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Anton Walter's Difficult Early Years in Vienna: New Documents, 1772–1779*

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MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN LATELY about Anton Walter (1752–1826), the builder of Mozart's fortepiano ca. 1782 and Beethoven's favorite pianoforte maker around 1800. John A. Rice published three documents in an article in this JOURNAL in 1989, providing new information about Walter's 1790 petition to be granted a court title—a petition that resulted in his being named *K[ayerlicher] K[öniglicher] Kammerorgelbauer und Instrumentmacher* (Imperial Royal Chamber Organ Builder and Instrument Maker).¹ In 2000 a whole volume of the *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* was devoted to Walter. The lengthy contribution there by Silke Berdux and Susanne Wittmayer presents much new biographical research on this famous builder of fortepianos in Vienna.² But little was known about Walter's early life other than the facts of his birth, on February 5, 1752 in Neuhausen, Swabia; that, according to a bill dated September 8, 1779, he spent fifteen days repairing keyboard instruments at Eszterháza that summer;³ and that he married the widow Anna Elisabeth Schöfstoß, née Reisinger, in Vienna on January 27, 1780. Walter remarked at a trial for suspected Jacobins in January 1796 that he had been in Vienna for some 20 or 22 years, which

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1. John A. Rice, "Anton Walter, Instrument Maker to Leopold II," this JOURNAL 15 (1989): 32–51. The title Walter sought was *Kays. Königl. Hof Orgel und Instrumentenbauer* (Imperial Royal Court Organ and Instrument Builder), but the title actually granted was *K. K. Kammerorgelbauer und Instrumentmacher*: see Rice, "Anton Walter," pp. 35, 42–43.

2. Silke Berdux and Susanne Wittmayer, "Biographische Notizen zu Anton Walter (1752–1826)," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 48, nos. 1–4 (June 2000): 13–106. Mozart's fortepiano is on display in the composer's birth house in Salzburg.

3. Ibid., 42. Walter made at least one further visit to Eszterháza to repair instruments, in 1781: Berdux and Wittmayer also discuss the bill documenting the second visit and provide its publication history.

suggests that he arrived ca. 1775. But when exactly did he come to Vienna? When and where did he learn the craft of constructing instruments? Who were his teachers?

The state of knowledge about Walter's training was summarized by Berdux and Wittmayer:

It is supposed that Anton Walter acquired carpentry skills from his father, who, through his own activity [as a carpenter], could also have influenced him in the choice of his profession. He could also have completed his training and practiced constructing simple instruments [with his father]. However, we still lack any kind of information about his training and years of apprenticeship. Since he later referred to himself as an "Orgel und Instrumentmacher," and, according to his own report, had built an organ, it is assumed that he trained with an organ maker. Anton Walter came to Vienna or the region around Vienna between 1774 and 1776. In January 1796 he remarked at a hearing in Vienna: "I have been here for 20 or 22 years."⁴

In March 2007, while searching for something completely different,⁵ I discovered a convolute of documents at the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv that deals with an earlier petition by Walter, initially submitted in July 1778, asking that he be granted official government protection as an *Instrumentmacher*.⁶ These documents answer many questions about Walter's training and provide much new information about the difficulties he experienced at the start of his career in Vienna—in particular, his problems with the powerful guild of organ makers. At the same time, they open up many new areas for research into the beginnings of piano manufacture in Vienna, as they contain information about Walter's early efforts. Walter would later claim, in his 1790 petition to the court, that "he was the first to make pianofortes here as they are

4. Ibid., 14: "Es ist zu vermuten, daß Anton Walter sich bei seinem Vater, der ihn durch seine Tätigkeiten auch in der Wahl seines Berufes beeinflußt haben könnte, schreinerische Kenntnisse angeeignet hat, er könnte bei diesem auch eine Lehre absolviert und sich im Bau einfacher Instrumente geübt haben. Bisher fehlen über seine Ausbildung und seine Wanderjahre jedoch jegliche Nachrichten. Da er sich später als '*Orgel und Instrumentmacher*' bezeichnete und nach eigener Angabe eine Orgel baute, ist anzunehmen, daß er bei einem Orgelbauer in die Lehre ging. In Wien oder in der Umgebung von Wien ließ Anton Walter sich zwischen 1774 und 1776 nieder. Im Januar 1796 äußerte er bei einem Verhör in Wien, '*Bei 20. oder 22. Jahre befinde ich mich allhier.*' "

5. Serendipity has a way of producing wonderful results. In this case, I was searching for the *Holzsetzer* Petraschek, a relative of the violin maker Sebastian Dallinger (1736–1809).

6. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (WStLA), Alte Registratur A2-Berichte: 4/1779.

now in general use.”⁷ He was also identified in Schönfeld’s *Jahrbuch* of 1796 as the “creator” of this instrument in Vienna.⁸

The main documents of Walter’s 1778 petition are presented in Appendix 1 in both the original German and in my English translation, in the order in which they were submitted by Walter himself (officially labeled *A* to *H*), followed by the lengthy final report of the city authorities (which I have labeled *I*). Appendix 2 contains detailed biographical information about the most important organ makers named in the final report. The documents are summarized and discussed below.

Walter’s Petition “A”

On July 7, 1778 Anton Walter submitted a written petition, officially labeled *A*, to the Lower Austrian Government requesting that he be granted a protective license to make musical instruments in Vienna. He explained that he had learned the profession of carpentry in his youth, but, aiming for higher goals, had come to Vienna because this was a center of the arts. (As we shall see, document *G* reveals that Walter was already working for an organ builder in Vienna in May 1772, when he had just turned twenty.) There he was fortunate to study geometry, arithmetic, algebra, mechanics, architecture, and music, and soon decided that music, in particular the construction of musical instruments, would be the source of his livelihood. By the time of his petition in 1778, he had already completed several instruments, which he called *Flieg* (*Flügel*), that is, wing-shaped keyboard instruments, and these were received with great approval. Now, however, he had cause to worry about the uncertainty of his position—he mentions the threat of war and concern about being conscripted⁹—and opposition to his work: one difficulty was the

7. Rice, “Anton Walter,” 36: “er Pianoforte wie sie itz allgemein gebraucht werden hier zu erst gemacht hat.” See also *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Personenteil, s.v. “Walter, (Gabriel) Anton,” by Susanne Wittmayer: “Er schreibt darin, er habe als erster in Wien Pianoforte gebaut, eine Aussage, die auf Grund neuerer Forschung wohl nicht mehr zu bezweifeln ist.”

8. Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna, 1796; repr., Munich: Katzschler, 1976), 87–88: “Derjenige Künstler, der sich bisher am berühmtesten gemacht hat, und der gleichsam der erste Schöpfer dieses Instruments [fortepiano] bei uns ist, ist Hr. Walter, wohnhaft an der Wien, im Fokanetischen Hause, im hintern Hofe. . . .”

9. The War of the Bavarian Succession broke out between Austria and Prussia in July 1778. Before the peace treaty was signed in Teschen on May 13, 1779, at least twenty thousand Austrian soldiers lost their lives.

envy of other builders, since he worked at a far lower price. As a final point in support of his request, Walter claimed that *Instrumentenmachen* was a branch of music and not a technical *Profession*. This was no doubt to avoid the fact that he had not officially completed his technical training as an organ builder, one of the stumbling blocks in his fight against the professional guild of *Orgel und Instrumentmacher*,¹⁰ as the final document *I* clearly states. Thus, the unconventional Walter—in many ways a “maverick”¹¹—was hoping to win his case on a technicality, apparently basing his argument on the changing meaning of the word *Instrument*.¹²

Various remarks by government officials on the reverse side of Walter's petition *A* clarify the progress of his case. On July 10, 1778, the Lower Austrian Government (with its headquarters in Vienna)¹³ transferred Walter's letter to officials of the City of Vienna, including the mayor, for a judgment.¹⁴ Then, on July 20, the municipal councillors requested that Walter and members of the guild of organ makers should appear together for a hearing before the end of the month. This must have taken place by July 25, for on this date the city official Preisinger¹⁵ wrote that Walter's request had been rejected. The lengthy summary *I*, dated January 5, 1779, gives the reasons for this rejection: the guild of organ makers had argued against Walter's application because he was

10. See the explanation of the Viennese guild system in Richard Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 17–33. The generic term for the profession was *Orgelmacher* (p. 2) and this “included makers of all types of keyboard instruments” (p. 19). See also Berdux and Wittmayer, “Biographische Notizen,” 19–21.

11. Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 26.

12. Until the 1770s, the word *Instrument* normally referred to a harpsichord (Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 12); the construction of such instruments was controlled by the guild of organ makers. In Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch* of 1796, *Instrument* now meant “fortepiano” (p. 87). However, in the 1770s—at the time of Walter's petition—makers of woodwind instruments also called themselves “*Instrumentmacher*,” using the term in the generic sense of “musical instruments.” See Maunder, “Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers, 1700–1800,” *Galpin Society Journal* 51 (July 1998): 170–91. According to my unpublished research, in the 1770s there was also a struggle over who had the right to construct woodwind instruments: the official guild of turners (*Drechsler*), or musicians who were wind players.

13. The Nieder-Österreichische Regierung was located then in the building that stands today at Herrengasse 59. In 1986 St. Pölten became the new headquarters of the regional government of Lower Austria.

14. The City Hall was located at that time at Wildwerkerstrasse (Wipplingerstrasse) 417, in a building that is still standing today (the *Altes Rathaus*).

15. According to the *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus der . . . Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien* (Vienna, 1778), 236, Leopold Preißinger worked as a secretary for the Inner City Government (*der Innere Stadtrath*).

merely a carpentry journeyman, and pointed out that although he had worked with several of their members, he had not finished his training according to the proper rules.¹⁶ Moreover, he had been engaged in the illegal construction of instruments for two years, together with an unnamed young assistant.¹⁷ This was obviously viewed as a threat to the control mechanism exercised by the rigid guild system.

Testimonials "C" and "D" from Professors at the Engineering Academy

After this rejection, Walter submitted a new petition, *B* (missing from the convolute), to the highest authority, that is, the Imperial Royal Court (of Empress Maria Theresia), restating his request.¹⁸ Going right to the top was a clever tactic, since it was known that the Empress was trying to cut back the stifling powers of the outmoded guilds in an effort to stimulate new industrial production.¹⁹ (The outrage of the civic organ builders at Walter's bold move is expressed in vivid terms in document *I*: they found it hard to believe that he would think "he was such a skilful, talented fellow" and that he could successfully petition the Crown.) Walter bolstered his new letter by testimonials from two professors at the Imperial Royal Engineering Academy, officially labeled *C* and *D*, which supply more information about his scientific interests, confirming the claim in his initial petition about his wide-ranging studies. These highly favorable letters of support from teachers at this prestigious academy must have impressed court officials.

16. A journeyman (*Geselle*), having first trained as an apprentice (*Lehrjunge*), normally worked for his master for several years before submitting a test piece (*Meisterstück*) to the guild for judgment, accompanied by whopping fees. See Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 17–18.

17. According to Maunder, *ibid.*, 19, "considerable numbers of unauthorized craftsmen, known as *Störer*, were tolerated by a government ever suspicious of the real or imagined power of the guilds. Many *Störer* were former *Gesellen* who had lost their jobs."

18. A preliminary search at the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (Staatsratsprotokolle, Obersthofmeisteramt, Kabinettskanzlei) failed to locate any documents dealing with Walter's petition. Most requests of this nature from the era of Empress Maria Theresia were discarded long ago. This applies also to such documents before 1781 that were once in the Nieder-Österreichisches Landesarchiv.

19. Berdux and Wittmayer, "Biographische Notizen," 19: "Als Anton Walter nach Wien kam, gab es noch eine Zunft der Orgel- und Instrumentenmacher. Inwiefern diese von den Versuchen Maria Theresias (regierend 1740–1780), den Einfluß der Zünfte zu beschneiden, betroffen war, ist bisher nicht bekannt, aufgehoben wurde sie erst unter Joseph II."

