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Viennese Woodwind Makers in the Classical Era, with Emphasis on Friedrich Lempp's Request for Protection in 1768*

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WHAT DO WE KNOW about the conditions governing the making of woodwind instruments in Vienna during the early Classical era? Who made the flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, etc., heard in contemporary performances of Mozart's and Haydn's music? Richard Maunder, in his valuable article on eighteenth-century Viennese wind instrument makers, stated that although many of the actual instruments "survive and have been extensively studied and played, knowledge of the makers themselves remains somewhat sketchy."¹ Through advertisements in the chief Viennese newspaper, the *Wienerisches Diarium* (named the *Wiener Zeitung* from 1780), as well as its obituary columns, he gathered new biographical information on fifteen or so

All archives named in this article are located in Vienna. The following abbreviations are used here:

HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv				
WStLA	Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv				
Mag. ZG	Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Magistratisches Zivilgericht				
TBP	Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Totenbeschauprotokoll				
¥."					
Viennese currency					
xr.	Kreutzer				
fl.	Florin (Gulden). One Gulden was worth 60 Kreutzer.				
C.M.	Conventions Münze				
W.W.	Wiener Währung. After the state bankruptcy in 1811, official transactions				
	were recorded in C.M., while daily purchases were made using W.W.				
	Although the rate fluctuated, one C.M. was worth approximately 2.5 W.W.				

* I would like to thank the Österreichische Nationalbank Jubiläumsfonds (project No. 11642: "Viennese Music Instrument Makers of the Mozart Era") for the financial support in 2006–7 that enabled me to discover these documents. This article is dedicated to Gerhard Stradner, retired director of the Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente (SAM) in Vienna, in gratitude for the support he gave to my efforts to authenticate Leopold Mozart's violin and the earliest surviving oil portraits of Beethoven and Schubert—all of these treasures are now on display in SAM—and for directing my research on Schubert in 1994–97, also funded by the Jubiläumsfonds.

1. Richard Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers, 1700–1800," *Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998): 170–91, here 170.

makers of woodwind instruments. His timeline showing the working lives of the various makers reveals that the father-and-son team of Friedrich Lempp (ca. 1723–1796) and Martin Lempp (1766–1836) was active the longest between about 1750 and 1800.² The following article presents newly uncovered documents concerning Friedrich Lempp's request in 1768 for government protection to make woodwind instruments. The documents reveal in vivid detail the severe hindrances he faced in pursuing his craft—in particular, opposition from the Guild of Joiners. Further documents, variously concerning the sale of instruments and the awarding of a court title to Martin Lempp in 1800, add clarifying information and will be included here as well.

Several other woodwind makers are mentioned in these documents: Mathias Rockobauer (ca. 1708–1775) and Jacob Baur (ca. 1743–1797) two names occurring frequently in the Haydn literature—and the *Drechsler* (turner or joiner) Mathias Urban Thurner (ca. 1714–1786). Their biographies, including much new information based on archival research, are presented here also. Instruments by all of these makers have already been mentioned in numerous studies. For example, the *New Langwill Index* (1993) names Baur, Rockobauer, both Lempps, and the two joiners Mathias and Joseph Thurner (father and son, as I shall show below) as makers of woodwind instruments in Vienna during the Classical era.³ Phillip T. Young's 1997 catalog of the woodwind instruments in the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum in Linz provides detailed descriptions and photographs of a flute in C, an oboe, and a bassoon, all made by Rockobauer; an oboe by Friedrich Lempp;⁴ a

2. Ibid., 180.

3. William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 24, 232–33, 400. One of Waterhouse's sources was Gerhard Stradner's overview of surviving Viennese instruments from the second half of the eighteenth century in "Wiener Instrumentenbau zur Zeit Maria Theresias," in *Musik am Hof Maria Theresias: In memoriam Vera Schwarz*, ed. Roswitha Vera Karpf, Beiträge zur Aufführungspraxis 6 (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1984), 168–74, esp. 170. Stradner names D. Bauer (a clarinet); Jakob Baur (oboes, an english horn, a flageolet, *Seitenpfeifen*, military fifes); Rocko Baur (oboes, an english horn, a *clarinetto d'amore*); Engelbert Johann Ehrlich (an english horn); Raymund Griesbacher (clarinets, a bassethorn, a bassoon); Friedrich Lempp; and Theodor Lotz (a *Waldhorn* [hunting horn], clarinets, a basset-horn). Stradner's list was based on information in Lyndesay G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers* (Edinburgh: Langwill, 1977) and Helga Haupt, "Wiener Instrumentenbauer von 1791 bis 1815," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1960): 120–84.

4. Phillip T. Young, Woodwind Instruments of the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 1997), 84–85, 114–17, 170–71, 204–5, 214–15. The

basset-horn attributed to Martin Lempp;⁵ and a contrabassoon certainly made by him.

The documents concerning Friedrich Lempp's request form a convolute of twenty pages, located at the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (Vienna City Archive), under the call number Alte Registratur A2-Berichte 361/1768. The convolute consists of the initial request (three pages) submitted to the Government of Lower Austria by Lempp, penned in an official scribe's hand and labeled A; a long letter (seven pages) with arguments by the Guild of Joiners for rejecting the request, labeled *B*; and two copies of the final report (four and six pages) from the Vienna City Government, which I have called C.6 Unlike Anton Walter's similar petition of 1778,7 Lempp's request for a license was granted on his first try; thus, this convolute is much smaller than that concerning Walter. The main documents of Lempp's petition are presented in Appendix 1. Appendix 2 contains newly uncovered documents concerning the Lempps and dated 1768 and 1798-99, found among the Hofmusikkapelle materials located at the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. Appendix 3 contains two payment records for Friedrich Lempp from 1777-78 and 1792, as noted in the account books of the Hoftheater (Court Theater). For the sake of completion, payments made to other woodwind makers who built instruments for the Viennese Court Theater during the Classical era are included here as well.

oboes by Rockobauer and Friedrich Lempp were on display at the Haydn exhibit in Eisenstadt in 1982. See the catalog *Joseph Haydn in seiner Zeit* (Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 1982), 584.

^{5.} Albert R. Rice, From the Clarinet d'amour to the Contra Bass: A History of Large Size Clarinets, 1740–1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), suggests that this unique instrument, made with the butt joint of a bassoon, may be an example of Friedrich Lempp's "newly invented basset-horn," mentioned in an advertisement of 1789 (see p. 38 below). With thanks to Rice for sharing this information before publication.

^{6.} The four-page report (not transcribed here) is a rough draft dated September 10, 1768, having virtually the same wording as the official six-page report, but lacking the final judgment.

^{7.} See Rita Steblin, "Anton Walter's Difficult Early Years in Vienna: New Documents, 1772–1779," this JOURNAL 33 (2007): 42–83. The convolute for Walter contains eight separate documents, including several testimonials added when he resubmitted his request.

Friedrich Lempp's Petition (Document A)

On June 7, 1768, Friedrich Lempp submitted a written petition to the Government of Lower Austria requesting that he be granted a protective license to make woodwind instruments freely and unhindered in Vienna. In support of his request he claimed that since there was virtually no one in the country who made bassoons, oboes, transverse flutes, and clarinets for the use of the common people, these instruments had to be imported from Saxony and other foreign lands. In the thirteen years since his arrival in Vienna, where he now worked as a musician, he had constructed many such instruments to meet the needs of various Imperial-Royal army regiments, and his work had been met with great satisfaction. He argued that if he were to be granted this license, the general public would have access to instruments that were made locally, costing less than imported ones.

Report from the Guild of Joiners (Document B)

On the same day, June 7, 1768, the Lower Austrian Government sent Lempp's request to the mayor and councillors of the City of Vienna for their consideration, and they dispatched it to those in charge of handicraft matters. On July 6 the Guild of Joiners was requested to report on the petition, and on July 29 the guild produced a seven-page document, which they delivered to the City councillors. This wordy, pretentious document analyzes Lempp's request in minute detail, broken down into four points:

1. It is not true that there is no one in Vienna who is able to make such woodwind instruments, as for many years now a guild member, master joiner Mathias Thurner, has supported his family by producing all of the above-mentioned instruments, to the complete satisfaction of his customers. If the retail prospects were better, several other guild members would switch to making musical instruments, but they do not want to compete with each other and destroy Thurner's livelihood. If some people order instruments from foreign countries, this is not out of necessity, but because they have a taste for foreign things, even though locally made objects are of better quality.

2. That the petitioner has delivered instruments to army regiments upsets the members of the guild because he has no license to do so. He

has never learned the joinery profession and is merely a musician registered to perform in the suburbs. Furthermore, he is a foreigner and has not even stated where he was born.

3. Thus, the petitioner has never earned the right to be awarded a decree of protection.

4. His claim that the public in Vienna would be able to acquire instruments from him at a cheaper price has not been proven in the least. The quality of instruments varies greatly, and many music lovers are willing to pay more for instruments they think are foreign-made. Mathias Thurner has sent instruments to various distant lands on order, and they have been well received there. If Lempp's instruments are to be offered at a cheaper price, then they must be of lesser quality, made for quick sale.

The guild added that four other registered musicians in Vienna namely "Rockenbauer, Paur, Fiedler," and a fourth whose name was unknown (but who resided at the "Hollerstauden auf dem Spittelberg") were also making woodwind instruments. Since these musicians had never learned the joinery profession, this was unfair competition for Thurner, a guild member. The guild then recommended in the strongest terms that Lempp's petition be rejected. Furthermore, they requested that the four other musicians also be forbidden from pursuing any kind of joinery work—in particular, from making musical instruments.

Approval by the Vienna City Government (Document C)

On September 13, 1768, the mayor and councillors of the City of Vienna submitted document C to the Government of Lower Austria. After summarizing the arguments in documents A and B, they recommended that Lempp be granted the protective license, for the following reasons:

1. A court resolution of December 1, 1765, recommended that musicians belonging to the Nicolai Brotherhood (of which Lempp was a member), in addition to their music-making, should endeavor to seek further means of earning a livelihood, so that at times when musicmaking was forbidden, they might be able to provide for themselves by means of secondary employment.

2. As a musician, the supplicant would be far more capable of making instruments with the correct tone and voicing than would a joiner who is inexperienced in music. On September 23, 1768, the Lower Austrian Government approved the City's recommendation, giving Lempp permission to make and sell woodwind instruments, upon payment of the required business tax. According to a document in materials from the *Hofmusikkapelle* (see Appendix 2), this tax was set at an annual rate of 5 fl., to be paid semiannually beginning on October 1, 1768. In acceding to Lempp's request, the government was following Imperial policies: Empress Maria Theresia attempted during her reign (1740–80) to loosen the strict control of the guilds in order to encourage more industrial production.

Concerning the Nicolai Brotherhood, this was a form of musicians' union, founded as a pious religious fraternity around 1288 at St. Michael's Church in Vienna.⁸ Its purpose was to control "itinerant minstrels" (fahrende Spielleute) under a "head master" (Spielgraf), who imposed laws and collected taxes. Friedrich Lempp is identified in document Bas an "eingekaufter Vorstadt-Musicus," meaning that he had purchased a license to perform as a musician in Vienna's suburbs. As a foreigner, he was charged 20 fl., twice the amount paid by Viennese-born musicians. As a member of this fraternity, he was also required to pay 15 xr. every three months into a special treasury that was then used to support poor and sick members, as well as widows and orphans. The fees for those who performed in the inner city were substantially higher. Strict fines were imposed on members who disobeyed the rules, for example, suburban musicians who performed within the inner city. The brotherhood began losing its powers in 1778 after the head master arrested several members for performing illegally-these arrests provoked the ire of the Empress-and the association was dissolved completely on June 20, 1783, by her son, Emperor Joseph II.⁹

Friedrich Lempp's Biography

In his petition of 1768, Friedrich Lempp stated that he had come to Vienna thirteen years previously, which gives an approximate arrival

9. See the discussion in Rohling, "Exequial and Votive Practices," 159-60.

^{8.} See the comprehensive history of this organization in Adolf Koczirz, "Die St. Nikolai-Zeche der Spielleut zu St. Michael in Wien," *Musica Divina* 8 (1920): 59–62, 96–99, and the excellent discussion, including translation of the many terms involved, in Geraldine M. Rohling, "Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften: A Study of Music and Liturgical Piety" (PhD diss., Catholic University, Washington, DC, 1996), esp. 3–4 and 149–204.

date of 1755. However, he was probably already in Vienna by 1754, for on February 4, 1755, his marriage was celebrated in the parish of St. Leopold (in what is now Vienna's second district, north of the inner city).¹⁰ Lempp's birthplace was noted in the marriage register as Forchheim (an ancient town in Oberfranken, about thirty miles [ca. 50 km] north of Nuremberg), and his profession was given merely as Laborantthat is, an unspecified worker. From the age given in his death recordhe died on December 13, 1796, at the age of seventy-three-his approximate birth year can be calculated as 1723. His wife, Catharina Ebenstreitter (also spelled Hebenstreit), was born in Vienna around 1730.11 At the time of the christening of their first child, Regina, on September 3, 1756, the family was still living in St. Leopold, and Friedrich was identified as a Musicus.¹² Regina died before the end of the year, on December 19, at the address Kuhfuß im Lichtenthal, revealing that the family—Friedrich was now performing as a Geiger (violinist) had moved to a suburb further out to the northwest from the inner city. This move was to be followed by many more, documented through the births and deaths of the couple's many children (of at least eleven children, only two survived to adulthood). Vienna at that time had a high infant mortality rate, caused by unsanitary living conditions. Table 1 gives an overview of the known births and deaths of Friedrich's children, including the address where he lived at the time, and how he was identified professionally.

10. Pfarre St. Leopold, *Trauungsbuch*, Tom. 10, fol. 448: "Cop: 4. Feb: 1755. Friderich Lempp, ein Laborant, ledig des Georg Lempp, eines Böcken in Forchhaim, und Catharina dessen Ehewärthin beeder seel[ig] Ehelicher Sohn nimbt zur Ehe Catharina Ebenstreitterin leedig, deß Joseph Ebenstreitter noch im Leben, und Theresa dessen Ehewärthin seel: Eheliche Tochter. Testes: 1. Josephus Millan burg: Bierwärth bey S: Florian allhier. 2. Thomas Josephus Siloni Instentor, in der Tändel-Marckgassen in Pfadlerischen Hauß."

11. When Catharina's mother died in the parish of St. Leopold on August 3, 1744, at the age of thirty-one, Joseph Hebenstreit was described as a pauper: Pfarre St. Leopold, *Totenbuch*, Tom. 3, fol. 499: "3. August 1744: Joseph Hebenstreit, armer Mann, sein Weib Theresia, beym blauen Mondschein, alt 31. Jahr." Catharina's birth and her father's death are not registered in this parish.

12. Pfarre St. Leopold, *Taufbuch*, Tom. 14, fol. 186: "3. September 1756. Inf: Regina. pat: Fridericus Lemp ein Musicus. ux: Catharina. patr: Regina Stoberin cum filia Maria Anna." The christening usually took place on the day of birth.

