic Piarist Fathers (*Schulbrüder*) reflects the second type of concert trend: that typical of pedagogical and religious institutions that have continuously preserved early music performance practices throughout history as part of their own idiosyncrasy and internal activities. Three institutions collaborated on this concert: The k. k. Waisenhaus (the imperial-royal orphanage in

the 9th district of Vienna), the Privat-Volks- und Bürgerschule (Private Primary and Citizen School), based in Fünfhaus (now part of the 15th district) and founded by Anton Maria Schwartz (1852–1929) in 1889 to educate people of the working class, and the orphanage Norbertinum, built by the Waisenverein (Association for Orphans) between 1881 and 1890 in Pressbaum, a village located 50 kilometers from Vienna. The repertory of this concert was based on German sacred songs from the 11th to the 17th century selected from different songbooks of the 15th, 16th, and 17th century: the *Rheinfelser Gesangbuch* (1666), the *Trierer Gesangbuch* (1482), the *Mich. Vehe's Gesangbuch* (1537), the *Geistliche Nachtigall* (1631) by David Gregor Corner (1585–1648), the *Leisentritt's Gesangbuch* (1584), and the *Geistliche Hirtenlieder* (1657) by Angelus Silesius (1624–77). There is information neither about who the conductor was nor about the concert promoter, the key speaker, or the instruments.^[49] The program notes offered the lyrics of the songs performed and indicated the name of the print office that printed the brochure.^[50] We can see that this type of concert emphasized the historical sources and their religious functions over the performers and other people involved. It was closer to the Cecilian Movement than to the pioneering early music revival movements, supported by civil scholars and amateur music lovers.

The three performances delivered by Amalie Joachim belong primarily to the third trend of concert programming. This pattern is linked to a concrete performer, usually a virtuoso. According to Beatrix Borchard, the first attempt by Joachim to create a concert program based on early lieder dates December 28, 1890. On this day, Joachim wrote a letter to Professor Franz Wüllner (1832–1902) requesting his help selecting works to create a program for a concert of lieder “from Haydn to Mozart.”^[51] Reimann was the scholar who finally collaborated with Amalie on the selection of works, the transcriptions, and the realization of the program for her tour. They met for the first time in 1891, and from then on he became her artistic and scientific advisor. They agreed on structuring the cycle in four sessions and together decided the pattern and design of every single concert program. Every session explained a chronological history through selected examples. Most of the repertory of Joachim's lied cycle came from the primary sources and manuscripts of the Berliner Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, and the Königliche Bibliothek. Borchard has studied how they selected the materials from a core of two boxes of sources that Reimann sent to Joachim.^[52]



Figure 3: Joseph and Amalie Joachim, wood engraving by Adolf Neumann (1825–84), in *Die Gartenlaube* 21, no. 38 (1873): 611; by courtesy of [Wikisource](#)

The idea of creating a soloist program with a historical background was not new. Between 1871 and 1872, Anton Rubinstein (1829–94) had undertaken an American tour with a program in seven sessions based on the history of music for keyboard. Later, he performed this cycle in Russia and Eastern Europe between 1885 and 1886. Hans von Bülow (1830–94) and Joseph Joachim (1831–1907), the husband of Amalie, had also composed a concert cycle to illustrate the catenation Bach–Beethoven–Brahms as the creation of a German style or aesthetic paradigm in instrumental music.^[53] While Rubinstein framed his tour from a European perspective, Bülow and Joachim’s perspective was entirely Germanocentric. Besides these two initiatives, the tenor Walter, who also collaborated as a soloist with the *Wiener Sing-Akademie* in the second and fourth concerts of the *Historische Concerte* of Vienna 1892, presented a history of the lied genre (“from Thibaut de Navarre to the end of the 19th century”) in the Kärntnertheater since 1882.^[54] The program pattern of the cycle of Amalie Joachim differs from the ones of Rubinstein and Bülow/Joseph Joachim because it was nation-based, but it did not follow a teleological approach to explain a national musical idiom in historical terms. It also differed from Walter’s initiative because it offered a history of styles via a concrete genre, not a history of a genre, as Walter did. In her cycle, Amalie Joachim mixed oral and written traditions and collective and individual creations. This stylistic approach to the history of a genre resonates with Adler’s further historiographical systematization based on the idea of musical style and its evolution, a trait that is self-evident in the conceptualization of his edited manual *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*.^[55]

The three concerts by Joachim encompassed editorial marketing strategies, so they also adhere

to the fourth trend of concert programming. Hermann Wolff (1845–1902) edited the concert notes,^[56] and the publishing house Nikolaus Simrock in Berlin edited part of the scores of the program as a bonus for the concert under the title *Das deutsche Lied: Eine Auswahl aus den Programmen der historischen Lieder-Abende der Frau Amalie Joachim, herausgegeben von Heinrich Reimann*.^[57] The publication was not identical to the concert program since Simrock only edited the unknown lieder, avoiding the famous contemporary lieder by Schubert, Schumann, or Brahms. The volumes of *Das deutsche Lied* had no explicit information about the primary sources and the scholarly editorial criteria. The goal of these editions was the massive dissemination of a kind of salon music with proper quality standards intended to improve the domestic music literature. As Borchard has pointed out, Joachim's cycle did not aim to find the "authentic" sound of the past but to bring up to date the historical repertory.^[58] Reimann adapted the original melodies to a modern piano accompaniment, trying to offer entertainment with a scholarly basis.

[6] This cycle was decisive for the branding of Amalie Joachim's career as a soloist specialized in early music repertoires. Joachim, accompanied by various pianists, traveled all around Germany, the Baltic countries, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Switzerland with this cycle of early lieder. She finished her international tour in the USA. Joachim performed her cycle in Vienna twice between 1892 and 1893. The first time, as part of the *Historische Concerte*, she readapted the cycle, narrowing it down from four to three sessions. During the second performance of her lieder cycle in the Musikvereinsaal in 1893, the critics accused Amalie of being too affect-laden and monotonous and of lacking "good taste" to perform early music.^[59] The case of Joachim was especially controversial from the point of view of the concert spaces. At that time, the lieder was conceived as a salon and amateur genre. Nevertheless, Joachim's cycle had a virtuoso character and was designed to be performed in big spaces. With this programming strategy, Joachim blended different kinds of programming trends, including scholarly attention to unknown early sources, the pedagogical aim of displaying the repertoire historically, virtuoso branding strategies, and a clear editorial marketing purpose.^[60]

The last of the *Historische Concerte* follows the fourth type of early concert programming trends. It differs from the other concerts above all because it was private. It was not open to the public and visitors of the exhibition like the other concerts. The attendants needed to be invited by the emperor.



