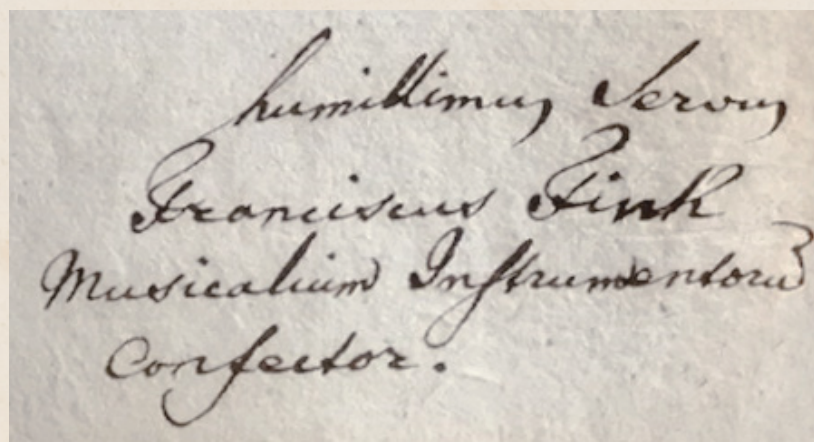


Franz Fink (1790-1872) – A Disciple of
Johann Georg Stauffer and the
First Professional Stringed Musical Instrument
Maker in Zagreb



humillimus Servus
Franciscus Fink
Musicalium Instrumentorum
Confector.

On the occasion of the
150th anniversary of
Fink's death.

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Illustration on title page: excerpt of fig.5 (p.7).

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FIG. 1

■ Detail of a map from *A Comparative Atlas of Ancient and Modern Geography* by Alexander G. Findlay, published by William Tegg & Co., London, 1853. It shows part of the Austrian Empire, including the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, as well as the northern part of the Adriatic sea.

Most of Croatia was part of the Austrian Empire until the latter's dissolution in 1918. The road to the important Croatian sea port of Rijeka was one of Vienna's main supply roads; it went through Graz, Maribor and Zagreb. Interestingly, this map features the German names of the main cities (like Agram for Zagreb or Esseg(k) for Osijek), as they were in use in Franz Fink's lifetime. Private collection Hofmann.

INTRODUCTION

The history of professional stringed musical instrument making in 19th century Zagreb starts with one maker: Franz Fink (Croatian: “Franjo Fink”). Although barely known, he is yet of special importance. He came from Vienna [cf. fig.1], where he had worked in the workshop of Johann Georg Stauffer,¹ and established in Zagreb in 1813, where he was the first trained maker in town. In his day, Fink was best known for his nicely made guitars which stuck closely in style to those of his renowned master.

This article builds upon a great many archival sources as well as some important secondary literature. Milan Stahuljak (1878-1962), a music teacher, composer and music historian well known in Croatia was the first to show real interest in Fink’s work. Over a period of about twenty years, stretching from the 1930s to the 1950s, Stahuljak gathered data on Fink and his family, but could only reconstruct a very incomplete biography. Nonetheless, Stahuljak’s findings were most useful as a starting point for further research; his disorderly manuscripts reveal something of an obsession with Fink. Whereas Stahuljak gained awareness of Fink’s possible importance, he planned to publish a biography of Franz Fink and his son Eduard under the patronage of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (formerly the Yugoslavian Academy of Arts and Sciences). But, failing to root out enough biographical data on Fink, he dropped the project. Today, Stahuljak’s manuscripts are safeguarded at the Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb, as a small part of his legacy.²

But Fink’s influence on Croatian musical instrument makers past and present is immense. As author of a good number of papers on musical instrument workshops and factories in Zagreb in the 19th century, I am proud to present a more complete biography of Franz Fink, augmented by additional material related to his work.

EARLY DAYS AND TRAINING IN VIENNA

Franz Joseph Fink was born on 25 June 1790³ in the small town of Pöggstall, in the province of Lower Austria, district of Melk. He was baptised on the very next day in the

parish church St. Anna im Felde as the first born child of Joseph Fink (born around 1756 in Schärding, Bavaria - died on 27 November 1826, St. Ulrich, Vienna) and Josepha Rumlin (born on 29 April 1760 in Pöggstall - died on 1 January 1851, Schottenfeld, Vienna). Fink’s parents had been married on 28 January 1788⁴ in the same parish church of St. Anna. According to his certificate of baptism, Joseph’s occupation was that of master chimney sweep (German: “Rauchfangkehrermeister”); an information which turned out to be highly valuable in confirming Franz Fink’s whereabouts in Vienna. The family lived in Pöggstall at house no.1 (which was later changed to no.55). Two years after Franz, on 10 December 1792 a girl named Josepha was born. For some mysterious reason, the pastor put down Josepha’s family name as “Fingin” instead of Fink, and changed the family’s house number to no.6.⁵

At some point between 1792 and 1799, the Fink family moved to Vienna, where they first resided in the sub-district of Schottenfeld, parish of St. Ulrich. In Schottenfeld, Franz witnessed the advent of two brothers and another sister: Martin Peregrinus Fink (born on 27 April 1799),⁶ Jacob Fink (born on 2 May 1802 - died on 1 August 1802, Vienna)⁷ and Catharina Fink (born on 25 December 1803).⁸ Viennese church records reveal that like many other settlers from the provinces, the Fink family moved a lot before they gained access to a more permanent address.⁹ In their case, that was Neustiftgasse 51 in the district of Neubau, in a house owned by the landlord and starch producer (German: “Stärkemacher”) Michael Rieß (1758-1840). In church records, it is described as being located near the “Weisse Rose”, a well-known tavern.

Two important documents, which are Franz Fink’s certificate of baptism from Pöggstall [fig.3] and his certificate of free marital status [fig.2], were both included in a request for revocation of public announcement of his wedding [fig.12]; a request which is kept in the Archdiocesan Archive in Zagreb. Besides the confirmation of Fink’s free marital status issued by the parish of St. Ulrich on 29 March 1824, this document contains an important testimony from the above-mentioned landlord: Rieß attests to the fact that Joseph Fink, a chimney sweeper, lives in his house at Neustiftgasse 51, as does the latter’s son Franz, described as an “unmarried 30 year old joiner journeyman” (German: “Tischlergesell[e]”). This proves that the Franz

■ Franz Joseph Fink's baptism certificate, issued on 18 April 1803 by the parish of St. Anna in Pöggstall. Archdiocesan Archives in Zagreb. Officium diocesanum: NDS [OD] Index 1818-1829.

