

ESSAY

NEW AND OLD DOCUMENTS CONCERNING
MOZART'S PUPILS BARBARA PLOYER AND
JOSEPHA AUERNHAMMER

MICHAEL LORENZ



Biographical research on Mozart's pupils that is based on archival primary sources has been sadly neglected by scholars. Except for a short and highly entertaining article by Gustav Gugitz¹ and two publications in the 1960s,² Mozart scholarship still lacks a comprehensive study on a topic that is likely to provide us with a fascinating insight into Mozart's social background, his pedagogical methods and performance practice in eighteenth-century Vienna. I think there are two reasons for this lacuna: first, the fashionable (and comfortable) assumption that all possible research has already been done, and second, the fact that this kind of archival work is basically restricted to the archives of Vienna. Delving into the lives and careers of Mozart's pupils Barbara Ployer and Josepha Auernhammer soon leads us to areas that are not commonly associated with musicology: basic genealogy and the identification of private venues and apartments in which Mozart performed his piano concertos. After all, the actual size of these rooms, many of which do not exist any more, has never been the subject of research. Owing to the fragmentary state of the sources and the small number of plans from the eighteenth century that have been preserved, this difficult project is still in its early stages. I will therefore try to point to future directions for documentary research and give an overview of the new biographical data that I have found.

I

Maria Anna Barbara Ployer was born in Upper Austria at Sarmingstein No. 8 (the house she was born in was destroyed during the nineteenth century in the course of the regulation of the Danube) and baptized on 2 September 1765 in the small parish church of St Nikola.³ Ployer's baptismal entry was written later into the records under the year 1766 and was subsequently corrected to 1765 (see Figure 1).

I am grateful to the Austrian Cultural Forum New York for a grant covering my travel expenses to the conference Mozart and the Keyboard Culture of His Time in March 2003 at Cornell University to deliver the paper on which this essay is based. My ongoing research will be published in 2007 in a book entitled *Mozart's Viennese Pupils*.

1 Gustav Gugitz, 'Von W. A. Mozarts kuriosen Schülerinnen', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 11/8 (1956), 261–269.

2 Heinz Wolfgang Hamann, 'Mozarts Schülerkreis: Versuch einer chronologischen Ordnung', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1962–1963, 115–139, and Carl Bär, 'Mozarts Schülerkreis', *Acta Mozartiana* 11/1–4 (1964), 58–64. The circle of Mozart's (sometimes self-appointed) pupils is still growing: in his memoirs Ignaz von Seyfried declared he had had 'piano lessons with the master'. See David Buch, 'Three Posthumous Reports Concerning Mozart in His Late Viennese Years', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2/1 (2005), 127. In his will (of which a copy is preserved in the Archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna) even Beethoven's long-time friend Johann Zmeskall von Domanovecz claimed to have taken lessons from Mozart (personal communication from Anna Schirlbauer).

3 Pfarre St Nikola, Matrikenbuch Tom. C, 448.

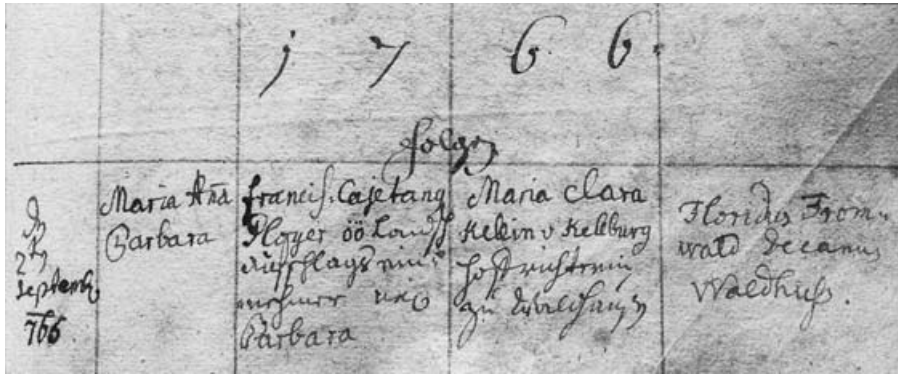


Figure 1 Barbara Ployer's baptismal entry

The birth of her younger brother Franz Michael Erasmus Ployer⁴ on 22 October 1766 proves that Ployer was born in 1765 and that the entry was corrected at a later time. The village of Sarmingstein, where the Ployers had been timber tradesmen and tax collectors since the seventeenth century, is situated north of the Danube a little west of the border between Lower and Upper Austria. Not until the late Walter Senn published an article in the *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*⁵ did we know that Barbara Ployer was not the daughter of the Viennese court agent Gottfried Ignaz von Ployer but of his cousin Franz Cajetan. Therefore Barbara von Ployer's alleged nobility resembles that of Josepha Auernhammer: in both cases their false titles were caused by a misunderstanding based on a lack of genealogical research and the fact that on many occasions Mozart added a 'von' to the names of his pupils.⁶ Ployer obviously believed herself to be of noble birth and always signed her name in her letters as 'Bujanovich v Agg-Teleck gebohrne v Ployer'. We have good reason to assume that she must have come to Vienna soon after her mother's death on 24 August 1779.⁷ Although she is mentioned for the first time in a letter from Mozart to his father on 20 February 1784, we cannot completely dismiss the possibility of an earlier association. Alan Tyson's paper studies offered compelling evidence that the first movement of the Concerto in E flat major K449 (which Mozart later dedicated to Ployer) was begun as early as 1782. The genesis of the Rondo in A major, K386, for piano and orchestra also reveals that Mozart and his pupil may have been acquainted earlier. This Rondo, dated 19 October 1782, was conceived as an independent work rather than serving, as was thought previously, as a possible substitute finale for the Concerto in A major K414 of that year.⁸ When André acquired Mozart's manuscripts from Constanze Mozart in 1799, the collection included the incomplete autograph of K386 and, according to Constanze, who obviously thought that this 'Rondeaux' formed part of a concerto, the missing leaves were in the possession of Barbara Ployer, who at that time was living on her husband's estate in Croatia.⁹ The evidence, however, for any contact between Mozart and Ployer prior to 1784 is not conclusive and the problem remains unresolved.