Figure 4: Image of the invitation-entrance to the last concert of the *Historische Concerte*; Guido Adler Papers, University of Georgia, Box 53, Folder 11

Numerous institutions and individual collaborators made this concert possible. The artistic

director of the concert was Böhm, and consequently the *Chorakademie des Ambrosius-Vereins* performed the choral parts. According to the program, the soloist vocal interpreters of this concert were Amalie Joachim, Bertha Gutmann, Eduard Gärtner, and Adolf Weidlich, while the solo instrumental parts were played by two violinists (Michael Drucker and Josef Fitzner), a cellist (Alphons Kraholetz), and a pianist (Ferdinand Loewe). Besides the string soloists, the concert was accompanied by a piano, an organ, and a harmonium.^[61] The piano was played by a pianist named Ferdinand Foll (1867–1929) and by a music theorist soon to become one of the most influential of his generation: Heinrich Schenker (1868–1935). At that time, Schenker was 24 years old and worked as a music critic, performer (accompanist), and conductor in Vienna. This concert was therefore the result of an intense collaboration between different institutions and individuals. Some of these individuals, such as Adler or Schenker, strengthened their networks and influence in Viennese musical life enormously after the exhibition.^[62] In 1898, six years after the end of the exhibition, the Austro-Hungarian emperor, Franz Joseph I, appointed Adler to become the successor of Eduard Hanslick at the University of Vienna, where he founded the world's first musicological department.

According to the media, the audience of this last special concert consisted of scholars, ambassadors, members of European royal families, and the aristocracy. An anonymous critic of the *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* described the distinguished audience:

Several months ago we were concerned with the publication of the musical works composed by the emperors Ferdinand III, Josef I, and Leopold I, commissioned by the Ministry of Education, and edited in Prague by Prof. Dr. Guido Adler. The first volume (the first half) of this publication was exhibited in the Habsburg interior of the musical exhibition, and a few hours before the actual end of the exhibition, a number of these works were performed in the "Vortragsaale" of the exhibition [rotunda] for a select audience. Access to this performance was only permitted with an invitation card. The concert, which had a private and distinguished character, was very well attended.^[63]

As part of the editorial marketing strategies before editing the work that inspired this concert, Carl August Artaria (1855–1919) published the list of subscribers for this volume (see figure 2). Apart from libraries and institutions, this list included the names of patrons belonging to the highest international social and cultural elite. Some of the members of this list were also invited to the concert. Therefore, this concert is another paradigmatic case of deep interdependency between scholarly research, performance practices, and marketing strategies of programming and editing early music at that time.

Musikalischen Werke
der
Kaiser Ferdinand III., Leopold I. und Joseph I.

Im Auftrage d. k. k. Ministeriums f. Cultus u. Unterricht
herausgegeben von Guido Adler.

Die mit * bezeichneten Subscribenten bezogen Exemplare auf Bistumpapier
mehrere Exemplare

- ++ *S. Majestät der Kaiser*
Ihre Majestät die Königin Regentin von Spanien
* Ihre k. u. k. Hoheit Kronprinzessin Witwe Stephanie
* Erzherzogin Maria Theresia
" " " " Clotilde
" " " " Alice Großherzogin v. Toscana
+ Ihre kgl. Hoheit Prinzessin Mary von Hannover
" k. u. k. Hoheit Erzherzog Rainer
" " " " Eugen
* *S. kgl. Hoheit Ernst Aug. Herzog von Cumberland*
Landgraf von Hessen
* *S. Hoheit Herzog von Sachsen - Meiningen*
Philipp von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha
Bibliothek *S. k. u. k. Hoheit Erzherzog Albrecht*
+ k. k. k. Ministerium f. Cultus u. Unterricht
k. kgl. ungar. (f. v. Musik-Abt.)
Graf Schönborn Cardinal, Fürst-Erzbischof von Prag
Dinajewski P. Ritter von, Cardinal, Erzbischof von Krakau
Kohn P. P., Fürst-Erzbischof von Olmütz
Esasyka Georg, Excellenz, Erzbischof von Kalocsa
Vucic de Coeney Stephan, Erzbischof von Agram
Moravie Andriewicz P., Metropolit. Erzb. von Gornowitz
Dubics Sigismund, Bischof von Kaschau

Amadei, Grafen u. * Kinsky-Wilczek, Grafen Marie
Auersperg-Kinsky, Fürstin Wilh. Realit. von Meyerswalden, Erb.
Breitkopf u. Härtel in Leipzig * Kinnast, O.
Brüll Ignaz, Componist + Lobkowitz, Fürstin Wilhelmine
Chrysander, Dr. Friedr. in Bergedorf. Malherbe, Ch. Paris
Clary und Aldringen, Grafen Nüchtern, Dr. August
Glofner, Gustav Adolf Kuth David, London
Harnack, Erlauchter Graf Joh. Rothschild, Baron Nathaniel
Heidenreich Jos., Rector d. Pädagog. * Sigl, M. Abt d. Cistercienser St. Oeg
Herz von Kantenried, Erb. Walter Valentin in Grulich.

kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin k. k. Franz-Joseph-Universität in Gornowitz
" " " " in Grededen kgl. ungar. " " in Agram
" Hof u. Staatsbibl. München " " " " in Klausenburg
" Bibliothek S. Cecilia, Rom k. k. Universitäts-Bibliothek in Somborg
" Bibliothèque royale in Paris " " " " in Prag
" Bibliothek d. Benediktiner - " " " " in Wien
" " " " in Graz
" " " " in Innsbruck
Biblioth. d. Benedictiner Stift. Altenburg Bibliothek d. Stadt Wien
" " " " in Melk Niederöster. Landesbibliothek
" " " " in Seitenstetten Musikverein in Innsbruck
" " " " in Braunau kgl. Akademie d. Tonkunst München
" " " " in Raasdorf Archiv d. Gesellschaft d. Musikfreunde
" Chorherren St. Klosterneuburg Steiermärk. Musikverein in Graz
" " " " in Vorau k. k. Hof-Kapelle in Wien
" " " " " " Schiller-Verein, Triest.

et. et.