Name	Date of birth, Address	Date of death, Address	Cause of death, Age	F. Lempp's profession
Regina	Sept. 3, 1756 Pfarre St. Leopold	Dec. 19, 1756 Kuhfuß, Pfarre Lichtental	Därmfrais [intestinal spasms], 3 months	Musicus, Geiger
Leopold	1758	Apr. 20, 1761 Schwarzer Kegel, Altlerchenfeld	Lungldefect [pulmonary defect], 2½ years	Musicant
Ursula	1761	Aug. 8, 1762 Weißer Engel, Altlerchenfeld	Zahnfrais [teething], 1½ years	Musicus
twins: Christian & Christina	Apr. 18, 1763	Apr. 18, 1763 Weißes Lamm, Matzleinsdorf	<i>Brand</i> [fever], one day	Musicant
Catharina Maria Anna	Apr. 18, 1764 Pfarre St. Stephan	June 14, 1789 Flautenmacherhaus, Alstergasse 156	<i>Faulfieber</i> [putrid fever], 25 years	Geiger, privil. Instrumentmacher
Martin	Apr. 21, 1766 Pfarre St. Stephan	Aug. 22, 1836 Alsergrund 45	<i>Schlagfluβ</i> [apoplexy], 70 years	Geiger
Anna Maria	May 8, 1769 Weißer Adler, Pfarre St. Ulrich	Feb. 6, 1770 Weißer Adler	<i>Steckfraβ</i> [spasms], 8 months	Musicus
Francisca	May 8, 1769 Weißer Adler	Apr. 28, 1770 Weißer Adler	<i>Englische Krankheit</i> [rickets], 11 mo.	Musicus
unnamed boy	Apr. 22, 1771 Weißer Adler	Apr. 22, 1771 Weißer Adler	<i>Steckfraβ</i> [spasms], died at birth	Musikant
Franz Seraph Friedrich	Oct. 25, 1772 Weißer Adler	Nov. 7, 1772 Weißer Adler	<i>Frais</i> [spasms], 14 days	Musikant

TABLE 1. Friedrich Lempp's children: records of birth and death, derived from parish registers and from the *Totenbeschauprotokoll*, Wiener Stadt- und Landes- archiv. Children who survived into adulthood are indicated in bold.

To obtain this information, I first consulted Gustav Gugitz's undated typescript "Auszüge aus dem Totenbeschauprotokoll: 18. Jahrhundert" (WStLA), under "Lemp Friedrich, Geiger" (p. 450). Deaths of eight children, giving dates and addresses, are given there. I then consulted the death records in the *Totenbeschauprotokoll* at the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (TBP) for the father's profession, the child's age, and the cause of death. By subtracting the age from the death date, I arrived at the year of birth. I then consulted the parish registers of St. Leopold, St. Stephan, and St. Ulrich for exact dates of birth, as indicated. Causes of death are translated for the reader's convenience; some may encompass a variety of now differentiated conditions. In most of the records, Friedrich Lempp is identified merely as a musician.¹³ In three documents, however, his profession is given as *Geiger*. These include the christening records for the two children who survived infancy: Catharina and Martin. Lempp's only daughter to survive to adulthood was christened "Catharina Maria Anna" on April 18, 1764, in the inner city parish of St. Stephen's Cathedral. Her parents were identified as "Fridericus Lemp, violinist, and Catharina, his wife," and her godmother was the wife of a lackey (liveried servant).¹⁴ Two years later, on April 21, 1766, Lempp's only son to survive to adulthood was also christened in the parish of St. Stephen's.¹⁵ This boy, officially named "Martinus," was to become one of Vienna's most famous makers of woodwind instruments, receiving a court title. His exact date of birth was previously unknown in the literature.

In the decade since his marriage, Friedrich had moved in a counterclockwise fashion from one suburb to the next—St. Leopold, Lichtental, Altlerchenfeld, and Matzleinsdorf—and was now, in the mid 1760s, living in the prestigious inner city, in the parish of St. Stephen's Cathedral. This was surely a sign that his financial situation had improved by this time. This was also just before he applied for the license, on June 7, 1768, to be a protected maker of woodwind instruments. The next years, from at least 1769 to 1772, show the Lempp family residing at one address: *Beym weißen Adler* in the western suburb of Neustift. Friedrich's business making and selling woodwind instruments must have prospered, for he was able to save enough money to buy a house. On December 3, 1773, Friedrich and his wife signed a contract to purchase the property at Altlerchenfeld 173, in the parish of Maria Treu.¹⁶ An advertisement that Friedrich placed in the

13. Only at the death of his daughter Catharina, on June 14, 1789, was Friedrich Lempp identified (in the TBP) as a licensed musical instrument maker: "privil[egierter] Musicalische Instrumentenmacher." Thus, this death is included in Maunder's biographical information on Friedrich Lempp, while those of the other children are not, as the father was registered only as a musician. See Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," 183.

14. Pfarre St. Stephan, *Taufbuch*, Tom. 85, fol. 170: "18. April 1764. Catharina, Maria, Anna. [Parentes:] Fridericus Lemp, ein geiger. Catharina ux[or]. [Patin:] Ursula Kirchmayrin, Laquay weib."

15. Pfarre St. Stephan, *Taufbuch*, Tom. 86, fol. 178: "21. April 1766. Martinus. [Parentes:] Fridericus Lemp, ein geiger. Catharina ux[or]. [Pate:] Martinus Deblac, ein Tagw[erker]."

16. WStLA, *Grundbuch Altlerchenfeld* 146, vol. 6 (*Gewöhrbuch* 4), fols. 138 and 172v. The location today, occupied by a newer building, is VIII. [eighth district] Lerchenfelderstraße 32, Roter Hof 7.

Wienerisches Diarium in November 1776 mentions this house as his business address (see p. 38 below). He sold this property on November 26, 1781, to the oboist Anton Boschwa and his wife Katharina, an opera singer, both of whom had been employed at the Esterházy court from 1776 to 1779.¹⁷ The house was still called *Flaute* or *Zur Flöte* at the time of Behsel's 1829 address book.¹⁸ On September 10, 1781, Friedrich and his wife Catharina signed a contract to purchase the house and garden at Alstergasse 156, located a few blocks to the north (near the Church of the Holy Trinity where Beethoven's funeral would be held in 1827); the land registry ratified the deal on February 18, 1782.¹⁹ In September 1788, the twenty-two-year-old Martin Lempp bought the property from his parents, shortly before he took his oath as *Bürger* on October 9, 1788.²⁰ When Martin's single sister Catharina died there on June 14, 1789, the death record named this house *Flautenmacherhaus*.²¹

Friedrich Lempp's wife Catharina née Hebenstreit died here, "im Lempischen Haus No. 156," on July 22, 1794, of dropsy, aged sixty-four.²² Her estate was valued at a modest 78 fl. The probate commissioner reported that, after discussions with the sole surviving son,

17. H. C. Robbins Landon, Joseph Haydn: Life and Works, vol. 2, Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766–1790 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 50, 77.

18. Anton Behsel, *Häuser-Verzeichniβ* (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1829), 186. See also Hans Rotter, *Die Josefstadt: Geschichte des 8. Wiener Gemeindebezirkes* (Vienna: the author, 1918), 336: "[Die Lerchenfelderstraße] Nr. 32 (alt 220, Altlerchenfeld) = 7 Roter Hof, 1781, 1896 "Zur Flöte" (116 m²) 1781 Friedrich Lemp, Lautenmacher [*sic*]. 1783 Anton Posch[w]a. 1792 Johann Georg Detter."

19. WStLA, *Grundbuch Schotten* (149), B149, vol. 2, fol. 1¹/₂v. Lempp is referred to here as "privilegirter musical: Instrumentmacher." In 1795 the address was renumbered Alservorstadt 35, and in 1821 the number was changed yet again to Alsergrund 45. The present-day location, occupied by a house built in 1885, is VIII. Laudongasse 3; Rotter, *Die Josefstadt*, 291, lists the owners of this property as: "1782 Friedrich Lemp, kais. Hof-Instrumentmacher [*sic*] (geb. 1730 [*sic*], gest. 1794); 1788 Martin Lemp, äuß[erer] Rat; 1837 Laurenz Jung, k. k. Beamter, 1870 Leopold Arnstein. . . ."

20. WStLA, *Grundbuch Schotten* (149), B149, vol. 6, fols. 9 and 65v. Martin signed the contract with his parents on August 20, 1788, had the sale ratified on September 18, and then sold part of the house to Johann Surwald on September 22, 1788.

21. WStLA, TBP: "14. Juni 1789. Lempp H[err] Friedrich privil[egierter] Musicalisch[e] Instrumentenmacher s[eine] Jungfr[au] Tochter Katharina, ist im Flautenmacherh[aus] No 156 in der Alstervorstadt an Faulfieber versch[ieden] alt 25 Jr." According to her estate settlement, she possessed only a few clothes that her father had purchased for her: WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-1982/1789.

22. WStLA, TBP: "22. Juli 1794. Lempp Fridrich, musikalischer Instrumentenmacher s[ein] W[eib] Katharina gebohrne Hebenstreit, hier gebürtig, ist im Lempischen Haus No 156 in der Alstervorstadt an der Brustwassersucht beschaut worden, alt 64 Jr."

Martin—who claimed that his father was needy—this sum would be turned over to the widower, since he had paid his wife's medical bills and burial costs.²³

Friedrich Lempp died two years later, on December 13, 1796. According to the official death record, this "licensed instrument maker, born in Forchheim in the Holy Roman Empire, died in the Flute-maker's House No. 35 in Alservorstadt at nine o'clock in the evening, of apoplexy, aged seventy-three."²⁴ The estate settlement identifies him as a widower who was survived by one son, Martin Lempp, a licensed musical instrument maker residing at the same address.²⁵ His sole possessions, according to his son, were some old clothing and a bed, which were to be donated to friends in need. Martin also claimed that for several years he had taken care of his father, had provided him with a servant, and would pay for his burial. No estate taxes were charged.

Martin Lempp's later career was summarized by Helga Haupt: he applied for the title of *Hofmusikinstrumentenmacher* (Court Musical Instrument Maker) on August 22, 1799, and was granted this honor on August 15, 1800,²⁶ along with the flute maker Raymund Griesbacher (ca. 1752–1818).²⁷ Lempp continued to make woodwind instruments in the *Flautenmacherhaus* until his retirement in 1822. On January 25, 1790, he had married Katharina Hackel, the daughter of a house

23. WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-1853/1794.

24. WStLA, TBP: "13. Dezember 1796. Lempp Friederich, schutzverwandter Instrumentmacher von Furchheim aus dem Reich gebürtig, ist im Flautenmacher Haus No 35 in der Alstervorstadt Abends 9 Uhr am Schlagfluß verschied[en] alt 73 Jahr."

25. Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-3797/1796.

26. Haupt, "Wiener Instrumentenbauer von 1791 bis 1815," 156 (see n. 3 above). His initial application is found in HHStA, OMeA[Obersthofmeisteramts]-Protokoll, vol. 57 (1799), no. 1271: "Lempp Martin bürgerl: Instrumentmacher bittet um den Titel eines Hofmusikinstrumentenmachers. praes. den 22. August."

27. Raymund Griesbacher and Martin Lempp applied—separately—several times in 1799 and 1800 for this title, which the court (after initially rejecting Griesbacher) eventually granted to both of them at the same time. For the text of the document granting the titles, with words of approval by Emperor Franz, see Haupt, "Wiener Instrumentenbau um 1800" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1952), Anhang, pp. 1–2. According to Haupt, "Wiener Instrumentenbauer von 1791 bis 1815," 140–41, Raymund Griesbacher's estate was inherited by "the two surviving children"; however, the estate settlement shows that he died unmarried and willed his possessions to the children of relatives (WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-2188/1818). According to Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 147, Griesbacher was succeeded by his son Raymund junior, who was listed as a woodwind maker in Anton Ziegler, *Adressen-Buch von Tonkünstlern, Dilettanten, Hof, Kammer, Theater- und Kirchenmusikern . . . in Wien* (Vienna: A. Strauss, 1823). This is false, based on an assumption that "junior" meant "son." Raymund junior was a distant relative, identified as such in the estate settlement.

owner in the parish of Alservorstadt.²⁸ She died on June 25, 1832, succumbing to lung disease at the age of sixty-five at their house, Alsergrund 45. She was survived by her husband and three grown daughters:²⁹ Theresia Jung, aged forty, the wife of Court War Office bureaucrat Lorenz Jung; Katharina Nerber, aged thirty-four [correctly, thirty-seven], the wife of a master baker in Klosterneuburg; and Anna Lempp, single, twenty-seven years old [correctly, thirty], and living at home.³⁰ When Martin Lempp died of apoplexy at the age of seventy, on August 22, 1836, he was identified in the death record as a "Hausinhaber, äusserer Rath und k. k. Armenvater" (house owner, external councillor, and Imperial-Royal adviser to the poor), thus having achieved a high position in the community.³¹ His estate settlement says nothing about his earlier work as a musical instrument maker. The estate was valued at only 1,282 fl. C.M.: Lempp had already given each of his three daughters 1,200 fl. C.M. as a dowry,³² and had made loans to his bankrupt brother-in-law, which were unrecoverable.33 Descendants of Lempp's daughter Katharina Nerber were still alive in 1938 when the Nazis required them to show their Aryan ancestry.34

28. Pfarre Alservorstadt, Trauungsbuch 1784-91, fol. 155.

29. The Alservorstadt parish archive shows that at least seven children were born to Martin Lempp, including two sons named Franz in 1795 and 1804 who died as infants. The christening dates of the three daughters who survived infancy are: Theresia, on September 3, 1791; Katharina, on August 14, 1794; and Anna, on August 2, 1801.

30. WStLA, TBP and Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-3143/1832. Katharina Lempp's estate consisted mainly of her half of two houses, Breitenfeld 7 and Alsergrund 45, but because of a loan of 7,000 fl. C.M. made in 1830 by her husband Martin to her brother Joseph Hackel, a bankrupt businessman, the final sum amounted to only 1,983 fl. C.M.

31. WStLA, TBP: "22. August 1836. Lempp Martin, verw[itweter] Hausinhaber, ä. R. u. kk Armenvater, hier geb. Alsergr. 45 am Schlagfl. a. 70 J."

32. Lempp's single daughter Anna had put her marriage plans on hold in order to take care of her ailing father.

33. WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-2111/1836. According to WStLA, *Konskriptions-Bögen* (conscription records), Alsergrund 45/1, 16, 17, and 31, Martin Lempp's grandson Johann Lempp, born on Dec. 8, 1834, the illegitimate son of his daughter Anna, was still living in this house (Laudongasse 3) in 1855; at that time, the house was owned by Lorenz and Theresia Jung. Anna Lempp married Anton Fritz, "Hausinhaber in Wien am Schottenfeld," on February 11, 1838. The details of Johann Lempp's birth are also recorded in the Alservorstadt parish archive.

34. Pfarre Alservorstadt: this is according to the date "21/12. [19]38" noted beside Katharina Lempp's christening record (*Taufbuch* 1791–97, fol. 177) and the same date noted beside the record of her marriage to Joseph Anton Nerber, "zu Waldstetten in Franken geb., bürg. Bäckermeister," on September 2, 1816 (*Trauungsbuch* 1809–17, fol. 245).

Friedrich Lempp's Professional Career

The long advertisement that Friedrich placed in the *Wiener Zeitung* on February 25, 1789 (discovered and published by Maunder), gives a detailed account of the different kinds of instruments made by Friedrich and Martin Lempp, as well as the prices they charged.³⁵ The instruments included various kinds of oboes, bassoons, clarinets, bassethorns, english horns, transverse flutes, piccolos, and fifes, and such exotic instruments as a newly invented bass serpent, a *flute d'amour*, and a *vox humana*. In this advertisement, Friedrich claimed that he had been making all types of woodwind instruments for over thirty years and that he himself played all of the instruments he made. He mentioned that his son, now in his twenty-third year, had discovered how to play and make the serpent—he had already made his third one—and that he also made reeds for oboes, bassoons, and english horns.

Through a reference in Portheim's "Zettel-Katalog,"³⁶ I also found that Friedrich Lempp had inserted an advertisement more than a decade earlier, on November 16, 1776, in the *Wienerisches Diarium*, the forerunner to the *Wiener Zeitung*:

News.

The licensed musical instrument maker Lempp, resident in the straight street, where one goes into old Lerchenfeld, above the so-called Schottenzimmer, No. 173, announces to everyone herewith, that he makes all kinds of musical wind instruments, such as oboes, bassoons, clarinets, english basset-horns, etc., in the best possible way, and that he also has had the honor of serving many Imperial-Royal regiments, to their great satisfaction. He therefore recommends himself to the esteemed general public, and if

35. See Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," 183–85, for both the original German and his translation of this advertisement. See also pp. 171–72, for his discussion of other useful information found in this sale announcement, such as pitch standards and the care of instruments.