Testimonial *C* was provided by Friedrich Wilhelm Gerlach, a German immigrant like Walter, who became famous enough as a professor of philosophy and mathematics to receive an entry eighty years later in Constant von Wurzbach's encyclopedia of important persons in Austria.²⁰ Gerlach was born in Zelle, Thuringia, on August 9, 1728, and died in Vienna on April 17, 1802. After studies in Heiligenstadt (Thuringia) and Mainz, he moved in 1749 to Vienna, where he at first gave private instruction in philosophy. After pursuing further studies in geometry, he was appointed professor of history at the Engineering Academy in 1756. He remained at this institution until his death, publishing numerous books and articles on various technical subjects.²¹ Walter must have attended Gerlach's lectures at the Engineering Academy, without, however, completing a degree. In his letter of support, dated August 13, 1778, Gerlach praised Walter's musical instruments for their beauty and perfect workmanship, as well as for their pleasant, well-regulated tonal quality. He testified that he had often observed the young man's obvious aptitude for his profession, in particular, his zeal in conducting scientific tests to determine the connection between mechanical aspects of instrument construction and the physical principles of sound and motion. He also stated that Walter had already made several important improvements and new discoveries. Although Gerlach does not specify the kind of instruments constructed, it is unlikely that he would have made such remarks—about new discoveries involving improved mechanical aspects of sound production—if only the traditional harpsichord were involved. In other words, I believe that we can read between the lines here that Walter was already experimenting with a form of fortepiano.

Testimonial *D* was penned by Johann Adam Grünwald, likewise a professor at the Imperial Royal Engineering Academy. It is dated August 14, 1778, one day later than Gerlach's letter. Grünwald was born ca. 1735 and died August 19, 1804, of consumption, at the age of sixty-nine. His death certificate lists his official title as "Master of Handwriting at the k. k. Ingenieur-Akademie."²² In his letter of support, Grünwald declared

20. Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, 60 vols. (Vienna, 1856–91), vol. 5 (1859), 155.

21. Among the numerous books by Gerlach, listed by Wurzbach, are such titles as *Kurzgefasste Weltweisheit*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1772) and *Prüfung der Krause'schen Perpendickelmaschine* (Vienna, 1772).

22. WStLA, Totenbeschauprotokoll, August 19, 1804: "Grünwald H: Johann Adam, Schreibmeister an der k. k. Ingenieur Akkademie, verheurath, von — gebürtig, ist im Trattnerhof No 659. am Graben, an der Auszehrung beschaut worden, alt 69. Jahr."

that Walter had studied physics and mechanics, among other subjects, and that he had made new discoveries concerning the construction of musical instruments, based on scientific principles. He also stated that Walter's instruments, constructed in various new forms, could be considered among the best of their kind—because they used new inventions and were not built merely according to old mechanisms.²³ Again, it seems unlikely that he would have expressed his praise in such terms if Walter were merely making harpsichords. The terms “fortepiano” and “*Hammerklavier*” had not yet entered the descriptive language of such scientific experts, and, as we have seen, Walter himself used the nebulous term “*Flieg*.” Important also in Grünwald's testimonial is the positive picture he paints of Walter's social skills, although he hints that there was trouble with the organ makers. Grünwald continued to be on friendly terms with Walter: he served as a witness at Walter's marriage to Anna Elisabeth Schöfstoß on January 27, 1780.²⁴

Testimonials “E” and “F”: More Praise for Walter's Instruments

At the time of his petition to the Imperial Court, Walter probably also submitted the two further testimonials *E*, an undated word of praise from a member of the aristocracy, and *F*, from a music teacher, dated August 8, 1778, both of which recommend his instruments in glowing terms. However, the guild of organ makers rejected both, arguing that neither was written by an expert in the field. The Court, on the other hand, was obviously impressed.

Testimonial *E*, in a copyist's hand,²⁵ is a short note from Count Wenzel von Paar—most likely the *Graf* (Count) Wenzel von Paar (1744–1812), *k. k. Kämmerer* (chamberlain), who was described as a connoisseur of art by Wurzbach.²⁶ His father *Fürst* (Prince) Wenzel Johann Joseph

23. Grünwald uses the term *Mechanismum*, which may in fact have a similar meaning to the term *Mechanik* (action), as used in the technical expression *Wiener Mechanik* (the so-called German or Viennese action).

24. The marriage entry for Walter in the parish of St. Michael lists as one of two *Trauzeugen*, “Johann Adam Grienwald, Professor an der Ingenieur-Akademie.” See Berdux and Wittmayer, “Biographische Notizen,” 18, n. 18.

25. The initials “L: S:” (*Loco sigilli*) on the copy indicate the spot where the wax seal in the original was placed. Walter obviously kept the original document, since it could serve as a valuable recommendation for him.

26. Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 21 (1870), 149–50.

von Paar (1719–1792) had already received his princely title in 1769 and so could not be the author of this testimonial. The Mozarts were well acquainted with this family. On their first visit to Vienna in October 1762, they were invited to attend a social event at the Paars.²⁷ Wolfgang was then six years old, and the younger Wenzel von Paar was eighteen. Later, both Paars—father and son—were subscribers to Mozart's 1784 private concerts.²⁸ They are also mentioned in Count Karl Zinzendorf's diary for their domestic music-making, and the younger Paar's wife Toni (Antonia née Princess Liechtenstein)²⁹ played the fortepiano.³⁰ According to Nagler's art encyclopedia, Count Wenzel von Paar made a name for himself in the second half of the eighteenth century as a drawer and engraver of landscape scenes.³¹ This is of interest considering that Walter's later son-in-law was the famous landscape artist Jakob Gauermaun (1773–1843). In 1778, when he wrote the recommendation for Walter, Count von Paar lived at Renngasse (near the Freyung) and served as an aristocratic councillor for the Lower Austrian Government.³² In his testimonial, he praised Walter for his services and superior skills as an "instrument maker," and stated that he has "work" (obviously meaning a keyboard instrument) by Walter. Unfortunately, Paar did not

27. A letter from Leopold Mozart to his Salzburg friend Lorenz Hagenauer, dated October 19, 1762, reports that the "Oberst-Postmeister Graf Paar" (the future Prince Paar) had invited them for a visit the following Monday. See *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, and Joseph Eibl, 7 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–75), 1:54 and 5:41.

28. *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 3:305–7. According to Hans-Josef Irmen, Count Paar was not the addressee of Mozart's letter to an unnamed masonic brother at the lodge inauguration on January 14, 1786 (as suggested in *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 3:490). See Irmen, *Mozart: Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften* ([Zülpich]: Prisca, 1988), 182.

29. WStLA, Haan Regesten: Paar. At his death on November 22, 1812, Count Wenzel Paar was survived by his wife, Antonia née Princess Liechtenstein, four sons, and two daughters. It would be interesting to know who taught his children music.

30. See Dorothea Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122 (1997): 205–57, especially 244–51, where both father and son are mentioned at musical events in diary entries from 1786 to 1790, and p. 248, where at a dinner party at Countess Buquoy's on February 4, 1788, guest "la Toni Paar" played the keyboard, followed by Mozart's student Mlle Auernhammer.

31. G. K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, 22 vols. (Munich, 1835–52), vol. 10 (1841), 445.

32. The *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus* for 1778, p. 157, lists "Titl. Hr. Wenzl Graf von Paar, log. in der Renngasse 380" as a "Rath im Herrenstande" for the "k. k. Ni. Oest. Regierung."

provide any further details about the instrument he owned, but we may assume that it was a fortepiano. The fact that he showed it to “experts and *Clavier Meister*” and they all found it to be excellent must have helped to spread the word about Walter’s talent as a builder. Perhaps Paar later recommended Walter’s instruments to Mozart.

Testimonial *F* was dated and signed by Friederich Zabizer, Master of Music. This person, about whom no information could be found in the standard sources,³³ seems to have been a close friend and may even have been Walter’s music teacher. (In document *I*, Zabizer is further identified as a “*Claviermeister*.”) According to Zabizer’s testimony, he had provided Walter with clients who were all most satisfied with his *Flügel* instruments—in particular, with the good, permanent quality of workmanship and the accuracy and clarity of the tone produced.

The Guild of Organ Makers

We learn from the summary in document *I* that numerous hearings were held in the fall of 1778 between Walter and the Viennese guild of organ makers. This powerful organization was represented by its head, Gottfried Mallek (1733–1798), together with Franz Xaver Christoph (1733–1793), Johann Michael Panzner (ca. 1715–1779), Mathias Blum (ca. 1739–1787), and Johann Friderich Ferstl (ca. 1720–1785). At the hearings, the recently deceased guild member Ignaz Richter (1724–1778) was also mentioned: it was suggested that Walter help his widow to keep the workshop running. Biographies of these important keyboard instrument builders are given in Appendix 2.

At the hearings, the guild members argued that Walter’s work for them was unsatisfactory—they used the derogatory words *unfähig* (incapable) and *untauglich* (unfit)—and that they had in essence fired him after short periods of employment. Document *I* also mentions that Walter had been resident in Vienna for two periods, with the second stay apparently beginning about three years before the hearings, although the wording is somewhat confused. In fact, one gets the impression that

33. Friederich Zabizer may have been related to Johann Bartholomaeus Zabizer (1678–1737), who composed *Frommer Christen Gott-geheiligte Seelen-Freude bestehend aus Geistlichen Cantaten, Arien und Choral-Liedern* (Regensburg: Peetz, 1722).

the organ builders were so contradictory in their various statements about how long Walter had worked for each of them that the poor city scribe could not keep things straight. Here is a list of Walter's work periods, as stated twice in document *I*:

Gottfried Mallek: fourteen days
 Johann Friderich Ferstl: six weeks
 Johann Michael Panzner: ten weeks
 Franz Xaver Christoph: six months (four years earlier)

The guild also claimed that Walter had used their workshops, in particular Ferstl's, to carry out his own building projects during their absences. These strong charges must have incensed Walter greatly. In his own defense, he then searched for and submitted two old testimonials that he had received from Panzner and Christoph. The original documents, with their wax seals, are still preserved in the archive, meaning that Walter never requested that they be returned to him.

Testimonials "G" and "H" from Panzner and Christoph

Document *G* was written and signed by the organ maker Johann Michael Panzner on November 16, 1772. It acknowledges that the carpentry journeyman Anton Walter had worked for him for half a year, during which time "his behavior was not only honest and loyal, but he was also industrious." Thus, it appears that Walter worked for Panzner for six months, not for merely ten weeks as claimed in the hearings. Furthermore, Panzner praised him in such strong terms that his later claim that he had fired Walter must not be true (unless there was a second period of employment later). This document is most important for establishing the fact that Walter, who must have begun working for Panzner in mid-May 1772, had already come to Vienna at the age of twenty, seven years earlier than the commonly accepted date of ca. 1779, and even earlier than Berdux and Wittmayer suggest.³⁴

But, there is also a surprise here: notated in an unknown hand on page 3 of this document is what appears to be a practical set of instructions for tuning keyboard instruments.

34. See n. 4 above.

B und D *Tertz Major* Nider
 Cis und A *Tertz Major* Nider
 Dis und G *Tertz Major* Nider
 Die *Tertzien Majores* müssen alle
 aufwärts schweben die *quinten*
 unter sich die *octaven*
Rein

B-flat and D major third low
 C-sharp and A major third low
 D-sharp and G major third low
 All the major thirds must beat
 upwards, the fifths beat low
 [and] the octaves be
 pure

According to Ingrid Fuchs, Walter gave tuning lessons to a young woman, Nanette Horváth-Stansith, in 1785.³⁵ Thus, on first glance, it appears that this document could have some connection with Walter's interest in tuning. However, on closer examination, this system makes little sense.³⁶ If one takes all five lines as a unit—as a complete set of directions—they are mutually incompatible. The last two lines by themselves appear to be directions for equal temperament: one tunes all the fifths slightly flat and the major thirds end up beating slightly high (sharp). Thus, the low thirds given in the first three lines are incongruous with the final instructions. (Unless these three thirds were to be somewhat lower than the remaining thirds, but then this would play havoc with the equal temperament.)³⁷ Perhaps the answer lies in something quite mundane: a certain organ needed to be retuned and the problem lay with these major thirds. They needed to be lowered somewhat, or else they were too low. And perhaps these instructions had nothing whatsoever to do with Walter: they just happened to be on the reverse side of the paper that Panzner used to write his testimonial.