Da uns die Mehrzahl d. Subscribenten, welche d. Werke
durch den Musik oder Buchhandel, namentlich im Auslande,
bezogen haben, noch nicht bekannt ist, so ist diese Liste
nur als vorläufiger Auszug zu betrachten

Figure 5: Image of subscribers of the Artaria edition; Guido Adler Papers, University of Georgia, Box 2, Folder 3

According to the testimony of von Hermann, an additional collaboration with the *Historische Concerte* was originally planned but failed due to financial problems with the Ausstellungs-Commission. The organization counted on a famous Leipzig-based choir specialized in early music, the *Riedel Gesangverein*, founded and conducted by Carl Riedel (1827–88) until his death. The program consisted of pieces of the best-known composers of polyphonic music of the 16th century and some fragments of early oratorios. The performance was canceled at the last minute.

Antonicek pointed out that another collaboration was canceled.^[64] As part of the attractions of the *Historische Concerte*, the organizers planned to display in Vienna the collection of historic musical instruments of the Conservatory of Brussels, collected by François-Auguste Gevaert (1828–1908) and Victor-Charles Mahillon (1841–1924), which eventually became the core of the current collection of instruments of the Musée des instruments de musique of Brussels. This plan did not succeed, because the organizational commission failed in negotiating the agreement to pay the cost of travel and insurance for those fragile specimens. It is still unknown whether the commission planned to use early musical instruments for all of the *Historische Concerte*. An informative anonymous note published on January 31, 1892, in *Vaterland* and *Neue Freie Presse*, the daily newspapers at which von Hermann and Adler were engaged respectively, points in this direction:

In preparation are also a historical singspiel, historical operettas, and a historical farce evening. There are 45 popular and 7 historic concerts planned for the Musikhalle; besides, five historical concerts will take place in the little Musikhalle, in which old but still playable instruments will be used.^[65]

[7] Nevertheless, most pieces were finally arranged for piano and new instruments. Therefore, the instrumental arrangement and accompaniment of the *Historische Concerte* were not supposed to recover the sound and practices of the past but to modernize the aesthetics of those early music repertoires. The novelty of these practices was located in the unknown repertoires, and not in the pursuit of a historically “authentic” sound.

Regarding the space, all the *Historische Concerte* were performed in the Vortrags-Saal (auditorium) located in one of the corners of the rotunda.