36. Max Portheim, "Zettel-Katalog" (microfiche), under "Lemp, Friedrich." The Portheim catalog (held in the Wienbibliothek; available on microfiche) is a manuscript card catalog assembled by the Viennese book collector Max Portheim (1857–1937) as an adjunct to his collection. The bibliographical section, consisting of seventy-four drawers, contains over 250,000 entries on persons in the Habsburg monarchy in the eighteenth century; see Reinhard Buchberger, Gerhard Renner, and Isabella Wasner-Peter, eds., *Portheim: sammeln & verzetteln: Die Bibliothek und der Zettelkatalog des Sammlers Max von Portheim in der Wienbibliothek* (Vienna: Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, 2007), esp. 50–53. Portheim's entry on Friedrich Lempp also gives the addresses of the two houses he owned.

anyone needs any of these instruments and places orders with him, he will be pleased to oblige with fast and accurate work at a cheap price.³⁷

Of great interest here is the news that Friedrich Lempp was making an "english bassetthorn" just a few years after the supposed invention of the basset-horn in Passau by Anton and Michael Mayrhofer in 1760. The epithet "english" may be a reference to the relationship between the english horn and the basset-horn—both having a curved body and keys for the little finger of the lower hand.³⁸ Lempp's term may lead to new discussions of the basset-horn's early history.³⁹

Six documents located among materials from the *Hofmusikkapelle* in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (see Appendix 2 below), reveal that Friedrich Lempp, and later his son, had a thriving business in supplying woodwind instruments—especially fifes, but also serpents, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and english horns—to various military regiments. After the death of the woodwind maker Jakob Baur on July 23, 1797, Martin Lempp completed 250 fifes in D that had been left unfinished in Baur's estate. As part of Martin's request on August 22, 1799, to be awarded the honorary title of *Hofmusikinstrumentenmacher*; he submitted to the court a testimonial to this effect, certified by Baur's widow, as well as four further attestations to his competency in making musical instruments for Imperial-Royal regiments. As noted above, he was granted the title on August 15, 1800.⁴⁰

37. Wienerisches Diarium, no. 92, Sonnabend den 16. Wintermonat 1776. Anhang: "Nachricht. Der privil. musikalische Instrumentmacher Lempp, wohnhaft in der geraden Strasse, wo man in das alte Lerchenfeld geht, den sogenannten Schottenzimmern über, Nr. 173 macht anmit jederman wissend, daß er alle Gattungen musikalische blasende Instrumente, als: Huboi, Fagott, Clarinet, englische-Passethorn, u. d. g. aufs beste verfertigt, wie er dann auch die Ehre gehabt, viele k. k. Regimenter zu bedienen, und alle Zufriedenheit geleistet hatte; empfiehlt sich demnach dem hochgeneigten Publikum, wenn jemand von derley Instrumenten gebrauchet, mit ihm zu befehlen, er wird mit geschwinder und akurater Arbeit um billigen Preis dienen."

38. See Jürgen Eppelsheim, "Bassetthorn-Studien," in *Studia Organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer*, ed. Friedemann Hellwig (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987), 69–125, esp. 74.

39. According to Nicholas Shackleton, "The Earliest Basset Horns," *Galpin Society Journal* 40 (1987): 8, there is an early instrument with the name "London" embossed on the box, even though "it was almost certainly made in Vienna."

40. The testimonials for Martin Lempp are located in the HHStA, *Hofmusikkapelle*, Karton 1 (miscellaneous documents from 1757–1799). The testimonials that Griesbacher must have submitted to the court along with his several applications for the title of Court Musical Instrument Maker in 1799 and 1800 are not found in this box.

Appendix 3 presents excerpts from the surviving Court Theater Account Books "Sonderreihe" (1776–1802), located partly in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, and partly in the Theatersammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. These references show that two payments were made to Friedrich Lempp for delivering woodwind instruments to the Court Theater: 8 fl. for two fifes for the 1777-78 theater season; and 12 fl. for six piccolos for the 1792 theater season. This was an honor of sorts, showing that Friedrich's work was considered worthy to be purchased by this court institution. Other woodwind makers mentioned in these account books as having sold instruments to the Court Theater include Mathias Thurner and his flute-playing son Mathias, Theodor Lotz, Johann Erzbecker, Jakob Baur, Raymund Griesbacher, Friedrich Hammig, and Caspar Tauber.⁴¹ Although Roger Hellver cites the two entries for Lotz and the one for Griesbacher in his 1975 article on Viennese wind instrument purchases, he does not include the remaining entries.42

Biographies of Rockobauer, Baur, and Thurner (Makers Mentioned in the Petition of 1768)

Mathias Rockobauer (ca. 1708–1775) appears in the literature under at least ten variant spellings, including Rockobaur, Rockopauer, and Ruckebauer.⁴³ Most often, he is referred to as Rocko Baur, as if Baur were his surname.⁴⁴ His dates were first supplied in 1998 by Maunder,

41. Biographical details for these woodwind makers are provided in Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," 181–89. Appendix 3 does not include woodwind players, such as Anton and Johann Stadler, who sold "C: Klarinette mit tiefen Mutationen, und H. Stücken" to the theater for 102 fl. 24 xr. in the 1782–83 season, or Johann Vent, who sold "ein erkauftes englishes Horn" to the theater for 17 fl. 4 xr. in the same season.

42. Roger Hellyer, "Some Documents Relating to Viennese Wind-Instrument Purchases, 1779–1837," *Galpin Society Journal* 28 (1975): 50–59. However, Hellyer cites the purchase from the Stadler brothers in 1782–83.

43. See János Harich, "Haydn Documenta (I)," *Haydn Jahrbuch* 2 (1963–64): 4. In criticizing Aristid Valkó's transcription of original documents in the Esterházy account books concerning Haydn, Harich writes: "Ganz eigenartig wird der Name des Instrumentenmachers Matthias Rockenbauer behandelt. Die Abarten der Schreibart (Rockebauer, Rockobauer, Rocobauer, Rucenbauer, Rochebaur, Rochebauer, Rohrbauer, Roccenpauer, Rugenbauer, Rugenbaur), die meistens von den Angestellten des Meisters stammen, werden in den Regesten wie auch in den Textteilen fast immer als Rockobauer reproduziert."

44. See the explanation in Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," 187.

who identified him tentatively as the "musician" who died at Neubau 98 on July 17, 1775, at the age of sixty-seven.⁴⁵ My further research proves this surmise correct. The posthumous bills for bassoon and oboe reeds that were signed "Mathias Rockobauer" in the Eszterházy account books from November 1775 to January 1777—Maunder found these to be puzzling—were probably presented by Jakob Baur, who, as we shall see, was married to Rockobauer's daughter Elisabeth.⁴⁶

The christenings of at least eleven children born to Mathias Rockobauer and his wife Theresia between 1735 and 1753 are recorded in the parish books of St. Michael's Church, Vienna.⁴⁷ Again there is no consistency in the spelling of his name. Throughout these years, the family lived at the same address: *Beym goldenen Kapauner* in the suburb of Mariahilf. Strangely enough, Mathias's profession for the first ten of these births is given as *Maurer* (stonemason). Only for the christening of his last child, on November 16, 1753, was he described as "Mathia Ruckerbauer, Instrument-macher." However, the parish death books, an important source on account of the high rate of infant mortality at this time, tell another story: there, Rockobauer is identified as a musician—playing a variety of instruments—until 1751, and as an instrument maker from 1753 on (table 2). Thus, he was not ruining his hands, working as a stonemason. Much like Friedrich Lempp, he apparently played both woodwind and string instruments.

47. Pfarre St. Michael, *Taufbüche*; under these dates and names: June 14, 1735 (Maria Theresia Ruckpaurin); August 30, 1736 (Maria Regina Ruckerbaurin); April 18, 1738 (Catharina Ruckebaurin); May 23, 1741 (Antonius Ruckerbauer); August 4, 1743 (Elisabetha Theresia Ruckenbaurin) [the future wife of Jakob Baur]; March 25, 1745 (Maria Anna Ruckebaurin); October 25, 1746 (Maria Barbara Theresia Ruckerbaurin); September 29, 1748 (Maria Franciscen [listed as Franz in the death record] Rockobaurin); August 10, 1750 (Maria Barbara Theresia Rockabaurin); August 4, 1752 (Laurentius Christianus Ruckerbauer); November 16, 1753 (Laurentius Mathias Ruckerbauer). The godparents for the first nine births were Georg and Theresia Stirzer (Sterzer, Sturzer).

^{45.} Ibid.

^{46.} These (posthumous) bills are mentioned in Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 224 n. 3, 397 n. 1, 404 n. 1. Jakob Baur also signed several bills in February 1776 and January and February 1777. Contrary to Maunder's speculation, Rockobauer was not survived by a son named Johann Michael Rockobauer ("Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," p. 187).

TABLE 2. Deaths of Mathias Rockobauer's children recorded in the parish books of St. Michael's Church, Vienna.

- Dec. 11, 1741: Ruckabaurin des Mathiae Ruckabaur, a city wind player, his child Regina, aged three years, in Mariahilf
- July 21, 1742: Mathias Ruckebauer, oboist, his child Anton, aged 11 months, in Mariahilf
- May 15, 1749: Mathias Ruckebauer, violinist, his child Franz, aged 32 weeks, in Mariahilf
- September 27, 1749: Mathias Ruckhapauer, a violinist, his child Barbara, aged 2¹/₂ years, in Mariahilf
- March 15, 1751: Andre [*sic*] Ruckebauer, a violinist, his child Barbara, aged ½ year, in Mariahilf
- January 8, 1753: Mathias Rockapaur, an instrument maker, his child Lorenz, aged $\frac{1}{2}$ year, in Mariahilf
- August 29, 1756: Mathias Ruckabauer, an instrument maker, his child Lorenz, aged 3 years, in Mariahilf 48

At some point after 1758, the family moved to the house called *Grün Brunn* (Green Fountain), later numbered 98, in the suburb of Neubau. This is where Mathias died of *Abzehrung* (consumption) at the age of sixty-seven. The official death record states that "Rockopauer Mathias" died on July 16, 1775, and describes him as a musician.⁴⁹ The estate settlement (which gives his date of death as July 17)⁵⁰ was handled by the Stift Schotten, as that foundation was responsible for the administration of the property where he died.⁵¹ It reads in part:

48. Dec. 11, 1741: Ruckabaurin des Mathiae Ruckabaur, ein Statt-Pfeiffer s[ein] K[ind] Regina alt 3 J[ahr] auf M[aria] H[ilf]

July 21, 1742: Mathias Ruckebauer, Huboisten s. K. Anton alt 11 Monath auf M.H. ["Huboisten" may be equivalent to "Statt-Pfeiffer."]

- May 15, 1749: Mathias Ruckebauer, Geiger s. K. Franz alt 32 W[ochen] auf M.H.
- Sept. 27, 1749: Mathias Ruckhapauer, ein Geiger sein Kind Barbara alt 21/2 Jahr auf M.H.

Mar. 15, 1751: Andre [sic] Ruckebauer, ein Geiger sein Kind Barbara alt ½ Jahr auf M.H.

Jan. 8, 1753: Mathias Rockapaur, ein Instrumentmacher sein Kind Lorenz alt ½ Jr auf M.H.

Aug. 29, 1756: Mathias Ruckabauer, ein Instrumentmacher sein Kind Lorenz alt 3 Jr. auf M.H.

49. WStLA, TBP: "16. Juli 1775. Rockopauer Mathias ein Musicant, ist bey grün brun N. 98 am Neubau an der [Ab]zehrung besch[au]t word[en] alt 67 Jr. früh um 9 uhr versch[ieden]."

50. Such discrepancies in dates are often found.

51. Many, but not all, of the houses in Neubau (and some other suburbs) were under the jurisdiction of the Stift Schotten. Details may be found in Behsel, *Häuser-Verzeichniβ* (see n. 18 above).

On the 17th of July in this year, 1775, Mathias Rockepauer, a musician registered with the *k. k. Spielgrafenamt*, died in the house in Neubau owned by Wolfgang Röhrl and called Beautiful Green Fountain, without a marriage contract, leaving three married children: Catharina Fischer, thirty-six years old, Elisabetha Baur, thirty-three years old, and Anna Maria Dechat, twentyseven years old, and then, from a deceased daughter, who was first married to Menner and then to Hörmann, three surviving children ([Rockobauer's] grandchildren): Lorenz Menner, music student, fifteen years old, then Anna Maria, twelve years old, who has been missing for several years, address unknown, and Johann Hörmann, ten years old. The surviving widow Theresia has been notified by the head of the *Spielgrafenamt* that the estate has been submitted to the authorities for settlement.⁵²

The parish books for St. Ulrich, where Rockobauer died, also record the marriage of his daughter "Theresia Rockobeyrin" to Johann Georg Menner, a civic chocolate maker living in the house *Zum Goldenen Pelican*, on July 25, 1758. She was registered in the parish of St. Michael (meaning that the family still lived in the suburb of Mariahilf), and her parents were described as Matthias Rockobauer, instrument maker, and his wife Theresia.⁵³ Seven years later, on July 29, 1765, her sister Elisabeth, now living in the house *grün Brunn am Neubau*, married the *Musicus* Jakob Baur. Rockobauer's wife Theresia died on March 11, 1784, at the age of seventy-five, at the house *Drei Kranle* (Three Crowns), no. 179 in Upper Neustift.⁵⁴ According to her estate settlement, she left no possessions.⁵⁵

52. WStLA, Stift Schotten, Abhandlungen, 2. Reihe, 6827: "Hochwürdig, HochEdlgebohrn, Hochgelehrt! Gnädiger Herr Praelat p. Den 17^{ten} July dies 1775^{ten} jahrs ist in der Wolfgang Röhrlischen Behausung zum grün schön Brun auf den Neubau der Mathias Rockepauer ein bey den K: K: Spiel Grafen Amt incorporirter Musikant ohne Heyraths Contract, mit Rucklassung 3^{er} Kinderen Catharina verheyrathen Fischerin 36 jahr, Elisabetha verheyrathen Baurin 33 jahr, und Anna Maria verheyrathen Dechatin 27 jahr alt, dann von der verstorbenen Tochter erstlich verheyrath gewesten Mennerin, und lezthin Hörmannin ruckgelassenen 3. Kinderen und resp[ecti]ve Enicklen Lorenz Menner Music Lehrjung 15 jahr, dann Anna Maria 12 jahr, so aber schon einige Jahr abwesend, und unwissend, und Johann Hörmann 10 jahr alt, Testato verstorben, worüber von einem Löbl: K: K: Obrist Spiel Grafen Amt die hinterbliebene Wittwe Theresia die Jurisdictions-Spörr angeleget worden zu seyn, vorgegeben."

53. Pfarre St. Ulrich, Trauungsbuch, Tom. 23, fol. 400.

54. WStLA, TBP: "11. Martius 1784. Rockobaurin Theresia, Musick-Instrumentenmachers Wittwe, ist zum 3 Kranle No 179. am ober Neustift an Brustapostem besch[au]t worden alt 75 Jr. Nachts nach 10 uhr v[er]sch[ie]d[en]."

55. WStLA, Stift Schotten, Abhandlungen, 2. Reihe, 18298: "an Vermögen gar nichts."

Rockobauer is perhaps most famous for having been praised by Joseph Haydn as the maker of excellent oboes. On December 5, 1766, Haydn wrote the following to his employer, Prince Nikolaus Esterházy:

Incidentally, the two oboe players report (and I myself must agree with them) that their oboes are so old that they are worn out, and no longer keep the proper pitch [*Tonum*]; for this reason I would humbly point out to Your Highness that there is a master Rockobauer in Vienna, who in my opinion is the most skilful for this sort of work. But because this master is continually busy with work of this kind, and since it requires an exceptionally long time to complete a pair of good and durable oboes with *corps de rechange* (so that all the necessary pitches can be produced)—for these reasons the cheapest price is 8 ducats. I therefore await Your Highness' gracious consent whether the above-mentioned and most urgently needed two oboes may be constructed for the price indicated.⁵⁶

While Rockobauer does not seem to have received this order,⁵⁷ he delivered two english horns and two bassoons to the Esterházy court in 1771.⁵⁸

In March 1766, Mathias Rockobauer had signed the following receipt, countersigned by Haydn: "That I fashioned for the princely Musico Johann Michael Kapfer 12 pieces hautbois reeds and have been paid correctly by him the sum of 2 fl. Vienna, March 20, 1766."⁵⁹ Beginning in

56. In Joseph Haydn, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), 7 (translation emended). The original German is found in Haydn, *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Dénes Bartha (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 55. The phrase "mit einen extra stuckh auf satz (womit alle erforderliche Toni genohmen werden könten)" appears to describe the interchange-able top joints known as *corps de rechange*, or *Mutationen*. A ducat was worth 4.5 fl.; thus, 8 ducats equalled 36 fl.