Document *H* is another testimonial for Walter, written by Franz Xaver Christoph on October 12, 1776, and stating that this Catholic carpentry journeyman from Württemberg had been employed “for twenty-two weeks.” This must be the period that was loosely referred to as “half a year (but already four years ago)” during the hearings with the guild in the fall of 1778. However, there is no indication in the testimonial that

35. Ingrid Fuchs, “Nachrichten zu Anton Walter in der Korrespondenz eines seiner Kunden,” *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 48, nos. 1–4 (June 2000): 108.

36. I wish to thank Alfons Huber, Eduard Melkus, and Thomas McGeary for helping me try to interpret this tuning system. See also Alessandro Poglietti's tuning instructions in *Das Österreichische Cembalo*, ed. Alfons Huber (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2001), 548 (“Anhang C: Stimmmanweisung aus dem ‘Compendium’ von Alessandro Poglietti, Wien 1676”), and McGeary's comprehensive article “German-Austrian Keyboard Temperaments and Tuning Methods, 1770–1840: Evidence from Contemporary Sources,” this *JOURNAL* 15 (1989): 90–118.

37. Based on a personal communication from Thomas McGeary, August 11, 2007.

"Master Christoph [fired Walter] already after the passage of the first twenty-four weeks, although [Walter] was engaged to work for him for two years," as the guild later claimed. At the hearings, Christoph must have now viewed Walter as a threat to his own manufacture of instruments, and in fact, less than ten years later, the older builder was referred to in a letter by a prospective purchaser of a fortepiano as "the second after Walter."³⁸

Final Report of the City Authorities: Document "I"

The summary in document *I* reveals that Walter's stay in Vienna comprised two separate periods. This provides a plausible explanation of his comment (at the Jacobin hearing in January 1796) that he had been in Vienna "for twenty or twenty-two years."³⁹ The evidence suggests the following scenario: Walter arrived in Vienna by early 1772, worked with the organ builder Panzner for six months (probably from mid-May to mid-November 1772), and then must have left the city. This could be the period during which Walter was supported by the Held family in Brunn am Gebirge.⁴⁰ By ca. 1775 Walter had returned to Vienna, at which time he could have attended lectures at the Engineering Academy. By May 1776 he had begun to work for Christoph, intending to stay for two

38. Fuchs, "Nachrichten zu Anton Walter," 110: letter from Amand Wilhelm Smith, dated Vienna, March 28, 1788 (originally in Latin): "Es gibt einen gewissen Meister Christoph, der auch fähig in seiner Kunst ist, sicher der zweite nach Walter."

39. Berdux and Wittmayer, "Biographische Notizen," 14; see n. 4 above.

40. Ibid., 14–15: "Unterstützung erfuhr er durch Michael von Held (ca. 1760–1830), einen vermögenden Weinbauern, -händler und Kunstfreund aus dem 12 km südlich von Wien gelegenen bekannten Weinbauort Brunn am Gebirge." Walter's friend, the lawyer Jakob Ignaz Jutz, reported later how he often heard the tale "wie derselbe [Walter] vor vielen Jahren von Held freundschaftlich aufgenommen worden ist, und nachhin durch Talent, Mühe, und Arbeit aus Dürftigkeit zu einigen Wohlstand sich heraufgeschwungen hat." The parish archive in Brunn am Gebirge records the christening of "Joann Michael Josephus Heldt" on January 14, 1760 (Taufbuch, Tom. IV, fol. 137). His father, "Herr Michael Heldt, Gewester Marckt-Richter und Vornehmer Weinhandler alhier, ein besonderer Gutthütter der Kirchen," died on April 21, 1773 at the age of 73, when his son was thirteen (Totenbuch, Tom IV, fol. 107). Perhaps Walter served as a mentor to the fatherless teenager, whose mother, Eva, née Blindt (daughter of a surgeon in Neuburg am Wald), now ran the large estate. See also August Edler von Schönefeldt, *Die Marktgemeinde Brunn am Gebirge von 1500 bis 1800* (Mödling, 1906), 72, 283–84. The large property known as "Annenhof" was owned in 1741 by the judge (*Richter*) Johann Michael Held and his [first] wife Barbara, née Rausch, in 1776 by [his widow and second wife] Frau [Eva] Held, and in 1786 by Michael Held [junior].

years. But, after leaving his master in October 1776, Walter set up an illegal workshop. According to document I, for the previous two years (that is, from fall 1776 to fall 1778) Walter and an unnamed young assistant had been engaged in black-market work (*Pfuscherey [und] Störrerey*).

After voicing their criticisms, the guild of organ makers offered three suggestions for Walter's future career. (These must have been made after the death of Richter on September 29, 1778.) They recommended that:

1. Walter should move to Graz, Nuremberg or Wiener Neustadt, these cities having expressed the need for an organ builder from Vienna.
2. Walter should help the widow of the recently deceased organ builder Ignaz Richter in running her workshop.
3. Walter should work for a master builder and then take the test to prove his competence in constructing instruments.

But the maverick Walter had no intention of serving someone else, and obviously refused to follow these suggestions. Thus, the guild recommended that Walter's application for government protection be rejected, and the City of Vienna endorsed this decision. However, the highest governing power—that is, the Crown—overruled this judgment and, on March 5, 1779, granted Walter his request. He could now use the title *schutzverwandt* (protected). His profession was still designated loosely as *Orgel und Instrument Macher* in the christening records of his children Carl Vinzenz (April 6, 1780) and Maria Magdalena Elisabetha (August 13, 1781),⁴¹ but, when Magdalena died on November 9, 1782, the official death record listed his correct title, *schutzverwandter Orgelmacher*. After his application to be awarded a Court title was approved on December 17, 1790, he used the designation *k. k. Kammerorgelbauer und Instrumentenmacher*. By this time he had built 350 instruments, was employing fourteen assistants, and was the most successful fortepiano maker in Vienna.

41. Pfarre St. Michael, Taufbuch 1780–1783, fols. 28 and 173. Walter's address was recorded here as Laimgrube 31, that is, the "Fokanetisches Haus." See also Berdux and Wittmayer, "Biographische Notizen," 19. Walter's third child, Marie, whose birth information is unknown in the literature, was christened as Maria Josepha Walentina on September 17, 1783 in the parish of St. Joseph ob der Laimgrube (Taufbuch, Tom. I, 1783–85, fol. 25). Her parents were "Anton Walter Orglinstrumentmacher" and "Elisabetha geborne Reißingerin, Hofmeisters Tochter" residing at the address Laimgrube 31. Her godmother was "Maria Anna Veitinn, Sollizitators Gemahlin."

*Josephinische Steuerfassion: Anton Walter's Rent Paid for
Laimgrube 31 in 1787–88*

As confirmation of Walter's success, one further new documentary source may be mentioned here. This is the *Josephinische Steuerfassion*, a series of large handwritten books recording the rents paid for lodgings in the taxation year April 23, 1787 to April 23, 1788. Not only are all the houses in Vienna's inner city and surrounding suburbs described in some detail, but the name (and sometimes the occupation) of the main renter for each apartment is listed. Walter was already living in the suburb of Laimgrube at No. 31, in the "Fokanetisches Haus," at the time of his marriage in January 1780, and he continued to maintain his workshop here for the rest of his life. The entry for Walter's residence is as follows:

Laimgrube 31 . . .	Laimgrube 31 . . .
Im 3t Hof zu ebener Erde	In the third courtyard, on the ground level
40) Zimer Kamer Küche Boden, Anton Walter [Miethzins] 30 fl. [Gulden]	No. 40) large room, small room, kitchen, attic space: Anton Walter [rent] 30 fl.
41) Zwey Zimer Küche Holzlag Boden, Walter 80 fl.	No. 41) two large rooms, kitchen, wood shed, attic space: Walter 80 fl.
42) Zimer Kamer Küche Boden, eben derselbe 40 fl. . . .	No. 42) large room, small room, kitchen, attic space, ditto: 40 fl. . . .
49) Zimer Küche Holzlag, Anton Walter 30 fl. . . .	No. 49) large room, kitchen, wood shed: Anton Walter 30 fl. . . .
54) Zimer Kamer Küche Boden, Anton Walter 50 fl.	No. 54) large room, small room, kitchen, attic space: Anton Walter 50 fl.
55) Zimer Küche Boden, derselbe 28 fl.	No. 55) large room, kitchen, attic space: ditto 28 fl.
56) Zwey Zimer Küche Boden, dto 40 fl. ⁴²	No. 56) two large rooms, kitchen, attic space: ditto 40 fl.

The *Steuerfassion* shows that in the tax year 1787–88 Anton Walter was paying the rent for seven apartments on the ground floor in the third courtyard of this large housing complex. His total annual payment for these living quarters (which also served as workshops) came to

42. WStLA, Steueramt B 34/17 (Laimgrube) No. 31.

298 Gulden. This was an incredibly large sum, and can be viewed as a measure of his success at this early stage. (His rival Gottfried Mallek, for example, paid a total rent of 66 Gulden for his apartment on the first floor of Laimgrube 33.)⁴³

Some Conclusions

The newly uncovered documents reveal that Walter had already been building keyboard instruments for two years before his request for protection—that is, from fall 1776—and that the instruments incorporated new elements based on his scientific studies and penchant for experimentation. Thus, Eva Badura-Skoda came close to the mark in her view “that Walter was preparing himself as early as in 1777 for a career as an ambitious piano maker in Vienna, and had already started to build pianos or parts of pianos for future use.”⁴⁴ Although Walter used the term *Flieg* to describe his early instruments, they were probably already fortepianos, and not harpsichords. Thus, I believe that Eva Badura-Skoda was again correct in maintaining that in Vienna before 1780 the term *Flügel* could indicate not just harpsichords, as is commonly argued, but also fortepianos.⁴⁵ It is also likely that the advertisement of April 3, 1782 in the *Wiener Zeitung*, offering for sale “ein Clavierflüg vom berühmten Walter,” referred to Anton Walter, and not the long-deceased Franz Lothar Walter (ca. 1656–1733).⁴⁶ Anton Walter’s instruments were already being praised by numerous important persons—including profes-

43. WStLA, Steueramt B 34/17 (Laimgrube) No. 33: “Im 1t Hof . . . Erster Stock, [Parthey No.] 15) Zwey Zimer Kamer Küche Boden Speis, Gottfried Maleck 66 fl.” Ignaz Kober paid 84 fl. for his quarters at the nearby Laimgrube No. 45: “Im ersten Stock. [Parthey No.] 28) Mehr. 2 Zimmer, Kammer, Küche, Boden, Holzlag Jährl: Ignatz Kober 84 fl.”

44. See Badura-Skoda’s response to Michael Latham “The Anton Walter Fortepiano – Mozart’s Beloved Concert Instrument,” in *Early Music* 28 (August 2000): 472.

45. See Badura-Skoda’s articles “Prolegomena to a History of the Viennese Fortepiano,” *Israel Studies in Musicology* 2 (1980): 77–99, and “The Viennese Fortepiano in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 249–58. See also the discussion of terminology in Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 6–16, and his explanation of why he believes that *Flügel* should be translated as harpsichord. He is even more adamant about this in a letter to the editor in *Early Music* 28 (2000): 686.