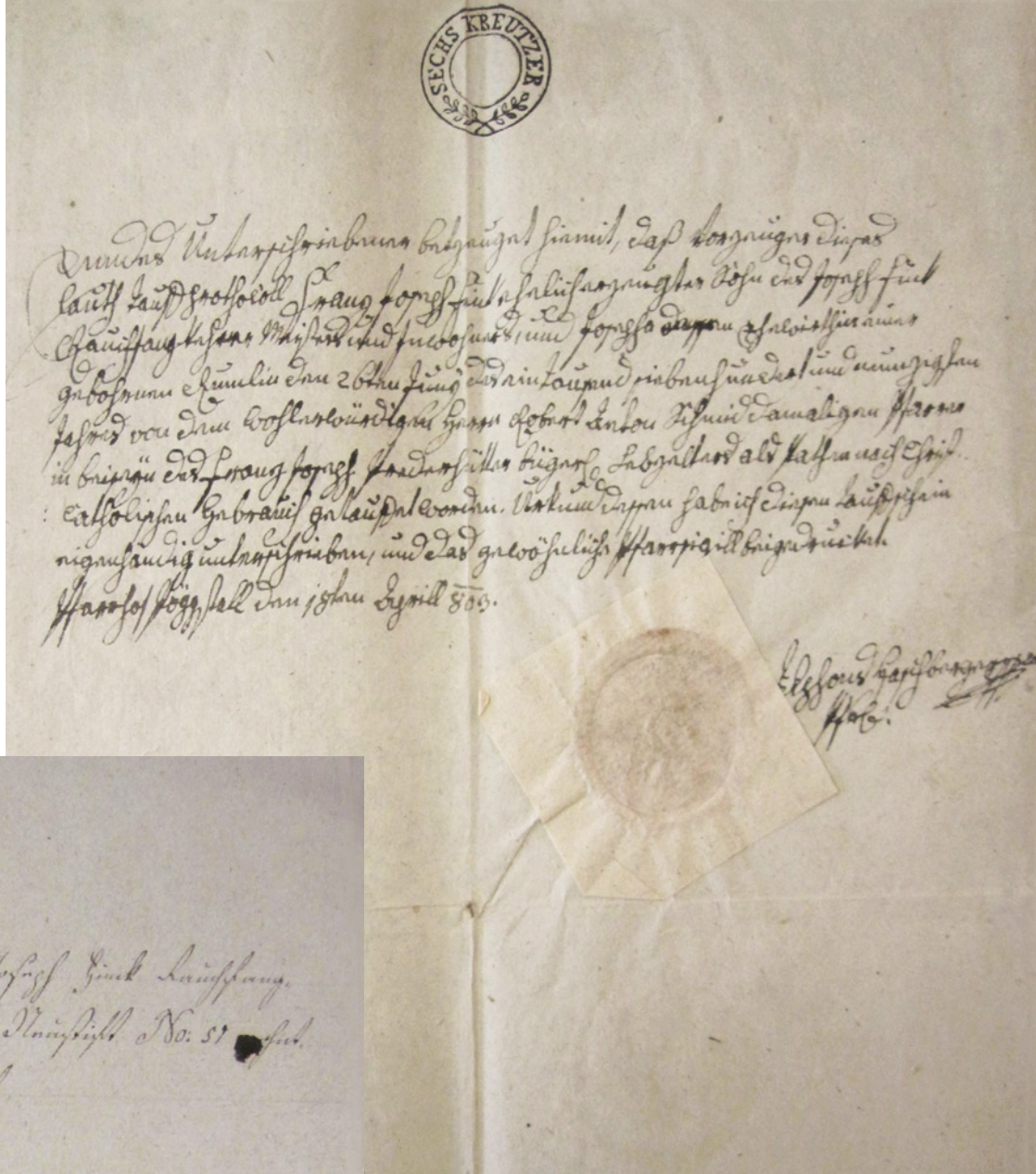


FIG.2

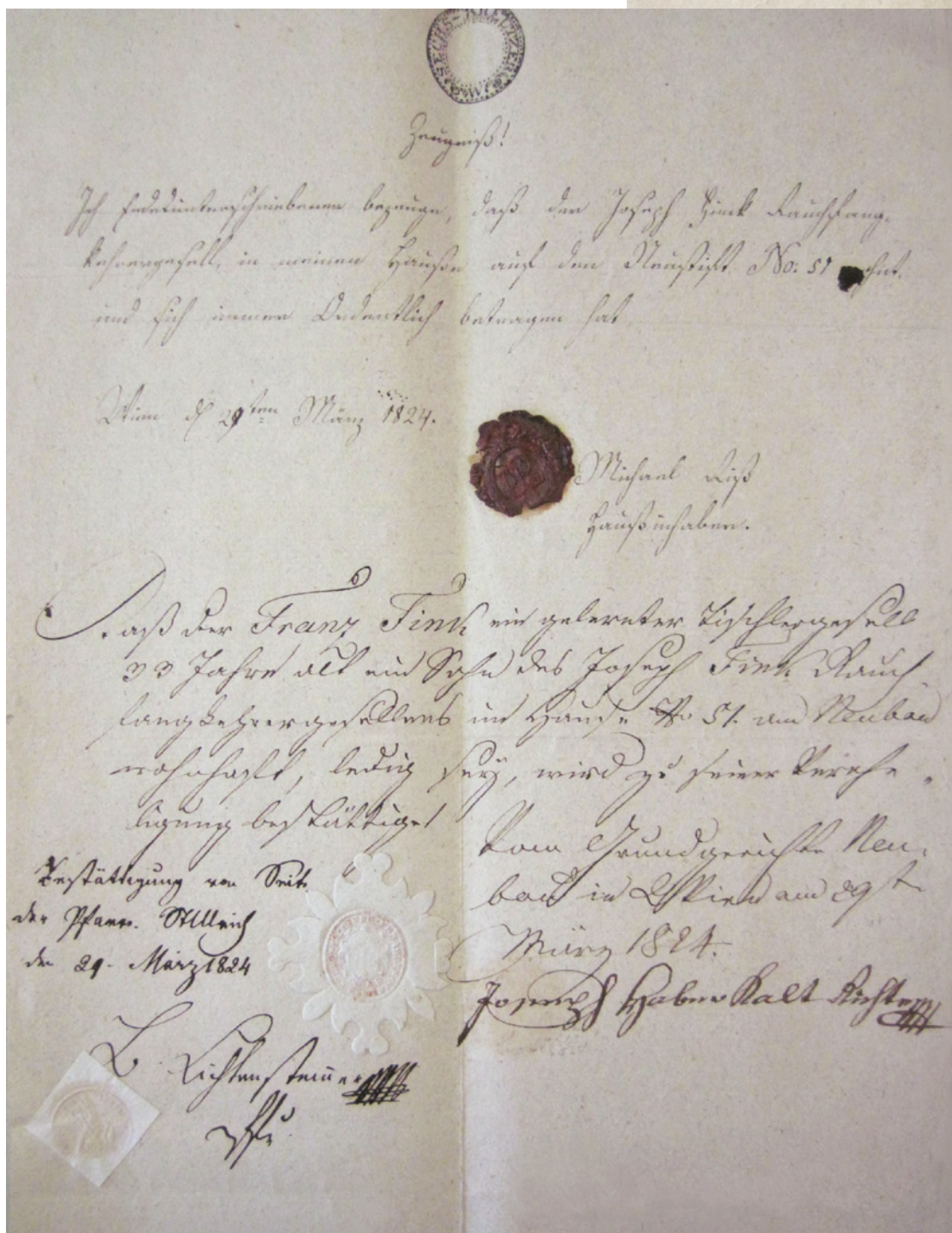


FIG.3

■ [Upper half:] Testimony of Franz Fink's landlord Michael Rieß, confirming that the Fink family lives in his house at the address Neustiftgasse 51 (Neubau district of Vienna). [Lower half:] Certificate of free marital status of the 30-year-old joiner journeyman Franz Fink, living on Neustiftgasse 51, issued by the parish of St. Ulrich. Archdiocesan Archives in Zagreb. Officium diocesanum: NDS [OD] Index 1818-1829. Courtesy of Stjepan Razum.

Fink who later worked in Zagreb is the very same person as the Franz Fink mentioned in earlier Viennese records. Such proof is critical in light of the fact that both his first and family names were very common ones.

We need to take a step back to understand how a joiner in his 20s would end up in the workshop of the best guitar maker in town. In Vienna in the early 19th century, the age for entering an apprenticeship would typically be 12, and the duration of such a schooling six years, divided in two parts. After three years of apprenticeship in the strict sense (in their master's workshop), young people learning a craft would enter a second phase of their schooling period, again for a duration of three years. During this period they would have a hybrid status, being (often quite literally) "on their way" to become journeyman. These three years would typically be filled with work in different locations and workshops, a fact fittingly summed up by the title "journeyman" in English or "Geselle" in German.

Once the cycle of six years completed, young men obtained the title of "Geselle" and could apply for durable employment. As he was born in 1790, we can assume that Franz started his apprenticeship around 1802 (most certainly in Vienna, given that his family's move took place in 1799 or earlier), and that he gained access to the status of "Geselle" around 1808. This is an important date to keep in mind, considering that Stauffer opened business in 1800, and that the document which proves the link between him and Fink dates from January 1811 [see below].

In the meantime, this still leaves the question why an instrument maker would employ one (or several) joiner(s). The answer is in fact quite simple: with Johann Georg Stauffer establishing in 1800 and being part of the first generation of people to introduce the guitar with single strings in Austria, there was no trained maker of modern guitars to employ in the early years of the 19th century. The next best thing would indeed have been a joiner, who then had to acquire the specific knowledge and skills hands-on in the workshop.

A detailed article in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 2 January 1811 relates an unusual event involving Johann Georg Stauffer and five of his employees. Thanks to its discovery, Stauffer's initiative in support of the so-called "K. & K. Bancozettel-Tilgungs-Hauptcasse" (which, in modern terms,

would be a fund raiser organised by the bankrupt state for its own benefit) was revealed in *Stauffer & Co. – The Viennese Guitar of the 19th Century* (Hofmann/Mougin/Hackl 2012). But an official document dated from 17 January 1811 [fig. 4] and signed by Vienna's mayor Stephan Edler von Wohlleben (1751-1823), which lays Stauffer's commitment down in writing and also reveals the names of the five employees in question:

"[...] Georg Stauffer, civilian violin and lute maker [generic for "stringed instrument maker"] in town, has submitted a letter to his Majesty in which he offers to pay voluntarily, in addition to his legal tax contributions and without deducing his expenses first, ten percent of his total business earnings throughout the year 1811 to the 'K.&K. Bancozettel-Tilgungs-Hauptcasse'. Encouraged by his example, his five journeymen Johann Götz, Johann Bukschek, Franz Fink, Bernhard Enzensberger [Enzensperger] and Mathias Hametter also committed to donate one florin of their weekly wages for the same purpose. [...]"¹⁰




Somehow this document came into the possession of Bernhard Enzensperger (possibly in 1841) and was passed down to Viktor Enzensperger; it is now kept in the Technisches Museum Wien as part of the collection "Handwerk, Gewerbe und Industrie".

In addition to that of Franz Fink, two other names well-known to everybody interested in the Viennese guitar stand out: the aforementioned Bernhard Enzensperger (1788-1866) and Johann Götz (1788-1827). Both later opened their own businesses in Vienna, Enzensperger in 1816, Götz in 1820 (Hofmann/Mougin/Hackl 2012, pp.134-135).

It is an interesting side-effect of this document, or more precisely, of this document dating from the first days of the year 1811, that it allows us to deduce that Franz Fink must have been present in the Stauffer-workshop when the special guitar [fig. 40] for the Empress Marie-Louise was made (cf. Hofmann, 2016) – and probably even took part in its built, one way or another.

Before this document surfaced, Franz Fink was simply known as a maker based in Croatia who happened to build guitars in a Viennese style. His relation to Stauffer could be deduced by comparative analysis of their guitars – but then, virtually all Viennese School guitars have some char-

FIG.4

 Die hohe Landesstelle hat mittels Dekrets vom 20.

 Septbr. v. J. und Erlassung H. d. M. folgende Bescheid geneigt:

 Es haben die K. K. Bancozettel-Einlösung und Tilgungs-Deputation

 anlässlich, dass der fünfzigjährige, in Wien und Leobenmühlener Georg

 Stauffer in seiner 9. Majestät überausständigen Dienstzeit auf ansehnliche

 Zeit, und dass ihm nachstehende gutachtliche Prüfungsmöglichkeiten

 von ihm von seinem eigenen Gewandtsämteramt, oder einem davon

 unabhängigen fähigen Abgesetzten, demselben, dass Jahr 1841, daselbst Prozedur als

 einem freiwilligen Engländer in die K. K. Bancozettel-Tilgungs-Haupt-

 Casse abzugeben.

 Von diesem Engländer anzuweisen, haben sich fünf seiner 5. ge-

 fallen: Johann Georg, Johann Baptist, Franz Dietl, Conrad Lehner,

 Johann, und Mathias Humann auf verbindliches geneigt, von ihrem

 Antrittslohn jählich wöchentlich einem Fünftel in gleichem Abzahl

 einzubringen.

 Da nun Seine Majestät dieses Verbindliche mit allerhöchster

 Dignität Befehlswort und Befehl, anzuweisen und anzusehen geneigt

 solches zum öffentlichen Antritt zu bringen;

 Es haben die K. K. Bancozettel-Deputation, dem Georg Stauffer

 und seinem abgenutzten Gehalt diese allhöchste Bestimmung

 mittels eines Bescheidens bekannt zu geben.

 Es sei diesem anzuweisen, dass er nun anzuweisen seine Anstellung

 Prozedur zu anstellen, und ihm Georg Stauffer sowohl, als seinen

 abgenutzten Gehalt, welcher demselben für den nächsten

 Jahr, von diesem allhöchsten Befehlswort über ihm

 jählich zur Verfügung mit dem Gehalt in den öffentlichen

 Dienst zur Verfügung im Jahr anzuweisen zu geben, dass

 dieses Gehalt im Jahr anzuweisen zu bringen demselben

 demselben bekannt geneigt wird.

 Wien am 17. Februar 1841.

 Demselben nach dem Befehlswort

 H. d. M. v. S. Prozedur

 und demselben

■ State office decree concerning Johann Georg Stauffer and his five journeymen's commitment to pay a substantial part of their revenues for the year 1811 to the "K.&K. Bancozettel-Tilgungs-Haupt-casse" (literally: the "Royal and Imperial bank note reimbursement income register"). Technisches Museum Wien, Nachlass Bernhard Enzensperger, NL-015, inv. no. HSS-000699. HSS-01-01: Handwerk, Gewerbe und Industrie.

acteristics in common, and all are not necessarily made by craftsmen directly linked to Stauffer. Still, the existence of a relationship between Stauffer and Fink was a thesis already entertained by Milan Stahuljak, and developed in his unpublished manuscripts mentioned above, but haven't until now been confirmed by solid evidence. The fact that Franz Fink was one of the workers in the Stauffer workshop in the 1810s confirms that Croatia had a musical instrument maker trained in Vienna during the golden age of the guitar.

It is common knowledge in Croatia that during the Romantic Era, the guitar was a widespread musical instrument here, too, especially in urban communities. Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834-1911), founder of Croatian ethnomusicology, wrote about the guitar's popularity:

“It is important to say that in the period before the [18]60s, there was no home without a guitar in our homeland. Every pupil, every lady, every singer, every priest, every trade assistant, even journeymen, seamstresses and cooks knew how to play the guitar.” (Kuhač 1893, p.97)

A fact which in all likelihood had an influence on the later development of the Croatian tambura, and in particular its shape (see below).

ARRIVAL IN ZAGREB AND ESTABLISHMENT AS MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKER

The first time Franz Fink's name appears on record in Zagreb (German: “Agram”) is in his request for becoming a citizen of the town [fig. 5]. His letter is dated on 1 February 1820 and translates from the original Latin as follows:

“Excellent city government, chosen members of the community, my very merciful masters! Seven years have passed since I, the undersigned, decided to establish as a musical instrument maker in the Free and Royal City of Zagreb, where I have been living ever since. I have directed all of my attention and efforts at the very same goals as all those who wish to obtain full citizenship, and, through observation and assimilation, have

aimed to become a worthy member of the community of the Free and Royal City of Zagreb; so, on the day the excellent government will reward deserving inhabitants by granting them full citizenship, I ask to be considered worthy by this same excellent government and the chosen members of the community, because I, the undersigned, have been doing honest work in this city as only craftsman of my trade, and I am always ready in my soul, today and in the future, to support public duties, as I am currently serving under the banner of the city guard as drummer [...]; in past and present, I have not endangered my rightfulness by any shameful act [...] and for all of the above, I hope to be considered worthy to be by your grace included in the number of true citizens of this Free and Royal City of Zagreb. One who is remaining even more gratefully loyal, in supreme obedience and with the utmost respect, the most humble servant of the excellent government and the chosen members of the community, Franz Fink, musical instrument maker, in Zagreb, 1 February, 1820.”¹¹

Unfortunately, Fink is not explicitly named in the archival sources concerning the citizen's guard (Latin: “Civis Cohortis”), but his membership probably helped to have his request answered positively. For Franz Fink was indeed welcomed as a newly elected citizen of Zagreb.

The earliest mention of his workshop in town dates from 1819: it appears in the earliest (though incompletely preserved) tax record [fig. 7] stored in Zagreb State Archive.¹² In this record (which was held in Latin) Fink is named either “Josephus Fink”, “Fing”, “Franciscus Josephus Fink” or “Franciscus Fink”. There can be no doubt on this being one and the same person, because the workshop addresses are consistently on Duga ulica or Lange Gasse (English: “Long Street”, now Pavla Radića), initially named “Schustergasse” due to the presence of many shoemakers (from the German “Schuster”: shoemaker) [fig. 6]; only the house number changed due to urban regrouping, evolving from 46 to 209, 275/II and finally 38.