57. According to Landon's commentary in Haydn, *Collected Correspondence*, 7: "Mathias Rockobauer seems not to have delivered the oboes; at least the Esterházy archives show no record of his having made them."

58. Else Radant and H. C. Robbins Landon, eds., "Dokumente aus den Esterházy-Archiven in Eisenstadt und Forchtenstein, herausgegeben aus dem Nachlaß von János Harich II," *Haydn Yearbook 19* (1994), document 51: "Quittung Pr: Zwey Neie Fagott jeder mit zwey Ess und zwey Rohr ... 15 Dugatten;" and "Pr: zwey Neue Englishe horn jades Englisch horn mit zwey Essel und zwey Rohr ... 11 Dugatten" (Receipt for two new bassoons, each with two bocals and two reeds ... 15 ducats) and (For two new english horns, each with two bocals and two reeds ... 11 ducats). With thanks to Albert R. Rice for this reference.

59. Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 120. Concerning Rockobauer, Landon writes here: "A beautiful cor anglais of his manufacture was on exposition in the so-called *Tanzmeistersaal*, Leopold Mozart's quarters, in Salzburg; the instrument was stolen some years ago and has

1764, Rockobauer had presented bills, at first annually and then at more frequent intervals, for delivering reeds for oboe, bassoon, and english horn; these bills are summarized in table 3. This table provides a brief glimpse of the business activities of this particular woodwind maker, whose work Haydn favored so much. As the table reveals, the receipts, countersigned by Haydn, continued to use Rockobauer's name for almost eighteen months after his death.

TABLE 3. Bills for reeds and repairs in the Esterházy court archive naming Mathias Rockobauer, 1764–1777; after H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 1, *The Early Years*, 1732–1765 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 396, 407; and vol. 2, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 1766–1790 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), passim.⁶⁰

1764, July 9: oboe, bassoon, and english horn reeds	9 fl. 7 xr.		
1765, May 25: 18 oboe reeds (12 xr. each), 6 english horn			
reeds (10 xr. each), 12 bassoon reeds (10 xr. each)	6 fl. 36 xr.		
1766, March 20: 12 oboe reeds	2 fl.		
1766, December 30: woodwind mouthpieces [reeds] ⁶¹			
1767, June 20: 12 oboe reeds (at 10 xr.) and 2 english horn			
reeds (at 7 xr.)	2 fl. 14 xr.		
1767, September 25: repair of an english horn	3 fl.		
1769, February [no date]: 6 bassoon reeds			
1769, May 14: 36 bassoon reeds	2 fl.		
1769, June 18: 12 bassoon reeds (at 10 xr.)	[2 fl.]		
1770, June 10: 12 bassoon reeds			
1771, April 2: 24 bassoon reeds	4 fl.		
1771, May 9: 12 bassoon reeds [undated: 48 oboe reeds and			
12 english horn reeds]			
1772, February 13: 18 oboe reeds; February 27: 18 bassoon			
reeds; March 10: 24 bassoon reeds; July 9: 12 bassoon reeds;			
[December]: 24 oboe reeds and 6 english horn reeds			
at 10 xr. each			

never been recovered. According to Landon, Kremsmünster Abbey owns an oboe signed 'Rocco Baur.'" However, no such instrument is mentioned in Young, 4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections (London: Tony Bingham, 1993).

^{60.} In the second volume, Landon loses interest in reporting the exact sums on these receipts, writing that they are "of little interest" (p. 158) or that "we may pass over another Rockobauer bill" (p. 162).

^{61.} Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 183, repeats the commentary that appeared on p. 7 of his 1959 edition of Haydn's letters; "mouthpieces" should probably be translated as "reeds" (see n. 57 above).

- 1773, March 15: 30 bassoon reeds [Andreas Rockenbaur]⁶²; March 27: 24 oboe reeds, 6 english horn reeds; April 22: 24 bassoon reeds; December 10, 22, and 31: bills for reeds
- 1774, April 1: 36 oboe reeds; April 24: 24 bassoon reeds; December 1: 36 oboe reeds
- 1775, January 1: 24 bassoon reeds; January 5: 30 bassoon reeds; February 26: 36 oboe reeds; March 10: 24 bassoon reeds; November 1: 36 oboe reeds; December 15: 24 bassoon reeds
- 1776, January 10: 36 bassoon reeds; February 12: 36 oboe and english horn reeds
- 1777, January 1: 36 bassoon reeds

6 fl.

Jakob Baur (ca. 1743–1797) is mentioned in document *B*, the response of the Guild of Joiners to Friedrich Lempp's petition, as one of four further woodwind makers producing unauthorized instruments.⁶³ Although Phillip T. Young's 1993 inventory of *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments* lists eighteen surviving instruments by Baur, little has been known about his life.⁶⁴ Through the valuable biographical details supplied by Maunder, I was able to find the records of Baur's two marriages, and thus secure much new information.⁶⁵ On July 29, 1765, "Jacobus Baur," a *Musicus*, born in Vienna and living in the caserne on Alstergasse, took as his bride "Elisabetha Rockapaurin," resident at the "grün Brunn am Neubau," daughter of "Matthias Rockapaur," an instrument maker, and his wife Theresia.⁶⁶ On April 10, 1767, a daugh-

62. According to Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 183: "Andreas Rockobauer, Eisenstadt (not Vienna), March 15, 1773 . . . This Andreas was probably a relative (son?) of Mathias. Andreas signs 'Rockenbaur' (perhaps a clerk?)." I could find no evidence that Mathias had a son named Andreas. This was undoubtedly the clerk's error.

63. They were "Rockenbauer, Baur, Fiedler," and a fourth residing at "Hollerstauden auf dem Spittalberg." In spite of intensive research, I was unable to identify Fiedler or the unnamed maker living at the *Hollerstauden*, a house once located in the parish of St. Ulrich, at Fleischhauergasse 6, a street that disappeared when it was built over in 1873. See Hans Rotter, *Neubau: Ein Heimatbuch des 7. Wiener Gemeindebezirkes* (Vienna: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1925), 47. By the 1780s this house had become "das berüchtigste Bordellwirtshaus des alten Wien" (the most notorious brothel of old Vienna).

64. See Rudolf Hopfner's articles "Baur (Paur), Jakob" and "Baur (versch[iedene] Schreibweisen), Rocko," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), 119–20, for the most recent state of research on these two makers.

65. Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," 181.

66. Pfarre St. Ulrich, *Trauungsbuch*, Tom. 25, fol. 284v: "Cop[uliert]. 29. July 1765. Jacobus Baur, Ledigst[and] ein Musicus, wohnhaft in der Alstergassen in der Cassaren,

ter, Theresia Magdalena, was christened in the parish of St. Ulrich. Her parents, Jacob Baur, *Musicus*, and Elisabetha, resided in the same house where the Rockobauers lived: *grün schön Brun* in the suburb of Neubau.⁶⁷ A son named Johann was born at this house (Neubau 98) and was christened on June 27, 1769; he died at the age of four, on April 12, 1774, at a different address, Neubau 81.⁶⁸

The house numbers in this suburb are most difficult to follow, with at least four renumberings by 1821: Neubau 81 was renumbered 91 (in 1786), 235 (in 1795), 256 (in 1808), and 185 (in 1821). This house is important because it was bought by Jakob Baur and his wife Elisabeth the contract was signed on May 17, 1771, with the previous owner, Barbara Baur, for the purchase price of 3,300 fl.—and named *Zum* goldenen Fagott.⁶⁹ The property deed books show that Jakob Baur borrowed substantial amounts from relatives to buy this house, including 1,500 fl. from Mathias Schneider and his wife Katharina née Baur, and 1,000 fl. from "Mathias Roggebaur und Theresia."⁷⁰ Baur's wife, Elisabeth née Rockobauer, died of consumption on June 30, 1778, at Neubau 139, aged thirty-four.⁷¹ Six years later, on February 4, 1784, Baur married Juliana Seefridin, the daughter of a goldsmith; she was

Gebürtig in Wienn. Nimbt zur Ehe die Ehre und Tugendsamme Jungfr: Elisabetha Rockapaurin, wohnhaft in grün Brunn am Neubau, Gebürtig in Wienn, des Matthiae Rockapaur, eines Instrumentmachers, und Theresiae dessen Ehewürthin, beeder noch in leben erzeugten Tochter."

^{67.} Pfarre St. Ulrich, *Taufbuch*, Tom. 32, fol. 124v: "den 10ten Aprilis 1767. P[ater]: Jacobus Baur, ein Musicus, in grün schön Brun N[eu] B[au], M[ater]: Elisabetha ux[or], Inf[antes]: Theresia Magdalena, [Patin]: Fr[au] Theresia Schuesterin, mar. H[err] Joh: Michael, ein Stadt-Musicus abs[ent]." Theresia later married the "bürg. Seiden-zeugmacher" (civic maker of silk goods) Bernhard Kajetan. Her marriage is recorded on July 9, 1789, in the parish of Schottenfeld.

^{68.} Pfarre St. Ülrich, *Taufbuch*, Tom. 32, fol. 405. The child was named "Joann. de Paula" and the father was identified as: "Jacobus Bauer Instrumentmacher in grün Brun N[eu] B[au]." For the death information, see Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," 181.

^{69.} WStLA, Grundbuch 144/10 (St. Ulrich Gewöhrbuch B VIII), fols. 2, 25, 78.

^{70.} WStLA, *Grundbuch* 144/14 (St. Ulrich *Satzbuch* BI), fols. 67, 67v, 112, 297v, 326, 576v. Most of the debts were settled from the proceeds of Jakob Baur's estate settlement in 1797.

^{71.} WStLA, TBP: "30. Juni 1778. Bauer Jacob, Instrumentmacher, sein Weib Elisabeth ist beym 3 Hacken N[o.] 139 am Neubau an der Abzehrung b[e]sch[au]t word[en]: alt 34 Jr. abends um 10 Uhr versch[ieden]." Her estate settlement is not found in the Stift Schotten Abhandlungen.

single and had been born in Vienna.⁷² The address given in the record of Baur's second marriage and for the subsequent births of three more daughters is his house *goldenes Fagott.*⁷³

After the death of his father-in-law in 1775, Jakob Baur became the main supplier of reeds to the Esterházy court.⁷⁴ According to Maunder, Baur was "apparently never a Bürger, but Court maker by 1780."⁷⁵ A deed-book entry dated June 27, 1791, gives Baur's title as "k. k. Hof-Musikal-Instrumentmacher" (Imperial-Royal Court Musical Instrument Maker);⁷⁶ in the christening record of Anna, his youngest daughter (December 14, 1794), he is identified as "k[aiserlicher] Mus: Instrumentmacher."⁷⁷ This would have been an honorary title, as he was apparently not a salaried employee of the court.

Baur died at his house, now renumbered Neubau 235, on July 23, 1797, of *Nervenfieber* (nervous fever), aged fifty-four.⁷⁸ His estate settle-

72. Pfarre St. Ulrich, *Trauungsbuch*, Tom. 29, fol. 224: "[cop.] den 4ten Febr: 1784. H: Jakob Bauer Hausinhaber und Wittwer, wohnhaft No 81. am ob. Gute, mit der ehrsamen Jungfr: Juliana Seefridin, wohnhaft No 128. am ob. Gute, gebürtig in Wien, des Anselm Seefrid, eines Goldstinners, und Marien Annen, gebohrnen Reichezerin ehel: Tochter." The wedding date is incorrect in Haupt, "Wiener Instrumentenbauer von 1791 bis 1815," 127: January 4, 1784, was the date of their marriage contract (not their wedding), according to Jakob Baur's estate settlement.

73. The christenings of Josepha Julianna Baur, on December 12, 1784, and Franciska Romana Baur, on February 24, 1786, are recorded in the parish of St. Ulrich. Baur's youngest daughter, Anna, was christened on December 14, 1794, in the parish of Schottenfeld, this parish having now been assigned the area occupied by Baur's house *Zum goldenen Fagott.*

74. See Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*: "Jacob Bauer Instrumentenmacher Vienna, 9 Feb. 1776, for two dozen bassoon reeds" (p. 397); "J. Bauer, Vienna 9 Jan. [1777], for 2 dozen bassoon reeds, 4 fl." and "M. Pauer Instrument Macher, 14 Feb. 1777, 8 fl. which 'I have received from the Messrs. oboists for oboe and cor anglais [repairs]' " (p. 404); "Mathias Pauer Instrument Maker, Vienna 1 Jan. [1778], 6 fl. for three dozen bassoon reeds," "Jacob Bauer Instrument Maker, Vienna 4 Jan., 'receipt for two dozen bassoon reeds... 4 fl.,' " and "Jacob Pauer, Vienna 1 Nov. [1778], 'receipt. Four Gulden ... for two dozen oboe reeds'" (p. 409); and "a bill for [12] bassoon reeds by Jacob Bauer 'at the sign of the golden bassoon'... Vienna 27 Nov. 1780" (p. 435). The false name "Mathias Pauer" shows the confusion in the clerk's mind between Mathias Rockobauer and Jakob Baur.

75. Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," 181.

76. WStLA, *Grundbuch* 144/14, fol. 326. This deed-book entry indicates that a debt of 3,000 fl. was owed to Georg Caballini von Ehrenburg. This debt was paid off on December 22, 1797.

77. Pfarre Schottenfeld, Taufbuch, Tom. 3, fol. 366.

78. WStLA, TBP: "23. Juli 1797. Baur Herr Jakob, Musikalischer Instrumentmacher und Hausinhaber, verh: hier gebürtig, ist beim gold. Fagott No 235. am Neubau, früh 7 Uhr am Nervenfieb[er] verschied[en] alt 54 Jr."

ment shows that he was survived by his wife, Juliana, and four daughters: from his first marriage, Theresia Bernhardin née Baur (aged thirty); and from his second marriage, Josepha (twelve), Franziska, (eleven), and Anna (two).79 Among the bills to be paid were 8 fl. for Josepha's Klaviermeister and 12 fl. for Italian lessons. Baur also owed 9 fl. 45 xr. in outstanding wages (Wochenlohn) for four workers: the Altgeselle and three Nebengesellen (subordinate journeymen). As Maunder noted, based on the items sold at the estate auction, Baur "was clearly well-off, and also a cultivated musician."80 The estimate of his estate, including 1,600 fl. for his share of the house (and before various expenses were subtracted), totalled 6,084 fl. The Musikalien were estimated to be worth 37 fl. 30 xr. These included one unfinished bassoon (2 fl.), one cut-out bassoon (1 fl. 30 xr.), two violins and one viola (14 fl.), three english horns, six flutes, twelve small fifes, and two ordinary bassoons (20 fl.). In his workshop, the five lathes, saws, and tools, as well as some brass and some unfinished musical instruments, were valued at 30 fl.81 The estate sale, which Maunder found to be announced in the Wiener Zeitung on November 8, 1797, and which included pictures, furniture, and jewelry, as well as the musical instruments, brought in 2,635 fl. The conscription record for the house goldenes Fagott shows the family's further history into the mid-1850s.82 This house retained its name well into the nineteenth century and was still owned by Jakob Baur's descendants in the 1860s.83

79. WStLA, Stift Schotten, Abhandlungen, 2. Reihe, 20460.

80. Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers," 181.

81. WStLA, Stift Schotten, Abhandlungen, 2. Reihe, 20460: "An Musicalien. 1 unausgemachter Fagot: 2 fl.; 1 zerschnittener [Fagot]: 1 fl. 30 xr.; 2 Violin, und 1 Pratschen 14 fl.; 3 Englische Horn, 6 Flautrovers, 1 Duzend kleine Pfeifen, und 2 ord: Fagot 20 fl. In den Werckstädten. 5 Drähbänck, Saagen und darzu gehöriger Werkzeug, Meßing und unverfertigte Musicalien 30 fl."