4 Pfarre St Nikola, Matrikenbuch Tom. C, 238. Barbara Ployer's year of birth is incorrectly given as 1766 in Josef Heider, *Register zu den Kirchenbüchern St. Nikola im Strudengau*, Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, D 475, volume 176, 30.

5 Walter Senn, 'Barbara Ployer, Mozarts Klavierschülerin', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 33/1 (1978), 18–28.

6 Similar cases are Maria Theresia Paradis and Marianne Auenbrugger. Paradis's untitled status is proven (among other documentation) by the estate records of her parents; Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (A-Wsa), Magistratisches Zivilgericht (hereafter Mag. ZG), Fasz. 2 - 372/1794 and 3018/1808. Auenbrugger's death on 25 August 1782 occurred prior to her father's ennoblement; A-Wsa, Totenbeschauprotokoll, volume 80, f. 15r.

7 Pfarre St Nikola, Totenbuch Tom. B, 667.

8 See Alan Tyson, 'The Rondo for Piano and Orchestra, K. 386,' in *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 262–289.

9 Constanze Mozart in her letter of 21 February 1800 to André: 'Das Rondo im Clavierconcert N. 26. kann vielleicht der Abbé Stadler durch seine Correspondenz mit der Ployen [sic] ergänzen' (Abbé Stadler can perhaps complete the rondo to the keyboard concerto No. 26 through his correspondence with Ployer). *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*,



Barbara's uncle Gottfried Ignaz Johannes von Ployer was born in Vienna on 30 August 1743.¹⁰ He entered state service as a member of the military council¹¹ in 1762, was appointed court agent at the Chancellery of the State in 1768 and in this same function in 1769 became a member of the so called 'oberste Justizstelle', the superior office for judicial matters.¹² Owing to the merits of his deceased father Johann Karl, who had also been a member of the Imperial Military Council, and because he had already been in the Empress's service for four years, Ployer was ennobled by Maria Theresa in 1773.¹³ On 1 October 1769 he had married Antonia von Spaun,¹⁴ a relative of Ployer's mother and a cousin of the father of Schubert's best friend Joseph von Spaun. Musical abilities of the highest level always distinguished members of the Spaun family: being an accomplished pianist herself, Antonia von Ployer was also acquainted with Joseph Haydn, who in the year 1793 dedicated his Variations for piano in F minor to her.¹⁵ Joseph von Spaun's brother Anton was not only a historian, poet and philosopher, but also a very good pianist and an accomplished composer of piano music.¹⁶

Two particular venues that can be associated with the performances of the two piano concertos that Mozart wrote for Ployer in spring 1784 deserve our special interest.¹⁷ First there is Ployer's large apartment, which was situated in the inner city on the second floor of the house Lugeck 756 ('The Sign of The Golden Eagle', today's Rotenturmstraße No. 10).¹⁸ It was the living room of this apartment that Mozart had in mind when he decided to write the Piano Concerto in E flat major K449 'in an entirely different style . . . more for a small than a large orchestra'.¹⁹ Since 1761 this three-storey house had belonged to the wealthy fur merchant Joseph von Weinbrenner (1728–1807),²⁰ whose office was situated right below Ployer's apartment. Like Ployer, Weinbrenner was among the subscribers to Mozart's three Trattnerhof concerts,²¹ and, according to

Gesamtausgabe, ed. ISM Salzburg, compiled and annotated Wilhelm A. Bauer und Otto Erich Deutsch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–1975) (hereafter *MBA*), volume 4, 322.

- 10 Vienna, St Stephan, Taufbuch Tom. 74, f. 200v. Ployer's twin sister Maria Anna Rosa died on 4 May 1750; St Stephan, Totenbuch Tom. 25, 270.
- 11 Senn, 'Barbara Ployer', 19.
- 12 Heinz Schuler, 'Mozarts Akademie im Trattnersaal 1784. Ein Kommentar zum Mozart-Brief: Wien, 20. März 1784', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 38/1–4 (1990), 29.
- 13 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖSTA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), 'Ployer, Adelsstand "Edler von"', 2 July 1773, f. 4.
- 14 Vienna, St Stephan, Trauungsbuch Tom. 65, f. 90v.
- 15 Senn, 'Barbara Ployer', 25.
- 16 In a letter to Franz von Schober dated 1 January 1816 Anton Ottenwalt refers to Anton von Spaun's various piano compositions. Because Otto Erich Deutsch mistook Spaun's 'Trauerländer' for Schubert's 'Trauerwalzer' he erroneously gave the date of Schubert's famous composition as 1816. Yet Schubert's name appears nowhere in Ottenwalt's letter (Vienna City Archive, I. N. 36525). It was hitherto unknown that Schubert's best friend Joseph von Spaun preceded Schubert as leader of the orchestra of the Vienna Stadtkonvikt. In summer 1808 this orchestra under Spaun's direction gave a performance of one of Mozart's piano concertos in B flat major (very likely K595) with Archduke Rudolph playing the solo part. Joseph von Spaun, *Spaun-Chronik* (Abschrift Zach), Austrian National Library, Sign. 1,181.217-D, 318.
- 17 It has recently been suggested that K488 might also have been written for Ployer. See Robert D. Levin, 'K. 488: Mozart's Third Concerto for Barbara Ployer?', in *Mozartiana. The Festschrift for the Seventieth Birthday of Professor Ebisawa Bin* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2001), 555–570. Until further study is undertaken of the handwriting in the State Library, Berlin, Mus. ms. 15486/5, the case may remain unresolved.
- 18 The last conscription number of this house was Stadt 734. For a detailed history of the building, which was demolished in 1876, see Paul Harrer-Lucienfeld, 'Wien. Seine Häuser, Menschen und Kultur' (typescript, Vienna, 1951–1967), volume 4, 44–46.
- 19 *MBA*, volume 3, 314.
- 20 A-Wsa, Grundbuch 1/21, f. 399r.
- 21 *MBA*, volume 3, 306. The exact size of the hall in the Trattnerhof (actually the upper half of the former St George Chapel), where Mozart gave subscription concerts in 1784, will be dealt with in my forthcoming book.