Also, the indicated occupation is always that of musical instrument maker (Latin: “Musicalium Instrumentor Confector” or “Gitaro Confector”). At different periods of time, other people and trades were listed at the very same address: shoemaker Philipp Schmidt, tailors Thomas Hend-

Amplissimo Magistratus,
Electo itam Communitatis,
Domini mihi Gratosissimi!

Septem jam transierunt Anni, à quo ego infrascriptus in Libera et Regia
Urbe hac Zagrabienſi in qualitate Musicalium Instrumentorum Confe-
ctoris mansionem feci, et quemadmodum à tempore adepti Incolatus
ego Curas et Studia mea unica eò convertissem, ut per expeditissimas
eorum, quæ in Aspirantibus ad Concivitatem Conspicua esse debent,
Observantiam et Discussionem dignum Comunitatis hęc et Regio
ſittis hujus Zagrabienſis Membrum evadam: ita quoniam Dies
illa, quæ Amplissimus Magistratus et Electo Communitatis bene
meritos antefato ſittis Incolæ gratiosa Civili Characteris Elar-
gitione concedere auroles, jamjam affulgeat, Amplissimo Ma-
gistrati et Electo Comunitati per demerita supplicare supplico,
quatenus eò incidenti, quod infrascriptus honestum, atq; hic loci
Unicum Opificium exerceam, Onera itam quovis publica promptissi-
ma Mente semper sustinuerim, porro et sub Vexillo Cohortis hujus
Civium in qualitate Tympanotribæ penes immolationem No-
tabiliorum in Comparationem Uniformis Vestitus Conversarum
Expensarum prout Testimonium sub ſ. productum perhiberet,
serviam, demum etiam anteaq; Vito Integritatem nullo hætenus
admisso flagitio dedecorationem, quatenus inquam promissis suffi-
cientibus appote Receptionis in Concivitatem Motivis equissimo
Judicio pervasis, me in Numerum verorum hęc et hęc ſittis hujus
Zagrabienſis Civium adlegere gratiose dignetur.

Qui in reliquo gratius devotus imò cum submissione ac
singulari cum Veneratione persisto.

Amplissimi Magistratus
et
Electo Communitatis
Zagrabie 1^o Februarii 1820.

humillimus Servus
Franciscus Fink
Musicalium Instrumentorum
Confector.

FIG.5

■ Franz Fink's request of 1 February 1820 to become a citizen of Zagreb. Croatian State Archive, Zagreb, *Protocollum civium civitatis Zagrabienſis*, 1733-1864; HR-DAZG-1, doc. no. 284/1820.



FIG.6

■ Photograph of Duga ulica (English: “Long street”) and Kamenita vrata (English: “Stone Gate”) by Emanuel Mučnjak and Ludwig Schwoiser, Zagreb 1864. Fink’s workshop was located in a narrow alley just around the corner of the house on the left (no.42). “Uspomena na Zagreb” photo album; Digitalizirana zagrebačka baština, City Library of Zagreb.

FIG.7

Domus & Pollen- fortis Nro.	Nomen Possessoris & Qualitas Possessorii. <i>Suburbani</i>	Solvat ad Cassam					
		Militarem.		Domesticam.		Utramque.	
		fl.	xt.	fl.	xt.	fl.	xt.
	<i>Translat</i>	—	..	—	..	1630	52 ²
49. 41	Syrtlay Antonaitz h. f. Subur. Cl. 1 ^o org. 170. Hem ut mercator Cl. 4 ^o et quosdam mercium Cl. 2 ^o .	1.	28.	2.	56.		
	Summa	10.	28.	70.	1.	509.	29.
ubi	Barbara Novakovich Marchandse de Mose qua quosdam mercium Cl. 1 ^o .	2.	—	27.	24.	31.	24.
50	Michael Bayle Sapetarius Cl. 1 ^o Summa	1.	10.	5.	7.	6.	17.
51	Georg. Saubcker Sartor Cl. 2 ^o Summa	1.	10.	2.	20.	3.	30.
50 1/2	Jos. Drosche h. f. Sub. Cl. 3 ^o org. 12. Hem ut Smigatori Cl. 4 ^o Molo proprii clarium, et melior Cl. 3 ^o .	—	5 ²	—	10 ⁴		
	Summa	3.	55 ²	9.	27 ⁴	13.	32 ⁶
41	D. Mathonj Babich h. f. Subur. Cl. 1 ^o org. 104. Summa	—	53 ⁴	1.	47.	2.	40 ⁴
42	Xenodocheium Civitatis immunit.						
ubi	Joanef Silphoniust Sapetarius Cl. 1 ^o Summa	1.	10.	5.	7.	6.	17.
52	Marus Koranek piffor Cl. 2 ^o Summa	1.	10.	2.	20.	3.	30.
43	Georg. Demetrius h. f. Sub. Cl. 1 ^o org. 150. Hem ut mercator, Ammator, quosdam mercium, negotiator Cl. 1 ^o quosdam fru- gum Cl. 2 ^o .	1.	15.	2.	30.		
	Summa	22.	—	188.	54.		
44	Lucas Beckmest h. f. Sub. Cl. 1 ^o org. 140. Hem ut holti org. 18. Hem ut pilsator Cl. 1 ^o .	1.	11 ⁴	2.	23.		
	Summa	2.	22 ⁴	7.	33 ⁶	9.	50 ⁴
ubi	Joanef Gaskler Sannarius Cl. 1 ^o Summa	1.	10.	5.	7.	6.	17.
45	Macella Civitatis immunit.						
ubi	Joanef Hending Sartor Cl. 1 ^o Summa	1.	10.	5.	7.	6.	17.
46	Philippus Schmidski h. f. Subur. Cl. 3 ^o org. 111. Hem ut Sartor Cl. 1 ^o .	—	13 ⁷	—	27 ⁴		
	Summa	1.	23 ⁷	5.	34 ⁴	6.	58 ⁷
ubi	Jos. Fink Instrumentor Confessor Cl. 1 ^o Summa	1.	10.	5.	7.	6.	17.
47	Wid. Joanef Haich h. f. Sub. Cl. 3 ^o org. 156. Hem ut Cetero Cl. 3 ^o .	—	17.	—	34.		
	Summa	—	57.	—	54.	1.	57.
	<i>Latus</i>	—	..	—	..	2039	54 ⁴

■ Tax record from 1819/20 for the inhabitants of the suburbs of Zagreb, including the musical instrument maker Joseph [Franz] Fink at Duga ulica 46. State Archive in Zagreb, Poglavarstvo slobodnog kraljevskog grada Zagreba. Cathastrum Contributionis. HR-DAZG-1, PGZ-2074, Protocoll 232, p.29.

ling and Joseph Kripel and merchant Antonius Vernak. Not to forget the landowner Michael Hajko senior, who was a gardener, a shoemaker, and also the father of the Ilyrian movement composer Mijo Hajko junior (Klaić 1892, pp.57-59).

As far as could be ascertained, Franz Fink never requested admission to the Gradec Guild of joiners, turners, glass makers, organists and potters, unlike many of his contemporaries, like Georg Eisenhuth or Antun Weiser, who became prominent guild members in Zagreb in the early 19th century.¹³ These master joiners trained young musical instrument makers such as Johann Weiser (1809-1884) and Lavoslav Tkalčić (1840-1926). One likely reason for Fink not becoming a member of a guild could have been that he was considered a foreigner, and his trade not welcomed by present guild members.

FINK'S PRODUCTIVE YEARS IN ZAGREB

Among the earliest traces of Fink's professional activity in Zagreb is a letter found by Milan Stahuljak in a small table drawer made by Franz Fink (we'll get back to that same table drawer in a later chapter).¹⁴ It is an order for a guitar written by Lieutenant Armand Weydenhaus von Margaburg (?-1858), dated on 2 March 1822, with only an incomplete address on the envelope: "Mr. Fink, the instrument maker living on Long Street near the Red Shoemaker" [fig.8]. We can only guess that the "Red Shoemaker" was the name of a shop in a close-by location, or perhaps the nickname of a prominent craftsman in the neighbourhood. The letter was sent from Karlovac (German: "Karlstadt") to Zagreb, and translates as follows:

"Highly respected Mr. Fink! Since I found another opportunity to transport the guitar over here, I hope you have it now finished. A third opportunity might not come so soon. Mrs. von Müller will be so kind to hand you 4 florins for the guitar and 2 florins for the fiddle bow. According to our agreement, you should make one additional capo and add it to the other items ordered. In case the guitar is not yet ready for handover – although I very much hope it is – or that you have not finished

it yet, hurry up with it. The above-mentioned lady will stay for two or three days, and you may make enquiries about it. Your most loyal Armand von Weydenhaus, Karlstadt, 2 March 1822."¹⁵

As for other traces of Franz Fink's activity in Zagreb, they are scarce. It is known that he repaired instruments for the Zagreb Music Society, as there are a few occurrences of his name in the Society's accounting records between 1831 and 1854.¹⁶ Additional evidence for Fink repairing instruments for the Zagreb Music Society is a viola owned by the Croatian Music Institute that bears the inscription "Fink, repa 1842" written in black ink [fig.28].

Browsing through every issue of the *Josephus Zeitung* (the first daily newspaper published in Zagreb), I came across one single advertisement by Franz Fink, dating from 1853 [fig.9]. He probably didn't really need publicity, considering that he was the first stringed musical instrument maker in Zagreb – and the only one for quite a long period, too:

"Original Italian violin and guitar strings, first hand, available from instrument maker Franz Fink, 275 Long Street." (*Agramer Zeitung*, 30 April 1853, p.338)

By the 1860s, the musical instrument maker Johann Weiser (1809-1884) is named more frequently in public records, while Fink becomes rare (Jeić 2017a). Weiser was younger than Fink, a trained craftsman and had a daughter – Ludmilla Weiser (1847-1933) – who was the first woman admitted to study violin at the Vienna Conservatory of Music and the first Croatian professional violinist. Based on an interview with Ljudevit Lončar (1898-1988), the last owner of the Tomay & Tkalčić musical instrument shop on Ilica 49 in Zagreb [fig.31], Milan Stahuljak wrote in his manuscript that at the end of his career, Franz Fink had partnered up with Johann Weiser. Yet, there seems to be no evidence to corroborate that statement. On the contrary, one must wonder about the need for these two musical instrument makers to join their businesses while demand was growing. Fink was 29 years older than Weiser and had already retired and moved to Radoboje at Hrvatsko Zagorje when Weiser was at the peak of his activity. Based on advertisements in daily newspapers [fig.10], Weiser's workshop was first located on Ilica 674 and later on Ilica 609 (today 49), while Fink's workshop address was always Duga ulica 275.

■ Envelope of the letter of 1822 by Armand von Weydenhaus addressed to Franz Fink. It was found by Milan Stahuljak in 1933. Library and Archive of the Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb, manuscript legacy of Milan Stahuljak.

An
 Franz Fink
 in Agram

FIG.8

Privat-Anzeigen.

Warnungs-Einrede. Es hat gefallen der Frau Gräfin Louise Erdödy, mich von der Leitung ihrer wahrhaft verzweifelungsvollen Prozesse auf diesem außergewöhnlichen Wege, nämlich in der gestrigen Zeitung Nr. 98 in Gnaden? zu entheben, indem sie mich nur prävenirt hat. Gleiches Schicksal (risum tenete amici) geschah ihrerseits in kurzer Zeit bereits vielen Advokaten Kroatiens ersten Ranges. Ich habe übrigens nie Verträge ihrerseits geschlossen, wohl aber eine höchst billige und unansehnliche Complonation rechtlich und redlich gemacht. Ich danke der geschätzten Gräfin für ihr langes Vertrauen, und empfehle ihr bescheidener in ihren unausführbaren Plänen zu sein.

Johann Milaković m. p.,
Advokat.

669.

Echte italienische Violin- und Guitarre-Saiten aus erster Bezugsquelle, zu haben bei **Franz Fink,** Instrumentenmacher, Lange-Gasse Nr. 275.