46. See the discussion in Rudolf Hopfner, “Biographische Anmerkungen zu Herstellern von Cembali im Österreichischen Raum,” in *Das Österreichische Cembalo* (see note 36), 490. In my opinion, this “*Clavierflüg*” must have been a fortepiano, not a harpsichord.

sors, music teachers, and members of the aristocracy—by the summer of 1778, indicating that he had already achieved a certain level of fame by that time. Thus, the following statement by Michael Latcham needs adjustment: “[Walter’s] fame as a piano maker in Vienna only became established in the last decade of the eighteenth century, some eight years after Mozart had acquired a piano by him.”⁴⁷

In July 1778, Walter claimed that he was building instruments at a lower price than other makers. Perhaps this explains how the young Mozart, newly arrived in Vienna, could afford to purchase a fortepiano by Walter around 1782. In their detailed technical study of Mozart’s instrument, Alfons Huber and Rudolf Hopfner suggest that some of the modifications they observed could have been made before Mozart purchased it.⁴⁸ The new documents likewise suggest that Walter’s experimental phase, which Latcham tentatively defined as existing between ca. 1785 and ca. 1790, should be pushed back almost a decade.⁴⁹ Since Mozart’s instrument is unsigned, it may have been built before March 1779, during the period of Walter’s work as an illegal *Störer*, that is, before he was given official protection by the Crown. As Maunder stated, “Anton Walter did not sign some of his apparently earliest instruments, which are therefore likely to have been made before he was licensed as a *Schutzverwandter*.”⁵⁰ Mozart’s son Carl Thomas claimed in 1855 that his

47. Michael Latcham, *The Stringing, Scaling and Pitch of Hammerflügel Built in the Southern German and Viennese Traditions 1780–1820* (Munich: Katzschler, 2000), 1:6.

48. See Huber and Hopfner, “Instrumentenkundlicher Befund des Mozart-Flügels,” *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 48, nos. 1–4 (June 2000): 146–59, here 146: “Bei einigen der konstatierten Eingriffe kann nur spekuliert werden, ob sie bereits zu Lebzeiten Mozarts (möglicherweise noch vor dem Erwerb des Flügels) erfolgten . . .”

49. See Michael Latcham, “Mozart and the Pianos of Gabriel Anton Walter,” *Early Music* 25 (1997): 382–400. Latcham provides a detailed chronology of the earliest surviving Walter fortepianos (up to ca. 1800), based on technical features of their construction and two dates (ca. 1782 for the instrument owned by Mozart and 1796 for the one known instrument with a date). He maintains, however, that the radical alterations made to Mozart’s instrument (and to the similar Walter fortepiano now in the Haydn-Haus in Eisenstadt) were carried out after Mozart’s death (by Walter himself, ca. 1800). Thus, Mozart’s instrument should not be used to determine performance practice, in particular, the use of knee-levers to raise the dampers. This has led to impassioned discussion in later issues of *Early Music*. See the bibliography in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Walter, (Gabriel) Anton.”

50. Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 31. See the explanation here about the difficulties encountered by unlicensed *Störer*, and the practice of making and selling instruments anonymously so as not to alert the authorities.

father's instrument was "one of the first so-called fortepianos with hammer action (made by the once famous Anton Walter)."⁵¹ Perhaps it really was one of Walter's earliest instruments, with some of the evident modifications resulting from his experiments to build a better product. These new documents should raise many new questions, and more heated debate, with important consequences for the performance practice of Mozart's keyboard music and the early history of fortepiano construction in Vienna.

APPENDIX 1:

Documents relating to Anton Walter's Petition for Protection as an Instrument Maker in Vienna

WStLA, Alte Registratur A2-Berichte: 4/1779⁵²

A. Anton Walter's request to the Lower Austrian Government for protection, written in his own hand and submitted on July 7, 1778.

*Hochlöbl[iche] Nideroestereichische
Regierung / Excellenz*

Gnädig Hochgebietende Herren!
p. p.

Der Hang, mehr als meine in der Jugend erlernte Tischler *Profession* zur Vollkommenheit zu bringen, brachte mich in andere Landen und endlich nach Wien, wo es mir dann, als dem Sammelplatz der Künste, glückte, in der Geometrie, Arithmetick, Algebra, Mechanick, Architektur und Tonkunst so weit zu kommen, daß ich mich entschloßen, durch letzteres mein ehrliches Fortkommen zu suchen.

Ich legte mich sofort hierauf, verfertigte etliche Flieg, die so vielen Beifal fandten, daß ich mich endlich diesem *Metier* bis diese Stunde ganz und gar widmete.

Right Honorable Lower Austrian
Government / Your Excellencies
Highly Esteemed Gentlemen!

The inclination to bring the profession of carpentry, which I had learned in my youth, to more perfection brought me to different regions and finally to Vienna, the meeting place of the arts. Here I was fortunate to make such headway in studying geometry, arithmetic, algebra, mechanics, architecture, and music that I decided to seek my honorable livelihood in the last-named.

I immediately applied myself [to music], [and] constructed several keyboard instruments [*Flügel*], which met with so much approval that until now I have devoted myself completely to this occupation.

51. *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 6:666: "weil es eines der ersten mit Hammer-schlag sogenannten (von damals berühmten Anton Walter verfertigten) Fortepiano's ist."

52. Most of the documents consist of one large folded folio, with writing on pages 1 and 4 and the inner pages 2 and 3 remaining blank.

Kriegs Trublen, wenigstens solche, die Täglic zu vermuthen stehen, Aushebung verschiedener Leute, und mehr andere dergleichen Zufälle machen mir die nicht ungegründete Bedenklichkeit, etwan meiner Arbeit wegen, und wenigstens aus Neid angefochten zu werden.

Euer Excellenz, gnädig und *Hochgebietende Herren* werden mir daher nicht übel deuten, und vielmehr in Gnaden bemerken, wenn ich mich in dieser Besorgniß erfreye gehorsamst zu bitten, mir die freye Erlaubtñiß, Instrumenten zu verfertigen, zu geben, da ich als ein nicht mechanischer, sondern auf die Tonkunst studirter Instrumenten Macher und zwar um einen gegen andere ungleich billigeren Preiß arbeitender, meine ehrliche Nahrung zu gewinnen, und einen dem Staat nützlichen Burger abzugeben trachte, und bekanter dingen das Instrumentenmachen keine *Profession* ist.

Ich versehe mich einer gnädig gewieriger Erhör und beharre in tief-schuldigsten *Respect*

Euer Excellenz, gnädig- und Hochgebietenden Herren unterthänig gehorsamster Anton Walter

[S. 4] A: ps d 7t July 1778

Regierung

gehorsames Bitten

Anton Walters Instrumenten Machers

Aus innebemerkten Beweggründen gnädige Schützung und zu Abwendung besorg[same]r Weildäufigkeiten Befugnß Ertheilung.

Handwerk: N^o 3260.

Denen von Wienn, um Gebühr; und Billigkeit, zuzustellen.

Ex cons. Regm. inf. austr

Wienn am 10. Julius 1778.

Franz J Paumann mp

Worries about war, at least those which are conjectured daily, the conscription of various persons, and many other similar contingencies give me cause for the not unfounded consideration that I might be contested, possibly because of my work, at all events out of envy.

Your Excellencies, merciful and highly esteemed gentlemen, will therefore not think poorly of me, but rather consider me worthy, if I am so free in this concern as to request most obediently that you grant me unconstrained permission to build instruments, since I wish to earn my honorable living as an instrument maker, one who has not trained in mechanics, but rather in music, and who works at a far lower price than others, and one who seeks to be a useful citizen to the state, and [also] because it is known that the making of [stringed keyboard] instruments is not a profession.

I expect a favorable hearing and await with deeply indebted respect [and am]

Your Excellencies, merciful and highly esteemed Gentlemen, humble, most obedient Anton Walter

[p. 4] A: presented on 7 July 1778

[To the] Government

Obedient request of

Anton Walter, Instrument Maker

that for the reasons described within he be granted favorable protection and a licence to ward off various worries.

Handicrafts: No. 3260.

To be forwarded to those [responsible] in Vienna for consideration and judgment.

From the Government of Lower Austria

Vienna, 10 July 1778.

Franz J. Paumann [manu propria]

Der Supp[lican]t, und die brl: Orgelmacher haben, dieser Sachen halber, bey 31. d. vor einem Stadtrath zu erscheinen.

20th July 1778. Preisinger Θ

Θ Über das erstattete *Referat*, wiederum hinauszugeben, und hat dieß Begehren nicht statt.

25th July 1778. Preisinger mp

The supplicant and the civic organ makers are to appear for this matter in front of the city council by 31 [July].

20 July 1778. Preisinger Θ

Θ About the written report, to be handed out anew, and this wish is not to be granted.

25 July 1778. Preisinger mp

B. C. Testimonial for Anton Walter by Friedrich Wilhelm Gerlach (1728–1802), Teacher of Physical Mechanics at the Imperial Royal Engineering Academy, dated Vienna, August 13, 1778.

Ungeachtet Herr Anton Walter mein Zeugniß nicht nöthig hat, sondern seine eigenen Werke oder verfertigten musikalischen Instrumente durch ihre angenehmen wohl regulirten Töne, nette Arbeit, Schönheit und Vollkommenheit, ihm die beßte Empfehlung seyn werden; so hat er dennoch ein solches von mir verlangt. Ich kann also, da er meiner, daß es ihm nützlich seyn werde, es nicht versagen; bekenne demnach zur Steuer der Wahrheit, daß ich an ihm, H: Anton Walter, durch öftern Umgang, besondere Fähigkeit und Kenntnisse, insonderheit in seiner Kunst oder Profession, beobachtet habe; daß er solche immer tiefer und gründlicher zu erforschen trachte, die Verhältniß der Theile der musikalischen Instrumente nach richtigen Grundsätzen der Physik und Mechanik, in Ansehung der Töne und Bewegung zu bestimmen sich bemühe; daher sowohl schon manche Verbesserungen und neue Erfindung gemacht, als auch zu hoffen stehe, daß, wenn keine Hindernisse vorkommen, er zum Nutzen und Vergnügen des Publikums, noch mehrere, oder doch wenigstens vortreffliche Instrumente machen werde; mithin er den Liebhabern der Tonkunst besonders empfohlen zu werden gar wohl verdie-

Notwithstanding that Mr. Anton Walter has no need of my testimony—rather his own works, the musical instruments he has constructed, through their pleasant, well-regulated sounds, careful workmanship, beauty, and perfection, will provide the best recommendation for him; nevertheless, he has requested one from me. Thus, since he believes that this will be useful to him, I cannot refuse him. Therefore, I testify in the name of truth that I have observed, through frequent association with Mr. Anton Walter, that he has a particular facility and knowledge, especially in his art or profession; that he aspires to conduct ever more intensive and painstaking investigations, and that he strives to determine the relationship between the components of musical instruments with regard to sounds and motion, according to the correct principles of physics and mechanics. Thus, he has not only already made several improvements and new discoveries, but also it is to be hoped, if no hindrances occur, that he will make still more [discoveries] for the use and pleasure of the public, or at least excellent instruments. Hence, he well deserves to be recommended to lovers of music especially, and is certainly worthy of the most fa-

ne, und in Verfertigung musikalischer Instrumente des gnädigsten Schutzes einer hohen Obrigkeit gewiß würdig sey. Zu dessen Bekräftigung setze ich hier meines Namens Unterschrift, so geschehen Wien d. 13. August 1778.

F. W. Gerlach

Lehrer physikalisch mechanischer Wissenschaften, in der k. k. Ingenieur akademie.

[S. 4] Zeugnuß Sub Lit B C

€ D. Testimonial for Anton Walter by Johann Adam Grünwald (ca. 1735–1804), Professor at the I. R. Engineering Academy, dated Vienna, August 14, 1778.

Auf hofliches Ansuchen des Anton Walter, bezeuge, d[a]s derselbe seit seines hiesigen Aufenthalts sich auf besondere und verschiedene nützliche Wissenschaften, als Rechnung, *Geometrie* einige Theile der *Physic* und *Mechanic* mit wahren Fleiß verwendet, und sich große Kentnuß beygeleget hat, auch der Zeit als ich ihn kenne, so wohl in *Condition* bey dennen Orgelmachern auch anderwärtig überall wohlanständig und rechtschaffen sich aufgeföhret. Sein gutes Betragen und seine besondere Fähigkeit erwarben ihn bey allen Leuten und geschickten Männern Zutritt und Gewogenheit, so wie seine in verschiedenen neuen Arten selbst verfertigte *Instrumenten* der strengsten Prüfung nach ihm als einen Anfänger gewieß viele Ehre machen, indem solche immer unter die ersten der besten Werke genohmen werden können, weil sie nicht bloß nach den alten *Mechanismum* sondern nach eigner durch sichere Grundsätze unterstützte Erfindung und Bemühung eingerichtet sind. Diese billige Zeugnenschaft bestättige durch meine eigne Unterschrift Wienn den 14^{ten} Aug: 1778

Johann Adam Grünwald mp

Professor in der k: k: *Ingenieurs Academie*

[S. 4] Zeugnuß Sub lit. € D

vorable protection from government authorities, for the construction of musical instruments. To confirm this I affix here my signature, dated Vienna, 13 August 1778.