the inscription on his (now lost) tombstone at the old cemetery in Penzing, he was ‘a friend and supporter of the arts and a man of unequalled hospitality’.²² We can therefore be certain that the music-lover Weinbrenner was very well acquainted with the Ployer family and must have hosted regular musical soirées in his home. In trying to ascertain the exact size of Ployer’s apartment we are faced with several problems as a result of the fragmentary state of the sources. There are almost no surviving plans of private houses in Vienna from the time before 1783. After the reforms of Joseph II in 1783 every modification of a building had to be applied for at the ‘Unterkammeramt’, together with the submission of a plan of the changes that were to be made. The number of these plans – which sometimes show only the part of the house that was to be structurally modified – has unfortunately been further reduced by the destruction of large numbers of these files during the nineteenth century. Regarding the house Stadt No. 734 and Ployer’s apartment, there are three sources. The first is the ‘Josephinische Steuerfassion’ (a tax list from 1787), which gives the number of rooms and the rent of 710 Gulden per year that Ployer had to pay.²³ The second source is a plan that was submitted in 1808 when Joseph von Weinbrenner’s heirs had a fourth floor added to the house.²⁴ Unfortunately this document shows only the architectural details of those parts of the apartment that were to be modified, and my research on the material that might be located among the building files of the former Government of Lower Austria is not yet finished. Still, we can see from the partial plan that the front of the building was a little more than twenty-one metres wide.

The third and most important source of information is the inventory of Gottfried Ignaz von Ployer’s estate,²⁵ which by a lucky coincidence survived the Justizpalast fire in 1927. This file not only tells us of the Ployers’ terrible financial situation at the time of his death in 1797, it also lists all the furniture that was to be found in the twelve rooms of his apartment. Because there is no photograph of the original house (which was torn down in 1876), we have to rely on the number of window drapes given in the inventory to work out how many windows the apartment had. From this we can infer the size of its two biggest rooms. The living room, the dining room and two bedrooms each had two windows and faced the street. The living room, where on 23 March 1784 Barbara Ployer and a small group of string players performed the concerto K449, had a size of about fifty square metres. The furniture as listed in Ployer’s estate inventory lets us visualize in a fascinating way this historic place, which was destroyed one hundred and thirty years ago: there was a green and white room divider covered with satin, a canapé and twelve chairs, four spittoons, a small stool, a big mirror in two parts with four candlesticks on a white chest of drawers covered with a marble imitation made of gypsum plates, six card tables, a grandfather clock in a gilt case and two pairs of green and white window drapes with wooden wall panels of the same colour. We can easily imagine that to make more space for the audience of Ployer’s soirées the door to the dining room, which was about the same size as the living room, would have been opened.

The second important venue that has been connected with Gottfried Ignaz von Ployer was his country house in the village of Döbling, about an hour’s drive north of the city, where Ployer’s friends regularly attended concerts during the summer. In a letter of 12 June 1784 to his father Mozart proudly announced his upcoming performance at Ployer’s: ‘Tomorrow Herr Ployer, the agent, is giving a concert in the country at Döbling, where Fräulein Babette is playing her new concerto in G, and I am performing the quintet; we are then playing together the grand sonata for two pianos. I shall fetch Paisiello with the carriage, to give him a chance to hear my compositions and my pupil’s playing – if Maestro Sarti had not been obliged to leave today, he would have accompanied me there too.’²⁶ Although it has repeatedly been suggested that the G major concerto was premiered on that Sunday, it seems rather unlikely that Mozart would have waited for over two months to have this concerto performed. His concert with Regina Strinasacchi on 29 April at the

22 Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexicon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, volume 54 (1886), 25.

23 A-Wsa, Steuerfassion B 34/4, f. 122.

24 A-Wsa, Unterkammeramt, Baukonsens 6848/1808.

25 ÖSTA, AVA, Landrecht, Fasz. 5 - 13/1797.

26 *MBA*, volume 3, 318 (my translation).



Kärntnertheater could have been a possible opportunity to play K453 for the first time. Because my article on the identification and history of Ployer's country house may not be known to many English-speaking readers,²⁷ I will provide a short survey of my research. As can be seen in a copy of the Döbling real estate registers (the original books that had belonged to the Dominican nunnery of Tulln are lost), Ployer bought this house – which was among the most beautiful in Döbling – in November 1779 for 4,000 gulden.²⁸ The house Döbling No. 104 was situated at the corner of two streets with its main front facing north. On the west side there was a small chapel that had been built in the 1720s and could be directly accessed from the house. To the south there was a big garden with a group of chestnut trees. Regarding Mozart's and Ployer's performance in June 1784, I was faced with two questions: in which room of the building did the concert take place and how big was that room? Surprisingly, we can answer both of these questions, even though no plan of the house has survived. A guidebook by Franz de Paula Gaheis from 1807 yields the only piece of information about the interior of the building:

Der v. Albertische Landsitz²⁹ Nro 104, in dessen Grund eine Johannes=Kapelle steht. Das Innere ist sehr bequem und geräumig. Aus dem Sahl des ersten Stocks kommt man geradewegs in den Garten. In der Mitte desselben ist ein schattiges Kastanienwäldchen angebracht, welches in heissen Sommertagen erquickende Kühlung gewährt.³⁰

House No. 104, the country house of Herr von Albert, an estate on which we also find a small chapel. The interior is very comfortable and spacious. From the hall on the first floor one can directly access the garden, where there is a shady grove of chestnut trees, which on hot summer days offer a refreshing coolness.