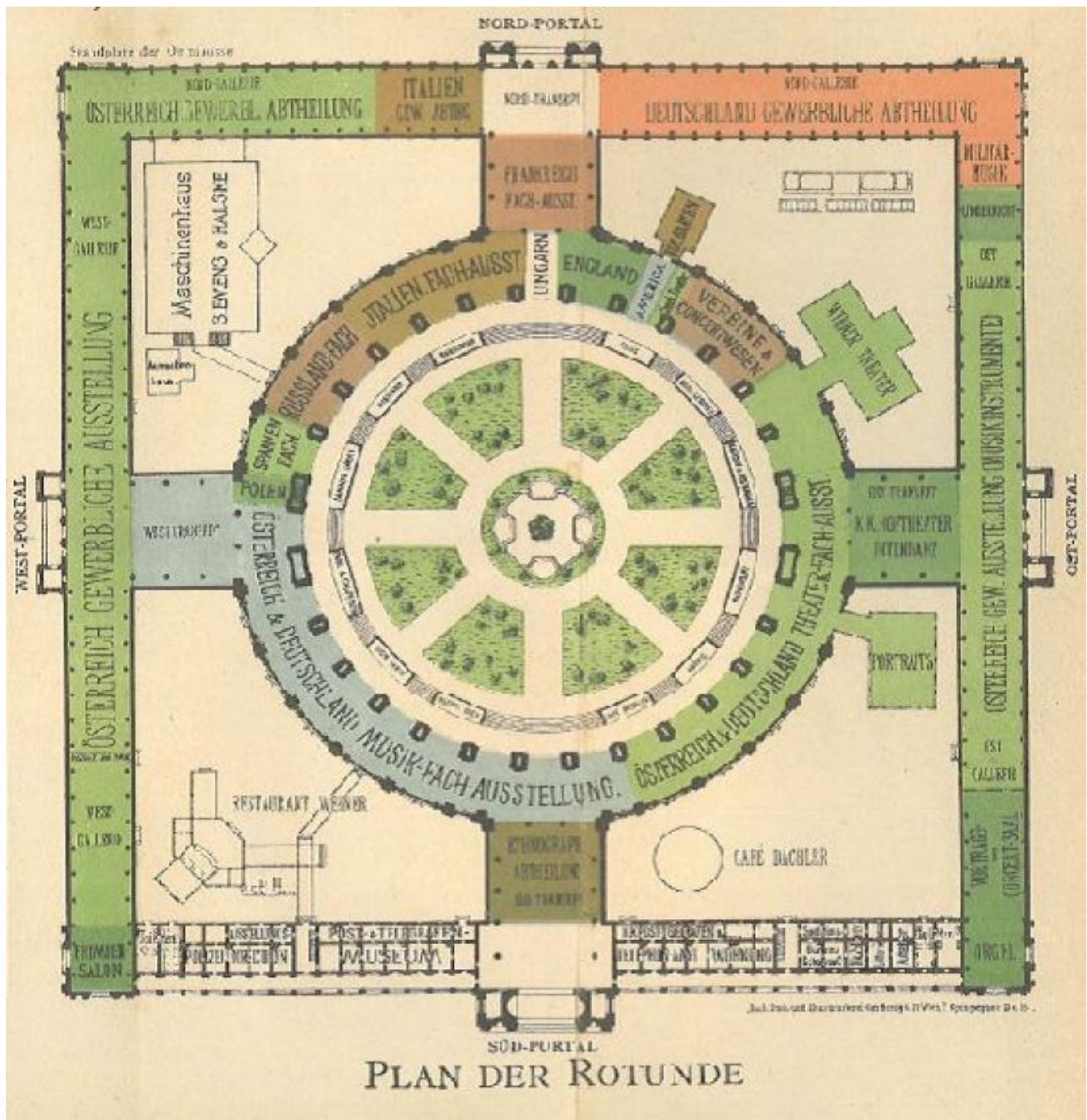


Figure 6: Rotunda plan, the symphonic hall was close to the organ (see on the bottom right of the image), published in the Leporello fanfold *Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen Wien 1892* (Vienna: Max Herzig, 1892).

This same hall served as the venue for the symphonic concerts. If the tickets of most of the historical concerts were sold out, as the press stated, it implied that a large public attended those pioneering concerts with early music repertoires. In an article in the *Neue Freie Presse*, Adler described the large but distinguished and enthusiastic audience that attended the *Historische Concerte*:

The distinguished audience, which filled the hall down to the last seat—a large number of interested persons had to leave empty-handed—acclaimed all contributors enthusiastically; several pieces were vehemently demanded to be repeated. We look forward to the following two concerts with great excitement.^[66]

Regarding the small audience during the first concert of the Dutch choir, Adler, years later, recalled how he encouraged the public through an enthusiastic critique in the press to attend the

next ones:

The first evening, almost empty, unleashed enthusiasm among the few listeners. I took a pen and wrote a flaming article in the *Neue Freie Presse*. The two following evenings were sold out—victory was achieved and the way for similar performances paved.^[67]

A foreign reporter commented similarly on the increase of attendants from the first to the third historical concert led by de Lange, proving the impact of Adler's journalistic writings in Viennese society: "Unfortunately, the attendance at de Lange's concerts was not proportionate to the performance offered; only at the last concert was the Vortragsaal of the rotunda filled by a paying audience."^[68]

Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich (DTÖ)

Similarly to the historical concerts, the monumental edition has precedents too.^[69] Adler first attempted to launch a nationally oriented, monumental music edition in 1888 with a proposal to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Education. At that time, he was associate professor at the German-speaking University of Prague. His first idea was to edit a selection of works composed by authors from the German-speaking areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The proposed title for this project was *Monumenta historiae musices*. The Ministry rejected this initiative, pointing out the lack of representation of the non-German-speaking areas of the Empire in the project.^[70] Furthermore, soon after this proposal, the young German nation issued the first volume of the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, edited by Philipp Spitta (1841–94), the first volume being published in 1892.

The Viennese Exhibition of 1892 was the catalyst of Adler's aim to develop his old editorial project. Adler was in charge of the overall scientific and historical aspects of the musical section. Additionally, he was the curator of the Austrian and German pavilions. It is relevant to highlight that all the concert titles of the *Historische Concerte*, with the exceptions of the fifth and sixth concerts devoted to Flemish music, made allusions to German-speaking countries. Furthermore, following his instructions, a collection of musical sources was assembled from all around the empire, and this collection served as the basis for the future *DTÖ*.

Dieses Auktionsstück ist ganz principal Melos und wird ausfüllt, als Chorale
zu gründen.

An

die verehrliche Custodie des Hof Heinrich-Berger'schen Hausarchivs.
Wien

Ausgehend von der Ueberzeugung, dass die Bibliotheken und Archive, seien sie öffentliche oder private, die wissenschaftlich-künstlerische Verwerthung ihrer Schätze gern und bereitwillig fördern und unterstützen, erlauben sich die ergebenst Unterzeichneten Folgendes vorzulegen:

Die Bewegung auf musikhistorischem Gebiete in der neueren Zeit bringt uns und gewiss vielen Anderen den Wunsch nahe, den von manchen Anstalten zurückgestellten Theil ihres Besitzes, die musikalischen Werke in Praxis und Theorie, kennen zu lernen. Gerade in Oesterreich-Ungarn, wo die Tonkunst von jeher die ausgiebigste Pflege fand, wo ihr classisch geweihter Boden ist, müssen wir Schritt halten mit den Vorgängen in anderen Ländern. Unsere Aufgabe ist es vorläufig, den musikalischen Bestand der einzelnen Bibliotheken und Archive zu erforschen und zu diesem Behufe rufen wir Ihre freundliche Mithilfe, Ihre geneigte Unterstützung an.

Ihre Theilnahme dürfte auch den Intentionen des hohen kaiserl. königl. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht in Wien entsprechen, welches mit den hohen Erlassen vom 15. März 1889, Z. 5141, vom 9. November 1889, Z. 20.224 und vom 30. December 1889, Z. 23.769 erklärte, unsere Absichten bereitwilligst unterstützen zu wollen.

Im Einzelnen erbitten wir die gütige Angabe über folgende Gegenstände, die etwa in Ihrem Besitze sind:

1. **Musikalische Werke, Manuscripte, Codices, Incunabeln, Druckwerke** (Partituren, Auszüge, einzelne Stücke), **theoretische Werke über Musik**. Die Beantwortung kann in zweifacher Weise gegeben werden, entweder in genauer bibliographischer oder in übersichtlicher Form, worüber zwei Formulare beigegeben sind behufs einheitlicher Fassung.

Sollte ein Verzeichniss nicht vorhanden und in Bälde nicht zu beschaffen sein, dann wäre eine vorläufige Anzeige darüber erwünscht, ob, in welcher Zahl und aus welcher Zeit beiläufig musikalische Werke vorhanden sind.