F. W. Gerlach

Teacher of the Science of Physical Mechanics, in the I. R. Engineering Academy.

[p. 4] Testimony under letter B C

At the polite request of Anton Walter, I testify that, since his arrival here, he has applied himself with true industry to various special and useful sciences, such as calculation, geometry, and several divisions of physics and mechanics, acquiring vast knowledge. Also, from the time that I have known him, he has conducted himself in a decent and honest manner, not only in his dealings with the organ makers, but also everywhere else. His good behavior and his special abilities have gained him the acceptance and goodwill of all people, especially men with skills. His instruments, constructed by himself in various new forms, after the strictest examination certainly bring him, as a beginner, much honor. They can always be considered among the first of the best works, because they are constructed not merely according to the old mechanisms, but rather according to his own invention and efforts, supported by secure principles. I certify this just testimony with my own signature, Vienna, 14 August 1778.

Johann Adam Grünwald

Professor at the I. R. Engineering Academy

[p. 4] Testimony under letter € D

E. Testimonial for Anton Walter by Count Wenzel von Paar (1744–1812), I. R. Chamberlain, undated.

Ich Endes Benanter Bezeige, daß ich mit der bedienung des Anton Walters *Instrument*-Machers gänzlich zufriden bin, Daß Ich selbst Arbeith von ihm habe, die nach meiner Einsicht, nach dem Urtheil der Kenner und *Clavier* Meister volkomen guth ist, und als ein unverwerfliches zeignuß seiner vorzüglichen Geschiklichkeit angesehen werden kan.

L: S: Wentzel Graf von Paar.

[S. 4] E

I, the undersigned, testify that I am totally satisfied with the services of Anton Walter, instrument maker. I myself have work by him, which, according to my opinion and the judgment of experts and keyboard masters, is completely good. This can be regarded as an unrepudiated witness to his superior skill.

[Loco sigilli = instead of a seal]
Count Wenzel von Paar.

[p. 4] E

F. Testimonial for Anton Walter by Friederich Zabizer, Master of Music, dated Vienna, August 8, 1778.

Daß Anton Walter, in Betracht der Flügel Instrumenten jedermann zur Probe dient, und daß ich Endesgefertiger ohne mindester Partheylichkeit mit grund der Wahrheit versichere, das des Obbenanten arbeith nicht nur gut und dauerhaft, sondern in der Haupt sache selbst, nemlich In der erforderlichen Thone richtig und klar zu betrachten seye; so zwar, daß alle diejenigen, deren ich Ihme Theils anempfohlen, Theils selbst *Instrumente* an kauf brachte, sehr wohl zu und Ohne mendeste Klage zufriden sind. Zu seiner Rechfuerthigung gebe ich ihme mein Eigenhändiges zeugnüß, und verpflichte mich in den Fall der Noth unters eines jeden Keners Augen dessen arbeith auf daß genaueste zu untersuchen.

Wien d 8 *Augusti* 1778.

L: S: Friederich Zabizer
Meister der Thonkunst.

[S. 4] F

[I affirm] that Anton Walter, concerning *Flügel* instruments, can stand to be tested by everyone, and I, the undersigned, affirm without the least bias and on the basis of truth that Walter's work is not only good and lasting, but is also to be considered as correct and clear in the main point itself, namely, in the required tone. And this is so much so that all those persons to whom I have at times recommended him or at times had him sell instruments are very well satisfied, without the least complaint. In his defence I give him my own handwritten testimony and pledge myself, in case of need, to have his work examined by every expert in the strictest way.

Vienna, 8 August 1778.

[Loco sigilli] Friederich Zabizer
Master of Music.

[p. 4] F

G. Testimonial for Anton Walter by Johann Michael Panzner, civic organ builder, dated Vienna, November 16, 1772.

Attestat

Ich Endes gefertigter bekenne hiemit kraft gegenwärtigen *Attestat*, wie daß der Gabriel Antoni Walter Tischler Gesel durch ein halbes Jahr bey mir in Arbeit gestanden, wehrend dieser Zeit sich nicht nur allein ehrlich und getreu, sondern auch fleißig sich verhalten habe. Wien den 16^{te} *Novemb*: 1772.

[Siglum]

Joh: Mich: Panzner

Burgerl: Orgel und *Instrument-*
macher mp

[S. 4] *Attestatum* G

[S. 3]

B und D *Tertz Major* Nider

Cis und A *Tertz Major* Nider

Dis und G *Tertz Major* Nider

Die *Tertzien Majores* müssen alle aufwärts schweben die *quinten* unter sich die *octaven*

Rein

Testimonial

I, the signatory, acknowledge hereby on the strength of the present testimonial that Gabriel Anton Walter, carpentry journeyman, worked for me for half a year. During this time his behavior was not only honest and loyal, but he was also industrious. Vienna, 16 November 1772.

[wax seal]

Joh. Mich. Panzner

Civic organ and instrument maker

[p. 4] Testimonial G

[p. 3: Tuning instructions, unknown hand]

B-flat and D major third low

C-sharp and A major third low

D-sharp and G major third low

All the major thirds must beat upwards, the fifths beat low [and] the octaves be

pure

H. Testimonial for Anton Walter by Franz Xaver Christoph, civic organ builder, dated Vienna, October 12, 1776.

Daß Vorzeiger dieses Antony Walter ein dischler gesehl auß dem Fürstl: Brucksahlischen Marck Hertzog-Thum Würthen-Berg gelegen gebürtig, Catholischer *Religion*, bey mir durch zwey- und zwanzig wochen in arbeith gestanden urkundt dessen meine hirunter gestelte Fertigung *Sigl*: Wien den 12 *october* 1776:

[Siglum]

Frantz Xav: Christoph

Burgl: orgel und instrumentd
Macher mp

[S. 4] H

That the presenter of this, Anton Walter, a carpentry journeyman, born in the princely market region of Bruchsal in the duchy of Württemberg, of Catholic faith, has worked for me for twenty-two weeks is attested by my seal affixed here below, Vienna, 12 October 1776.

[wax seal]

Frantz Xav: Christoph

Civic organ and instrument maker

[p. 4] H

I. Report presented on January 5, 1779 by the Mayor and City Council of Vienna to the Lower Austrian Government summarizing Walter's petition and the arguments against its acceptance by members of the guild of organ makers. Walter's request was granted by Imperial Court decree on March 5, 1779.⁵³

*Hochlöbl[iche] N[ieder] Ö[ster-
reichische] Regierung*

Gnädige Herren! Bey Hochdenenselben hat Anton Walter ein von Neuhausen auf den Fildern in dem Würtembergischen gebürtig, und seit wenigen Jahren hier befindlicher Tischlergesell, jezt aber sich *rubriciren* der *Instrumentenmacher* mit A: *de ps^{to}* [presentato] 7^e *Julii* A: E: gehor[sam] vorgestellt wie daß er unter den hier erlernten verschiedenen Künsten sich vorzüglich auf die Tonkunst *appliciret*, und durch etliche verfertigte Flüge so vielen Beyfall gefunden habe, daß er den Entschluß gefaßt hätte, sich gänzlich diesem *Metier* zu widmen.

Da er aber nicht ohne Grund befürchten müßte, daß er dieser seiner Arbeit wegen, angefochten werden möchte; als hat er Euer Gnaden gehor[sam] gebethen: Hochdieselben geruheten ihm auf das *Instrumentemachen* /: als welches ohnehin keine *Profession* wäre :/ die Erlaubniß zu ertheilen.

Über dieß von Euer Gnaden um die Gebühr, und Billigkeit uns zugestellte Anbringen haben wir die burgerl[ichen] Orgelmacher /: als in deren *Profession* das *Instrumentemachen* eigentlich gehört :/ *commissionaliter* vernommen; und da uns diese erinnernet haben: daß der *Supplicant* nichts anders, als ein Tischlergesell sey, und als ein solcher bey einigen von ihren Mitmeistern, keineswegs aber als

Right Honorable Lower Austrian Government

Worthy Gentlemen! Anton Walter, a carpentry journeyman who was born in Neuhausen auf den Fildern, in Württemberg, and who has been here for several years, but who now calls himself an instrument maker, has declared in A, presented on 7 July [1778], that—because he has been occupied with various artistic subjects which he has studied here, primarily music, and has received so much approval for various keyboard instruments he has constructed—he has decided to devote himself completely to this *métier*.

Since he has cause to fear that he might be challenged because of his work, he has obediently requested of Your Worthy Honors that you might be so pleased as to grant him permission to be [a stringed keyboard] instrument maker (since this is not a profession in any case).

Having been forwarded this proposition by Your Worthy Honors for our consideration and judgment, we have officially heard the opinions of the civic organ makers (since the making of [stringed keyboard] instruments actually belongs to their profession), and they have reminded us that the applicant is nothing but a carpentry journeyman and as such had worked with several of their members, but not as an

53. This document is preserved in two copies, written out in different hands and containing slight variations in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. My edition is based on the later, more official version.

Orgelmacher-gesell gearbeitet habe, bey keinem Meister aber aus Abgang der erforderlichen Fähigkeit zum Orgel- und *Instrument*-machen, als welche *Profession* er gar nicht der Ordnung nach erlernt hätte, lange geduldet worden wäre, und daß er sich aus dieser Ursache mit noch einem andern Tischler-gesellen auf die Störr- und Puscherey verlegt habe; so haben wir ihn oben *sub A*: mit seinem Begehren abgewiesen.

Hierauf hat aber derselbe sich mit *B*: an das allerhöchste Ort gewendet, und mit Wiederholung der obangeführten Beweggründe, dann Beylegung der *Attestaten C*: und *D*: in betref seiner Fähigkeit, um die allergnädigste Schuzertheilung auf das *Instrument*-machen allerunterthänigst gebethen, welches Hof-*Supplicatum* von allerhöchsten Orten Euer Gnaden um Bericht zugestellt: und sohin von Hochdenselben *in eadem Conformitate* uns gnädig zugestellet worden ist.

Diesen hohen Auftrag gehor[sam] in Vollzug zu bringen, haben wir über den Inhalt dieses Hof-*Supplicati* die burgerl[ichen] Orgel- und *Instrument*-macher mehrmalen vernommen, welche dann durch ihren dermaligen Vorsteher Gottfrid Maleck, dann den Franz Christoph, Johann Michael Panzner, Mathias Blumm, und Johann Friderich Ferstl erschienen sind, und uns erinneret haben, der gegenwärtige Hof-*Supplicant* befinde sich seit seinem ersten, und dermaligen zweiten Aufenthalt 3 Jahr lang allhier, während dieser Zeit habe er bey dem Gottfrid Maleck durch 14 Tag, bey dem Johann Friderich Ferstl nachhin 6 Wochen, bey dem Johann Michael Panzner 10 Wochen, und endlich bey dem Franz Christoph /: jedoch schon vor 4

organ-maker journeyman, and that on leaving these masters he had not completed the required conditions to make organs and [stringed keyboard] instruments, which profession he had not at all learned according to the rules. He has been tolerated for a long time, and has now turned to illegal, uncontrolled work with still another carpentry journeyman, and so for these reasons we have rejected his request on the document above labelled *A*.

But, thereupon this applicant approached the highest authority of all [the Imperial Court] with document *B* [missing] and repeated the reasons he gave above, as well as including the testimonies *C* and *D* concerning his abilities, in order to request most humbly that the highest protection be granted to him as an instrument maker. The highest authority then forwarded this courtly request on to you, Worthy Gentlemen, for a report and so you have likewise in conformity most graciously passed this on to us.