With the help of a letter by the German poet Theodor Körner, who in 1812 spent the last summer of his life in this house, the size of the hall on the first floor can be confined to the area behind three windows to the right. Körner, who had his room in the eastern part of the second floor, wrote to his parents: 'Unser Zimmer ist im zweiten Stock und hat sieben Fenster mit der königlichsten Aussicht; zwei gehen auf die Berge, drei auf die Donau und zwei auf die Stadt, die herrlich ausgebreitet vor mir liegt'³¹ (Our room is on the second floor and has seven windows with a most royal view; two of them look towards the mountains, three to the Danube and two towards the city). 'Towards the mountains' is the north side, which means that the wall within the house was situated between the second and third of five windows, as can be seen on one of the two surviving photographs of this lost house (see Figure 2).³² Therefore, according to the 1817 land register (see Figure 3), the size of the hall can be estimated at about one hundred square metres.³³

Again we can visualize this room, which, used as a concert hall, must have been quite impressive – with a door to the garden that might even have been open while Mozart's music was played on this particular summer's day. According to the *Wiener Zeitung*, the temperature was about seventy-five degrees

27 Michael Lorenz, 'Gottfried Ignaz von Ployers Haus in Döbling. Eine vergessene Mozartstätte', *Acta Mozartiana* 47/1–2 (2000), 11–24.

28 A-Wsa, Grundbuch 30/13 ('Extrahirte die Herrschaft Oberdöbling betreffende Gewähren aus dem Hausgewährbuche Litt. A. et B. der Herrschaft Tulln, vom Jahre 1994 bis incl: 1786.'), 216.

29 Karl Maria von Albert (1751–1828) had purchased the house and the chapel in 1790 for 5,500 florins; Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv (NÖLA), Bezirksgericht Tulln 5/11, f. 13r. For Albert's family see Friedrich Freiherr von Haan, 'Auszüge aus den Sperr-Relationen des k.k. N. Ö. Landrechts 1762–1852', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft Adler* 1906, 11.

30 Franz de Paula Gaheis, 'Spaziergang von Wien nach Döbling', in *Ortsgeschichte von Döbling* (Vienna, 1807), 126.

31 Kamilla Ježek, 'Theodor Körners Wiener Zeit' (PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 1938), 141.

32 Vienna, Wien Museum, Inv. Nr. 105.800/280. The picture was taken around 1895 and can be attributed to the photographer Reinhold Entzmann. A specimen of the original postcard, which was produced from this photograph, can be found in the collection 'Bildmaterial über den Dichter Theodor Körner', A-WSt, D 147.004. A photograph of even higher quality dating from 1901 (A-Wn, Bildarchiv, ST 497-F) has recently been published in *Döbling. Wiens 19. Bezirk in alten Fotografien*, ed. Carola Leitner and Kurt Hamtil (Vienna: Überreuter, 2006), 10.

33 A-Wsa, Fotosammlung Franziszeischer Steuerkataster, Oberdöbling B 27/3.



Figure 2 Ployer's house on Döblinger Hauptstraße 83. Photograph by Reinhold Entzmann, 1895, Vienna. WienMuseum, Inv. Nr. 105.800/280. Copyright WienMuseum

Fahrenheit.³⁴ Our imaginary picture of this concert might change for ever when we think of the sound of twittering birds accompanying Mozart's music played by its composer. Based on an interpretation of the sources, we are able to name a few members of the audience. Certainly all of Ployer's Viennese relatives and the music lovers among his friends were present at this concert: his sister-in-law Ernestine von Spaun, his sister-in-law Maria Theresia von Fichtl and her husband, the court agent Johann Baptist von Fichtl (who also had been a subscriber to Mozart's Trattnerhof concert series) and Ployer's landlord Joseph von Weinbrenner with his wife Elisabeth. Although Otto Erich Deutsch and Joseph Heinz Eibl assumed that the concerts that Constanze and Leopold Mozart attended in Ployer's home in February 1785 should also be connected with his country house in Döbling, it now can be taken for granted that both of them took place in the apartment in the city.

Towards the end of the 1780s Ployer's financial situation began a massive decline, and in October 1787 he had to sell his country house to the silk merchant Johann Müller.³⁵ When Ployer died on 19 January 1797,³⁶

34 *Wiener Zeitung* 1784, 1369.

35 NÖLA, BG Tulln 5/11 (Haus-Gewährbuch C, 1786–1844), f. 2v. Dexter Edge has suggested that on the occasion of a public concert at the Auersperg palace in January 1791 Ployer might have premiered the piano concerto K595; Dexter Edge, 'Mozart's Reception in Vienna 1787–1991', in *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 90. Without even mentioning Edge's name, Robert W. Gutman in his Mozart biography turned this speculation into fact; Robert W. Gutman, *Mozart: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1999), 718. The financial state of Ployer's uncle at this time, however, makes it highly unlikely that he had commissioned Mozart to write a concerto for his niece.