Wohnung zu vermietthen. Im Hause Nro. 68, Post-Gasse, ist eine Wohnung im 1. Stock, bestehend aus 4 Zimmern, Küche, Speise, Keller, Holzlage; — ferner ein einzelnes, möblirtes Zimmer zu vermietthen und mit 1. Juli l. J. zu beziehen. Näheres beim Eigenthümer im Hause selbst zu erfragen. 667—41

Freiwilliger Hausverkauf. Das in der Ilica gelegene Ed. Haus zum »Mohrene« genannt, sammt leeren Grund und beiliegendem Garten, an der Fiumaner-Sisseker Straße 50 Klafter lang, und an der Laibacher Straße 16 Klafter breit, ist täglich aus freier Hand zu verkaufen. Das Nähere ist bei der Hauseigenthümerin zu erfragen. 668—31

■ Advertisement by Franz Fink in the *Agramer Zeitung* of 30 April 1853, p.338. City Library of Zagreb. Call number: N-34.

FIG.9

Anempfehlung. Unterzeichneter verfertigt ganz neue Saiten-Instrumente, als: **Violinen, Guitarren, Bassgeigen und Bithern,** und übernimmt auch alle derartigen Reparaturen, welche er auf das Schnellste und Billigste liefert.

Johann Weiser,
wohnt: untere Ilica Nr. 674 im Sviglin'schen Hause in Agram.

485—32

FIG.10

■ Advertisement by Johann Weiser in the *Agramer Zeitung* of 5 March 1858, p.196. City Library of Zagreb. Call number: N-34.

Probably the most important first-hand account of Fink's activity is to be found in Franjo Kuhač's field diary from 1869 [fig.33]. Luckily, Stahuljak could acquire it from Kuhač and thus discovered that the Croatian pioneer of ethnomusicology visited Eduard and Franz Fink in Radoboj. His account from 17 June 1869 reads as follows:

“[Eduard] Fink's father is a musical instrument maker. Very gray haired. An old Swabian with a shield cap like a sheet of parchment from an old ritual book. One must hear music, wearing a hat like this, covered in red dashes that look like musical notes. He repairs old violins and guitars, makes new tamburitzas and owns some valuable instruments. The pastor, his son, has a beautiful violin and a good guitar, but is no longer involved in music. The old man now works only for his personal pleasure, he was one of the first instrument makers in Zagreb, but he still doesn't speak Croatian.” (Kuhač 1869)¹⁷

Milan Stahuljak suggested that Kuhač, who was a good guitar player himself, qualifying Eduard's guitar as good would bear testimony to the quality of Franz Fink's guitars in general. One reason for Stahuljak to assume this is because he knew that Kuhač had the opportunity to compare Fink's guitar from 1867 with one made by Stauffer he owned. Another reason is that in that the very same year 1869, Kuhač also visited the most prominent Croatian guitar virtuoso Ivan Padovec (1800-1873)¹⁸; Padovec and him played duo and on that occasion he used one of the virtuosos' guitars (Kuhač 1893, p.105). Thus Kuhač was supposed to know a good guitar from a bad one. But Stahuljak's conclusion is a bit of a reach, because it is based on only one instrument by Fink.

FINK'S FAMILY MYSTERIES

There is some mystery surrounding Eduard, Franz Fink's aforementioned son. His croatised name was Slavoljub Zebić (Jeić 2018, pp.259-277); he was definitively born before 1820, but the exact date was unknown until very recently. In a list of newly accepted citizens of Zagreb from 1820 (see above), his father is listed as an “27-year-old unmarried Austrian”. Yet, we know now that

the indicated age is wrong – so, what else might be? There is no entry concerning one Eduard Fink being born in any of the four Zagreb parishes of the time. Which is why an illegitimate birth had to be suspected – and was confirmed since [cf. fig.11]. For indeed, on 18 May 1819, Eduard Müller was born in the parish of St.Mark in Zagreb¹⁹ as the illegitimate son of Therese Müller (26 March 1797, Wildon, Austria - 6 October 1844, St.Mark, Zagreb) and Franz Fink.

Based on the facts that Eduard became not only a famous Croatian national revival musician, but also a priest, and that he was always addressed to as Eduard Fink, he must have been officially recognised by his father. While there is no direct record of such process, the Archive of the Ecclesiastical Court in Zagreb holds a very interesting document from 1829: it is Therese Müller's and Franz Fink's request to waive their obligation to publicly announce their marriage [fig.12], submitted by Petar Horvatić, the pastor of St.Mark. It seems only natural to assume that before their marriage, Franz would have officially recognised the child he already had with his future wife.

Attached to this request are both spouses' certificates of baptism, confirming their correct dates and places of birth. It is this document that proves beyond reasonable doubt that Franz Fink, the musical instrument maker in Zagreb, and Franz Fink, the employee in the Stauffer workshop, were indeed one and the same person. For according to all Croatian secondary sources Franz Fink was born in Vienna, and not, as we now know, in Pöggstall.

Therese Müller's certificate of baptism reveals that she was born as Maria Theresia Müller, the illegitimate daughter of Therese Müller from Wildon near Leibniz in the Austrian region of Styria. She later moved to Wiener Neustadt, where she was in the legal custody of a teacher named Karl Femml.

While it is not certain when and where Franz Fink and Theresia Müller met, they married on 1 March 1829 in the parish of St.Mark in Zagreb.²⁰ Interestingly, Fink's groomsmen were Thomas Hendling, a shoemaker living in the same house as Fink, and Andreas Hammel, a blacksmith well known in Zagreb.

Therese and Franz managed to school young Eduard at the Archdiocesan Lyceum (Zagreb) and later at the Archbishop's seminary. In October 1827, Eduard was also admitted

to the first music school of the Musical Society (German: “Musikverein”, today the Croatian Music Institute), where he was amongst the first generation of music students.²¹ Eduard was ordained in 1842 and moved several times to serve in different parishes.

In 1846 Eduard was a chaplain in the service of the abbot Ivan Krizmanić in the Marija Bistrica sanctuary. While the later was celebrating his 80th birthday, Franz Fink was visiting his son and addressed a greeting card to the abbot:

“[...] I wish the celebrant that his rightful wishes may come true [...] and that his chaplain Eduard may pursue his scientific work and noble deeds [...]. I wrote this on 30 May 1846, at the age of 56.”

This greeting card once again proves that Franz Fink was indeed born in 1790. Unfortunately, the original card is lost and known only from a photographic reproduction which is part of the legacy of Milan Stahuljak.

Therese Müller died on 6 October 1844²² and was buried at the old Jurjevsko cemetery, close to the church of St. Georg. After Therese’s death, Franz Fink continued to live in Zagreb on his own, at the same address where he had his workshop. He stayed there until the 1860s, when he moved in with his son at the parish of Radoboj near Krapina. He died on 4 February 1872²³ [fig.13] and was buried two days later in the parish cemetery of Radoboj – his grave doesn’t exist anymore. Eduard Fink died on 16 December 1901²⁴ in Feldhof near Graz (Austria).

Numerus Currens.	Annus, Mensis, Dies obitus.	Nomen, Cognomen, Conditio.	Defunctus	
			Parentum, vel Conjugis, Nomen, Cognomen, Conditio.	Locus Originis
1.	Januarii die 4 ^a	Maria Slukan ruricola	Jacoby et Barbara Slukan parentes, ruricola	M...
2.	Januarii die 12 ^a	Michael Grobolick ruricola	Mate viduata Theresiae Grobolick matris	M...
3.	Januarii die 13 ^a deluculo	Joanes Loany Swatjek ruricola	Josephus et Catharina Swatjek ruricola	M...
4.	Januarii die 14 ^a	Barbara Tobirek ruricola	Stephanus Tobirek maritus, ruricola	Ger...
5.	Januarii die 22 ^a	Stephanus Slukan ruricola	Joanes et Theresia Slukan parentes	Y...
6.	Februarii die 3 ^a	Josepha Kun ruricola	Andreas et Kun parentes	M...
7.	Februarii die 4 ^a	Franciscus Fisch Civis fidejag	Viduus Josephus Fisch	M...

AN INVENTORY OF FINK’S SURVIVING WORKS

There is no way to know how many guitars and other instruments Frank Fink might have built during his 54-year-long career. So far, only two guitars seem to have been described in secondary literature. While researching Fink, four more could be located. All six, either standard or terz guitars, display similar proportions and match the “model after Luigi Legnani”²⁵ introduced by Johann Georg Stauffer in the early 1820s.

Guitar no.1 [fig.14-18]: This terz guitar made in 1829 belongs to the musical instruments collection of the City Museum of Varaždin (inv. no. GMV-KPO 4188). It has a vibrating string length of c.560 mm, which by the time had become standard in Viennese terz guitars. Its soundboard is made of spruce and its back and sides of flamed maple. The fretboard has 21 frets, and like the bindings and bridge, it seems to be made of dried wood from the Rowan tree (Hofmann/Mougin/Hackl 2012, p.162). The neck and head are ebonised, as is typical in Viennese School

Locus		Religio.	Anni aetatis.
Domicilii et Numerus domalis.			
Radoboj No 44	Rom Cath	82	mas
Sanida No 14	Rom Cath	64	mas
Maxim No 3	Rom Cath	56	mas
nnica No 39	Rom Cath	56	mas
Sanjani No 15	Rom Cath	56	mas
Bregi No 5	Rom. Cath.	56	mas
Sanjani No 3	Rom Cath	82	mas

Morbus, vel Genus mortis.	Sacramentis fuitne provisus?	Sepulturæ Locus et dies.	Sepelientis Nomen, Cognomen et Officium.	Observationes.
		In cœmeterio parochiali sepulta 5/1 872	Korjaci Cep.	
Debilitas senectutis		14/1 in cœmeterio parochiali sepulta 14/1 872	Korjaci Cep.	
		14/1 in cœmeterio parochiali sepulta 14/1 872	Korjaci Cep.	
		19/1 872, sepulta in cœmeterio parochiali	Korjaci Cep.	
		23/1 872 in cœmeterio parochiali sepulta	Korjaci Cep.	
		4/2 872 in cœmeterio parochiali sepulta	Korjaci Cep.	
Debilitas senectutis		12 Aug. apud cœmeterium parochiale sepulta	Korjaci Cep.	

■ Franz Fink's death record from 1872, filled in by his son Eduard, who was pastor in Radoboj at that time. Fink is described as a citizen, instrument maker, widower, son of Joseph and Josepha, born in Vienna (Vindobona) and having died at the age of 82 of old age ("Debilitas senectutis"). In spite of this entry having been filled in by his own son, this is one of several official documents that wrongly indicate Vienna as Franz Fink's place of birth. Croatian State Archive, deaths register, Radoboj parish of the holy trinity 1858-1877, registry books collection, HR-HDA-883, M-83.

FIG. 13

guitars; the bridge pins and strap button are made of ivory. While the head displays the famous shape introduced by Georg Stauffer in 1814 (Hofmann/Mougin/Hackl 2012, pp.124-125), which was originally designed to accommodate a “modern” six-in-line tuning machine, this guitar is equipped with traditional wooden tuning pegs.

Despite of the rough condition it may appear to be in, this guitar is particularly interesting, because it features all its original elements, including the thick red varnish reminiscent of Stauffer.

This instrument bears Fink’s highly ornate engraved label with the localisation “Agram” [fig.15], as well as a handwritten dedication on the inside of the soundboard: “Franz Fink from Vienna, made in Agram in 1829, for 10 fl CMZ [*Conventionsmünze*], for Miss Kraus”.²⁶ Interestingly, there is an assorted shield-shaped mother-of-pearl inlay in the seventh position of the fretboard [fig.14], engraved with the letters “EK” – which in all likelihood would be the initials of Miss Kraus. Together with another very interesting guitar made in 1828 in Dubrovnik by Antonio Bino (Jeić/Vrbanić 2020, p.253), this is the oldest dated guitar made in Croatia. One may note that both instruments were built by naturalised citizens.

Guitar no. 2 [fig.19-21]: This instrument was made in 1832; it is currently owned by Srećko Tomaić (Zagreb), who inherited it from his late uncle. It is the earliest one of Fink’s guitars inventoried so far to be equipped with an adjustable neck and free-floating fingerboard. Like **guitar no. 1**, it is a *terz* guitar with a vibrating string length of 560 mm. The materials that have been used are basically the same as in the guitar described above, but unfortunately, the original bridge was replaced by a modern classical guitar bridge.