Figure 7: Forms sent to thousands of archives and libraries; Guido Adler Papers, University of Georgia, Box 1, Folder 27

The Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Education approved and supported Adler's idea of editing a selection of works composed by the emperors Ferdinand III, Leopold I, and Joseph I themselves. The two volumes that resulted from this project could be considered the ultimate pilot or "edition zero" for the *DTÖ*. The last concert in the series of *Historische Concerte* featured pieces from this edition.

In 1893 the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich (Society for

the Publication of Monuments of Musical Art in Austria) was institutionalized. According to Hilscher, the members of the first executive commission were Adler (director of publications), Hanslick (president), Artaria (treasurer), von Hermann (secretary), Böhm, Brahms, Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel (1839–1907), Engelbert Mühlbacher (1843–1903), Hans Richter (1843–1916), and Wilhelm Weckbecker (1859–1936).^[71] As we have already seen before, one year before the exhibition, in 1891, Adler had brought the Trent Codices to Vienna in order to study and edit them. In 1885, Haberl had already published his research on these manuscripts in his long article about Guillaume Dufay for the first volume of the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*.^[72] The kernel of the repertory of the fifth and sixth historical concerts, performed by the *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor*, depended on Haberl's further materials and editions. In 1892, Trent was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. So for Adler these precious codices belonged to the musical heritage of the empire. Consequently, the 14th and 15th volumes of the *DTÖ*, published together in 1900, contain a selection of works and a complete thematic catalogue of the first six manuscripts of the Trent Codices.

Conclusions

[8] The set of historical concerts performed during the International Exhibition of Music and Theater in Vienna was not the first initiative of its kind. Nevertheless, it is relevant for the history of early musical practices because of the efforts of the organizers to edit and preserve the concert programs, the massive audience that attended every single concert, and the international and inter-institutional collaboration developed in order to carry out the project. The initiative to program historical concerts within the framework of an international exhibition had a pedagogical intention. The character of the performances wavered between erudition and entertainment. In this article, this set of concerts acted as a showcase for archival research and demonstrated the deep interrelation between early music editorial enterprises and early music performance practices. Therefore, the *Historische Concerte* project displayed musicology, an aspiring academic discipline, in the public sphere. The study of this concert series has also revealed the narrow international ties between performers, scholars, conductors, and concert promoters at that time.

The *Historische Concerte* also served as appetizers to further systematize Adler's ideas about the history of musical styles, the international conception of music history (based on excellence), and Adler's conception of musico-historical development.^[73] In all of those concerts, as well as in Adler's scholarly writings, the music of German-speaking countries was at the center of the discussion, either by implicit inclusion or by explicit exclusion. Therefore, the *Historische Concerte*, as well as the original *DTÖ* project, aspired to achieve a universal scope through a Germanocentric perspective. The conception of both cultural milestones blended imperial and national goals, with a tension between cosmopolitanism and chauvinism.

This case study also calls into question some assumptions about the development of historically informed practices in music. First of all, the big audiences that attended the *Historische Concerte* contradict the historiographical assumption that the pioneering early music revival attempts were a marginal phenomenon. Second, the program was an amalgam of different types of concert programming trends. The virtuosity of Amalie Joachim's lied cycle was programmed after a concert of sacred choral music performed by a total of 600 students of two orphanages. The two amateur Viennese choirs, the *Chor-Akademie des Ambrosius-Vereines* and the *Wiener*

Singakademie, performed alongside the professional members of the Dutch *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor*. The repertoires were also quite large: from Gregorian chant, still performed in religious institutions, to completely unknown scenic repertoires from the baroque era (last concert); from musical sources recently rediscovered (the Trent Codices) to works of the canonical repertory of concerts at that time (presented by Robert Schumann, Richard Wagner, or Johannes Brahms).

Besides those aspects, there was also a huge difference between the religious motivation of the *Ambrosius Choir* and the choir of orphans, both rooted in the Cecilian Movement, and the personal and artistic branding strategies of Amalie Joachim's lied cycle. There was a similar difference between the erudite, nationalist, and institutionalizing scope of both the *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor* and the last concert based on the "edition zero" of the *DTÖ* on the one hand and the rest of the concerts on the other. In addition, in this set of concerts, professional performers collaborated with non-professional ones. The intensified collaboration between music professionals, even with virtuosic skills, and members of amateur institutions was a consequence of the last concert: the official presentation of the edition made by Adler with imperial financial support.

This case study also shows that the pioneering early music movement at the turn of 19th century was manifold, rich, and transversal, and that it laid the foundations for the further development of early music research and practices in the 20th century.

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5. Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (Mineola: Dover, 1996), 13–25. ↑
6. Regarding the link between modernity and early music, see Martin Elste, "Alte Musik als Neue Musik: Zum unausgesprochenen ästhetischen Programm im Spannungsfeld kommerzieller Medialität," *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 27 (2003): 55–61. ↑
7. This was the case with the main work of recovery of instruments and repertoires by Arnold Dolmetsch (1858–1940) and his family. Cf. Margaret Cambell, *Dolmetsch: The Man and His Work* (London: Hamilton, 1975). ↑
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12. Barbara Boisits, "Der Stellenwert des Gregorianischen Chorals in der frühen Musikwissenschaft am Beispiel Guido Adlers," in *Cantare amantis est: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Franz Karl Praßl*, ed. Robert Klugseder (Purkersdorf: Hollinek, 2014), 76–88. ↑
13. See, for example, Erica Mugglestone, "Guido Adler's 'The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology' (1885): An English Translation with a Historic-Analytical Commentary," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 1–21; Barbara Boisits, "Guido Adler und die Gründung der Bibliothek am musikwissenschaftlichen Institut in Wien," and her "Kulturwissenschaftliche Ansätze in Adlers Begriff von Musikwissenschaft," in *Musikwissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft damals und heute: Internationales Symposium (1998) zum Jubiläum der Institutsgründung an der Universität Wien vor 100 Jahren*, ed. Theophil Antonicek and Gernot Gruber, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 40 (Tutzing: Schneider, 2005), 69–88, and 125–39; 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); Georg Beck, "Die Moderne im Musikdenken Adlers," in *Musik in der Moderne: Music and Modernism*, ed. Federico Celestini, Gregor Kokorz, and Julian Johnson, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 9 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011), 203–20; and Barbara Boisits, "Ein *diligens pater familias* der Musikwissenschaft? Zur Persönlichkeit Guido Adlers," in *Guido Adlers Erbe: Restitution und Erinnerung an der Universität Wien*, ed. Markus Stumpf, Herbert Posch, and Oliver Rathkolb, Bibliothek im Kontext 1 (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2017), 15–30. ↑
14. Philip Bohlman and Bruno Nettl, "Adler in America – A Conversation," in Stumpf, Posch, and Rathkolb, *Guido Adlers Erbe*, 203–25; Rachel Mundy, "Evolutionary Categories and Musical Style from Adler to America," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no. 3 (2014): 735–68. ↑
15. Antonicek, *Die internationale Ausstellung*, 100–09. ↑
16. *Ibid.*, 110. ↑
17. *Das Vaterland* was a Viennese daily newspaper, published between 1860 and 1911, with a Catholic and aristocratic editorial line. A digital copy is provided by the Austrian National Library ([ANNO](#)). ↑
18. *Neue Freie Presse* was a Viennese daily newspaper, published between 1864 and 1939, with a bourgeois-liberal editorial line. A digital copy is provided by the Austrian National Library ([ANNO](#)). ↑
19. Elisabeth Th. Hilscher, *Denkmalpflege und Musikwissenschaft: Einhundert Jahre Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe der Tonkunst in Österreich (1893–1993)*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 33 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1995), 53–78. ↑
20. The Austrian National Library holds a copy of this document: [ÖNB, Music-S, 231919-C MUS MAG](#); accessed March 20, 2019. ↑