36 A-Wsa, Totenbeschauprotokoll volume 106, lit. BP, f. 11v.

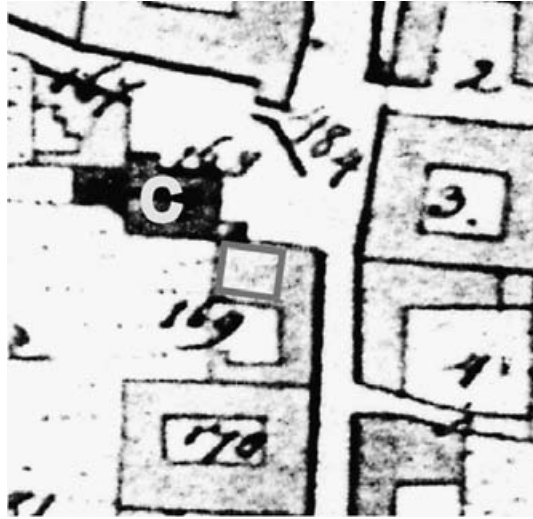


Figure 3 A-Wsa, Franziszeischer Steuerkatakaster 1817. The letter C marks the St John chapel; the hall is outlined by a rectangular box



Figure 4 Oberdöbling by Thomas Ender, 1814, WienMuseum, Inv. Nr. 45.357. Copyright WienMuseum



he was completely broke, and his debts amounted to about 86,000 gulden.³⁷ The furniture in his apartment was put up for auction and his widow had to move in with her brother. During the nineteenth century the house in Döbling achieved a certain renown because of Theodor Körner's stay there, and in 1889 a tablet was put on the front commemorating the poet. By the end of the century the walls of the house were in a terribly damp state, and when the street to Heiligenstadt was broadened in the year 1903 to make way for a tram service, the house was torn down and replaced by an ugly schoolhouse. The small chapel, where Beethoven once played the organ during one of his summer sojourns,³⁸ is still standing. Entering the yard of the new building, we can still see the last surviving chestnut tree from Ployer's garden, surrounded by a carpark.

Around 1787 Barbara Ployer married Cornelius Bujánovics von Agg-Telek (c1770–1844), a Hungarian nobleman who was the son of a colleague of her uncle. Because the marriage took place in Croatia, its exact date is still unknown. The couple lived on the Bujánovics estate in Bresane, a village that today is situated in southern Kosovo. Curiously, Mozart's pupil turns up among the files of the Vienna police and the State Council. This was the result of the grotesque behaviour of Barbara Bujánovics (as she then was), who, as she grew older, developed severe symptoms of persecution mania. Even today it is not easy to explain what the highest officials of the Austrian monarchy were dealing with in this difficult case lasting from 1805 to 1811. After a pile of private documents containing evidence for a law suit had been stolen from them in a Viennese hotel in October 1805³⁹ (a crime that never was actually proven), the Bujánovics couple started a weird crusade against their own relatives, the state, the police and the Freemasons, whom they counted among the group of especially malicious and shady forces that were trying to destroy their livelihood and 'push their family into misery'.⁴⁰ Barbara Bujánovics put the patience of several high members of the State Council to the test by trying to turn her private affairs into affairs of the state over a period of six years. Being the only motivating force behind these proceedings, she presumptuously demanded the installation of a royal commission, wrote long, complicated and tiring letters of complaint to the police, accused her husband's relatives of various crimes and gave meticulous but completely useless advice on how to conduct the investigation. The head of the police, Count von Hager, aptly described her as 'suffering from the insanity of perpetual contentiousness, addicted to writing and having the worst imaginable character'.⁴¹ Because twenty-five of her letters survived the fire at the Palace of Justice in 1927, we have today ninety pages of Barbara Ployer's handwriting – precious material that some day may become useful for research on the Ployer studies K453b. She died in 1810, and when her husband married again in the spring of 1811,⁴² the big family feud had already come to an end. According to the genealogical literature, descendants of the Bujánovics family were still living in the city of Agram (today's Zagreb) in the year 1900. It will remain one of the most fascinating and difficult tasks in Mozart scholarship to track down the Mozart manuscripts and copies that Barbara Bujánovics von Agg-Telek took with her when she left Vienna.

A minor genealogical issue has to be addressed regarding Ployer's alleged relation to Abbé Maximilian Stadler, who, in his entry in Ployer's album, called himself her cousin. Doubt has frequently been cast on this family relation, and Walter Senn supposed that the cousin who, according to Stadler, had taken theory

37 ÖSTA, AVA, Landrecht, Fasz. 5 - 13/1797.

38 Friedrich Kerst, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven* (Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann, 1913), volume 1, 239.

39 ÖSTA, AVA, Polizeihofstelle (PHST) 682/1805. The details of the 1803 lawsuit are described in AVA, PHST 545/1812.

40 AVA, PHST 380/1806.

41 AVA, PHST 545/1812. As can be seen in a resolution from 1810, the Bujánovics couple had troubled the Hungarian Chancellery, the Council of State and even the Emperor with repeated complaints about being persecuted by their relatives; Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Staatsratsprotokoll 1810, Nro 213, Nr 608/1250. After Ployer's death the complaints immediately came to an end.

42 St Augustin, Trauungsbuch Tom. 8, f. 74. Cornelius Bujánovics von Agg-Telek's second wife was Caroline von Schott, née Auernhammer (1774–1835), a cousin and probably a piano pupil of Josepha Auernhammer. Bujánovics was a member of the musical salon around Beethoven's lawyer Johann Zizius, who, together with Wilhelm von Droßdick, stood witness to his wedding in 1811. Bujánovics had probably made the acquaintance of his second wife in Zizius's home at Kärntnerstraße 1038 (the house in which Vivaldi had died in 1741).



lessons from Mozart might not have Barbara Ployer at all but another one of Stadler's cousins.⁴³ To me this seems highly unlikely. That Ployer was actually Stadler's cousin can be proven by research in the church records of Melk and St Nikola, documents which Senn never consulted personally. On 10 April 1711 Maximilian Stadler's grandfather Thomas Stadler, a tradesman from Melk, married Maria Theresia Ployer, the sister of Barbara Ployer's grandfather Johann Ployer.⁴⁴

II

Josepha Auernhammer's posthumous fate at the hands of music historians represents a very special case among Mozart's piano pupils. Not only is there still no comprehensive biography of this female composer, but the recent literature on Auernhammer has relied too heavily on Deutsch's article in the *Mozart-Jahrbuch* of 1958. Deutsch's account of Auernhammer's life was rather short but offered a few details that were new at the time. He mistakenly considered Auernhammer to have been of noble birth (which she definitely wasn't⁴⁵), and, being completely unaware of the literature that in 1927 and 1954 had already offered detailed information about all of Johann Michael Auernhammer's fifteen children,⁴⁶ still thought that she was an only child.