This guitar has 23 frets – which, in regard to its musical use, is an odd number; not only because in a *terz* guitar (which makes the highest note a F-sharp), but also since the basic requirement for a “model after Luigi Legnani” was to have 22 frets (Hofmann/Hackl, 2021, p.81). It is equipped with the aforementioned six-in-line tuning machine and a highly decorative metal cover plate on the back of the head [fig. 20], which is engraved with an eight-pointed-star motif. This tuning machine was certainly imported from Vienna. The volute of the head is inlaid



FIG.14

Fig.16



FIG.17



FIG.15



FIG.18

another eight-pointed-star, made of mother-of-pearl. The inlay at the jointure of the ribs has a rhomboid shape.

The label is the same as the previous one, this time with the handwritten year 1832. Like **guitar no. 1**, it has an inclined transverse soundboard bar beneath the soundhole and along this bar the handwritten inscription: “Franz Fink from Vienna, made in 1832 for countess Bisazgh” [fig. 21]. There is also a similar mother-of-pearl shield inlaid into the seventh position as in the guitar from 1829, this one engraved “Fani”.

It is interesting to mention that Johann Georg Stauffer’s and Johann Ertl’s “k.k. Privilegium” (i.e. patent) from June 1822 (Hofmann/Mougin/Hackl, pp. 54-59) – which was later renewed for the benefit of Anton Stauffer alone – secured the Stauffer-workshop the exclusive right to implement the adjustable neck with a free-floating fingerboard until June 1832. It is unlikely that any guitar maker within the borders of the Austrian Empire would have taken the risk to commit a fraud by not respecting this, and even more unlikely in the case of a former employee, who was certainly bound by loyalty. But this instrument is one of many Viennese-School guitars with an adjustable neck dating from precisely 1832 – which goes to show how much Stauffer’s colleagues were avid to finally implement the innovation themselves.

Guitar no. 3 [no pictures available]: The third guitar is one that Erik Pierre Hofmann pointed out to me; it was sold in 2008 in Germany via an internet auction, its whereabouts unfortunately are unknown. Also, it can also not be ascertained if this is a standard or a *terz* guitar.

Dated from 1848, it is yet another Legnani-model with a spruce soundboard, flamed-maple back and sides, a fretboard with 22 frets, a bridge very similar to those of **guitars no. 1 and 4** and wooden tuning pegs. It bears the original engraved label “Franz Fink in Agram” and again, a mother-of-pearl shield inlaid into the seventh position of the fretboard. With only a few pictures of very bad quality which could be viewed to write this description, it is impossible to make out whether or not this shield, too, is engraved.

This guitar also features the same distinctively shaped extension of the fretboard above the soundhole, which all of Franz Fink’s guitars seem to share (with the notable exception of **guitar no. 6** from 1851, see below).



FIG. 19



FIG.20

FIG.21



Guitar no. 4 [fig. 22]: This guitar dates from 1851. It was sold by Alojzije Seder, a retired musical instrument maker, teacher and former employee of the Franjo Schneider Museum²⁷ to Hrvoje Grgić from Zagreb. It is made of the same materials as the previous ones. Only this time, the mother-of-pearl inlay in the seventh position of the fretboard is a simple square. A feature, which in addition to its different ending makes this fretboard (cf. **guitar no. 3**) somewhat suspicious.

This guitar, too, features the iconic “Stauffer-style” head, but the highly decorated metal cover plate is on the front side and the tuning machine inserted frontally – as in Croatian tamburas. In all likelihood, this instrument was originally fitted with wooden tuning pegs and the tuning machine adapted to it later. It bears its original label with the handwritten year 1851 and looks very much like the **guitar no. 3** from 1848.

Guitar no. 5 [fig. 23-24]: This instrument from 1852 we can unfortunately only present two black-and-white pictures of. These pictures provide from the estate of Milan Stahuljak and were made by Stahuljak himself in 1933, when he accidentally discovered the instrument in the workshop of the well-known musical instrument maker Ernesta Köröskény (1912-1978) from Zagreb.²⁸ Stahuljak noted that the owner was a technical highschool student named Juraj Kovačić. While the instrument was repaired, Stahuljak wrote down the interesting inscription the instrument had inside:

“Made by Franz Fink from Vienna, in Zagreb, 62 years old, in 1852, for 26 fl CMZ [*Conventionsmünze*]. Well-made. Built to last long.”

This guitar is a Legnani-model of similar design like the others, and seems to have been made from the same type of materials. It also bears a shield-shaped mother-of-pearl inlay in the seventh position of the fretboard, but the inscription (if there is one) is not readable from the photo. The soundhole decoration features rhomboid-shaped mother-of-pearl inlays. It is equipped with 21 frets (like **guitar no. 1**) and a six-in-line tuning machine (matching the typical head shape, cf. above), which is decorated with an eight-pointed-star mother-of-pearl inlay, just like the one from 1832. It bears the original “Franz Fink in Agram” label with the handwritten year 1852. The whereabouts of this guitar are unknown.

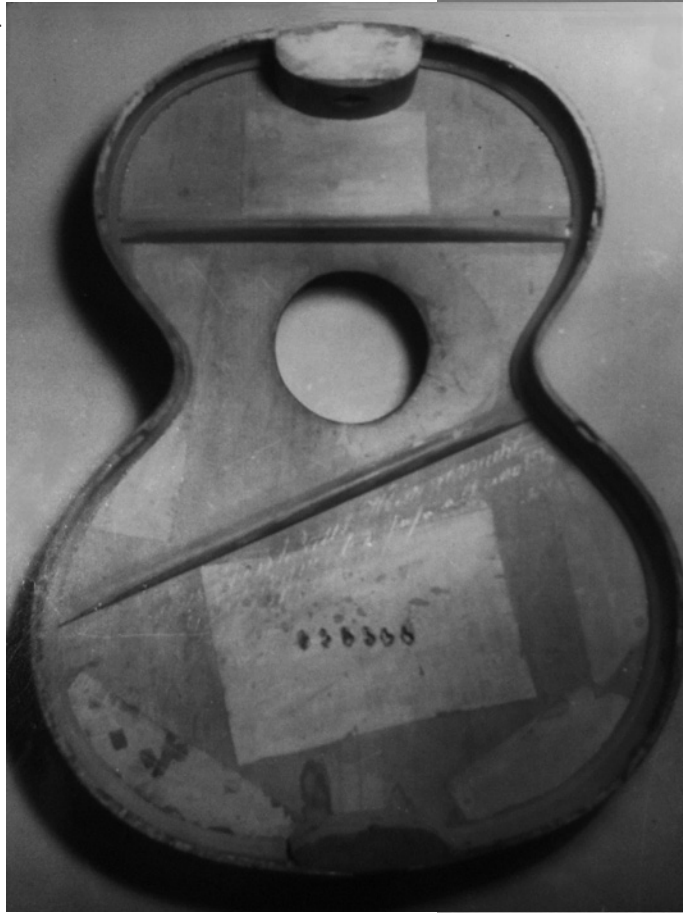


FIG.22

FIG.23



FIG.24



Guitar no. 6 [fig. 25-28]: The sixth and last guitar is the best-known – and the most spectacular. It was built by Franz Fink in 1867 for his son Eduard; it now belongs to the collection of the Museum of Arts and Craft in Zagreb (inv. no. MUO-8855). While most materials match those used in the other guitars, the neck here is veneered with alternate stripes of ivory and rosewood. The fretboard has 23 frets (as does **guitar no. 2**) and a mother-of-pearl inlay in shape of an “E” in the seventh position of the fretboard (which obviously stands for “Eduard”). The bridge seems to be made from rosewood, and its lateral decorations have the shape of the acronym “CSD” (which is mirrored on the bass side), which could stand for: “Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia”, the official name of Croatia at the time. The red binding of the back [see fig. 25] is not original, but the unfortunate result of an old repair.

This guitar has a vibrating string length of 644 mm, which is unusual for a Legnani-model, and even more remarkable in combination with another unusual parameter: for indeed, the 12th fret, instead of being located roughly above the junction of body and neck, is located where one would expect the 10th fret. These two parameters provide it with a highly original set of proportions, especially in a guitar from the mid-19th century.

But that is not the only surprise this extraordinary instrument has in store: its most remarkable feature may be the lyre-shaped head with custom-made tuning machines and a small mahogany fretboard with 5 frets, over which are running 3 strings – which can actually be tuned! Still, due to its small size and the odd positions of the frets, we can assume that this was intended to be an eye-catcher, rather than an actual musical instrument, on top of the main one. Part of the head is inlaid with a maple burl veneer, and there are several mother-of-pearl inlays, with the eight-pointed-star seen in other of Fink’s guitars popping up again.

In addition to its bold design, this guitar has also the most amazing background story, a full account of which was written down by Milan Stahuljak. As mentioned above, Franz Fink made this guitar for his son at a time when he was already living with him in Radoboj. Stahuljak found this guitar – or, as we shall see, the guitar found him – in Pleternica, where Eduard’s chaplain and successor pastor Stjepan Korajac had gifted it to the parish housekeeper Marija Halirš.



Fig.25



FIG.26



FIG.27



FIG.28

In an astounding letter addressed to Stahuljak by his sister-in-law Danica Trstenjak on 21 March 1933, it is revealed that her mother, Terezija Trstenjak, had purchased this guitar from Marija Halirš:

“Mama bought a guitar from Halirš, who was the [second] housekeeper of pastor Stjepan Korajac; he died at the Požega Collegium in 1919 – although he didn’t know how to play, he got the guitar from his [first] housekeeper [Vjekoslava Jurković, cf. below] who had been in the service of pastor [...] Fink in Radoboj in Zagorje [...]. Fink had been gifted the guitar by his father, who had made it, for he was a master guitar maker. [...] This Halirš lady also has a toilet table from Fink and in that table was found the attached letter, which is more than 111 years old [this refers to Weydenhaus’s order from 1822, see above] – she says that if the guitar has any value she would like to sell it and if not, that you may just send it back [...].”²⁹

This is how in 1933 Stahuljak became the owner of a very special guitar by Franz Fink, which he could compare to the ones by Johann Georg Stauffer he already owned. The guitar bears a label with a hand-written dedication by Fink in Croatian:

“As a memory for my son Slavoljub [Eduard] Fink, made by his father Franz at the age of 77, 1867.”

But after the guitar had been brought to be repaired and in that process opened, another interesting piece of its history was revealed: In the same location on the inside of the soundboard as in other of Fink’s guitars, this one, too, bears an inscription. It is in German, and of a much more personal, not to say enigmatic nature:

“I made this guitar as a reminder of me for my son, although his behaviour is not that of a son, even though he is a pastor in Radoboj. I should cherish him even more for it, but I can’t, because he is her slave [this probably refers to Vjekoslava (Alojzija) Jurković, see below ...]. She is boastful and his nationalism is exaggerated [...] It would be greedy of a 77-year-old father to claim to have everything [...], but honestly spoken, and God may forgive me for that, I have a sound way of

thinking and must admit that I don’t. Money. Money. 1867.”³⁰

This intimate inscription tells us the story of Franz Fink not being completely satisfied by his son’s life choices (not to speak of his own), especially Eduard’s relationship with the parish housekeeper Vjekoslava Jurković and his political involvements.

The later refers to the fact that Eduard Fink was an active political participant in the Croatian national revival movement right from the start, seeing that he had served as a military chaplain in the army of Josip Jelačić Bužimski – the Ban of Croatia –, fighting for the independence of his country in 1848/49. An episode which holds an important position in the national history of Croatia.

Eduard was also associated with some of the most prominent figures of the Croatian national movement, like Janko Drašković, Ljudevit Gaj, Vatroslav Lisinski (with whom he went to the same class at the secondary school) and Abot Ivan Krizmanić.

Krizmanić’s chronicler Vladoje Dukat wrote on Eduard: “Fink was the son of a German who moved to Zagreb and was raised, like Staudar [Vjekoslav Štaudar Omiljski] would say, a honest son and good Croatian patriot” (Dukat 1912, p. 30).

Milan Stahuljak sold Fink’s guitar to the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb where it entered their collection of musical instruments.³¹ It was since presented at important exhibitions like the “Croatian national revival 1790-1848” in 1986, and the “Biedermeier in Croatia 1815-1848” exhibition in 1997, which took place in Museum of Arts and Craft in Zagreb.