21. Anonymous, "Tagesgeschichte: Musikbrief; Von der Internationalen Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung," *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, October 20, 1892, 526; accessed March 15, 2019. Original wording: "Zu dem Interessantesten, was uns die Ausstellung an Musikaufführungen brachte, gehörten die Historischen Concerte, und unter diesen standen wieder die drei von dem Amsterdamer a cappella-Chorverein unter Leitung des Hrn. D. de Lange gegebenen an Bedeutung obenan." Here and thereafter: translations are mine unless otherwise acknowledged. ↑
22. Hartmut Krones, "Aufführungspraxis," *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon Online*; accessed March 30, 2019. ↑
23. Erich Hermann, "Albert Ritter von Hermann," website of the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe von Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Österreich; accessed August 14, 2018. ↑
24. Uwe Harten and Andrea Harrandt, "Gutmann, Albert J.," *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon Online*; accessed August 14, 2018. ↑
25. The first one was devoted to Gregorian chant and the German sacred song and their relation to the 16th-century a cappella style: *Der römische Choral und das deutsche Kirchenlied, die Anfänge der Mehrstimmigkeit und deren Entwicklung zum kirchlichen a cappella-Stil des 16. Jahrhunderts* (May 23, 1892). The third concert was devoted to sacred works of the German, Venetian, and Neapolitan schools: *Kirchliche Werke der deutschen, venetianischen und neapolitanischen Schule, XVI-XVIII. Jahrhundert* (June 3, 1892). ↑
26. *Weltliche Musik im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert außerhalb Deutschland* (May 26, 1892). ↑
27. *Weltliche Musik des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (June 8, 1892). ↑
28. *Deutsche Kirchenlieder aus dem XI-XVII. Jahrhundert* (June 30, 1892). ↑
29. According to the concert programs, the members of this choir were the following women: Z. Bakker, A. M. Gouda, Cateu Loman, Cateu Niewenhuijs, A. Reddingius, Gerda Reijnders, Cateau Ribbe, Nanny de Roever, and Louise Tibbe; and the following men: A. Averkamp, A. Fermin, H. Haverman, Joh. M. Messchaert, Otto W. de Nobel, J. J. Rogmans, W. Siep, Joh. Soutendijk, and T. B. M. Stachelhausen. ↑
30. The three concerts were all entitled *Meisterwerke der niederländischen Schule aus dem XIV-XVII. Jahrhundert*, but the program was different. They were performed on June 27, June 29, and July 7, 1892. ↑
31. Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library (University of Georgia), [Guido Adler Papers](#), Box 39, Folder 3, Correspondence. ↑
32. *Das deutsche Lied: Das volkstümliche Lied vom XV. Jahrhundert bis auf unsere Zeit* (October 3, 1892); *Das deutsche Lied: Das Lied in der Form der Arie vom XVIII. Jahrhundert bis auf Beethoven*; *Das deutsche Lied am Anfange dieses Jahrhunderts: (Fr. Schubert)*; *Die Romanze und Ballade* (October 5, 1892); *Das deutsche Lied: Das deutsche Lied seit Franz Schubert* (October 7, 1892). ↑
33. Original wording: "Die Einführungen und Anmerkungen zu den einzelnen Liedern sind den von H. Reimann redigirten Original-Programmen entnommen," *ÖNB, Music-S, 231919-C, 72*; accessed March 20, 2019. ↑
34. *Musikalische Werke der Kaiser Ferdinand III., Leopold I. und Joseph I.: Im Auftrage des k.k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht herausgegeben von Guido Adler*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Artaria & Co., 1892-93). For