When I decided to publish new Auernhammer documents, I had intended to delve into the details of a big legacy that Auernhammer's mother had inherited from her uncle Karl Timmer and how this money enabled her daughter to pursue her career as a musician. In reviewing the entry on Auernhammer for the new edition of the *New Grove Dictionary* in 1999, I added the following sentence: 'A legacy of almost 20,000 Gulden from her great-uncle Karl Timmer on his death in 1785 was probably the basis of Auernhammer's decision to continue devoting herself to her career as a pianist.'⁴⁷ This information is incorrect and I have to revoke it. It was caused by a protocol from an estate inventory from an adjacent file that was mistakenly put into the inventory of Karl Timmer's estate. Auernhammer's mother Elisabeth was a member of the Timmer family, who had produced several fine musicians since the seventeenth century.⁴⁸ Her father Franz (born 11 September 1695⁴⁹), who had been employed as a violinist at the Imperial court since 1718, vanished on 17

43 Walter Senn, 'Abbé Maximilian Stadler: Mozarts Nachlaß und das 'Unterrichtsheft' KV453b', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1980–1983, 287–298.

44 Pfarre St Nikola, Matrikenbuch Tom. C, 313. In 1736 the Emperor appointed Thomas Stadler Marktrichter of Melk; see Gerhard Floßman and others, *Stadtbuch Melk* (Melk: Kultur- und Museumsverein Melk, 1999), 246.

45 The most curious bestowal of undeserved nobility on Auernhammer (among countless examples in the Mozart literature) can be found in an encyclopedia of female Austrian composers, where her father is presented as 'Freiherr' (baron); Eva Marx and Gerlinde Haas, 210 *Österreichische Komponistinnen* (Vienna: Residenz-Verlag, 2001), 43.

46 Some of the baptismal entries for these children were published in August von Doerr, *Genealogisches Quellenmaterial zur Geschichte des österreichischen Adels* (Vienna: Heraldische Gesellschaft 'Adler', 1927–1934), volume 1, 261. Erich Schenk seems to have been aware of this book, because in his Mozart biography he referred to 'ten Auernhammer siblings'. A complete list of Michael Auernhammer's children is to be found in Helmut Riessberger, 'Franz Aspelmayr' (PhD dissertation, University of Innsbruck, 1954), 16. Being unaware of Doerr's and Riessberger's research, Deutsch assumed that Schenk had simply included 'Auernhammer's cousins'; see 'Das Fräulein von Auernhammer', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1958, 12.

47 *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2002), volume 2, 167.

48 The earliest documented musician coming from this family was Franz Timmer's father Mathias (c1662–1742), 'Chori Regens bei St. Dorothe' at the time of his marriage in 1693 and 'Musiker bei St. Stephan' at the time of his retirement; Vienna, St Stephan, Trauungsbuch Tom. 31, 480. For a (slightly flawed) genealogical survey of the Timmer family see Herbert Vogg, 'Franz Tuma (1704–1774) als Instrumentalkomponist nebst Beiträgen zur Wiener Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts (der Hofkapelle der Kaiserin-Witwe Elisabeth Christine)' (PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 1951), 81–87.

49 St Stephan, Taufbuch Tom. 45, 51. Franz Timmer's brother Joseph (1694–1750) served as *Tenorist* in the court chapel. He was the grandfather of Antonio Salieri's wife Theresia Helferstorfer, née Timmer. Josepha Auernhammer was a



November 1731 and was found dead in the Prater three weeks later.⁵⁰ Because of her four small children and her husband's 'outstanding service in His Majesty's orchestra' his widow Barbara Timmer was granted a *Gnadenpension* (honorary pension) of four hundred gulden – 'angefangen vom 17. November abgewichenen jahrs, an welchem tag der Man unsichbar worden ist'⁵¹ (beginning 17 November of last year, on which day her husband turned invisible), as Johann Josef Fux put it in his supportive testimonial. Josepha Auernhammer's other grandfather, Johann Georg Auernhammer, was born around 1692 in the Rhineland Palatinate and came to Vienna as a baker's apprentice. On 19 November 1713 he married Anna Regina Rauwäßler from Raab (today's Győr) in Hungary.⁵² Auernhammer never became a baker but worked as a master of ceremonies of a sepulchral brotherhood in the suburb of Alsergrund, where he died on 11 January 1720 at the relatively young age of twenty-eight.⁵³ The education of his youngest son Johann Michael (the composer's father, baptized on 29 September 1718⁵⁴), which enabled him to become a secretary and a financial representative of various agencies such as the order of St John⁵⁵ and the archdiocese of Passau, has yet to be investigated. Johann Michael Auernhammer married Elisabeth Timmer⁵⁶ on 15 November 1744 (a date that hitherto has never been published correctly; see Figure 5).