82. WStLA, *Konskriptions-Bogen*, Neubau 185/1. The house was then owned by Baur's youngest daughter, Anna, and her husband. Anna Baur married Benedict Tetzer, the son of a medical doctor in Himberg, on May 17, 1831. She was registered as the daughter of Jacob Baur, Court Musical Instrument Maker, and Juliana Seefried, both deceased (Pfarre Schottenfeld, *Trauungsbuch* 1827–31, fol. 361). A son, Maximilian, was born on August 18, 1835, and was still alive in 1857. In his christening record, his mother was described as the daughter of "Jacob Bauer k. k. Hofinstrumentmacher hier" (Pfarre Schottenfeld, *Taufbuch*, Tom. 31, fol. 160).

83. The original structure is long gone from the present-day location, VII. Zollergasse 29; this street is located southwest of St. Ulrich's Church, leading toward Mariahilfer Straße.

Mathias Urban Thurner (ca. 1714–1786) was the civic joiner, mentioned by his guild associates in document *B*, who was supporting his family in 1768 by making woodwind instruments. Although the literature mentions him in connection with a joiner and woodwind maker named Joseph Thurner, nothing was known about their relationship.⁸⁴ As we shall see, Mathias was the father not only of Joseph, but also of the flute virtuosi Mathias and Franz Thurner as well.

On August 1, 1742, "Mathias Urbanus Thurner," then working as a "Silber Draxler" (silversmith), married the widow Maria Anna Heyss.⁸⁵ A daughter, Maria Susanna Theresia, was christened on July 2, 1749, at which time Mathias Urban was registered as a "civic joiner [living] at the Three Pitchers in Mariahilf" (bürg: Drächsler beym 3 Krugln zu M: H:).⁸⁶ His wife died on February 7, 1750, aged twenty-eight.⁸⁷ Mathias must have remarried soon after, to another Maria Anna (this marriage is not recorded at St. Michael's, meaning that the new bride lived in another parish), and another six children were christened between November 1751 and October 1762. The entries for the three sons who would make their mark in music history are as follows:

December 21, 1753: Thurner Magnus Thomas **Josephus**, ex patre Mathia Urbano Thurner, burg: Trachsler, in Caosisch: Stift, et matre Maria Anna.

June 16, 1758: Thurner **Mathias** Antonius, ex patre Mathia Thurner, b. Trachsler, beyn 3 Tromlen, et matre Maria Anna.

84. See Barbara Boisits, "Thurmer (Thurner), Joseph," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger, vol. 5 (2006), 2405: "*? [date and place of birth unknown] † 1815 Wien. Holzblasinstrumentenmacher. Wahrscheinlich identisch mit dem ab 1779 in Mariahilf (Wien VI) als Drechsler nachweisbaren Joseph Thurner. Ungeklärt ist ein mögliches Verwandtschaftsverhältnis mit dem ebenfalls 1779 in Wien als Drechsler genannten Matthias Urban Thurner." (Woodwind instrument maker. Probably identical to the joiner Joseph Thurner, who can be traced in Mariahilf [Vienna's sixth district] from 1779. Unexplained is the possible family relationship to the joiner named Matthias Urban Thurner, who was also in Vienna in 1779.)

85. Pfarre St. Michael, *Trauungsbuch*, Tom. F, fol. 224. His parents are identified here as Johann Georg Thurner and Barbara, but his address is not given.

86. Pfarre St. Michael, *Taufbuch*, Tom. N, fol. 123. At this time, the parish of St. Michael's, in the inner city, was responsible for registering marriages, christenings, and deaths of persons living in certain western suburbs such as Mariahilf.

87. Pfarre St. Michael, *Totenbuch*, Tom. D, fol. 222: "[7. Februar 1750] Thurnerin deß Mathias Thurner, burg: Traxler, sein Weib Anna alt 28 Jr. auf MH."

October 14, 1762: Thurner **Franc:** Xav: Colomanus, ex patre Mathia Thurner brg: Drächsler bey den 3 Tromlen auf der Laimgruben, et matre Maria Anna.⁸⁸

The same repository in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv that holds the documents concerning Friedrich Lempp's petition of 1768 also contains a request made on July 21, 1780, by Mathias Thurner (junior), aged twenty-two, that he receive the remaining 100 fl. from his mother's estate that had been deposited with the city officials until he reached the age of majority.⁸⁹ He explained that he had already received 200 fl. the previous year in order to travel to Poland to pursue a performing career, but that his subsequent appointment as flutist to the Court Theater [in Vienna] (at a small salary) had caused him to use up what remained of the 200 fl. paying for his return trip home. Now, however, he had invented a new kind of "Travers" and, in order to produce it, needed 20 ducats (90 fl.). He also mentioned that his father was in agreement with his plans. The Lower Austrian Government granted his request on August 25, 1780, and, after paying an estate tax of 15 fl., Mathias junior received the rest of his inheritance.

With this new information about the Thurner family, I was able to locate the date of the mother's death—May 19, 1768: Maria Anna Thurner, wife of the civic master joiner Mathias Urban Thurner, died of pneumonia at the address *3 Trumelln* (Three Drums) in the western suburb of Laimgrube, aged fifty. Her estate settlement shows that she was survived by four children: Joseph (aged fourteen), Mathias (nine), Wenevrida [Benefrida] (seven), and Franz (five). Each child was to receive a legacy of 300 fl. from her total estate of 1,501 fl.⁹⁰ That she died less than three weeks before Lempp's petition, made on June 7, throws

88. Pfarre St. Michael, *Taufbuch*, Tom. N, fol. 256; Tom. O, fols. 91 and 404. Maria Benefrida Anna was christened on September 15, 1760 (Tom. O, fol. 216). Two other children died young: Catharina (1751–1759) and Jacobus (1755–1758). I could not find the death of his first daughter, born to his first wife, which suggests that he may have had yet another mouth to feed in 1768.

89. WStLA, Alte Registratur A2-Berichte426/1780. The age of majority at that time was the twenty-fifth birthday.

90. WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, Fasz. 302-27/1768. This estate settlement also contains further documents concerning Mathias Thurner junior's request in 1780 for the remaining 100 fl. from his mother's estate. For the children's legacies, the widower, Mathias Thurner senior, was able to deposit 800 fl. immediately with the city officials and promised to pay the remaining 400 fl. in monthly installments of 100 fl. new light on the emotional tone of the Guild of Joiners' arguments against Lempp. 91

By searching through the Officiosa, I eventually found Mathias Urban Thurner's death date, and thus could tentatively establish his birthdate as well.⁹² He died on October 8, 1786, at Laimgrube 11 of an intestinal disease, aged seventy-two.93 His estate settlement shows that he had married for a third time: the marriage contract with the widow Katharina Viktoria Schmalzl is dated April 3, 1769. He was survived by five children, the four from his second marriage and one from his third: Maria Anna, aged sixteen. The professions and addresses of his children are given here as well: Joseph was a civic joiner beym grünen Kranz (At the Green Wreath) in the Mariahilf suburb; Mathias and Franz were both chamber musicians employed by the Duke of Württemberg; and the two daughters were maidservants. His estate totaled 92 fl. and included a lathe, together with a few tools (20 fl.), some tin (4 fl.), three brass pans and five pieces of copper (2 fl.), and one journeyman's bed (4 fl.).94 Although the joiner Thurner was not as successful in his profession as the Lempps or Jakob Baur, who earned enough to become house owners, his three sons became famous in their own right.

Joseph Thurner (1753–1812) became a civic joiner like his father and also made woodwind instruments. His marriage was celebrated on May 19, 1777, in the parish of St. Ulrich, at which time he was described as a "bürgerlicher Drächslermeister" (civic master joiner), resident "im Krepsen auf der Laimgrube" (At the House of the Crab on

91. WStLA, TBP: "19. May 1768. Thurner Mathias burgl: Träxler Meister sein Weib Maria Anna ist beym 3 Trumelln auf d. Laimgrube an d. lunglEndzintung bescht worden alt 50 J: mittags um 11 uhr vschden."

92. The *Officiosa* are protocol books that contain the Mag. ZG call numbers of estate settlements for commoners who died in Vienna between 1784 and 1850.

93. WStLA, *Officiosa*, 1786, Lit. D/T, p. 570, and TBP: "den 8ten October 1786. Thurner Herr Mathias Urban, burgerl: Drechslermstr: beim Krebs No 11. auf der Laimgruben an eingesperrt: Reihenbruch und der Gedärmentzünd[ung] alt 72. Jr."

94. WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-2128/1786: "[großjährige Kinder:] Joseph burgerl: Drächslermeister zu Mariahilf, Mathias und Franz beede Kammer-Musici bey Sr Durchlaucht H: Herzogen v Würtemberg, Benefrida in Diensten bey H: Hofsekretär v Fillenbaum in der Schullerstrasse bey der weissen Rose, [minderjährige:] Maria Anna Turnerin 16 Jahre alt in Diensten bey H: v Petrowitz im Dr Lazenhof wohnhaft... Vermögen ... Ein Drähbank samt wenigen Werkzeig 20 fl., ... Zinn 4 fl., 3 messinge Pfandle, 5 Stückel Kupfer 2 fl.... Ein ord: Gesellenbeth 4 fl."

the Laimgrube). His bride, Maria Anna Neufeld, was born in Preßburg (Bratislava), the daughter of a civic joiner.⁹⁵ Joseph must have had creative talent: on April 30, 1794, the Wiener Zeitung announced that the Mechaniker Joseph Thurner and Vinzenz Vogel would display newly invented *mechanisch[e] Kunststücke* (mechanical devices) in a specially constructed hut on the Neuer Markt.96 When Joseph's wife died of lung disease at the age of sixty-three on May 7, 1810, the couple was living in their own house at Neubau 157. The value of her estate was estimated at 7,374 fl.⁹⁷ Two years later, when Joseph died of pneumonia at the age of fifty-nine on March 31, 1812,98 he was living in the house of his sister, Benefrida Posch, the widow of a "bürgerl. Handelsmann" (civic merchant) at Wipplingerstraße 419.99 His estate settlement describes him as a retired civic joiner, and no work tools or musical instruments are mentioned in the inventory. Most of his estate, totalling 1,338 fl. W.W., consisted of a debt of 880 fl. owed him by his deceased brother-in-law Anton Posch. Various building structures, described as "Mechanische Hütnen in Pratter No. 42" (huts full of mechanical devices in the Prater), were worth 425 fl. W.W.¹⁰⁰ His daughter Katharina, wife of the Zuckerbäcker (confectioner) Dollicher at Josephstadt 97, inherited the estate.

95. Pfarre St. Ulrich, *Trauungsbuch*, Tom. 28, fol. 178. The births of three children are recorded at St. Michael's parish: Theresia, on August 24, 1778 (she died on April 28, 1779); Joseph, on January 22, 1781 (he died on March 11, 1781); and Maria Anna Catharina, on December 2, 1781. The children were born at Mariahilf 72.

96. Wiener Zeitung, April 30, 1794, pp. 1291–92: "Ankündigung neuer mechanisch. Kunststücke.... Die Künstler können ungescheut sagen, daß ihre Kunststücke sowohl an Pracht als Erfindung alles dasjenige weit übertreffen, was in diesem Fach je in Wien gezeigt worden ist, indem besagte Kunststücke das Werk ihres jahrlangen rastlosen Fleisses und beträchtlichen Kostenaufwandes sind...." The advertisement was repeated on May 3 and 7, 1794.

97. WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-504/1810. Joseph Thurner is described here as a "bürgerl. Mechanikus." The house at Neubau was worth 7,000 fl. and a hut called "Eiserner Mann" in the Prater was worth 130 fl. Joseph declined his share of the estate in favor of his married daughter, Katharine Dollicher, aged twenty-six.

98. His year of death was previously given as 1815 (Haupt, "Wiener Instrumentenbauer von 1791 bis 1815," 181) or 1816 (Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 400).

99. WStLA, TBP: "31. März 1812. Thurner Herr Joseph Mechanikus u: bürg: Drächslermeister, Wittwer, von hier gebürt. in Poschischen Hauß No 419 in der Stadt an der Lungenentzündung alt 59 Jr."

100. WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-4642/1812. Detailed descriptions of the house in Neubau and the Prater huts are found in the estate settlements of Joseph Thurner and his wife. Unfortunately, there is no further explanation of the mechanical devices they contained.

Mathias Thurner (1758–after 1792) and his younger brother **Franz Thurner** (1762–1829) became famous enough as flute virtuosi to receive an entry in Gerber's *Lexicon der Tonkünstler* in 1792.¹⁰¹ This states that they traveled to Oldenburg (Schleswig-Holstein) in 1784 and performed solos and double concertos there; the older brother was especially praised for his beautiful tone and good taste in performance. We have already seen that Mathias had made a trip to Poland in 1779, before being hired by the Court Theater in 1780. He also played in the 1781–82 season, and at this time sold the Court Theater two *kleine Flauten* (see Appendix 3). As mentioned above, their father's estate settlement reveals that in 1786 both brothers were employed as chamber musicians by the Duke of Württemberg. Nothing further is known of Mathias's career, and his date of death has not been established.

On March 20, 1793, Franz Thurner announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* that in two days' time he would be giving a concert at the Court Theater on a newly created flute with nine keys, which he had invented and made himself.¹⁰² He also explained that he had left Vienna eleven years earlier, and had traveled throughout Germany, France, Russia, and Denmark, perfecting his craft as a musician, which he had learned from his earliest youth. A few weeks later, on May 8, 1793, he inserted another advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung*, announcing that he was now busy making and repairing flutes, had completed several for sale, and would take orders for flutes having one to nine keys.¹⁰³ He was then

101. Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1792), col. 650: "Thurner (— —) zween Brüder, beydes Flötraversisten aus Wien, kamen im Jahr 1784 auf einer Reise nach Oldenburg, und ließen sich daselbst mit Doppelkonzerten, Solos u.s.w. mit vielem Beyfalle hören. Insbesondere gefiel der Aelteste wegen seinem schönen Tone und seinem Geschmacke im Vortrage."

102. Wiener Zeitung, March 20, 1793, p. 750: "Ankündigung einer grossen musikalischen Akademi.... welche ich den 22. März in dem k. k. Nazional-Hoftheater geben, und wo ich mich mit Concerten und Variationen auf einer von mir erfundenen und eigenhändig verfertigten Flöte mit 9 Klappen hören lassen werde. Vor 11 Jahren verließ ich Wien, meine Vaterstadt, und durchreiste Deutschland, Frankreich, Rußland und Dännemark, um es in der Tonkunst, welcher ich mich von meiner frühesten Jugend an gewidmet habe, zu einem Grad von Vollkommenheit zu bringen.... Franz Thurner." The concert is listed in Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution*, Sociology of Music 7 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1989), 282. Morrow also lists Franz as a performer on the Tonkünstler Societät concerts of April 12 and 13, 1794 (p. 285).