In addition to the six guitars detailed above, another one should be mentioned, which once was held by the Museum for Hamburg History. Based on Hans Schröder’s inventory of the museum’s collection published in 1930, it had the inventory number 1926; its year of making is unknown and there are no details on its construction available (Schröder 1930, p. 389).

According to the current custodian of the museum Claudia Horbas, this guitar has unfortunately gone missing since WW II.



■ Franz Fink's hand-written inscription inside a viola he repaired for the Croatian Music Institute (inv. no. HGZ-G 15 [10]); "repa" stands for "reparavit" (English: "repaired"). The record entry concerning this repair was found by Vilena Vrbanic. Courtesy of the Croatian Music Institute (photo: Vilena Vrbanic).

FIG.29

FINK'S LIKELY INFLUENCE ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CROATIAN TAMBURA

The Croatian tambura³² (or tamburica/tamburitza, a common diminutive) is a traditional instrument that became extremely popular among in all social classes. It was one of the trademarks of the Croatian national revival movement in the 19th century and as such was present in various cultural circles – not only those devoted to music, but also to literature, for example.

One of the most famous mentions of the tambura comes from the poem “Horvatska domovina” (Croatian: “Croatian Homeland”), written by Antun Mihanović (1796-1861) in 1835. A short version of this song rapidly became the national anthem of the Republic of Croatia – “Lijepa naša” (English: “Our beautiful”) – and still is today. It says:

“A light in the darkness shines far away, over the merry meadow, while songs loudly echo over the hills, while the lover sings and plays the tamburica [...].”

Prior to standardisation (see below) the tambura had developed slowly. It was influenced by simple untempered instruments like the *samica*, which were mostly made by shepherds, or long-necked instruments like the *saz*, the *šargija*, the Bosnian *bugarija* or the *karaduzen*, typical of the Ottoman empire. The tambura shares the teardrop-shaped body and the spindle-shaped head fitted with wooden tuning pegs with these instruments (Talam 2014, pp.99-157). This is especially true for specimens made in the border regions along the military frontiers that had been established by the Austrian Empire for protection against the Turks.³³

A more intensive development of tambura playing started in the 1830s in Srijem and Bačka, neighbouring eastern regions of the Kingdom of Slavonia (subordinated to the Kingdom of Croatia). Among the first tambura ensembles in the strict sense was the Osijek tambura society, formed by Josip Posezić, Nikola Erdeljac and David and Kosta Janković. They gave a notable concert in Pécs in Hungary on 14 May 1841, where they introduced their new and innovative tambura instruments.³⁴ Franjo Kuhač wrote about these early days of the tambura:

“*Tamburaši* [tambura players] affect people to a great

extent. In the revolutionary years 1848-1849 they very much helped Slavonians to become supporters of Ban Jelačić; our national politicians knew very well what they were doing, when they invited students, clerks and other educated people to establish tambura societies [Croatian: “tamburaška društva”]. In those fateful years, there were many such folk musicians and many of the prominent patriots in Slavonia were executive members of such societies.”³⁵ (Kuhač 1893, p.81)

After the disappointment with the outcome of Ban Jelačić’s military initiative, which had been regarded by many Croats as a possible path to national independence, the interest in the tambura slightly waned, but it remained a symbol of national identity.

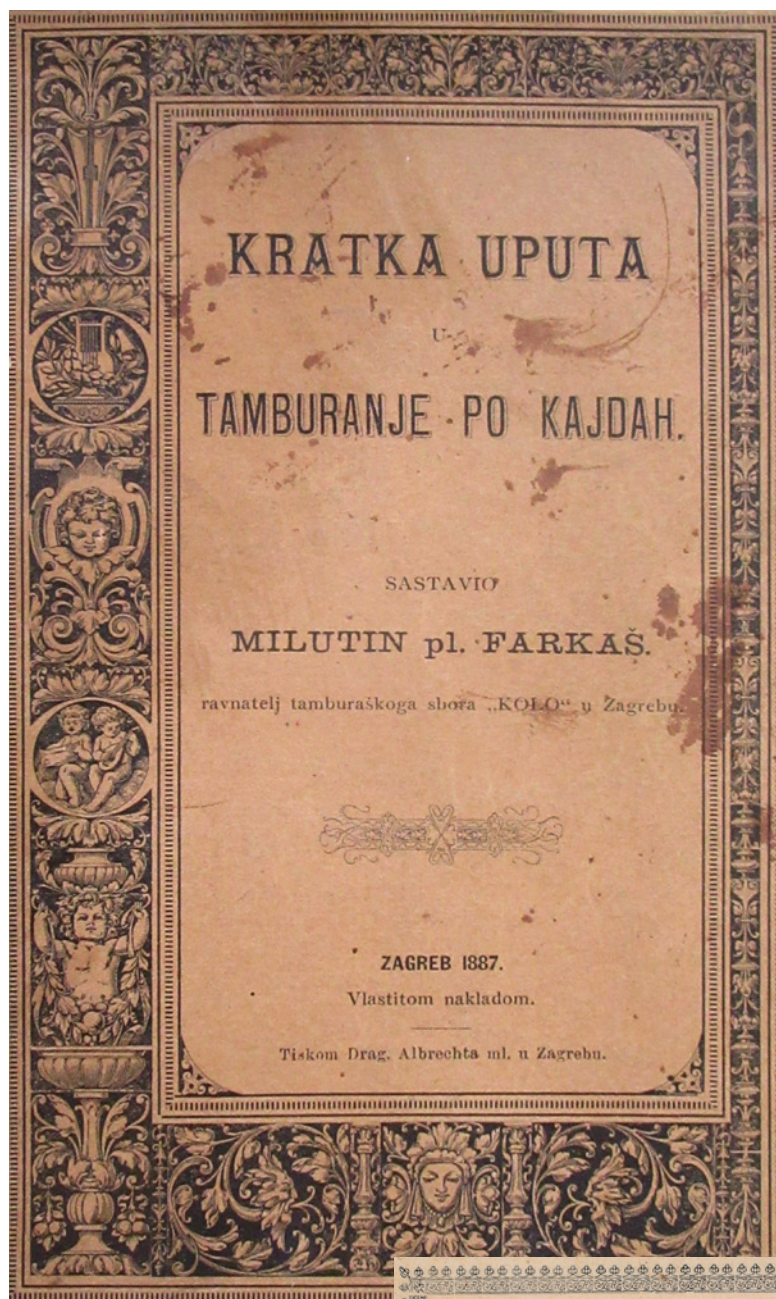
One of the first advertisements in Zagreb daily newspapers “Narodne novine” to praise the instrument was by the merchant Mijo Krešić. It was published on 10 February 1852 and reads as follows:

“Tamburicas for sale in the Nuremberg goods store of M. Krešić at the address Ilica 746.”³⁶

We know from Franjo Kuhač’s field diary from 1869 [fig. 30] that Franz Fink, even retired, built “new tamburicas”.³⁷ While this information comes from a secondary source, and no such instruments bearing Fink’s inscription or label could be found to this date, the idea seems more than likely. Why should the trained guitar maker not have made an instrument, which was very much in demand in his chosen homeland, and in terms of construction must have felt very familiar to him? More specifically, this raises the question of Fink’s possible involvement in the modernisation of the instrument, including the guitar-shaped body becoming standard in the Croatian production, and the shape of the head that reminds of Stauffer’s (and Fink’s) guitars.

An important instrument, because it displays this possible influence of the Viennese School of guitar making and because it seems to be the work of a professional musical instrument maker is the one stored in the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb (where it is part of the famous Kuhač collection of traditional instruments).³⁸ It was gifted to Kuhač by politician Antun Stojanović from Osijek in

FIG.30



■ (Above:) Title page of the tambura instruction book *Kratka teoretička-praktička uputa u tamburanje po kajdah* by Milutin pl. Farkaš, published by Vlastita naklada, Zagreb 1887. City Library of Zagreb, call number: ZF 781.2 FAR (photo Vilena Vrbanić).

FIG.32

✦ Tvorničko skladište glazbalâ i žicâ. ✦

TOMAY I TKALČIĆ

Ilica 49. — ZAGREB. — Ilica 49.

preporučuju svoje vrlo dobro uređjeno skladište gudalačkih i limenih glazbala, tamburica i svih u ovu struku spadajućih predmeta.

Školske gusle (violin) bez gudala počam od 3 for. pa dalje. Gusle za orkestar od for. 6, 8, 10, 12. Violine za koncerte od for. 20, 25, 30, 40. Cella počam od fr. 10, 16, 20, 30. Citre sa zajamčeno čistom hvatalkom. Javorove počam od for. 6. Polupalisandar počam od for. 12. Palisandrove počam od 15. Gudala za gusle počam od nč. 60. Spremice (skatulje) za gusle počam od for. 1. Tamburice počam od nč. 60. Ručna harmonika počam od 1-80, 2-50, 3, 3-50, 4, 4-0, 5, 6, 10, do 80 for. Strune ili žice od crieva smotak sa 30 komada počam od for. 1-20 do for. 6. Iste komad po 5 novč. pa dalje.

✦ Popravei ✦
obavljaju se točno i jeftino.

FIG.31

II. Vrst najmanjih tanbura jest *bisernica*¹ (zlatna tanburica), koja je nešto drugčije gradjena nego li ine, kao što pokazuje ova slika:²

Kako već ime veli, urešena je ova tanbura biserjem, zlatnimi listići i drugim kojećim. Hvataljka je duga 21 cm., gore je široka do 2½ cm., dolje do 3 cm.; zvekalo je dugo samo 13½ cm., najširi mu dio 8¼ cm., najuži 5 cm., promjer mu je 4¼ cm. Cielo je glazbalo dugo 45 cm.

Hvataljka je bisernice dvojako podijeljena krstnicami tako, da se može smatrati dvjema hvataljkama. Ljeva je podioba za prve dvie žice, a desna za druge dvie. Te su četiri žice ugodjene ovako: *d*, *f**s*, *f**s*, *f**s*. Žica „*d*“ ne zvuči uvijek samo na prazno s inimi žicama, nego se često i ona hvata. U ovom se slučaju ne trzaju trzijom sve četiri žice, nego samo prve dvie.

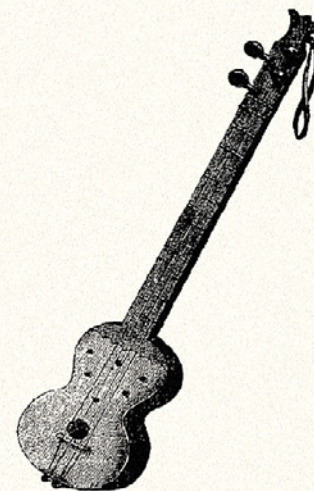
Da tako komplicirano glazbalo ište i mnogo vježbe, razumieva se samo sobom. Bisernica je glazbalo remek-tanburašâ (Tanbura-Meister, Virtuos), pa samo oni udaraju u nju pri koncertih. Tada ne slone zvekala o prsa svoja dužinom, kao što zvekala inih tanbura, nego podbočuju o se tek dolnji dio okrajca. Drzanje bisernice nalži dakle držanju violine, samo uz tu razliku, da okrajac pri tom nije čovjeku blizu vrata, nego — kako već rekoh — malne na sredini prsiju.

Kao što se vidi po razdiobi hvataljke³, razlikuje tanburaš glasove *hes* i *uis*, *es* i *dis*, *as* i *gis*, što ne pokazuje samo tanak sluh naših narodnih glazbalaca, nego pominje i staru teoriju one glasbe, koje

¹ Turci ju zovu „sedefli tanbura“, što znači toliko kao tanbura od sedeva t. j. bisera, to je dakle prevod rieči „bisernica“. Da ime „bisernica“ nije prevod turske rieči, nego ova prevodom „bisernice“, dokazuje to, što nam narod nije ni jedne turske rieči preveo, kad ju je uztrebao, nego ju samo poprmiio u ruhu naškom.

² Ova je Tamburica u mojoj sbirci, a sadjelao ju je neki kažnjenik lje-poglavski; ona je ulaštena crveno poput trešnje i pomno izradjena.

³ Nacrti hvataljaka dodati su XXXVIII. knjizi Rada.



■ (Above:) Excerpt from Franjo Kuhač's study "Prilog za povjest glasbe južnoslavjenske", *Rad JAZU*, vol.39 (1877), p.68. City Library of Zagreb. Call number: ZF 08 RAD.J 39.