the precise content of these volumes, see the [DTÖ website](#). ↑

35. *Musikalische Werke der österreichischen Kaiser Ferdinand III., Leopold I. und Joseph I* (October 9, 1892). ↑
36. In the first one, he played two examples of organ music of the 15th and 16th century; a “Pausa” by Conrad Pauman (1420–73), a “Toccata” by Luzzasco Luzzaschi (1545–1607), and a “Phantasie” from the 17th century composed by Jan Pieters Sweelinck (1562–1621). In the second concert, devoted to sacred music of German, Venetian, and Neapolitan schools (16–18th centuries), after his lecture he played two “Passacaglias” on a Kaufmann organ, one by Dietrich Buxtehude (1637–1707) and another by Bach. ↑
37. Alexander Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein: A Family at War* (New York: Anchor Books, 2008). ↑
38. Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library (University of Georgia), [Guido Adler Papers](#), Box 3, Folder 3, and Box 6, Folder 27. ↑
39. For a discussion about the ideological construction of the historical label “Flemish School” in musicology at that time, see Petra van Langen, “The Netherlandish School: The Construction of a Trademark,” in *Branding “Western Music,”* ed. María Cáceres-Piñuel, Alberto Napoli, and Melanie Strumbl (Bern: Peter Lang, forthcoming). ↑
40. This is the case for an unsigned long article devoted to the participation of the *Amsterdamer a cappella-Chor* in the *Historische Concerte* in Vienna 1892, in which, following a report on the concerts conducted by de Lange and before the reproduction of the concert programs, the anonymous author transcribed several reviews of the choir’s performances that appeared in the Viennese newspapers: [Anonymous, “De historische concerten van de internationale tentoonstelling van muziek en tooneel te Weenen in 1892,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 4 \(1892\): 110–24.](#) ↑
41. The Trent Codices are a collection of music manuscripts compiled around the middle of the 15th century. They contain mostly sacred vocal music composed between 1400 and 1475. Six of the seven manuscripts had been archived for centuries in the library at the Cathedral of Trent and were unknown until the middle of the 19th century. The seventh manuscript was discovered in the 1920s. ↑
42. Haberl was one of the main promoters of the Cecilian movement, professor of Lorenzo Perosi (1872–1956), and founder of the Kirchenmusikschule (church music school) of Regensburg. ↑
43. [Michael] Drucker, [Julius] Stwertka (violins), [David] Popper (cello) and Berger (bass). ↑
44. The piano was a Bösendorfer. Taking into account that there is no pianist mentioned by name in the program notes, it was probably de Lange who played those piano pieces. ↑
45. Johan Cornelis Marius van Riemsdijk, *Oud-Nederlandsche danswijzen*, Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst, Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis (Amsterdam: Brix von Wahlberg, 1882). ↑
46. [Guido Adler, “Die Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung,” *Neue Freie Presse*, June 28, 1892, 5;](#) accessed March 15, 2019. Original wording: “Eine Gesellschaft kunstbegeisterter Sänger und Sängerinnen aus Amsterdam unterzog sich freiwillig der Aufgabe, heimische Werke ihrer Altvorden auf fremden Boden zu verpflanzen. Allerdings war dieser schon präparirt. Was uns die Holländer darboten, war zu nicht geringem Theile vor langer Zeit von Oesterreichern vorbereitet und angebahnt: den Wiener Musikhistorikern Kiesewetter und Ambros gebührt das Verdienst, das Verständniß für die altniederländische Kunst erweckt zu haben. In dem gastfreundlichen Hause des Ersteren versammelte

sich allsonntäglich die kleine Gemeinde, welche diese todtgegläubten Werke zu neuem Leben erweckte. Hier lernte Ambros die alten Compositionen kennen, für welche er dann im Anschlusse an die epochemachende Abhandlung seines Oheims: "Ueber die Verdienste der Niederländer in der Musik"—einer preisgekrönten Schrift, mit welcher Kiesewetter seinen großen Concurrenten Fétis besiegte—seine Lanze einlegte." The quoted treatise by Kiesewetter is [Die Verdienste der Niederländer um die Tonkunst](#) (Vienna: Olms, 1829). ↑

47. [Adler, "Die Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung,"](#) 5. Original wording: "Wie in der Kunstgeschichte das Vorurtheil beseitigt werden mußte, daß die Vor-Rafael'sche Zeit barbarisch und ungenießbar sei, so traten Kiesewetter und Ambros mit Erfolg für die gerechte Würdigung der altniederländischen Kunst ein, der sogenannten Vor-Palestrina-Zeit. In seiner Geschichte der Musik hob Ambros zum großen Theile den alten Schatz, befreite ihn von Schutt und Asche und verhalf ihm zu erneutem Glanze. Noch muß mancher Spatenstich gemacht werden, noch wird mancher Schweißtropfen den Forschern von der Stirne rollen, soll die angefangene Arbeit zu Ende geführt werden. Wol sind einzelne Männer, wie Lommer in Berlin und Kade in Schwerin, den Spuren gefolgt, deren Richtung Kiesewetter und Ambros bestimmt haben. Aber ein großes Stück harrt noch der Erledigung." ↑
48. [Adler, "Die Musik- und Theater- Ausstellung,"](#) 5. Original wording: "In den kostbaren Sammelbänden, welche das österreichische Unterrichtsministerium unlängst von dem Trienter Domcapitel mit schweren Opfern angekauft hat, um sie dem Inlande zu erhalten, liegt noch ein beträchtlicher Theil altniederländischer Kunst vergraben." ↑
49. According to the program notes, the concert was accompanied by an organ from Mauracher. ↑
50. Buchdruckerei "Austria," managed by Ludwig Feix and located in Schottenhofgasse 3, Neubau, Vienna. ↑
51. Beatrix Borchard, *Stimme und Geige: Amalie und Joseph Joachim; Biographie und Interpretationsgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 465-66. ↑
52. Ibid., 467. ↑
53. Ibid., 466. ↑
54. Ibid., 466-7. ↑
55. *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. Guido Adler (Frankfurt: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1924). A copy of the second edition (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1930) is available online: [vol. 1](#), [vol. 2](#). For an overview of the creative process and the transnational scope of this multi-authored project led by Adler under the framework of internationalism but with a clear Germanocentric basis, see Annegret Fauser, "Grooves of Empire: Internationalism, Imperialism, and Branding Western Music," in Cáceres-Piñuel, Napoli, and Strumbl, *Branding "Western Music."* ↑
56. *Das deutsche Lied: Ein Lieder-Cyclus in 4 Abenden; das deutsche Lied von seinen Anfängen bis zur heutigen Zeit vorgetragen von Amalie Joachim: Text-und Programm-Buch zusammengestellt, bearbeitet und erläutert von Dr. H. Reimann* (Berlin: Verlag der Concert-Direction Hermann Wolff, n.d.). ↑
57. *Das deutsche Lied* had four volumes: two appeared in 1891 and the last two in 1893. ↑
58. Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, 468, 474. ↑
59. [Neues Wiener Tagblatt](#), no. 36, February 5, 1893, 7-8, quoted in Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, 477. ↑