103. Wiener Zeitung, May 8, 1793, p. 1342. The advertisement was repeated on May 11 and 15.

living at the back of the fourth floor of Baron Wetzlar's house on the Kohlmarkt. On January 12, 1798, Adelheid Thurner née Goldwey, the wife of Franz Thurner, *Musikus*, died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty-eight. She was a Protestant, from "Oldenburg in Hollstein," and they lived in the inner city at Preßgasse 488.¹⁰⁴ Franz may have met her on his concert tour to Oldenburg in 1784, as described by Gerber. According to her estate settlement, she left no children and no possessions.¹⁰⁵ Franz himself died on April 5, 1829, at the age of sixty-eight.¹⁰⁶ He had been living with the businessman Anton Posch, perhaps his sister's son, and died a pauper.¹⁰⁷

Some Conclusions

What conclusions can we draw from these documents involving woodwind makers in late eighteenth-century Vienna and their life stories? First of all, life was hard, but diligence, supported by strong family ties, could bring prosperity. Concerning the Lempps, the immigrant musician Friedrich, whose hard work had enabled the family to climb the social ladder, was taken care of in his old age—in the house he had bought—by his sole surviving child, the court instrument maker Martin, who in turn was cared for in his last days by his daughter Anna. Jakob Baur, having married the daughter of Mathias Rockobauer, also achieved prosperity, leaving his widow and four daughters a house full of valuables. Secondly, although the Guild of Joiners appears to be an unreasonable hindrance here—trying to stifle competition by preventing musicians from building instruments—there were mitigating circumstances in the case of the newly widowed Mathias Thurner, who had been left with four young children to feed. Besides, this joiner was

104. WStLA, TBP: "12. Jänner 1798. Turner Hr. Franz Musikus, s. Fr. Adelheid gebohrne Goldwey, von Hollstein gebürtig, evangellischer Religion, ist in [der Stadt] beim Hauß No 488 in der Preßgasse an der Lungensucht vormittag 10 uhr versch. alt 28 Jr." Their marriage is not recorded in Viennese parish books.

105. WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-76/1798. Her nearest kin was her mother in "Oldenburg in Hollstein."

106. WStLA, TBP: "5. April 1829. Thurner, Franz verwittweter Tonkünstler geb. v. Wien Stadt N. 180 wohnhaft 68 Jhr. alt sterbend zu den barmh. Brüdern gebracht" (Thurner, Franz, widowed musician, born in Vienna, living in the City at no. 180, sixty-five years old, was brought dying to the hospital of the Brothers of Mercy).

107. WStLA, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2-1278/1829: "im Aufenthalt bei Hrn. Anton Posch, Handels Compagnon. Armuthswegen abzuthun."

not anti-musician. In addition to passing on his handicraft skills to his three sons and teaching them how to make woodwind instruments they eventually experimented with new, improved models—he must have also encouraged them to become skilled performing musicians: his younger sons were good enough to tour Europe as virtuoso flutists. Perhaps it was Lempp's success in gaining protection that influenced Thurner to have his younger sons receive musical training—taking to heart what the city officials praised about Lempp: "as a musician, he would be far more capable of making instruments with the correct tone and voicing than a joiner who is inexperienced in music." In the end, there was enough work in Vienna for all of these makers—and the competitive atmosphere may even have led them to build better-quality products, as witnessed by those instruments that have survived and are still admired today.

APPENDIX 1:

Documents Concerning Friedrich Lempp's Petition in 1768 for Protection as a Maker of Woodwind Instruments in Vienna

Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna, Alte Registratur A2-Berichte: 361/1768

A. Friedrich Lempp's request to the Lower Austrian Government, in the hand of a scribe,¹⁰⁸ submitted on June 7, 1768.

Hochlöblich K: Königl: Nieder Oesterreichische Regierung Gnädig Hochgebiethende Herren!

Euer Excellenz und Gnaden erlauben sich hiemit gehorsamst vorstellen zu lassen, welcher gestalt hier Landes fast keiner erfindlich ist, welcher im Stand wäre die *Instrument*en, als da sind Fagoth, Huboen Flautravers, Klarinet, und dergleichen zum Behuf des hierländig gemeinen Weesens zu Verfertigen, sondern fast alle, welche derley *Instrument*en nöthig haben, sind bemüssiget, solche aus Sachsen Right Honorable Imperial-Royal Government of Lower Austria Highly Esteemed Gentlemen!

Your Excellencies and Honors are allowing [me] obediently to point out herewith that in this country there is almost no one to be found who is in a position to make such instruments as bassoons, oboes, transverse flutes, clarinets, etc., for the benefit of the common people here. Rather, almost everyone who has need of such instruments is obliged to order them from Saxony and other foreign places. But,

108. The florid script betrays the professional hand of a scribe.

und anderen ausländischen Orthschaften sich verschreiben zu lassen Gleich wie ich mich aber durch die Zeit meines 13. jähr[igen] Aufenthaltes alhier mit Beyhilf meiner erlernten Music in Verfertigung dieser Stücken dergestalten geübet, daß ich bereits die Gnad gehabt, verschiedentlich k: k: Regimentern als Siskoviz alt Colloredo Wit,109 und mehreren dergleichen derley benöthigte Instrumenten zu verfertigen, und zu derenselben allgemeiner Zufriedenheit zu lieferen, als wünsche ich nunmehro nichts sehnlicheres als ein gnädigstes Schuz Decret, damit ich nemlich diese Arbeit frey, und ohngehindert zu exerciren berechtiget seyn möge, hierüber zu erhalten: Und da ich ganz sicher hoffe, es werde dieses mein Gesuch um so mehr einen gnädigsten Eingang finden, als dem hierländigen Publico selbst daran geleg[en] ist, wenn sie dergleichen Instrumenten hier landes ohne Unkösten und um einen guten Theil wohlfeiler zu überkommen Hofnung hat, als unterfange ich mich hiemit gehorsamst zu bitten.

Euer Excellenz und Gnaden geruhen mir zur frey- und ungehinderter Verfertigung obgedacht- meiner *Instrument*en ein Schuz-*Decret* in hohen Gnaden zu verwilligen. Dahin mich empfehle

> Euer Excellenz und Gnaden gehors[amst]er Friederich Lempp Musicus und Instrumentmacher

in the course of my thirteen-year stay here and with the help of my knowledge of the profession of music, I have acquired such practice in making these items that I have already had the honor to produce the instruments required by different Imperial-Royal regiments, such as Siskoviz, old Colloredo, Wit, and several others. and have delivered these instruments to their general satisfaction. And I now wish nothing more ardently than to be granted a most gracious decree of protection so that I might have the right to carry out this work freely and unhindered. And since I am very hopeful that my request will find a favorable outcome, especially as the public themselves in this country would find it convenient if they could hope to acquire such instruments here at home without extra costs and for a much better price, so I presume to submit this petition with due obedience.

[I ask that] Your worthy Excellencies deign to be gracious and grant me a protective decree for the free and unhindered making of the abovementioned instruments. In this I recommend myself to

Your worthy Excellencies

obediently, Friedrich Lempp musician and instrument maker

109. The infantry regiments named here are mentioned in the *Oestreichischer Militär-Almanach für das Jahr 1790* (Vienna: Graeffer, 1790): "Nro. 20 . . . 1744 Colloredo, Anton. 1784 Kaunitz, Wenzl. Stab: Neutitschein, in Mähren" (p. 22); "Nro. 30 . . . 1754 Wied. 1779 Wartensleben. Stab: Kuttenberg, in Böhmen" (assuming that I have read the letters "Wit" correctly and that this stands for "Wied"; p. 30); "Nro. 37: 1762 Siskovics. 1784 de Vins. Stab: Großwardein, in Ungarn" (p. 39).

ps 7 Juny 1768 <i>Regierung</i>	presented on June 7, 1768 [To the] Government
Gehorsamstes Bitten A. Friderich	Most obedient request A of Friedrich
Lempp <i>Musici</i> , und	Lempp, musician and instrument
InstrumentMachers Eingebettene	maker, applying for a most gracious
gnädigste Schuz Decrets Verwilligung	protective decree
Denen in Profession und Handtwercks	To be delivered to the appointed wor-
Sachen verordneten Hl: ^{en} Räthen zu	thy councillors in professional and
Bedenck- und Referirung der	handicraft matters for their consider-
Nothdurft zuzustellen.	ation and report as necessary.
Ex Cons. Regim- infer- austs -	From the Government of Lower
Wienn den 7 Juny 1768	Austria
Edler v Hohenholz ¹¹⁰ mpia	Vienna, June 7, 1768
Denen v Wienn um Bericht	Edler von Hohenholz manu propria
Ex Cons: Reg: inf: et aust	[in his own hand].
Wienn den 13. Juny 1768. Laudes mp	
ps. 22. Juny 1768	[Sent] by the Government of Lower
den burgl: Dräxlermeistern um	Austria
Bericht.	to those in Vienna for a report.
6 July 1768. Kanjowiz mp	Vienna, June 13, 1768. Laudes, in his
	own hand.
	Presented on June 22, 1768.
	[Sent] to the master joiners for their report

report. July 6, 1768. Kanjowiz, in his own hand . . .

110. The names of the government officials mentioned in these documents are found in the *Staats-Calender, oder Hof-Schematismus* (Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, 1769), 209–16: "Ni. Oest. Regierung . . . Kayserl. Königl. würckliche Räthe . . . Secretarien . . . Hr. Franz Edler von Hohenholz . . . Hr. Vincenz Freyherr v. Benzoni . . . Hr. Joseph Laudes . . . Hr. Christian Edler von Lucam . . . See also pp. 297–99: "Der Innere Stadt-Rath. . . . Secretarii . . . Hr. Michael Ignatz Kanjowiz."

B. Report presented on July 29, 1768, by the Guild of Joiners to the Vienna City Council analyzing Lempp's petition and explaining their arguments against its acceptance.

Wohledl: Hochweyser StadtRath pp Gnädige Herren!

Es hat bey Einer Hochlöbl: K: K: N: Ö: *Regi*rung der Friederich Lempp eingekaufter Vorstadt-Musicus, und vorgebentlicher Instrument-Macher mit A: unterm 7^t Juny A. C. um gnädigste Ertheilung eines Schutz-Decrets zur frey- und ungehinderten Verfertigung deren Instrumente, benanntlich: Fagotte, Huboen, Flautraversen, *Clarinette*, und dergleichen, gehorsamst angelanget, dessen Gesuch vorderist sub eodem an die in Professions- und Handwerckssachen verordnete /:titl:/ Hhlen Räthe zu Bedenck- und Referirung der Nothdurft dirigiret-dann von da den 13^{ten} ejusdem an Euer Gnaden—und endlichen von denenselben unterm 6ten Monats July uns um Bericht gnädig zu decretiret worden:

Mittels diesem gebet der *Supplicant* vor: daß

1^{mo}, Hierlandes keiner erfindlich seye, der derley *Instrument*en zum Behuf des hierländigen Gemeinen Weesens zu verfertigen im Stande sondern fast alle, welche derley *Instrument*en nöthig haben, bemüssiget wären solche aus Sachsen und anderen ausländischen Ortschaften sich verschreiben zulaßen, und wie

2^{do}, derselbe Zeit seines Aufenthalts dahier mit Beyhülf seiner erlernten *Music* in Verfertigung dieser Stücken sich dergestalten geübet, daß er bereits für zerschiedentliche K: K: High-Born, Most Wise City Officials Honorable Gentlemen!

The right honorable Imperial-Royal Government of Lower Austria received the petition labeled A from Friedrich Lempp, a registered suburban musician who claims to be an instrument maker, dated June 7th of the current year, obediently requesting that he be most graciously granted a decree of protection to make instruments free and unhindered, namely, bassoons, oboes, transverse flutes, clarinets, etc. His request was at first dispatched to the appointed, titled, and worthy councillors in professional and handicraft matters of the same ruling body, for their consideration and for a report on the need for this [instrument making]; then on the 13th of this month from there to Your Honors; and finally on the 6th of July from you to us, in order that we might make a worthy report;

By means of [document *A*] the petitioner asserts that

1. there is no one to be found here in this country who is in a position to make these kinds of instruments for the benefit of the common people here; rather, almost everyone who has need of such instruments has been forced to order them from Saxony and other foreign places, and

2. since his arrival here, and with the help of his knowledge of music, he has become so practiced in making these items that he has already built and delivered the instruments Rgmter derley benöthigte *Instrument*en verfertiget, und gelieferet habe; Wessentwegen nun

3^{tio}, wiederhohlter *Supplicant* nichts sehnlicheres, als ein gnädigstes Schutz-*Decret* zu erhalten wünschte, damit neml:^{es} Er diese Arbeit frey, und ohngehindert zu *exerci*ren berechtiget seyn möchte; Er hoffe demnach, daß

4^{to}, dieses sein Gesuch um so mehr einen gnädigsten Eingang finden werde, als dem hierländigen *Publico* selbsten daran gelegen, wann es dergleichen *Instrument*en Hierlandes ohne Unkösten, und um einen guten Theil wohlfeyler zu überkommen Hoffnung hätte.

Hierüber nun *in ordine* unseren Bericht gehorsamst zuerstatten: wird gleich

Ad primum solemnissime widersprochen: daß hierlandes keiner vorfindig seye, der dergleichen Instrumenten verfertigen könnte, indeme nicht allein einer unserer Mitmeistern, benanntlich Mathias Thurner alle ob'angezohene Instrumenten-und zwar deren allbereits für viele Rgmter mit vollkommenest befundener Güte und approbation verfertiget, dann darauf sich dergestalten verleget, daß er davon bis anhero schon viele Jahre samt Weib und Kindern sich erhaltet. und ernähret, sondern es würden, da im Fall derley Arbeit /: als welche jedweder Meister von uns zu verfertigen im Stande ist:/ hierorts in einem beßer- und mehreren Verschleiß gienge, sich eben darauf mehrere unserer Mitmeisteren zu verlegen nicht entstehen. Bey solchem Umbstande aber siehet man, und ist sattsam abzunehmen-wie daß, in so ferne sich noch mehrere Meistern auf derley required by various Imperial-Royal regiments; on account of which

3. it is the fondest wish of the above-named petitioner that he receive a most gracious decree of protection so that he might be authorized to carry out this work freely and unhindered. Therefore, he hopes that

4. his request will be met with a most gracious reception, all the more so as it would be very convenient for the public here if they could hope to acquire such instruments locally, without extra costs, and at a much lower price.

Concerning [these points,] we now make our obedient report, following in order:

On the first point, we solemnly disagree that here in this country there is no one to be found who could make such instruments. One of our fellow masters, namely Mathias Thurner, has already made all of the above-mentioned instruments-and indeed provided them to many regiments, where they were found to be of the best quality, and where they won complete approval; indeed his switching to this kind of work has meant that for many years now he has been able thereby to support and nourish himself, his wife, and children. Furthermore, if the retail trade were in a more prosperous state, more of our fellow masters would switch to this kind of work (which each one of them is in the position to carry out). In the above circumstances [considering Thurner's need], however, they have agreed to decline, seeing that, if more of the masters had switched to the making

Instrumenten-Verfertigung bisanhero verleget hätten, einer mit dem anderen zu verderben gedrungen—und Er Thurner dabey ohnmöglich zu leben im Stande gewesen seyn würde;

Woraus dann von selbsten gantz deütlich abzuschliessen-daß es dißfalls nicht an denen Meisterensondern nur an dem Verschleiß sothanner Instrumenten mangle; Und daß deranwegen diejenige, so derley nöthig haben, keines Weeges bemussiget seven, solche aus fremden Ortschaften sich verschreiben zu laßen, wohl aber daß es lediglich auf einen Liebhaber ankommet, deren einem was hiesiges, dem anderen dargegen-ohngehindert der hiesigen Waare öfters weit beßeren Qualität, dennoch was Ausländisches gefallet.

Ad Secundum laßen wir dahin gestellet seyn, daß mehrgedachter Supplicant derley Instrumenten verfertiget-und für die Regimenter gelieferet haben möge; Und dieses ist eben, so in besondere Erwägung zuziehen kommt, welchermaßen derselbe andurch uns um so mehr gantz widerruflich beeinträchtiget habe, als Er hierzu nicht die allermindeste Befugnüß gehabt-sondern dißfalls als ein würcklich unbefugter, der Eines Theils die Dräxler-Profession niemahlens gelernet-und Anderen Theils sich nur als ein Vorstadt-Musicus dahier, ohne zu wißen, noch in seinem Gesuch schuldigt zu zeigen, woher dann derselbe als ein Ausländer gebürtig seye? Lediglich eingekaufet, gantz straffmäßig gehandlet hat, wordurch

<u>Ad Tertium</u> sich ergibet: daß derselbe sich niemahlens um ein Ansuchendes Schutz-Decret dahier verdient gemachet habe. of such instruments, one being forced to compete with the other, it would have been impossible for Thurner to make a living.