In order to fulfill this worthy command obediently, we have held several hearings with the civic organ and instrument makers about the content of this courtly supplication. [The guild was] represented by the current head Gottfried Mallek, then Franz Christoph, Johann Michael Panzner, Mathias Blum, and Johann Friedrich Ferstl, and they reminded us that the present courtly supplicant has been here [in Vienna] since his first stay, and now since his second stay, for three years. During this time he has worked as a carpentry journeyman for Gottfried Mallek for fourteen days, for Johann Friedrich Ferstl for almost six weeks, for Johann Michael Panzner for ten weeks, and finally for Franz Christoph (but already four years ago)

Jahren durch 1/2 Jahr lang :/ als Tischlergesell gearbeitet, mithin durch seinen 3 jährigen Aufenthalt nicht länger, als 11 Monat lang das Brod verdienen geholfen: Dieß wäre aber nicht sowohl seinem eigenen Willen, als vielmehr nur seiner Unfähig- und Untauglichkeit zuzuschreiben, dann aus dieser Ursache habe ihn der Meister Maleck nach 2 Wochen, der Meister Ferstl nach 6 Wochen, und der Panzner nach 10 Wochen, endlich auch der Meister Christoph, wiewohl er sich bey diesem auf 2 Jahre gedungen, gleichwohl schon nach Verfließung der 24 ersten Wochen entlassen müssen: Und ob sie schon von dem Meister Ferstel aus wüßten, daß sich der Anton Walter nicht selten in Abwesenheit des Meisters unterstanden habe, eigene Arbeiten, und Pfuschereyen zu verfertigen, die Arbeit seines Meisters aber, für welche er doch bezahlt worden, erliegen zu lassen, so hätten sie doch nicht vermuthet: daß der Walter, der sich schon 2 Jahre lang samt noch einem andern jungen Menschen auf die Pfuscherey verlegt hätte, sichs nunmehr würde in den Kopf kommen lassen, sich für ein so geschicktes *Talent* auszugeben, und unter diesem leeren Vorwand sogar bey allerhöchsten Orten um die Ertheilung eines Schu[t]zes anzulangen: Wann er aber wirklich so fähig im *Instrument*machen wäre, gleichwie er sich dafür ausgiebt; So hätte er der allhiesigen Meisterschaft die Proben davon ablegen, und sie nicht, 2 Jahre her mit Treibung der Störrerey beeinträchtigen sollen. Deme allem ungehindert, und ihm zu zeigen, daß sie ihm, wenn er es wirklich verdienet, an seinem Glück, und ferneren Fortkommen nicht hinderlich seyn wollen; So haben sie ihm den dreyfachen

for half a year. Thus, during his three-year stay he has been of use in earning his living for no longer than eleven months. Yet this could be attributed not so much to his own volition, but rather even more to his incapacity and unsuitability. For it was on account of this that Master Mallek had to dismiss him after two weeks, Master Ferstl after six weeks, and Panzner after ten weeks, and finally also Master Christoph [fired Walter] already after the passage of the first twenty-four weeks, although [Walter] was engaged to work for him for two years. And, although they already knew from Master Ferstl that, during the Master's absence, Anton Walter was often so bold as to undertake his own work and various illegal things, leaving undone the work of his Master for which he was being paid, yet they had not imagined that Walter, who, together with another young man, has resorted to doing black market work for the past two years, would now get it into his head to claim that he was such a skilful, talented fellow and, under this empty pretense, ask for the granting of protection from the most supreme authority. But, if he were really so skilful in making instruments as he imagines himself to be, then he should have taken the examination for the master's certificate here, and not damage this [guild system] by engaging in illegal work for the last two years. In spite of all of this, and to show him that they do not wish to be of hindrance to him in his pursuit of fortune and in his future career, if he is really deserving, they have thus made three suggestions to him: he might move to Graz, Nuremberg or Wiener Neustadt, since these three cities have asked for a suitable organ maker from here, dependent on their

Vorschlag gemacht: er möchte nämlich sich entweder nach Graz, Nürnberg, oder Wienerisch Neustadt, als in welchen dreyen Städten bey ihren Mittel ein tauglicher Orgelmacher von hier verlangt worden, verfügen, oder so ferne er hier zu verbleiben gedenke, die Werkstatt der von dem unlängst verstorbenen allhiesig[en] burgerl[ichen] Orgelmacher Ignaz Richter hinterlassenen Wittib, welche eben einen geschickten Gesellen höchst nothwendig hätte, versehen, oder aber zu sonst einem anderen allhiesigen Meister in die Arbeit eintreten, und die Proben seiner Geschicklichkeit in Verfertigung der *Instrumente* an Tag legen.

Der hierauf vernommene Hof *Supplicat* hat hiernächst erinnert: die *Attestata* hiebey *sub E*: und *F*: liessen in betref seiner Geschicklichkeit keinen Zweifel übrig, und wann deme ungehindert gleichwohl wegen seiner Tauglichkeit ein Anstand genohmen werden wollte; So hat er sich angetragen, diejenigen *Attestata* aufzusuchen, welche er von den zweyen Meistern Johann Michael Panzner, und Franz [Xav.] Christoph, bey denen er vormals in Arbeit gestanden wäre, erhalten, und worinnen, ihm diese selbst, seiner Fähigkeit halber, alles Lob gegeben hätten.

Die Meister haben aber dieses widersprochen, und mehrmalen *contestiret*: daß er diese *Profession* nicht im geringsten verstünde, daß er die Arbeit, welche vielleicht jemand anderer verfertigt hat, für seine eigene ausgabe, daß er die Orgel- und *Instrument*-macher *Profession* der Ordnung nach nicht erlernt, daß er von seiner Fähigkeit ihnen keinen Beweis gegeben hätte, daß er endlich der ganzen Meisterschaft /: welche den

funds; or, as long as he intends to stay here, he might serve at the workshop of the widow left behind by the recent death of the civic organ maker from here, Ignaz Richter, who is in great need just now of a skilled journeyman; or he could take up a job with another of the master craftsmen here and then take the examination proving his skill in the construction of instruments.

After receiving this report, the courtly supplicant remarked hereupon that the two testimonials submitted here under *E* and *F* allow no doubt concerning his skill, and if, in spite of these, difficulties are to be made about his qualifications, then he has proposed to search for those testimonials that he had received from the two masters Johann Michael Panzner and Franz Xaver Christoph, for whom he had worked earlier, and in which these two men themselves had given him much praise concerning his abilities.

But these masters have contradicted him in this and argued repeatedly that he does not have the least understanding of this profession, that the work which he had submitted as his own was perhaps made by someone else, that he had not learned the profession of organ and instrument making according to the rules, that he has not given them any evidence of his abilities, and, finally, that he would bring dishonor and cause damage to the whole guild

Ruhm aller Orten hätte, unter ihnen lauter geschickte Männer zu zählen, und welche eben daher des öftern ein oder den andern Meister in die herum liegende Städte, und Märckte zum Orgel *repariren* schicken müßten :/ sowohl zur Unchre, als auch zum Schaden gereichen würde, wenn sie ein so ungeschicktes *Subjectum*, als der gegenwärtige Hof-*Supplicant* wäre, in ihr Mittel aufnehmen müßten; indem die *Attestata* oben *sub E:* und *F:* von keinen *in arte peritis* ausgestellt worden wären: Sie haben demnach gebethen, daß wir auf die Abweisung des Hof *Supplicantens* den Antrag machen möchten.

Gnädige Herren! Über die erst oben berührten zwey *Attestata* hat zwar der Hof-*supplicirende* Walter zwey weitere Zeugnisse hiebey *sub G:* und *H:* nachgetragen, und durch selbe sowohl seine Fähigkeit, als auch sein Wohlverhalten zu beweisen geglaubt: allein! es erhellet weder aus ein: noch dem andern: daß er in der Orgel- und *Instrumentmacher-Profession* einige Geschicklich- und Fähigkeit bezeigt habe. Der Hof-*Supplicant* hat selbst nicht in Abred stellen können, daß er schon gegen zwey Jahre sich auf die Störrerey verleget, und daß er nur die Tischler, keineswegs aber die Orgel- und *Instrumentmacher-Profession*, der Ordnung nach erlernet: Das *Attestatum* oben *sub F:* kann ihm gleichfalls :/ unsers Erachtens :/ zu keinem Behuf dienen; indem der darinn unterschriebene Friderich Zabizer, dem Vernehmen nach, kein *in arte peritus*, sondern nur ein *Claviemeister* seyn soll.

Aus diesen Ursachen haben dann wir nichts anders thun, als den *Supplicanten* oben *sub A:* lediglich abweisen können. So wir gehorsam haben berichten sollen: uns empfehl[en]

of masters (who are famous everywhere for having among their members nothing but skilled men, and who are therefore often required to send one or other of their members to repair organs in the cities and market towns of the surrounding region) if they were to accept into their midst such an unqualified subject as is the present courtly supplicant. Furthermore, the above-mentioned testimonials *E* and *F* were not written by experts in this matter. Thus, they have requested that we might make a motion of rejection concerning the courtly supplicant.

Worthy Gentlemen! Concerning the two testimonials just now mentioned above, the courtly supplicant Walter to be sure submitted afterwards two further testimonials, attached here under *G* and *H*, believing that they proved not only his capability but also his good behavior. However! It is not apparent either from the one nor from the other that he has exhibited skill and aptitude in the profession of organ and instrument making. The courtly supplicant could not even deny that he had already shifted to illegal work as long as two years ago, and that he has learned only carpentry according to the rules, and not at all the profession of organ and instrument making. The above testimonial labeled *F* can likewise (in our opinion) in no way be of use to him, in that the signatory therein, Friederich Zabizer, is clearly not an expert in this art, but rather a mere clavier teacher.

For these reasons we have not been able to do anything other than to reject the above request in document *A*. So we have reported obediently as we were supposed to. With recommendations to

Euer Gnaden
gehor[sam]
Burgermeister, und Rath der Stadt
Wien.

P:P:D:D:
Burgermeister Menhofer *Sen:*
Syndicus prim: Ziegelhauser[,]
Zitterl.
[S. 8] ps [presentirt]: 5: Janus 1779

Your Honors,
sincerely,
the Mayor and Councillors of the
City of Vienna.
[with all titles]
Mayor Menhofer, Senior
Higher syndics: Ziegelhauser,
Zitterl.
[p. 8] presented on 5 January 1779

Regirung
abgefodert: hiemit gehor[sam] er-
statteter Bericht Burgermeisters, und
Rath der Stadt Wien

Die von dem Anton Walter bey
allerhöchsten Orten allerunterthänigst
gebethene Schuzertheilung auf das
Instrumentmachen betr[effend]

N^o 9.
in Handwerckssachen.

to the Government as required: this
report made obediently by the Mayor
and Councillors of the City of Vienna

Concerning the request by Anton
Walter to be granted protection for in-
strument making.

No. 9 in handicraft matters.

durch *Decret* vom 5. März 1779
erlediget, und ist ihm bewilliget worden.

[Imperial Court Decree]
Decided by decree on 5 March
1779: has been granted to him.

APPENDIX 2:

Biographies of Viennese Organ and Instrument Makers (Guild Members in 1778)

Brief biographies for the guild members mentioned in Document *I* are given below. I combine material from published biographies⁵⁴ with new details gleaned in the course of my research.