■ (Left:) Advertisement by Tomay & Tkalčić in the Croatian calendar "Dragoljub", Zagreb 1895. National and University Library Zagreb. Call number: 156.792.

the Slavonia region, and according to Stojanović, was built before 1876 somewhere in the Bačka region. Although it is an anonymous tear-shaped tambura, it seems to have been made by a professional maker, because it is fitted with in-line tuning machines and a head with a lateral volute. A feature which demonstrates how professional musical instrument makers would change the traditional shape of the head in order to adapt “modern” tuning machines. Of course, just as in guitars, the use of traditional wooden tuning pegs was continued in parallel with that of tuning machines, due to the important difference in prices between these options.³⁹

The second phase of the Croatian tambura development started again in the Slavonia region, where some new propagators of the instrument emerged. The most important among them was Mijo Mayer, who came from Osijek to Zagreb as a student. He is to be credited for spreading interest in the tambura as an orchestral musical instrument among students. It was Mayer, together with Milutin noble Farkaš and with the support of Franjo Kuhač, who started a process of standardisation of the Croatian tambura in the second half of 1880s. Mayer and Farkaš formed a tambura section in the university orchestra “Hrvatska lira” (English: “Croatian lyre”) in 1882. This orchestra performed following scores and was intensively promoting the Croatian tambura in its homeland and in other Slavic countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Milutin Farkaš decided to standardise the shape and tuning of the Croatian tambura in order to put it on the same level as classical instruments. In 1887, he published the first instruction book for the instrument *Kratka teoretičko-praktička uputa u tamburanje po kajdah* (“Short theoretical-practical instruction for playing the tambura following scores”) [fig. 30] with illustrations of different standardised types of tamburas forming a whole orchestra. Finally, the shape and tuning of the most important Croatian traditional instrument evolved into the instrument known today as “the tambura with Farkaš’ tuning”.⁴⁰

The most distinct features of the modern version of the Croatian tambura are the “Stauffer-style” shape of the head [fig. 32, 33], typical of all Croatian tambura types except the berde (the equivalent of the double-bass in a tambura orchestra),⁴¹ the use of in-line tuning machines in all tambura types except the berde, and finally the guitar

shape of bisernica, bugarija and berde. In addition to these features, there is also the vibrating string length of the bugarija, which is 640 mm as in many romantic period guitars (Jeić 2017b, p.145).

The advent of the in-line tuning machines and the head design with the lateral volute in guitar-making are well-documented (Hofmann/Mougin/Hackl 2012, pp.44, 56-57). The fact that Franz Fink was the only guitar maker in Zagreb who had been trained in Vienna, and that according to Franjo Kuhač, he built not only guitars, but also tamburas, make him a possible candidate for introducing elements from Viennese guitar making to the Croatian tambura making. But then, it must be said that most guitars played in Croatia in the 19th century were certainly Viennese, or Viennese-School, so that other Croatian makers, albeit not trained in the Empire’s capital, had opportunities to see and assimilate the new developments, too.

After the standardisation of 1887, the tambura became immensely popular among Croats. Due to new legal rules concerning crafts in 1872 and the abolition of the old guilds, many new musical instrument workshops and factories emerged and faced an overwhelming demand. The total production of tamburas reached 3.000 to 4.000 per year. It stayed that way until WW I, when demand decreased heavily, never to rise again to previous levels. Nearly all manufacturers that established in the 19th century were closed by the 1930s, including the most famous ones in Zagreb like Tomay & Tkalčić (who had continued Johann Weiser’s business) [fig. 32], Terezija Kovačić, Andrija Car or Alphonse M. Gutschy.

Today Farkaš’ tuning and Croatian tamburas are registered as part of the UNESCO’s intangible cultural heritage as the “art of playing on *farkašica* tamburas in the north and northwest Croatia”.

LEO FENDER AND THE CROATIAN TAMBURA – A DIGRESSION?

While the reader may or may not agree with the idea of a link between Franz Fink and the modern tambura, I hope he will pardon me this possible digression, for it is very much guitar-related.

Various authors pointed out the similarity between

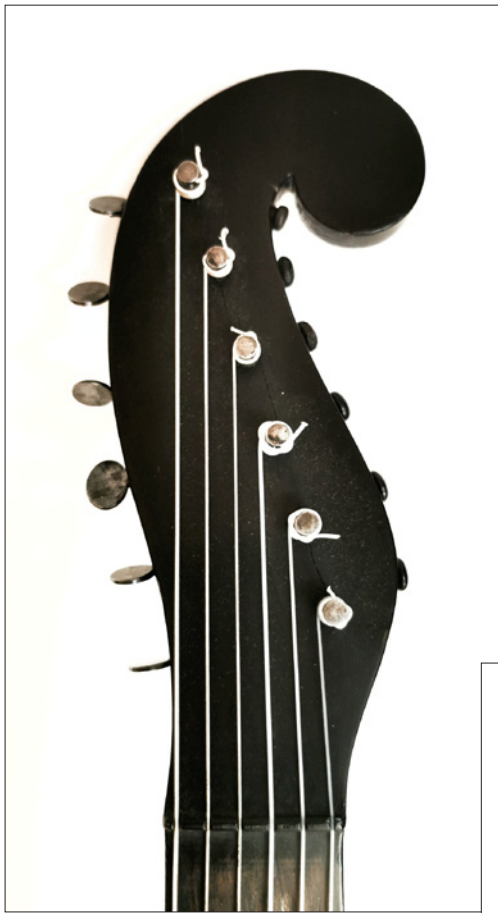


FIG.34

■ (Left:) Head of a guitar by Johann Georg Stauffer, Vienna, c.1815. Private collection Krause.

■ (Right:) Head of the *Dangubica tambura*, Bačka region, before 1876 (cf. p. 26). Ethnographic Museum of Zagreb (inv. no. POH-444/1920).



FIG.36



FIG.35

■ Head of a guitar by Franz Fink, Zagreb 1832 (see **guitar no. 2** [fig.19-21]). Private collection Tomaić.



FIG.37

■ (Left:) Head of a *Čelović tambura*, Terezija Kovačić musical instruments factory, Zagreb, c.1900. Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb (inv. no. MUO-6120).

■ (Right:) Head of a “Srijem tuning” basprim tambura by Josip Rohrbacher, Osijek 1922. This tuning in fourths was developed in the region of the same name around 1900. Private collection Đorđević.



FIG.38

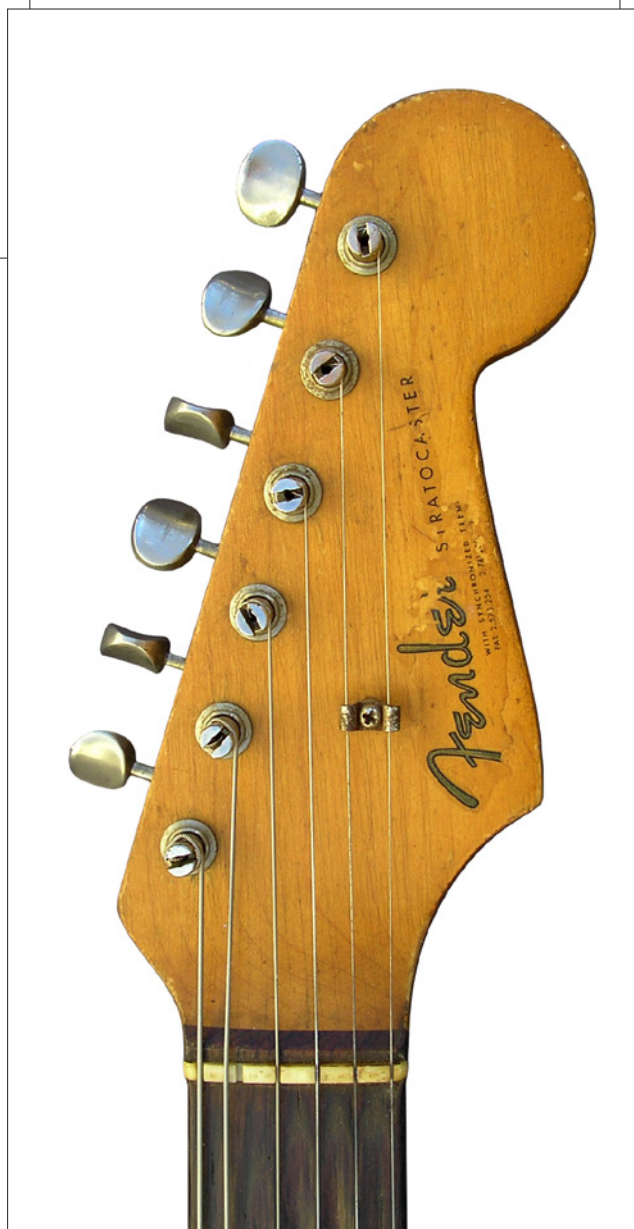


FIG.39

■ Head of a Fender Stratocaster electric guitar, United-States 1963. Private collection Breillon.

Stauffer's typical shape of guitar head and that of the famous Fender Telecaster (1951), Stratocaster (1954), Precision bass (1951) and Jazz bass (1961), electric guitars and basses which have become international trademarks of the Rock'n'Roll culture. For it is indisputable that their inventor, the founder of the American musical instrument factory Fender, Clarence Leonidas "Leo" Fender (1909-1991), used a design which is very similar to the one introduced by Stauffer in 1814.

Fender was the son of a Greek immigrant and a highly capable entrepreneur. The "Stauffer-style" shape of the head had already been used by other American musical instrument makers from 19th century onwards, the most famous of which being of course Christian Friederich Martin (established in 1833). Martin, who is said to be linked to Stauffer in a similar way as Franz Fink.⁴² One cannot deny the influence of Martin's guitars on later American guitar makers, whether they were born in America or (like most) emigrants from Europe. However, in an interview which was issued in the September 1971 edition of the American magazine "Guitar Player", Leo Fender stated:

"Well, that [the shape of the head] is a very old idea that has been around for thousands of years. The Croats [Croats], near Poland, have several instruments with tuning pegs located on one side of the guitar and they invented this years ago." (Fender 1971, pp.9,38)

Despite of his obvious lack of knowledge concerning the geographical location of Croatia, Fender seems to give credit to the traditional Croatian instrument for inspiring his design. Obviously, he knew the Croatian tambura well enough to forward it as being his exclusive source of inspiration. It is true that emigration from Croatia to the USA was well organised and tambura ensembles formed by emigrants performing there already in the early 20th century. The connection to the tambura was confirmed in Tom Wheeler's interview with Leo Fender:

"So, that's my design, but I shouldn't say that without explanation. It is originally a Croatian design, and maybe even older." (Wheeler 2004, p.33)

Further on, Fender's biographer Tony Bacon wrote on this subject:

"Leo himself claimed that he had seen the same head shape at Croatian musicians on a tour (probably tamburitza players) and he said he spotted an ancient African instrument in a New York museum with a similar head." (Bacon 2010)

Ian S. Port quotes Wheeler's interview with Fender, but rectifies that the instrument from the Museum was indeed Croatian, and not African:

"Leo Fender later told the writer Tom Wheeler that he'd borrowed the Stratocaster's headstock shape from an old Croatian instrument he saw in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York." (Port 2019, p.124)

The instrument in question must have been the Croatian tambura produced in the workshop of Tomay & Tkalčić in Zagreb which is part of the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (accession number: 89.4.1027).

So Leo Fender himself claimed in these two interviews that the design of his instrument's heads was inspired by the Croatian tambura. While it seems possible that he did not know Stauffer's original design, it is much less likely that he had never seen one of Martin's early models featuring the same design. But what could have been Fender's motives to link his design exclusively to a traditional instrument from a far-away country? This could have something to do with another electric guitar innovator, Paul Bigsby (1899-1968), whose guitar head design was almost identical to that of the Stratocaster et al. At a time when there were rumours going around about a lawsuit that Bigsby might file against Fender for stealing his idea, spreading the idea that the design was in fact a very old shoe from Europe was a clever way to nip the conflict in the bud.