From this it is obviously quite clear to conclude that the lack [of makers] is in this case not the fault of the masters, but rather only of the retail conditions for selling such instruments. And those people who have found it necessary to order instruments from foreign lands have not been forced to do so. Rather, this [practice] is due to [the taste of] amateurs: one person would rather have something local, and—in spite of the fact that our local products are often of far better quality—the other person would rather have something that is foreign.

Concerning the second point, let us herewith acknowledge that the above-mentioned petitioner may have made such instruments-and may have delivered them to the regiments. And it is just this point, taking all things into consideration, that has so wholly prejudiced us against him: he has not had the least authorization to do this, but rather is, in actual fact, unlicensed. On the one hand, he has never learned the joinery profession, and on the other hand, he is here only as a suburban musician, without letting us know-this [information] is lacking in his petition-in which foreign land he was born. He is merely a registered musician and has acted in a very punishable manner, whereby

Concerning the third point, he has never earned the right to request a decree of protection here.

Ad Quartum ist ein gantz Leeresund von ihme Supplicanten nicht im geringsten erwiesenes-noch jemahlen erweisendes Assertum: daß das Publicum dergleichen Instrumenten Hierlandes ohne Unkösten, oder um einen guten Theil wohl feyler zu überkommen Hoffnung haben könnte, wann, wie weiters aus seiner dißfälligen unterthänigen Bittschrift zu entnehmen, ihme ein gnädigstes Schutz Decret ertheilet werden möchte; anerwogen bev denen Instrumenten es Hauptsächlich auf deren Güte-die ohnmöglich allezeit gleich ausfallen-noch gerathen kann, und folglich auf einen Liebhaber so, wie öfters auf die Kenntnüß des Meisters ankommet: daß demnach manchesmahl ein Instrument, welches seine Güte hat, für ein auswärtiges geachtet-und dahero eben gleich diesen um einen beßeren-ja so hohen, und öfters noch höheren Preyß verhandletund an Mann gebracht wird. Wie dann so gar eben von unserem obangezohenen Mitmeistern Thurner derley Instrumenta in unterschiedliche entfernete Länder, wovon solche würcklich verschrieben-bereits viele verabschicket-und als vollkommen gut und gerecht erkennet worden; Auf diese Art muß also ein gutes dem anderen etwas schlechterem Instrument helfen, nicht aber, wie Gegenseits so blatterdings angeführet wird: daß derley das Publicum überhaupt ohne Unkösten, oder um einen guten Theil wohlfeyler dahier zu überkommen Hoffnung hätte, es wären dann sothanne Instrumente durchaus von einer solchen Beschaffenheit, wormit sich nicht viel aufzuhalten, sondern derowegen gleich einer Marckt-Waare getrachtet wird, um solche nur

Concerning the fourth point, the petitioner's assertion is quite without substance. It has not in the least been proven by him, nor is it ever likely to be proven, that the public here could have hope of acquiring such instruments without extra costs or for a much better price (as is suggested by his humble request) if he were to receive a most gracious decree of protection. Granted that with these instruments [the price] depends mainly on their quality, which cannot always be equally good. And thus it happens that an amateur, who is often dependent on his master for his knowledge [not having sufficient experience of such matters], may sometimes assume that an instrument that is of good quality must be foreign-made, and thus be willing to pay a higher price for it-yes, even a much higher price-and so [the instrument] is sold. And so in this manner even our above-mentioned fellow master Thurner has already sent many such instruments, which were ordered from him, to different distant countries, and they were recognized as being completely good and well-made. In this manner, the good instruments may raise the price of the poorer in-that (good) instruments might be had for cheaper prices-]as was so emphatically stated. Unless, of course, these instruments were of such a condition that there would not be much to consider, since they would be more like market wares, [intended] only to be sold quickly, and thus it would be easy to understand that they could be offered for a cheaper price. In other words, as the saying goes: you get what you pay for.

fortzubringen, die dann auf solche weise von selbsten leicht begreiflich auch um einen wohlfeyleren Preyß käuflich hindangegeben werden können; Mithin heisset, nach dem gemeinen Sprichwort, es auch dißfalls, wie die Waare, so der Preyß.

Und da über diß allhier schon ehehin vier eingekaufte Musicanten. benanntlich: Rockenbauer, Paur, Fiedler, und der Vierte wohnhaft bev der Hollerstauden auf dem Spittelberg, ohne denen noch unwissenden, sich befinden, welch-alle die Dräxler-Profession niemahlen gelernet, einfolglich gantz unbefugterenmaßen derley Arbeit verfertigen, dann andurch eben uns. und dermahlen insonderheit unseren-sich obgehörtermaßen lediglich darauf verlegen den Mitmeister den mehr gemeldten Mathias Thurner um so mehr gantz widerrechtlich, und auf das allerenfeindlichste beeinträchtigen, als bekanntlich sothanne Arbeit in allen Ländern die Dräxlermeistern machen, und ihnen solche, gleich uns dahier, auch würcklichen gehöret, und zustehet.

So ergehet all-solchemnach an Euer Gnaden hiemit zugleich unser so gehörs:es als recht:es Anlangen und Bitten: dasselbe geruhen alle obig: Fürwaltende so wahrhaft als triftigste Umbstände in so mild-als rechtlichste Erwägung zuziehen, und derohalben uns als treu gehorsamsten Burgern Ihro eben so huldreich-als rechtl:^e Protection dahin angedeyhen zu laßen-Damit bey unserem Gewerbe, und gefolglicher Nahrung wir nicht gekräncket-sondern aufrecht erhalten-und mithin der, ohne zuwißen woher gebürtigedahier eingekaufte Vorstadt-Musicus

And, since in addition to all of this, there are already four registered musicians here-namely Rockenbauer, Paur, Fiedler, and a fourth one living at the Hollerstauden in Spittelberg, whose name is still unknown—not one of whom has learned the joinery profession, and who are nevertheless carrying out this kind of work (which belongs to us and to us alone) in a quite unauthorized manner-since they merely switched over to this work [without permission and without proper training]. This is all the more wrongful, in view of the circumstances of the above-mentioned colleague and Master Mathias Thurner, and detrimental in the most antagonistic way, since it is known that such work is carried out in all countries by master joiners, and thus, in the same manner, such work belongs rightly to us here also.

And so we would appeal to your Honors that you grant our obedient and rightful request, taking into consideration all of the above-stated reasons, which are sound and valid, and treating them in a lenient as well as correct way: [we ask 1.] that you thus bestow upon us, as faithful and obedient citizens, your benevolent and likewise rightful protection, so that in our profession and consequently in our means of making a living we are not made to suffer but are rather kept honorable; [2.] that the suburban musician working here, Friedrich Lempp, birthplace unknown, be

Friederich Lempp mit seinem unterthänigsten Gesuch um gnädigste Ertheilung eines niemahls verdienten Schutz Decrets auf Eingangs bemeldte—uns, gleichwie allenthalben denen Dräxler-Meisteren. würckl: in folge Allerhöchst Kayser:er Königlicher Privilegien, und zwar in ausdrücklichem Terminis: allerhand Dräxlerwerck, es seve von Holtz, Bein, Messing, Silber, oder wie es immer Nahmen haben mag pp zu machen zustehende Instrumenten nicht allein abgewiesen-sondern demselben auch zugleich so, wie obbenannten Vier- und all- anderen dießfälligen Unbefugten derley Arbeit eingestellet werden möchte.

Welch- alles dann *Euer Gnaden* wir hiemit schuldigst berichten—und so fort unterinstens uns zu Vorstehend gehors: anhoffender gnädigen Bittgewehr empfehlen sollend,

Euer Gnaden pp gehorsamste N: N: Zech- und Beschau- wie auch gesammete Burgerliche Dräxler-Meister allhier Jacob Ignaz Spieß mp *Commissarius*.

StadtRath ps. 29. July 1768 abgefordert- und hiemit schuldigst erstattender Bericht, nebst gehors: Rechtl:^{er} Bitte von uns B N: N: Zechund Beschau- wie auch gesammten burgerl:ⁿ Dräxler-Meistern dahier,

Das—von dem eingekauften Vorstadt Musicus Friederich Lempp als einem vorgebentl:ⁿ gantz unbefugten Instrument-Machern bey Einer Hochlöbl: K: K: N: Ö: Regirung hierauf ansuchende—jedoch niemahlens verdiente Schutz-Decret—dann die dargegen von uns zugleich inngebettene so huldreich- als Rechtl:^e dahin Protections-Angedeyhlassung—damit

denied his humble petition made above for the gracious granting of a protective decree, which he has never deserved, and which belongs to us, and likewise to master joiners everywhere, as a consequence of the most high Imperial-Royal privileges; and [3.] that it be made clear in explicit terminology that he be forbidden to make instruments using any kind of joinery work, whether it be with wood, bone, brass, silver or whatever names may be used, and that his work as well as that of the above-mentioned four persons and any others who engage in this kind of illegal activity might be stopped.

All of which we dutifully report to Your Honors and recommend ourselves obediently to our merciful Superiors,

Yours Honors obediently, the Guild of all Civic Master Joiners [in Vienna], Jacob Ignaz Spieß (signed in his own hand) Commissioner.

Presented to the City Government on July 29, 1768.

This concerns the required and herewith dutifully written report labeled B, together with the obediently lawful request from our guild, as well as from all the civic master joiners here: Concerning the petition that Friedrich Lempp—a registered suburban musician working here and a completely unlicensed instrument maker—has submitted to the honorable Imperial-Royal Government of Lower Austria requesting that he be granted a protective decree, which he has never deserved; then, in opposition to this, our gracious and lawful derselbe mit diesem seinen Gesuch nicht allein abgewiesen—sondern ihme auch zugleich so, wie allanderen dißfälligen Unbefugten derley Arbeit eingestellet werden möchte; betreffend. request, outlined here, to deny him protection, so that not only is his petition rejected, but that he—along with all the others who are engaged in this kind of unlawful work—should be made to cease and desist.

C. Summary of Lempp's petition and the arguments against its acceptance by the Guild of Joiners, presented on September 13, 1768, by the mayor and City Council of Vienna to the Lower Austrian Government. Lempp's request was granted by the Lower Austrian Government on September 23, 1768.

Hoch löbl: N: Ö: Regierung

Gnädige Herren, hochdenselben hat der Friedrich Lemp ein *Musicus* und *Instrument*macher in A. gehors: vorgestellet,

A: Es wäre hierlandes fast keiner vorfindig, der die Fagot, Huboen, Floutrevers, Klarinet, und dergleichen *Instrumenten* verfertigte, und müsten daher solche aus Sachßen und anderen fremden Landschaften hieher verschriben, und gebracht werden;

Da er aber in Verfertigung dieser Stüke sich alhier durch 13. Jahr geübet—und mit solchen einige K: K: Regimenter versehen hätte; so könnte er hierauf die Verleihung eines Schuz Decrets um so mehr anhofen; als dem Publico selbsten darangelegen wäre, desgleichen Instrumenten im Lande um einen guten Theil wohlfailer zu überkommen;

Dahero bathe er, *Euer Gnaden* geruheten ihme hierauf ein Schuz *Decret* in hohen Gnaden zuertheilen.

Dieses *Supplicat* ward uns um Bericht zugestellet, und wir vernahmen vorläufig die burgerliche Dräxlermeister;

B: Diese stellen in ihren Bericht B: vor: daß die Verfertigung derley

Right Honorable Lower Austrian Government

Worthy Gentlemen, in [document] A Friedrich Lemp, a musician and instrument maker, has dutifully pointed out to you

A: that there is almost no one to be found in this country who makes bassoons, oboes, transverse flutes, clarinets, and similar instruments, and that it is thus necessary to order these from Saxony and other foreign lands and bring them here.

But, since he has thirteen years of practice in making these items here and has delivered the same to several Imperial-Royal regiments, he hopes to be granted a decree of protection, all the more so since it would be of benefit to the public to be able to acquire such instruments here in this country at a much cheaper price.

Therefore he has requested that Your Worthy Honors would be so pleased as to grant him a decree of protection.

This petition was handed over to us for a report and in the meantime we have questioned the master joiners.

B: They point out in their report B that the making of such instruments

Instrumente ein theil ihrer Professions Arbeit sey, worauf sich ihr Mitmeister Mathias Thurner in Sonderheit mit allseitiger Approbation verlegt-und darmit nicht nur verschidene K: K: Regimenter zum vollkommesten Vergnügen bedienet-sondern auch viele derley Instrumenten auf beschehene Verschreibung in verschidene entfernte Länder abgeschikt hätte; Auf eben derley Instrument Arbeit würden sich mehr andere Mitmeister schon längst verlegt haben, wenn nur derselben hinlänglicher Verschleiß zufinden und nicht vielmehr zubesorgen wäre, daß die mehreren Instrumenten-Meister einer durch den anderen aufgeriben. und ins Verderben geraten.

Bey diesen Umständen, und da ehehin noch vier andere solche Instrument Arbeit verrichtenden Musici sich hier befänden, bathen sie Dräxl[er]meister dahin einzuraten, womit der Supplicant mit seinem Gesuch abgewisen, und diesem sowohl als den übrigen die fernere Instrument Arbeit eingestellet werden mögte.

Wir aber wären der ohnvorgreiflichen Meinung, daß dem *Supplicant*en in Folge der allerhöchsten Hof*resolution* von 1^{ten} *Xbris* 1765 /:vermög welcher die Einleitung dahin zu trefen anbefohlen worden;

Daß die der *Nicolai* Bruderschaft einverleibten *Musicant*en nebst der *Music* sich eines anderweiten Brod-Verdienstes befleissen solten, damit Sie bey verbottener *Music*haltung mittels des Nebenverdienstes sich die Nahrung verschafen mögen:/ das gebettene Schuz *Decret* um so mehr erteilet werden könnte, weil derselbe als ein *Musicus* derley *Instrument*en den gerechten Thon und Stimme zugeben weit fähiger ist als ein der is a part of their professional work, and that this [work] has been taken up in particular by their colleague Mathias Thurner to general approval. He has not only delivered such items to various Imperial-Royal regiments, to their complete satisfaction, but has also sent many of these instruments on special order to different distant countries. Many other colleagues would have turned to instrument making a long time ago if only sufficient business prospects were to be found in this endeavor and, even more, if there were not the fear that the increase in instrument-making masters would cause one to antagonize the other and bring them to ruin.

Because of these circumstances, and since there are four other musicians like this who are engaged in instrument making here, the master joiners advised that the petitioner's request be rejected and that he, as well as the others, be stopped from carrying on further work making instruments.

However, we would be of the impartial opinion that, in consequence of the most high Court resolution of December 1, 1765, the supplicant could be granted the requested decree of protection, the resolution recommending that the musicians belonging to the Nicolai Brotherhood, in addition to their music-making, should endeavor to seek another means of earning their livelihood, so that at times when music-making is forbidden they might be able to provide for themselves by means of secondary employment. [The decree should] all the more so be granted because as a musician he [Lempp] would be far more capable of giving

Music unerfahrner Dräxler.	such instruments the correct tone	
Welches Euer Gnaden wir hiemit	and voicing than a joiner who is inex-	
berichten, und uns gehors:	perienced in music.	
empfehlen sollen.	Thus we report to Your Worthy	
Euer Gnaden	Honors and recommend ourselves	
Gehors:	obediently to Your Honors, sincerely,	
Burgermeister und Rath der Stadt	the mayor and councillors of the City	
Wien.	of Vienna.	
ps: 13. Sept. 1768 / ps 23. Sept. 1768 <i>Regierung</i> Gehors: Bericht. Burgermeister, und Raths der Stadt Wien Die von dem Friedrich Lemp ange- suchte Schuz <i>Decrets</i> Erteilung auf Verfertigung innberührter <i>Musical</i> <i>Instrument</i> en betr:	Presented on September 13, 1768 [and on] September 23, 1768 [to the Lower Austrian] Government. Obedient Report [of the] mayor and councillors of the City of Vienna, concerning the request by Friedrich Lempp to be granted a decree of pro- tection to make the musical instru- ments mentioned within. To those appointed worthy council- lors in professional and handicraft matters for their consideration and report as necessary. From the Government of Lower Austria Vienna, September 13, 1768 Freiherr von Benzoni, in his own hand	
Denen in Professions, und Handwercks Sachen verordneten Hhl: Rathen zu Bedenck, und <i>Referin</i> ung der Nothdurft zu zustellen. <i>Ex Cons: Regim: Inf. Aust.</i> Wien d 13 <i>Septbre</i> 1768 Freyh v Benzoni mp		
Denen von Wienn wiederum	To be delivered back to those in	
zuzustellen, und will Reg: den	Vienna. The Government wishes	
<i>supplici</i> renden Friederich Lemp	herewith to grant the petitioner,	
<i>Musico</i> die angesuchte Erlaubnuß	Friedrich Lempp, musician, the re-	
Fagoth, <i>Hubois, Flautravers</i> , Klarinet,	quested permission to make and sell	
und dergleichen Musicalische <i>instru-</i>	bassoons, oboes, transverse flutes,	
menten auf den Kauf zu verfertigen,	clarinets, and similar musical instru-	
gegen Abreichung einer lei-	ments, on condition that he pay the	
dentlichen Nahrungs-Steuer hiemit	necessary business tax, after which the	
ertheilet haben, wonach das weitere	rest is to be arranged.	
zu verfügen.	From the Government of Lower Austria	
<i>Ex Cons. Reg. Inf. Austr.</i>	Vienna, September 23, 1768	
Wienn den 23ten 7 ^{bris} 1768	E. von Lucam, in his own hand	

ps. 1. 8bris 1768 Der Canzeley zur behörigen Intimirung zu zustellen.