Johann Michael Panzner (ca. 1715–1779) was the son of the civic (*bürgerlicher*) organ builder Johann Christoph Panzner (ca. 1682–1761). Although it is stated in

54. See Hopfner, "Biographische Anmerkungen," 461–96; Huber, "Baumerkmale Österreichischer Kielklaviere vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert," 115–226, and "Österreichische Kielklaviere," 497–553, in *Das Österreichische Cembalo* (see note 36); and Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, "Appendix B: Viennese Keyboard-Instrument Makers, 1700–1800," 198–221. These supplement the biographical information found in Helga Haupt, "Wiener Instrumentenbauer von 1791 bis 1815," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1960): 120–84, and Karl Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Notring, 1969).

the literature that there was no evidence they were related,⁵⁵ records in the parish of St. Michael show their exact kinship. Thus, when the son, Johann Michael Panzner (spelled Pontzner), married the widow Maria Anna Heiglin on January 7, 1740, his father was identified as Johann Christoph Panzner (spelled Ponzner).⁵⁶ Later that year, on October 24, a child "Elisabetha Maria Anna Ponzerin" was christened here. Her parents were identified as Johann Michael Ponzer "orgelmacher beyrn Schwarzen Thor ad M: Aux: [Mariahilf]" and Maria Anna.⁵⁷ (This is the same Elisabeth who would marry Gottfried Mallek in 1763.) The younger Panzner—Walter's employer—took his oath as *Bürger* on February 17, 1742, and later owned a house "auf der Windmühle zum Braunen Adler Nr. 35."⁵⁸ His wife Maria Anna died on November 26, 1762, at the age of forty-seven, leaving two grown daughters from her first marriage and two children born to Panzner: Elisabeth and Mathias.⁵⁹ At his death on June 12, 1779, of lung disease (*Lungbrand*) at the age of sixty-four, Johann Michael Panzner was survived by a second wife Catharina,⁶⁰ his daughter "Elisabeth Meilekin burg: Orglmacherin," his son Mathias "Canzlist beyrn Landrechten," and two young sons: Joseph, ten, and Franz, nine years old. In his will he left each of his two older children 500 fl. and each of his young boys 1,000 fl. His estate totalled 8,073 fl., with his house valued at 3,400 fl., private loans amounting to 3,224 fl., and the "Instrumenten und Werkzeug" estimated at 279 fl. It is not known whether any instruments by him have survived.

55. See Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau*, 18: "Eine Verwandtschaft zwischen den beiden Orgelbauern ist nicht feststellbar."

56. Pfarre St. Michael, Trauungsbuch F, fol. 90: "10. Jänner 1740. Pontzner D. Joannes Michael Urglmacher hujas Dni. Joannis Christophori Ponzner et Dna. Catharina legit. Filius cum Dna. Maria Anna Heiglin D. Joannis Heigl relicta vidua." On March 9, 1740, Francisca Engelbertina, a daughter of Johann Christoph Panzner (identified now as a "burgl: orgelmacher") and his [second] wife Barbara, was christened in the same parish (Pfarre St. Michael, Taufbuch, Tom. M, fol. 25). The elder Panzner's address is given here as "Freyhauß auf den Traitner." Perhaps this was the Oberes Freyhaus am Getreidemarkt, Laimgrube 1, mentioned in Anton Behsel, *Häuser-Verzeichniß* (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1829), 138. See Hopfner, "Biographische Anmerkungen," 478–79, for a discussion of Johann Christoph Panzner. A harpsichord from 1747 by this elder Panzner is found in the Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, Vienna (SAM 848).

57. Pfarre St. Michael, Taufbuch, Tom. M, fol. 95.

58. See Hopfner, *Wiener Musikinstrumentenmacher 1766–1900: Adressenverzeichnis und Bibliographie* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1999), 360.

59. WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, Fasz. 509-30/1762. Maria Anna Panznerin died at the address "bey dem guthen Hirthen auf der Laimgruben." The organ workshop materials were valued at 40 fl. out of her total estate of ca. 1,134 fl. However, most of this (830 fl.) consisted of loans to a son-in-law, which Panzner determined to be lost, and burial costs of 97 fl. (I have rounded the Kreutzer to the nearest Gulden here and in the following sums.)

60. The marriage contract between Panzner and the widowed Catharina Albrecht, located in his estate settlement, was dated January 28, 1766. It was witnessed by "Joh: Georg Haroldt, Chor-Regens und Organist"; WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, Fasz. 537-39/1779.

Johann Friedrich (Fridolin) Ferstl (ca. 1720–1785) was the second son of Martin Friderich Ferstel, a city bureaucrat. When Martin Friderich died on December 23, 1727, at the age of forty-two,⁶¹ his young widow Maria Anna (ca. 1700–1776) was left to raise six children alone.⁶² In 1733 she married the widowed civic carpenter and organ maker Joseph Anton Bommer (ca. 1688–1786), who owned a house at Leopoldstadt No. 140.⁶³ Friedrich Ferstl must have learned organ building from his stepfather, as Maunder suspected; he took his Burger's oath (*Bürgereid*) on May 28, 1748 and was named Court Organ Builder by 1761.⁶⁴ In 1766 he built a *clavicembalo* for Prince Albert of Teschen, for which he was paid 100 fl. upon its delivery to Schloßhof.⁶⁵ At his death of pneumonia on May 20, 1785, aged sixty-five, Ferstl was survived by his fifth wife, seven children, and an eighth yet to be born. His total estate was worth ca. 1,600 fl., with the value of the finished instruments on hand, wood supplies, and work tools being estimated at 122 fl. Among the estate documents is a receipt for payment owed by Christoph Sonnleithner,⁶⁶ showing that on March 5, 1785 the latter had purchased a "Forte piano Clavier" from Ferstl for 28 ducats (about 126 fl.).⁶⁷

Ignaz Richter (1724–1778) was born in Linz into a famous family of organ builders. He probably worked as a journeyman for the organ builder Simon Burckhart (1695–1768), whose workshop was in the Golden Pelikan, St. Ulrich 30. Richter took his oath as *Bürger* on June 4, 1768.⁶⁸ After Burckhart's death, Richter took over his workshop, and in 1769, when he was already in his mid-forties, he married Barbara née Schuberkin (ca. 1747–1786).⁶⁹ Richter died at the Golden Pelikan on September 29, 1778, of *Lunglbrand* at the age of fifty-four.

61. WStLA, Totenbeschauprotokoll: "Der Herr Martin Friderich Ferstel, Gemeiner Stadt Canzley Verwanter, ist in Hueber: Hauß in der Leopoldstadt an Lungl-Defekt beschaut, alt 42. Jahr."

62. WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, Fasz. 148-5/1728, Fasz. 189-24/1728, Fasz. 179-3/1734.

63. WStLA, Mag. Zivilgericht, Fasz. 2-372/1786. Joseph Bommer, registered as a "bürgerlicher Tischlermeister," died on February 16, 1786 at the age of ninety-eight, in his own house at Leopoldstadt No. 140. See WStLA, Totenbeschauprotokoll. At least two children were born to the couple.

64. Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 203.

65. Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau*, 12. The various organs which Ferstl built or repaired are listed here, and with more detailed specifications on pp. 36–37. Most were for chapels belonging to the Hapsburg Court (Laxenburg, Hofburg, Schönbrunn).

66. For the latest research on the Sonnleithner family see Anna Schirlbauer, "Joseph Sonnleithners Sammlung in der Porträtgalerie der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien: Neue Erkenntnisse über ihren Begründer, ihre Bilder und Maler," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 62, no. 1 (2007): 29–64.

67. See Hopfner, "Biographische Anmerkungen," 465–66, for further information.

68. Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau*, 22.

69. The marriage contract, dated April 9, 1769, is located in Richter's estate settlement (WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, Fasz. 460-3/1778). The bride's dowry was 400 fl. and the bridegroom contributed 800 fl. See also Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 220.

He was survived by three young children, Andreas, aged five, Barbara, aged three, and Francisca, aged two (she died shortly afterwards, on November 2, 1778), and by his pregnant wife Barbara. His posthumous son, named Ignaz, died on June 10, 1779, at the age of four weeks. The court organ builder "Johann Fridolin Ferstl" was officially appointed as guardian for Richter's children.

In his will, Richter left his silver pocket watch, sword, and buckles to his son Andreas.⁷⁰ His estate was valued at 8,417 fl.—a large sum—and each of his four children inherited 1,000 fl.⁷¹ A detailed inventory of Richter's possessions is found in documents from the Stift Schotten.⁷² It lists the investments he had made between 1768 and 1778 (totalling 7,700 fl., plus interest), numerous items of furniture (including a journeyman's bed), three clocks, forty-eight pictures, etc. His keyboard instruments (both complete and incomplete) plus his organ- and instrument-making tools were valued at 188 fl. 30 xr.⁷³

On January 17, 1780 (just ten days before Walter's wedding date) the widow Barbara married the organ maker Johann Wimola (1754–1800), who was now running her workshop at the Golden Pelikan.⁷⁴ Serving as a witness was Johann Fridolin Ferstl, "k. k. Orgelmacher No. 531 Stadt." Barbara, the woman Walter was supposed to help (and perhaps marry), died young, on September 25, 1786, aged thirty-nine.⁷⁵

Franz Xaver Christoph (1733–1793) was christened on December 1, 1733 in the parish of St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna.⁷⁶ His father was Christoph Christoph,

70. WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, Testament 15883. Because Richter left a will, his estate settlement was turned over to the city government by the Stift Schotten, the authority in charge of the suburb of St. Ulrich where he lived.

71. Because of this inheritance, estate settlements exist for both Francisca (Fasz. 459-157/1778) and Ignaz (Fasz. 460-5/1779), the two children who died shortly after their father. Their mother Barbara, after paying 286 fl. for her husband's burial costs and various taxes, had enough spare money to increase each child's inheritance to 1,000 fl. from the original amount of 719 fl.

72. WStLA, Stift Schotten (16) A1, 2. Reihe, 7992.

73. Ibid.: "Die theils verfertigte, theils unverfertigte *Clavier*, dann übrige *Instrument*, und *orgelmacher* Werckzeug Lauth *Specification Lit. A.* betragen 188f 30x." Document A, with the detailed specification, is missing.

74. Pfarre St. Ulrich, Trauungsbuch, Tom. 28 (1776–1780), fol. 364. Two sons were born, both named Johann after the father. The christenings of the two sons are registered in the Pfarre St. Ulrich, on November 1, 1780 and February 24, 1782 respectively (Taufbuch, Tom. 35, fols. 367 and 541v). The first Wimola son died on April 29, 1781, aged six months, and the second died on July 27, 1790, aged eight years old.

75. Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 220. Wimola soon remarried.

76. See Christian Fastl, "Der Wiener Orgelbauer Franz Xaver Christoph: Zur Vervollständigung seiner Biographie," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 62, no. 3 (2007): 54–66. Thanks to Michael Lorenz for alerting me to Fastl's valuable article. Christoph's parents married on July 29, 1731 in the parish of St. Michael (Trauungsbuch, Tom. E, fol. 241), and a brother, Johann Friedrich Christoph, was christened there on May 17, 1732 (Taufbuch, Tom. K, fol. 215).

kaiserlicher Reithknecht and later *k. k. Schul-Putzer*⁷⁷ (meaning that he worked for the Imperial Spanish Riding School) and his mother was Susanna née Schöndorfterin, from Gschwendt, Upper Austria.⁷⁸ At Franz X. Christoph's first marriage, on May 21, 1764 to Therese Döckerin, he was registered as an *Orgelmacher auf der Widen* but living in the parish of St. Stephen's.⁷⁹ Since Simon Burckhart served as a witness, it is likely that Christoph had worked as his *Geselle*. Christoph's first wife died on March 4, 1771, aged twenty-nine, leaving no children and no estate, but high doctor's bills.⁸⁰ Christoph married again less than five months later, on July 25, 1771, to Cecilia Gaulin, the daughter of a master tanner. One of the witnesses was "Joannes Adamus Grienwald, lehrer der Teütschen Sprach in der K. Ingenieur Schule,"⁸¹ the same professor who would write testimonial *D* for Walter in August 1778. Christoph officially took his *Bürgereid* on December 20, 1776.⁸² Although this was after he wrote testimonial *H* for Walter on October 12, 1776, he gave his title as *bürgerlicher* organ maker both there and on various official documents from 1771 (death of his first wife and marriage to his second wife). By the time of his death on April 18, 1793, Christoph owned a newly built house "auf der Windmühl No. 59." He left an estate totalling 4,685 fl., which included beds for three journeymen, professional implements worth 113 fl., and his house, valued at 4,350 fl. He made several legacies, including 200 fl. each to the two children of his deceased brother Joseph and 200 fl. each to the four children of his brother Johann Michael, for a total of 1,200 fl. He also left some clothing to his *Geselle* Johann Georg Glöckner and stipulated that his good friend Ignaz Kober

77. This information appears in the registry at St. Stephen's on the occasion of Franz Xaver Christoph's first marriage in May 1764 (Trauungsbuch, Tom. 62, fol. 27v): "Der wohlEhren geachte H: Franz, cognomine, Christoph, ein Orgelmacher auf der Widen, ledig, alhier gebürtig, des Christoph Christoph, eines k: k: Schul-putzers, und Susana Ux: Eh[elich]er Sohn." His marriage is recorded both at St. Stephen's, the parish where Christoph lived, and the parish of his bride, St. Ulrich.