Between 1745 and 1764 the couple had fifteen children, eight of whom had already died by 1770. Only three reached an age of over thirty. Josepha Auernhammer's place of birth cannot be derived from her baptismal entry because before 1783 it was not obligatory that these entries also gave addresses. However, we can identify Auernhammer's place of birth by means of the death entries of her many brothers and sisters, and it turns out that she was born at Stadt No. 965, today's Himmelpfortgasse 6. In the eighteenth century this building was called 'Ruppisches' or 'Baaderisches Haus' because of its owners and the public bath that had been there in the seventeenth century. It was in this very same house that Mozart gave his last public concert on 4 March 1791, when he performed a piano concerto at the restaurant of Ignaz Jahn. Jahn's inn was situated

cousin of Salieri's wife; St Stephan, Trauungsbuch Tom. 55, f. 17v, and Tom. 69, f. 279v. Franz Timmer's wife Barbara, née Schneeweiß, also came from a musical background. Members of her family were employed as musicians at the St Dorothea monastery in Vienna; St Stephan, Trauungsbuch Tom. 36, 219.

50 The actual events that led to Timmer's death are difficult to ascertain. In her application filed on 3 January 1732 his widow stated that 'mein allerliebster Mann welcher durch allzugroße Haupts Verwürrung und unaussezliche *Melancholey* vielleicht in disen fatalen *Casum* verfallen' (my dearest husband may have fallen into this fatal case as a result of extensive mental disturbance and incessant melancholy); HHStA, OMeA, alte Akten, Karton 28. Although the entry 'den 8^{ten} dito in dem Kayl: Brater vergrabner Todter gefunden' ('found buried in the royal Prater on 8 December') in the death record of the magistrate (volume 35, f. 27v) might raise doubts, the fact that Timmer was found with his sword makes it seem very likely that he committed suicide; HHStA, OMeA, Verlassenschaft 3527.

51 HHStA, OMeA, alte Akten, Karton 28. Fux's testimony is published in Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Johann Josef Fux* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1872), 435.

52 Vienna, Pfarre Schotten, Trauungsbuch Tom. 20, f. 189r.

53 A-Wsa, Totenbeschauprotokoll, volume 26, f. 381v.

54 Pfarre Schotten, Taufbuch Tom. 26, f. 253v.

55 In the *Totenbeschau* entry by his son Anton on 15 December 1751 Auernhammer is referred to as 'Verwalter im Johannes-Hoff' (administrator in the house of the Order of St John); A-Wsa, Totenbeschauprotokoll, volume 48/2, f. 574v. The fact that on 19 April 1761 Auernhammer served as godfather for Franz Aspelmayer's first child makes it seem likely that he also had business contacts with Count Morzin, for whom Aspelmayer worked as secretary; St Stephan, Taufbuch Tom. 84, f. 190r, and Trauungsbuch Tom. 59, f. 281r. Auernhammer was obviously a very busy man. In 1753 his wife's cousin Joseph Ferdinand Timmer wrote in his will: 'Mein letzter Willen ist, daß stat meines Hochgeehrtesten Herrn Vötters v Auernhammer alß hierin ernenter Gerhab, so ohne diß mit viellen Geschäften überhauffet ist, mein Hochgeehrtester Herr Vötter Joseph v Zohrn alß Gerhab meiner hinterlassenen Kindern solle gehors[ams]t angegangen werden' (My last will is that instead of my most honourable cousin Auernhammer, who is overburdened with business activities, my cousin Joseph von Zohrn should respectfully be approached to take over his duty as guardian of my children); HHStA, OMeA, Verlassenschaft 138/1771.

56 St Stephan, Trauungsbuch Tom. 51, f. 544r. The witnesses were Auernhammer's brother-in-law Karl Timmer and Jacob Kesenberg (1707–1763), chancellor of the 'Landmarschallisches Gericht' in Vienna.

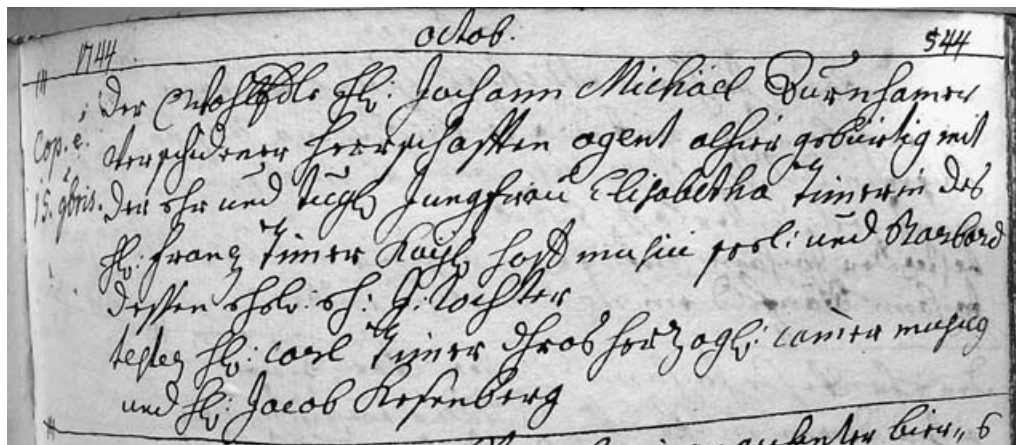


Figure 5 Johann Michael Auernhammer's marriage entry

on the first floor and consisted of fifteen rooms and two kitchens.⁵⁷ Research on the actual size of the great room where this concert took place has yet to be done. Similar research on the size of the apartment of the Auernhammer family in the Passauerhof close to the church Maria am Gestade, where Mozart repeatedly joined his pupil in giving private concerts, is more difficult, because this building belonged to the diocese of Passau and was therefore exempt from taxes. Thus it was not registered in the official tax list, and so the exact size of the apartment of the Auernhammer family may never be determined. Equally regrettable is the fact that the most interesting document relating to the Auernhammer kin, the estate inventory of Josepha Auernhammer's father, has not yet been found.⁵⁸ Having been a Passau employee, his estate fell under the competence of this dominion. A copy of this inventory may well be found in the archive of the Passau diocese or among the Passau material in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Munich. We cannot prove that Josepha Auernhammer was able to rely on a huge legacy to start out on her career without financial worries, yet it seems that after her marriage to Johann Bessenig in May 1786 (the bride was already pregnant)⁵⁹ she was not badly off. Bessenig, a high official of the Vienna magistrate, not only was able to afford an apartment in the city for over thirty years,⁶⁰ but also in 1800 bought the so-called 'Greißlerhaus' in the suburb of Landstraße.⁶¹ When Johann Bessenig died in 1837 this beautiful building, together with the garden, was estimated at 9,200 gulden *Conventionsmünze*.⁶² Its north side was modified in the twentieth century, and today not much remains of the once large garden.