3t 8b: 1768.

Ev. Lucam mp

Presented on October 1, 1768. To be delivered to the chancellery for the required notification. October 3, 1768.

APPENDIX 2:

Documents from the *Hofmusikkapelle* Concerning Friedrich and Martin Lempp Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, *Hofmusikkapelle* (HMK), Karton 1 (1757–1799), fols. 329–37¹¹¹

A: Tax instructions for Friedrich Lempp, dated October 6, 1768.

Dem Fridrich Lemp wird hiemit in Folge der vom einer hochlöbl: n. ö. Regierung unterm 23. 7bris 1768 erlassen, und den 1. instehenden Monat und Jahrs einer löbl: Stadtmagistrat intimirten Verordnung die Erlaubniß ertheilet, daß Selber Fagath, Hubois Flautravers, Klarinet, und dergleichen Instrumenten frey und ungehindert jedannach gegen deme verfertigen könne, daß er alljährig zu gme: Stadt Wien Steueramt, vom 1. 8bris 1768 angefangen fünf Gulden, und diese von halb und Halbjahr vorhinein, als eine Nahrungssteuer, bey wirklicher Abnahme dieser Befugniß bezahlen soll, attund den 6 8bris 1768

68

L S. Ferdinand Obermeyer¹¹² Obersteuereinnehmer In consequence of the decree passed by the worthy Lower Austrian Government on September 23, 1768, and enacted by the esteemed City Government on the first day of the current month and year [October 1, 1768], whereby [Friedrich Lempp] has permission to make bassoons, oboes, transverse flutes, clarinets, and similar instruments in a free and unhindered way, Lempp is herewith required to pay the tax department of the City of Vienna five fl. yearly, beginning on October 1, 1768, in semiannual installments, as business tax, if he actually accepts this license. Dated October 6, 1768.

L[oco] s[igilli] [instead of a seal] Ferdinand Obermeyer Chief Tax Collector

B: Testimonial for Martin Lempp from Julianna Baur, widow of the musical instrument maker Jakob Baur, dated Vienna, June 6, 1799.

Ich Endesgefertigte bekenne hiemit, daß H: Martin Lemppe bürgl: musikalischer Instrumentenmacher, die nach Ableiben meines Mannes Jakob Bauer musikal: Instrumentenmacher sich vorgefundenen, und noch nicht ganz ausgearbeiteten 250 I, the signatory, acknowledge and certify herewith that Mr. Martin Lempp, civic musical instrument maker, completely finished the 250 fifes in D that were found unfinished at the death of

111. The identifying letters A through F appear on the reverse side of the documents.

112. *Staats-Calender, oder Hof-Schematismus* (Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, 1769), 278: "Gemeiner Stadt Wien Ober-Steuer-Amt. Ober-Einnehmer. Herr Ferdinand Jacob Obermayer, zugleich Hof-Quartier-Buchs-Verwalter."

Stück D Pfeifen, erst ganz verfertiget, welche ich sodann an die löbl: k: k: *Oeconomie* Hauptkomission abgeliefert habe bescheinige.¹¹³ Wien am 6. Juny 1799

> [Siglum] Julianna Baurin wiettib des Musikallischen Jnstrumentten Macher Baur

my husband, Jakob Baur,¹¹⁴ musical instrument maker. I then delivered [these fifes] to the worthy Imperial-Royal Main *Oeconomie* [Financial Affairs] Commission.

Vienna, June 6, 1799 [wax seal] Julianna Baur, widow of the musical instrument maker Baur

C: Testimonial for Martin Lempp from Joseph Seeleyde, court army agent, dated Vienna, February 16, 1799.

Daß der bürgerliche Instrumentenmacher Meister Herr Martin Lemp. deßen verstorbener Vater schon durch viele Jahre für die kk: armée mit besonderen Beifall gearbeitet hat, seit deßen Tode mir für mehrere kk: Regimenter alle Gattungen musicalischen Instrumente, als Fagotts, Oboen, Clarinets, englische Horn, Serpents, und die verschiedenen Gattungen Pfeifen in bester Qualitaet, und billigsten Preisen lieferet-und noch von keinem Regiment jemals die mindeste Klage über seine Arbeiten—vielmehr schon öfters Belobungen eingelanget sind, mithin derselbe aller Orten die beste Empfehlung verdienet, solches kann ich nicht umhin, demselben der Wahrheit gemäß hiemit auf sein Ansuchen zu bezeugen.

> Wien am 16^{ten} Hornung 1799 [Siglum] Joseph Seeleyde mp H: kr: agt

[I declare] that the civic master instrument maker Mr. Martin Lempp (whose deceased father had already worked for the Imperial-Royal Army for many years with great approval) has, since his father's death, delivered to me all kinds of musical instruments, such as bassoons, oboes, clarinets, english horns, serpents, and the different types of fifes, for several Imperial-Royal regiments. [These instruments] are of the best quality and have the lowest prices, and no regiment has ever made the least complaint about his work-on the contrary, words of praise have often come in, and thus he deserves the best recommendation everywhere. So I can do nothing other than to testify here to the truth of this, at his request.

> Vienna, February 16, 1799 [wax seal] Joseph Seeleyde, in his own hand Court Army Agent

113. This document was written by an official scribe but personally signed by Julianna Bauer.

114. Jakob Baur died on July 23, 1797.

D: Testimonial for Martin Lempp from Commander Dietrich of Count Wenzel Colloredo's Infantry Regiment, dated Vienna, June 9, 1798.

Attestat	Testimonial	
Vermög welchen bestättiget wird, daß	[Through this testimonial] it is ac-	
der bürgl: Instrumentmachermeister	knowledged that the civic master in-	
Martin Lempp bey dem Wenzel Graf	strument maker Martin Lempp has	
Kolloredoischen Infantrie Regimente	provided Count Wenzel Colloredo's	
alle Instrumentenarbeiten zu	Infantry Regiment with all kinds of	
besorgen habe und ihme das Zeugniß	work on instruments and that the reg-	
ertheilet wird, daß das Regiment, mit	Regiment, mit iment is completely satisfied with his	
seiner Arbeit vollkommen zufrieden	work.	
seye.		
Sig: Wienn den 9. Juny 1798.	Signed in Vienna on June 9, 1798.	
Dero römisch: kais: zu Hungarn und	Colonel and Regimental Commander	
Böheim königl: Apostol: Majestat des	Majestat des Dietrich [of]	
Wenzel Graf Colloredoischen Infant:	Count Wenzel Colloredo's Infantry	
Regiments Obrister und	Regiment,	
Regiments comandant Dietrich	of his Majesty, the Holy Roman	
	Emperor of Hungary and	

E: Testimonial for Martin Lempp from Johann Georg Schultz, judge in the Alservorstadt suburb, dated Vienna, July 2, 1798.

Daß H: Martin Lemppe musikalischer Instrumentenmacher hier N° 35 auf Anschaffen des *Chartrierischen Battailons commendant*en H: Major Schulz v Rodaker für dieses *Battailons* Spielleute die Feldmusick verfertiget, durch mich an H: Major Schulz übermachet, und durch Briefe als auch mündlich bestättiget wurde, daß diese Instrumenten wohl und mit Zufriedenheit gebrauchet habe, bescheinige der Wahrheit zur Steuer. Wien den 2. July 1798¹¹⁵

[Papier-Siglum] Joh. Georg Schultz mp des aüß: Raths Richter in der alster Vorstadt I testify in accordance with the truth that Mr. Martin Lempp, musical instrument maker here at No. 35 [Alservorstadt], has on the orders of Major Schulz von Rodaker, Commander of the Chartrier Battalion, made the instruments for the Regiment's battlefield musicians. [These instruments] were consigned to Major Schulz through me, who has confirmed by letter and by word of mouth that they are good and have been used with satisfaction. Vienna, July 2, 1798.

Apostolic King of Bohemia

[Paper seal] Johann Georg Schultz, in his own hand External Judge in the Alservorstadt

115. Document E, which has a paper seal, was written by an official scribe and then personally signed by Johann Georg Schultz.

F: Letter to Martin Lempp from Army Commander von Legrand, dated Stockerau, April 11, 1799.

An den bürgl: musikalischen Instrumentenmacher Martin Lemp zu Wien.

Die vom demselben bey dem kk: Hofkrigsrath um Bestellung der D Pfeifen eingereichte Bittschrift hat die hohe Stelle mit dem Auftrage anhero gegeben, es solle auf dem Meister bey sich ergebenden Gelegenheit Bedacht genommen werden.

Da aber hierzu dermalen keine Gelegenheit vorhanden ist, weil hierorts ohnehin eine beträchtliche Anzahl D Pfeifen vorräthig ist, so wird der Meister auf einen künftigen Bedarf einesweilen vorgemerket, und ihme hierneben die seiner Bittschrift beygelegene 3 Attestaten zurückgesendet. /3 Stück/ Stokerau am 11. April 1799 von Legrand Obrist

Kranach Rstr LeNoble Rittste: To the civic musical instrument maker Martin Lempp in Vienna.

The request submitted by the above to the Imperial-Royal Army commanders' post, that he might deliver an order of fifes in D, has been answered by the Supreme Authority to the effect that this will be taken into consideration if the occasion arises. Since, however, there is at the moment no need. because there are already a considerable number of fifes in D on hand here, the master [Lempp] should be aware that, in the meantime, his request has been noted, should a future need arise. The attached three testimonials are being returned to him. Stockerau, April 11, 1799.

> von Legrand, Army Commander Kranach [Rittmeister] LeNoble [Rittmeister]

APPENDIX 3:

Documents Concerning Viennese Woodwind Makers and the *Hoftheater* (Court Theater)

1. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Hoftheater Sonderreihe (S. R.) 13, p. 44

Payment to Friedrich Lempp for two fifes, delivered to the Court Theater in Vienna between September 27, 1777, and April 17, 1778.

Vierte Kaiserl: Königlicher Theatral Hof Directions Caßae Halbjährige Rechnung über Empfang und Ausgab anno theatrali 1777. id est von 27ten Septembris 1777. bis inclusive 17ten Aprilis 1778.... No. 96. Dem **Lemp Friderich** für 2.

Zwerchpfeifen ut No. 96 8 fl.

Fourth Imperial-Royal Court Theater Direction's semi-annual accounts, with receipts and expenditures for the theater year 1777, that is, from September 27, 1777, to April 17, 1778, inclusive . . . No. 96. To **Lempp Friedrich** for two fifes under No. 96 8 fl. 2. HHStA, Hoftheater S. R. 18, p. 62

Eilfte und Zwelfte . . . Theat: Hof Directions Cassae . . . von 14ten Aprilis 1781 bis inclusive 29ten Martii 1782 . . .

No. 183. Dem Thurner Mathias burg: Instrumentmacher . . . 21 fl. 20 xr.

No. 184. Dem **Thurner. Musicus** aus dem Theat: Orchestre für 2. erkaufte kleine Flauten . . . 8 fl. 32 xr.^{116}

3. HHStA, Hoftheater S. R. 21, p. 53

Siebenzehnte, u: Achtzehnte ... Theatr: Hof-Directions.Cassa ... Vom 10ten Aprilis 1784. bis inclusive 25ten Marty 1785....

No. 168. Dem Lötz Theodor für 2. neue Clarinet samt dazu gehörigen Mutationen . . . 86 fl. 40 xr.

4. HHStA, Hoftheater S. R. 22, p. 66

Neunzehente, und Zwanzigste . . . Theatral Hof-Directions.Cassa . . . von 26ten Mart: 1785. bis inclusive 14ten Aprilis 1786. . . .

No. 198. Dem Lötz Theodor für 1. paar neu verfertigte buxbaumene C. Clarinet samt den dazugehörigen 3. Mutationen, und Futeralen . . . 96 fl.

5. HHStA, Hoftheater S. R. 23, p. 58

Ein und Zwanzigste und zwei und Zwanzigste . . . Theat: Hof-Direct: Kasse . . . Von 15ten Aprilis 1786. bis inclusive 6ten April 1787. . . .

No. 163. Dem Erzbeker Johann, für 2. gelieferte Terz Flauten . . . 13 fl. 30 xr.

6. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theatersammlung, Hoftheater Kassabuch M 4000

[January 2–8, 1790] Dem Pauer Jakob, für 2 gelieferte Flautini 5 fl.

7. HHStA, Hoftheater S. R. 26, p. 93

Payment to Friedrich Lempp for six piccolos, delivered to the Court Theater in Vienna between January 28 and February 3, 1792.¹¹⁷

Thirty-first and thirty-second supreme Ein und zwei und dreißigste k: oberste theatral Hof Direkzions Kasse Court Theater Direction's semihalbjährige Rechnung. über Empfang annual accounts with receipts and exund Ausgab Pro Anno theatrali 1791 penditures for the theater year 1791, das ist von 12ten März 1791 bis that is, from March 12, 1791, to April inclusive 6ten April 1792.... 6, 1792, inclusive . . . No. 275. Dem Lempp Friderich, No. 275. To Lempp Friedrich, instrument maker, for the delivery of 6 pic-Instrumentmacher für gelieferte 6 Piccolo. ut No. 275 colos under No. 275 12 fl. 12 fl.

116. This entry is cited in Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," *Early Music* 20 (1992): 75, 86 n. 38.

117. The *Hoftheater Kassabuch* M 4000 Th (Theatersammlung) repeats this payment as follows under the heading January 2–February 3, 1792: "Dem Lemp Friedrich, für gemachte 6 Biccolo: 12 f."

8. HHStA, Hoftheater S. R. 29, p. 113	
Kais: Königl: oberste Theatral Hof Direkzions Rechnung.	
über. Empfang und Ausgabe des Ersten Theatral Jahrs das	
ist. Von 1ten August 1794 bis Ende Juli 1795	
No. 347. Dem Griesbacher Klarinettist, für extra Dienste	2 fl.
item für 2 neu gemachte englische Horn ¹¹⁸	<u>72</u> fl.
Zusammen ut 2 Conti sub No. 347.	74 fl.
No. 349. Dem Hammig Friderich, für gemachte Muttationen	
zu 2 Clarinetten 40 fl.	
9. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theatersammlung, Hoftheater Kassabuch M 4000	
[November 8–14, 1794] Dem Hamig, für zwei gelieferte	
Clarinette ¹¹⁹	40 fl.
[December 20–26, 1794] Dem Grießbacher, für ein paar	
englische Horn	72 fl.
[February 6–11, 1796] Dem Tauber Instrumentmacher	67 fl. 30 xr.

118. This payment is repeated in the *Hoftheater Kassabuch* M 4000.119. This is a repetition of the payment recorded in *Hoftheater S. R.* 29, No. 349.