78. According to his father's marriage record in the parish of St. Michael, Trauungsbuch, Tom. E, fol. 241: "29 Julius 1731. Christoph Christophorus, Caesarl: Equiso von Donhaußen ex Super: Palatinatu [Oberpfalz], Mathia Christoph et Catharina legit: Filius, cum Virg: Maria, Susanna Schöndorfterin von Gschwend, ex Super: Austria, Petri Schöndorfter, et Susanna legit: Filia."

79. Pfarre St. Ulrich, Trauungsbuch, Tom. 25, fol. 152: "1764, den 13ten Majus, Franciscus Christoph, ledigst: ein Orgl-mach: wohnhaft in St: Stephanns-Pfarr, Gebürtig in Wienn, Nimbt zur Ehe die Ehrn und Tugendsamme Jungfr: Theresia Döckerin, wohnhaft in der golden Biern am Spittalberg, Gebürtig von Prespurg in Hungarn des Sebastiani Döcker, eines Schuesters, und Anna Maria dessen Ehewürthin beeder Seel: erzeugte Tochter. Cop: die 21. May. Test: H: Simon Burgghardt, br: Orglmacher in Pelican alhier. . ."

80. WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, Fasz. 456-18/1771. Her estate was valued at 13 fl. and her medical costs were 111 fl.

81. Pfarre St. Michael, Trauungsbuch, Tom. G, fol. 439. Christoph's address is given here as "an der Wienn No 48." Later, in Franz Xaver's estate settlement, his widow Cecilia presented an oath signed by two witnesses stating that she had married Christoph in 1768! (WStLA, Mag. Zivilgericht, Fasz. 2-1480/1793.)

82. WStLA, Bürgerbuch 1750–1791, fol. 194v.

(1756–1813) should help his widow in running the workshop.⁸³ On February 24, 1800, the childless Cecilia Christoph, aged forty-six, married the twenty-nine year-old “Orgel- und Instrumentmachergesell” Franz Xaver Hubert (ca. 1770–1810).⁸⁴

Christoph was famous for his organs, including the one he built “auf dem Sonntagberg” near Waidhofen an der Ybbs, described as one of the best Baroque organs in Austria.⁸⁵ Detailed accounts have survived listing the payments of nearly 8,000 fl. made between December 21, 1774 and April 21, 1776 by Stift Seitenstetten for this organ: Christoph received 3,400 fl. and was assisted by two “Gesölln.”⁸⁶ He also still constructed harpsichords, which were announced for sale (labeled *Flüg*) in the *Wiener Zeitung* in 1784, 1793, and 1795.⁸⁷ But, in keeping with the times, he built fortepianos as well, and a travel guide from 1791 names both Christoph and Walter as good fortepiano makers.⁸⁸ A hybrid instrument by Christoph has survived: the beautiful *Orgelklavier* (Vienna, Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente (SAM), 625), built ca. 1785 and combining an organ with a fortepiano. The oval nameplate reads: “Frantz Xav. Christoph / in Wienn.”⁸⁹

Gottfried Mallek (1733–1798), who was born in Hadersdorf am Kamp (Lower Austria), took his *Bürgerleid* on October 19, 1763 and a few weeks later, on November 6, 1763, married Johann Michael Panzner’s daughter Elisabeth.⁹⁰ At her death on March 30, 1790, she was survived by two children: Maria Anna (twenty-two) and Gottfried (thirteen), both at home with their father. Each child received 500 fl. from a total estate of 1,634 fl. The professional implements and wood supplies were valued at only 50 fl. (by Johann Wimola, who perhaps deliberately recorded a low amount).⁹¹ Mallek’s position as head of the guild of organists at the time of Walter’s petition is reflected in the important functions he performed for fellow guild members. He served as guardian for Mathias Blum’s daughter, as a witness at Wenzel Schanz’s first and second marriages (on June 5, 1780⁹² and

83. For further details, see Hopfner, “Biographische Anmerkungen,” 464.

84. Pfarre St. Joseph ob der Laimgrube, Trauungsbuch 1797–1800, fol. 83. One of the witnesses was Ignaz Kober. Cecilia Hubert died on August 16, 1807.

85. Oskar Eberstaller, *Orgeln und Orgelbauer in Österreich* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1955), 83.

86. Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau*, 9–11, 30–35, Anhang: 1–8.

87. Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 154, 172, 178.

88. Joseph Marc Freiherr von Lichtenstern, *Statistisch-geographische Beschreibung des Erzherzogthums Oestreich unter der Ens* (Wien: Kleinmaier, 1791), 189: “Walter hat einige gute Fortepianos verfertigt, desgleichen auch Christoph.”

89. See the illustration in Gerhard Stradner, ed., *Die Klangwelt Mozarts, 28. April bis 27. Oktober 1991: Wien, Neue Burg, Sammlung Alter Musikinstrumente: Eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums* (Vienna: Das Kunsthistorische Museum, 1991), 267, and Huber’s technical description on p. 268.

90. For an extensive discussion of Mallek’s biography and surviving instruments, see Hopfner, “Biographische Anmerkungen,” 471–73. See also Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau*, 14–15, 50–59.

91. WStLA, Mag. Zivilgericht Fasz. 2-1095/1790.

92. Pfarre St. Michael, Trauungsbuch, Tom. H, fol. 305.

October 22, 1786), and as godfather to two of the latter's children.⁹³ At his death of gangrene (*Brand*) on July 19, 1798, Mallek, whose second wife Maria Anna had died in 1797, left an estate valued at 3,253 fl., with the estimated value of the instruments being 155 fl. His daughter and a grandson having died in 1793, his only survivor was his son Gottfried (ca. 1775–1812), an *Orgelmachereselle* still living at home “auf der Laimgrube No. 7.”⁹⁴ A harpsichord by Mallek built in 1778, thus in the same year as the hearings for Walter, is preserved in the Mestské Múzeum in Bratislava. The maker is identified by a handwritten inscription in ink as “Gottfridt Malleck burgl: orgl= / macher Logirt Negst dem getraidt / Marckt in blauem hauß No: 33 in Wienn / 1778.”⁹⁵ Mallek also has the distinction of having built the earliest surviving dated Viennese *Hammerflügel* (1787: SAM 960).⁹⁶

Mathias Blum (ca. 1739–1787) was born in the Netherlands and may have worked as a *Geselle* for Ignaz Richter, since he lived in the same house: “beym goldenen Pelikan.”⁹⁷ On June 21, 1772 he married Franziska Heiglin,⁹⁸ the daughter of a goldsmith in the Viennese suburb of Neubau. Blum took his *Bürgereid* on September 26, 1778,⁹⁹ thus just after Walter submitted his petition and during the time of the hearings. Blum's address was St. Ulrich No. 29, and this is also where he died of consumption (*Abzehrung*) on February 21, 1787, at the age of forty-eight. He was survived by his wife and one child, Anna Katharina, aged fourteen weeks. In his will, he left his child a legacy of 1,000 fl. and suggested that his good friend Gottfried Mallek be appointed as her guardian, but she died one month later. A harpsichord by Blum dating from 1778 survives in the castle museum at Greillenstein, Lower Austria. The maker is identified on a printed label as “Mathias Blum burgerlicher / Orgel- und Instrument= / macher Wohnhaft zu Maria Trost in schwarzwalter / Haus in ersten Stock. No. 29 / 17 in Wien 78.”¹⁰⁰

93. These records are located in the parish of the Karlskirche and will be handled in greater detail in a forthcoming article on the keyboard makers Wenzel and Johann Schanz. The two children were Wenzel Schanz's first-born son, christened Godefridus on July 22, 1784, and a second son, Wenceslaus Godefridus, christened on July 15, 1787.

94. WStLA, Mag. Zivilgericht Fasz. 2-3605/1798. The official guardian appointed for Mallek's son was his uncle Mathias Panzner “k. k. Landrechts-Registrant No. 35 auf der Windmühle.”

95. See the illustrations and discussion of this instrument in Huber, *Das Österreichische Cembalo*, 138–39, 528–29.

96. Berdoux and Wittmayer, “Biographische Notizen,” 27. The earliest date on an instrument by Walter is 1789.

97. Hopfner, “Biographische Anmerkungen,” 461, and Schütz, *Der Wiener Orgelbau*, 1.

98. The first wife of Johann Michael Panzner, Maria Anna (died on November 26, 1762), was also born “Heiglin.” This being an unusual name, it is likely that there was some family connection between Franziska Blum and (her aunt?) Maria Anna Panzner.

99. A new licence was granted to Blum at this time. For further details see Hopfner, “Biographische Anmerkungen,” 461–62.

100. See the illustrations and discussion of this instrument in Huber, *Das Österreichische Cembalo*, 137–38, 526–27. See also Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments*, 40–41.

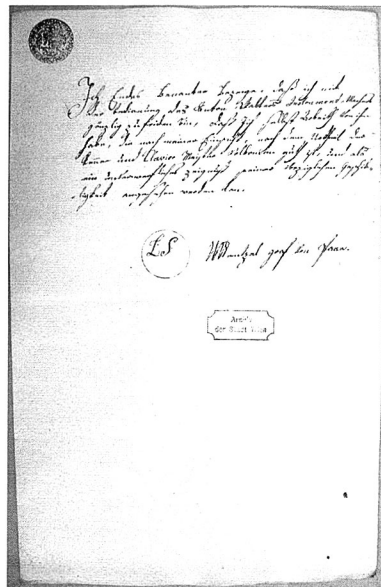


FIGURE 4. Testimonial for Anton Walter by Count Wenzel von Paar, undated. Vienna, Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Alte Registratur A2-Berichte: 4/1779, Document E.

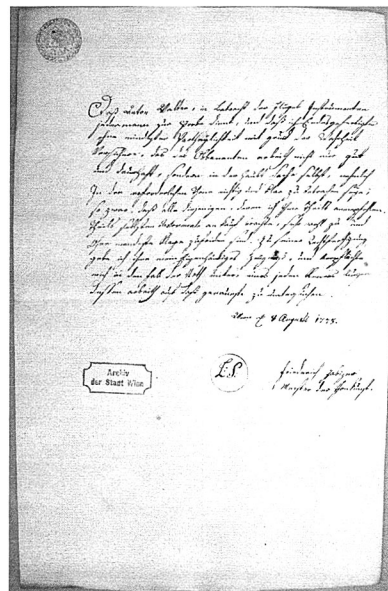


FIGURE 5. Testimonial for Anton Walter by Friederich Zabizer, dated Vienna, August 8, 1778. Vienna, Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Alte Registratur A2-Berichte: 4/1779, Document F.

[illegible]

für eine so gewöhnliche Tathene anzusehen, und unter die
 von Herrn Kravanz so gar bey allerley Kunstschreibern in
 Erfahrung und Ruffe anzuliegen. Wenn er aber wirklich
 so feig und Instrumentenwunder ^{war} glückselig zu spielen ansetzt,
 so stellt er sich allerleygerade Meisterstück als Probe an den ab-
 legen, und wir müßten ja die Veränderung der Bewegung
 bewundern müssen. Denn allem ungeachtet, und je-
 zu sagen, daß die Art, wenn er es wirklich thut, und an-
 gewandt ist, ein wunderbares Spiel ist. Denn das Spiel ist
 bei so feig und je mehr der Kunstschreiber feig gemacht, er
 müßte nicht zu wundern sein, daß, während, oder
 während, ja nach, nicht in diesem einzigen Mittel der
 feig Mittel ein tauglicher Organismus für sein Verlangen
 werden, feigend, oder so feig er für zu feig zu sein,
 so, die Kunstschreiber von dem Kunstschreiber der Kunstschreiber
 allerley. Einige Organismus feig, die feig feigend
 Mittel, welche nicht einen gewöhnlichen Organismus feig
 wenig feig. Feigend, oder aber zu feig einen
 allerleygerade Meister in die Kunstschreiber, und die feig
 feig feigend in feigend der Instrumente und
 der feig.

FIGURE 8. *continued*