The truth may be that the above-mentioned were in all likelihood both familiar with the Croatian tambura, especially since a specialised musical instrument maker, Ivan J. Hlad, had established a musical instrument factory – the Tamburitza Manufacturing Co. – in Chicago in 1917. It was the largest producer of tambura instruments in the USA, and outside Croatia. Hlad had been trained in Graz (Austria) and had then worked at the first Croatian tambura factory Terezija Kovačić before emigrating to the States. (Jeić 2017d, p.285) While he had patented his innovative

and highly decorative tambura head design in 1935, the basic concept was, again, very much the same as Stauffer's.

CONCLUSION

Even with only a few surviving instruments known to date, Franz Fink could be considered as the most influential Croatian stringed musical instrument maker of his time. Although it is true that Johann Georg Stauffer's innovations all post-date Fink's departure from Vienna, Fink kept in touch with the developments in the Empire's capital and introduced them to the public in Zagreb and neighbouring cities. His guitars meet the basic requirement of the "model after Luigi Legnani", i.e. a setup of 22 frets or more (cf. Hofmann/Hackl 2021), and share typical features associated with the Viennese School, like six-in-line tuning machines or the adjustable neck with a free-floating fingerboard, as per the Stauffer/Ertl Privilegium of 1822.

At the same time he maintained a personal design and a soundboard bracing (with a single inclined transverse bar beneath the sound hole), which differs from that of the Stauffers, father and son. And because he preceded the period of great flourishing of the musical instruments industry in Zagreb (after the standardisation of the Croatian tambura 1887), he probably influenced this industry at its early stages. Due to influence of the Viennese School of guitar making, Fink's input was probably a very important factor in the development of the Croatian tambura from early forms of that of the mid-19th century, leading to the standardised forms with Farkaš' tuning at the end of the century, to the more modern polyphonic tamburas with Gutschy, Gutschy-Lukić and Janković tunings in fifths and finally the most representative today, which is the Srijem tuning in fourths.

One can only speculate on why so few of Fink's instruments appear to have been preserved until today. The most likely reason seems to be the fact that Croatia was actively involved in at least three major conflicts during the 20th century (WWI, WWII and the Homeland War 1991-95). Many households have been destroyed or plundered, and private collections lost. In difficult times, one can easily imagine how instruments like guitars, which

were regarded much less valuable than violins, for example, could have been left behind. Another possible reason may reside in the fact that precisely because they weren't highly valued, guitar bodies are known to have been recycled to make locally more valued tamburas (usually basprimi and kontras), just as in other countries they were used to make hurdy-gurdys.

Links between Stauffer, Fink, the Croatian tambura and Fender are certainly to be explored further. But in any case, Franz Fink's story reveals that the Viennese School had another prominent member and previously unknown master – on the shores of the Adriatic Sea.

1. Johann Georg Stauffer (1778-1853) is considered to be one of the most influential instrument makers of his time; although he and his son and successor Anton are best known for their guitars, Johann Georg Stauffer's field of action included bowed strings instruments (the "Bogen-Gitarre", better known today as arpeggione), and keyboard instruments (the "Hohlflügel").
2. Library and Archive of the Croatian Music Institute, manuscript legacy of Milan Stahuljak.
3. Pfarre Pöggstall, baptismal register from 1 January 1771 to 31 December 1823, p. 366. The exact date and place of birth are confirmed by a baptismal certificate from St. Ulrich (Vienna), which is kept with other documents of the Ecclesiastical Court at the Archdiocesan Archive in Zagreb, and also the City of Zagreb Census of 1857.
4. Pfarre Pöggstall, marriage register from 1 January 1784 to 31 December 1830, fol. 52.
5. Pfarre Pöggstall, baptismal register from 1 January 1771 to 31 December 1823, p. 369.
6. Pfarre Schottenfeld (Vienna), baptismal register 1 January 1798 to 31 December 1801, fol. 125.
7. Pfarre Schottenfeld (Vienna), baptismal register 1 January 1801 to 31 December 1804, fol. 49.
8. *Ibidem*, p. 243
9. The birth certificates of Martin Peregrinus, Jacob and Katharina and Jacob's death certificate reveal that prior to the address in the district of Neubau, the Fink family lived respectively at the addresses Schottenfeld 390, Schottenfeld 64 and Schottenfeld 25.
10. Translation by Jadran Jeić and Erik Pierre Hofmann.
11. State Archive in Zagreb, *Protocollum civium civitatis Zagrabienensis*, 1733-1864: HR-DAZG-1 no. 284/1820. Translation by Jadran Jeić and Erik Pierre Hofmann, based on the translation from Latin into Croatian by Mirjam Lopina.

12. State Archive in Zagreb, *Cathastrum contributionis*: HR-DAZG-1 1819-1858. Tax census records of Zagreb start with the year 1819, which explains to a large extent why there is no earlier mention of Fink.

13. Zagreb City Museum, *Meister-Prothocoll der Ehrsamten Zech- und Brüderschaft deren bürgerl. Tischler, Drechsler, Glaser und Orgelmacher in der Königl. freyen Stadt Agram* (inv. no. MGZ 6387). It should be noted that the instrument makers were not organised as a separate guild.

14. The whereabouts of letter and table drawer are unknown.

15. Original translation by Milan Stahuljak.

16. Library and Archive of the Croatian Music Institute, accounting records for the period 1827-1874.

17. Translation by Jadran Jeić and Erik Pierre Hofmann, based on the first translation into Croat by Milan Stahuljak and Daniela Živković.

18. Ivan Padovec or Johann Padowetz (1800-1873), was born in Varaždin (Croatia). He was the most prominent Croatian guitar virtuoso and composer and gave concerts all over Europe. He is known for his personal contributions to the improvement of the guitar and his tutorial *Theoretisch-praktische Guitarrschule* (Vienna 1844/45).

19. Croatian State Archive, baptismal register, Parish of St. Mark in Zagreb, 1747-1827; registry books collection, HR-HDA-883, M-334.

20. Croatian State Archive, marriage register, Parish of St. Mark in Zagreb 1768-1837; registry books collection, HR-HDA-883, M-336.

21. Various relevant sources give the date of 16 February 1829 as the day when the music teacher Georg Karl Wiesner von Morgenstern from the Zagreb Music Society opened the first public music school in Zagreb, but my researches reveal that he started public musical schooling on 5 November 1827 in the premises of the Königliche Normal-Hauptschule (Jeić 2018, pp.260-261; *Luna Agramer Zeitschrift*, vol.2, no.87 of 30 October 1827, pp.342-343).

22. *Agramer Zeitung*, vol.19, no. 88 of 2 November 1844, p. 356.

23. Croatian State Archive, deaths register, Parish of the Holy Trinity in Radoboj 1858-1877; registry books collection, HR-HDA-883, M-83. In these registers, Vienna is incorrectly listed as place of birth.

24. Pfarre Graz-Straßgang, death register from 1 January 1887 to 31 December 1901, p. 605.

25. This model named after the Italian virtuoso Luigi Legnani (1790-1877) was introduced by Johann Georg Stauffer in the first years of the 1820s. Contrary to a generalised misconception, its identifying feature is not the adjustable neck, but a fretboard equipped with at least 22 frets (Hofmann/Hackl 2021, p. 81).

26. City Museum of Varaždin, musical instruments collection; guitar by Franz Fink (inv. no. GMV-KPO 4188). This guitar was first described in a doctoral dissertation by Vilena Vrbanić, and on my suggestion dated 1850 (Vrbanić 2020, p.171). On my request, Jelena Rančić from the City Museum later checked the inside of the soundboard and discovered the dedication with the year 1829.

27. Franjo Schneider (1903-1966) studied music with Janos Leonhardt in Pécs. As early as 1918, he already built violins and later trained with Pala Pilate in Budapest to become master craftsman. In 1925 he returned to Croatia and settled in Zagreb in 1928 to open one of the most important musical instrument factories in former Croatia. This factory was nationalised in 1945 and became “Glazbala Zagreb” (later “Muzička naklada”, one of the biggest musical instruments producers in former Yugoslavia, which maintained production until the mid-1990s).

28. Ernest Köröskényi (1912-1978) was of Hungarian origin

and one of the best regarded Croatian guitar and mandolin makers. At the age of fourteen he started a joinery apprenticeship with Josip Schiffer. After returning from the army, he worked for Schiffer again until independence in April 1938. Later on, he opened his own business at Ilica 107 in Zagreb (Seder 2006, p.22).

29. Library and Archive of the Croatian Music Institute, manuscript legacy of Milan Stahuljak.

30. The translation of the German inscription was made by Milan Stahuljak.

31. Stahuljak also mentions a repair of this guitar made by an instrument maker in Zagreb in 1900.

32. I have introduced the term “Croatian tambura” for tamburas with Farkaš tuning for the first time at the *21st Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Musical Instruments* (2017), based on the fact that Farkaš tuning was not only developed by Croats, but also the most popular among Croats, both at home and abroad (Jeić 2017 b, p.145).

33. The pear-shaped body and the spindle-shaped head in the fashion of Ottoman long-necked lutes were the most common features in the first reliably dated tamburas of any type (*dangubice, bisernice, šare, primašice*). The most emblematic instrument of the type is the one once owned by Pajo Kolarić, founder of the first amateur tambura sextet in Osijek in 1847. It is now in the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek (inv. no. MSO E-355).

34. Reported by an unknown writer with the pseudonym “R...n” in the musical news-section of the magazine *Danica Ilirska*, 5 June 1841, p.92.

35. Kuhač points out the member of parliament Pajo Kolarić (1821-1876) from Osijek (German: “Essek”) for having been a particularly meritorious person in the first phase of tambura development.

36. “Nuremberg goods” is an archaic generic term to describe miscellaneous smaller factory-made items.

37. The extent of Fink’s professional activities remains obscure. The Zagreb tax-census of 1848 states “Clavicordista” as his profession. While this certainly has not to be taken literally, it could be interpreted as an unlucky attempt at translating the word “pianist” into Latin. In which case Fink, like Anton Stauffer, the son of his former employer, could not only have played the piano, but also made a (partial) living out of it, for example by teaching.

38. Kuhač wrote about this *Dangubica tambura* (inv. no. POH-444/1920): “I got this tambura from the departmental advisor Dr. Stojanović (in Zagreb); it was given to him by a friend from Bačka and it was probably made by a musical instrument maker from Pest, because instead of wooden pegs, it was equipped with metal tuning screws, the so-called machine” (Kuhač 1877, p.67).

39. Croatian tambura makers were for a long time offering tamburas with or without tuning machine(s) (in archaic Croatian: “makina” or “stroj”). Mato Kovačić, founder of the Terezija Kovačić Croatian Tambura Factory, in an advertisement from 1887 (Farkaš 1887, p. 56) offered *bisernica* and *kontrašica* in Farkaš tuning with tuning machine at a price of 11 forints, and without at a price of 6 forints.

40. This includes *bisernicas* with two courses tuned unisono (d2-d2), *brač* with two courses tuned unisono (d1-d1 or in a fifth interval g-d1), *bugarija* tuned h-d1-g1 or g-h-d1 or fis-a-d1 (the first two strings being single ones, the third a course) and *berde* with two courses tuned in octave intervals (G1-G and D-d). As a result of these simple tunings, many amateur musicians were attracted by the instrument. The most

emblematic feature of these tunings is the longitudinal division of the fretboard, with one side chromatically fretted and the other one diatonically. Tamburas are mostly plucked with cherry bark or goose feather picks in fast tremolo style, with the exception of *bugarijas* on which chord accompaniments are played and *berde* on which bass parts are played (Jeić 2017, pp.151-152).

41. This feature is visible even in pre-standardisation instruments like the *bisernica* from the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb (inv. no. POH-446/1920), which was described by Kuhač as follows: “This tambura is part of my collection, and it was built by a convict from Lepoglava. It was varnished cherry-red and carefully made.” (Kuhač 1877, p.68).

42. Christian Friederich Martin (1796-1893) lived in Vienna during the first half of the 1820s (cf. Hofmann/Mougin/Hackl 2012, pp.80-81), but there is unfortunately no solid proof known to back up his claim that he worked in the workshop of Johann Georg Stauffer.

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FIG.40

■ Guitar made by Johann Georg Stauffer for Marie-Louise of Austria in 1810 (cf. Hofmann, 2016). As documented above (see pp.4-5), it appears almost certain that at the time this instrument and its case were manufactured, Franz Fink was one of the shop employees – and as such has certainly taken part in the built. Courtesy of the Neuchâtel Museum of Art and History (photo: Stefano Iori).

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