Johann and Josepha Bessenig had four children. The two daughters Mari Anna Clara and Maria Barbara, who were born in 1786 and 1788 respectively,⁶³ had godmothers of special Mozartean interest: Maria Anna and Maria Barbara von Natorp, the two daughters of Franz Wilhelm von Natorp (1729–1802), to whom in 1788 Mozart dedicated his Sonata for piano four hands K521. We therefore have reason to believe that the Natorp sisters took piano lessons from Josepha Auernhammer. The exact date of birth of a son, Andreas

57 A-Wsa, Steuerfassion, B 34/4, f. 448. The annual rent for the entire venue amounted to 1,225 florins.

58 Johann Michael Auernhammer died on 22 March 1782 and was buried two days later inside the church Maria am Gestade; Pfarre Schotten, *Begräbniß=Buch bey Maria Stiegen v. 27 May 759 angefangen*–1783, 9. Burials within churches were to be abolished by Joseph II in 1783. Josepha Auernhammer's mother died on 13 April 1802; A-Wsa, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2 - 1923/1802.

59 Vienna, St Michael, Trauungsbuch 1784–1804, f. 28.

60 A-Wsa, Konskriptionsbogen Stadt 941/8r.

61 A-Wsa, Grundbuch 27/13, f. 230.

62 A-Wsa, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2 - 3651/1837.

63 Vienna, St Michael, Taufbuch 1784–1804, f. 34 and 59.



Bessenig, who must have been born around 1790 but has never been mentioned in the literature, has not yet been verified. He appears in a conscription record from 1805 of the house Stadt 318⁶⁴ and in a protocol of the Vienna magistrate from 1809, where he is given as a student applying for a passport to Lemberg.⁶⁵ Auernhammer's fourth child, Carl, was born in 1797.⁶⁶ His godfather was Carl Baron von Braun (c1773–1838), a brother of the pianist and composer Ludwig von Braun (c1762–1847), who has repeatedly been mistaken for the legendary manager of the Vienna Court theatres Peter Andreas Gottlieb von Braun.⁶⁷ According to Carl Bessenig's table of qualification⁶⁸ in the archive of the Viennese Court Chamber he entered state service as a soldier in 1816, was employed by the Hofkammer in 1817 and served there for only four years. He died of tuberculosis one and a half years after his mother on 23 June 1821 in his father's house on the Landstraße.⁶⁹ When Johann Bessenig died on 3 April 1837 at the age of 85, he was survived by his daughter, the singer and music teacher Maria Anna Czegka.⁷⁰ The last trace of Mozart in Auernhammer's family is to be found in the list of books in Johann Bessenig's estate inventory.⁷¹ Here we find a copy of the libretto of the *Magic Flute*, estimated at a value of three kreuzer.

Let us close with a quote from a letter that Barbara Ployer wrote to her Viennese lawyer, Dr Joseph Hirsch, in 1805. Her statement, although typical in its moralistic tone and its claim of philosophical wisdom, somehow reflects Ployer's own immortality in the shadow of her great teacher:

Übrigens bitte ich Sie . . . versichert zu seyn, daß man auch mit Verstand an eine Vorsehung und an eine Unsterblichkeit fest glauben kann, und sobald man an diese glaubt, ganz anders handelt, als die gelehrten Atheisten, die sich einbilden Herr des Schicksals durch die einzige Weisheit ihrer Gehirn Textur zu seyn, eine Weisheit, die sich gewöhnlich als übermüthig und im Unglücke als niederträchtig feige producirt.⁷²

I want you to be assured that also with your intellect you can firmly believe in Providence and immortality. And, as soon as you believe in both of them, you will act completely differently from the learned atheists, who – owing to the texture of their brains – fancy themselves to be the masters of fate and the only wisdom – a wisdom that usually reveals itself to be insolent and, in case of misfortune, of base cowardice.

64 A-Wsa, Konskriptionsbogen Stadt 318/1r.

65 A-Wsa, Paßprotokoll B 4/2, f. 104.

66 Vienna, St Michael, Taufbuch 1784–1804, f. 154.

67 Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexicon*, volume 2 (1857), 124. Ludwig von Braun is the 'excellent pianist' and creator of 'pithy compositions' mentioned in Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Prague, 1796; facsimile edition with afterword and index by Otto Biba (Munich and Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1976)), 9. For basic biographical dates of various members of the two von Braun families see Haan, 'Auszüge aus den Sperr-Relationen des k. k. N. Ö. Landrechts 1762–1852', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft Adler* 1907, 32–33.

68 Vienna, ÖSTA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Qualifikationstabelle 419.

69 A-Wsa, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2 - 1396/1821.

70 Maria Anna Czegka, who performed as singer under the stage name Auenheim, established a music school in the house Stadt 143 (today Wipplingerstraße 28, new building). After the death of her father she separated from her husband (with whom she had had two children) and went to Germany. Research in the Ulm City Archive (for which I thank Ulrich Seemüller) could not corroborate Riessberger's claim that Czegka died in Ulm on 5 February 1850.

71 A-Wsa, Mag. ZG, Fasz. 2 - 3651/1837.

72 Letter written to her lawyer on 20 November 1805; ÖSTA, AVA, PHST 380/1806 (my translation).