60. For a further discussion about the branding strategies related with this genre at the end of 19th century, see Natasha Loges, "Branding the German Lied in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Cáceres-Piñuel, Napoli, and Strumbl, *Branding "Western Music."* ↑
61. The piano used for the performance was a Bösendorfer. The organ, a Kaufmann, and the harmonium, a Kotykiewicz, were played by an interpreter named Müller [probably Otto Müller]. ↑
62. For an overview of Schenker's establishment in Viennese musical life in the 1890s, see Nicholas Cook, *The Schenker Project: Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3–28. ↑
63. Anonymous, "Aufführung von Kaiserwerken," *Deutsche Kunst- und Musik-Zeitung*, no. 30, October 20, 1892, 271 (quoted in Antonicek, *Die internationale Ausstellung*, 112). Original wording: "Vor mehreren Monaten haben wir der Veröffentlichung musikalischer Werke der Kaiser Ferdinand III, Josef I. und Leopold I. gedacht, die im Auftrage des Unterrichtsministeriums von Prof. Dr. Guido Adler in Prag besorgt wurde. Der erste Band (die erste Hälfte) dieser Publication war im Habsburg-Interieur der Musikausstellung ausgestellt, und einige Stunden vor dem wirklichen Schlusse der Ausstellung wurde eine Reihe dieser Werke im Vortragssaale der Ausstellung vor einem gewählten Publicum aufgeführt. Der Zutritt zu dieser Aufführung war nur gegen Einladungskarten gestattet. Das Concert, das auf diese Weise einen privaten und distinguierten Charakter erhalten hatte, war sehr gut besucht." ↑
64. Antonicek, *Die internationale Ausstellung*, 113. ↑
65. Anonymous [Ritter van Hermann?], "Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen," *Das Vaterland*, January 31, 1892, 5; accessed March 15, 2019; Anonymous [Guido Adler?], "Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen," *Neue Freie Presse*, January 31, 1892, 6; accessed March 15, 2019. Original wording: "In Vorbereitung sind ferner ein historischer Singspiel-, historischer Operetten- und historischer Possen-Abend. Für die Musikhalle sind 45 populäre und 7 historische Concerte geplant; außerdem werden in der kleinen Musikhalle fünf historische Concerte stattfinden, bei welchen nur alte, jedoch noch spielbare Instrumente zur Verwendung gelangen sollen." ↑
66. Adler, "Die Musik- und Theater-Ausstellung," 5. Original wording: "Die distinguierte Zuhörerschaft, welche den Saal bis auf das letzte Plätzchen füllte—eine große Anzahl von Kartenbewerbern mußte unverrichteter Dinge abziehen—zeichnete alle Mitwirkenden durch begeisterten Beifall aus, mehrere Nummern wurden stürmisch zur Wiederholung verlangt. Man darf auch den beiden folgenden Concerten mit großer Spannung entgegensehen." ↑
67. Guido Adler, *Wollen und Wirken: Aus dem Leben eines Musikhistorikers* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1935), 63 (quoted in Antonicek, *Die internationale Ausstellung*, 111). Original wording: "Der erste Abend, fast leer, entfesselte bei den wenigen Zuhörern Begeisterung. Ich griff zur Feder und schrieb einen flammenden Artikel in der 'Neuen Freien Presse.' Die zwei folgenden Abende waren ausverkauft—der Sieg war errungen und der weitere Weg für Aufführungen gleicher Art geebnet." ↑
68. Anonymous, "Tagesgeschichte," 526. Original wording: "Leider stand der Besuch der de Lange'schen Concerte nicht in entsprechendem Verhältnisse zu den gebotenen Leistungen, erst im letzten Concerte war der Vortragssaal in der Rotunde von einem wirklich zahlenden Publicum besetzt." ↑
69. For a historical overview of the process, see Wolfgang Horn, "Denkmälerausgaben," in *Musikeditionen im Wandel der Geschichte*, ed. Renmar Emans and Ulrich Krämer, Bausteine zur Geschichte der Edition 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 704–40. For the monumental edition of music in Germany, see Anselm Gerhard, "Für den 'Butterladen,' die Gelehrten oder 'das practische Leben'? Denkmalsidee und Gesamtausgaben in der Musikgeschichte vor 1850," *Die Musikforschung* 57, no. 4 (2004): 363–82. For

the monumental edition in Italy, see Federico Celestini, "'Denkmäler italienischer Tonkunst': D'Annunzios Roman *Il fuoco* und die Mythologisierung alter Musik in Italien um 1900," in *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes: Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Rudolf Jaworski and Peter Stachel (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007), 277–92. For the Austrian tradition of monumental editions of music, see Boisits, "Musik als Denkmal," and her "Monumentales Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität: Die Wiener Beethoven-Feier von 1870," in Celestini, Kokorz, and Johnson, *Musik in der Moderne*, 37–54. ↑

70. Barbara Boisits, "Music as Monument. The Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich: A Patriotic Activity," in *Musical Culture & Memory*, ed. Tatjana Marković and Vesna Mikić, Musicological Studies: Proceedings 2 (Belgrade: University of Arts, 2008), 121–28. For a revision of the imperial politics of national inclusion, see Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 9–15. ↑
71. Hilscher, *Denkmalpflege und Musikwissenschaft*, 55. ↑
72. Franz Xaver Haberl, "Wilhelm du Fay: Monographische Studie über dessen Leben und Werke," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885): 397–530. ↑
73. On the intersection of evolutionary theories and Adler's construction of musicology as a discipline, see Wolfgang Dömling, "Musikgeschichte als Stilgeschichte: Bemerkungen zum musikhistorischen Konzept Guido Adlers," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 4, no. 1 (1973): 35–50; and Benjamin Breuer, "The Birth of Musicology from the Spirit of Evolution: Ernst Haeckel's *Entwicklungslehre* as Central Component of Guido Adler's Methodology for Musicology" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2011). ↑